# HEADWAY

## IN WAR-TIME

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The Journal of the League of Nations Union OF POLITICAL AN

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## WHAT OUR COUNCIL DID

Once more the General Council of the League of Nations Union met in Conway Hall, London, on June 24 and 25, 1943. From the point of view of numbers, it was the best gathering since the outbreak of war. The Roll Call showed that members attended from all the English counties except Devon, Dorset, Hereford, Huntingdon, Leicester, Lincoln, Nottingham, Rutland, Salop, Suffolk, Westmorland, Wiltshire and Worcester; also from Scotland and Wales. Among the visitors were the respective Secretaries of the Czechoslovak League of Nations Union and the Polish League of Nations Union, as well as an airman in uniform from the staff of the League of Nations Society in Canada. The Canadian Society also cabled greetings from Ottawa. The agenda bore testimony to the fact that the Union is fully alive to the big issues which are emerging in international affairs at the present decisive stage of the war.

In consequence of Lord Cecil's recent accident, the burden of steering the Council through its varied agenda fell upon Dr. Gilbert Murray, the Joint President. One of his first duties, which he performed with customary grace, was to propose the reelection of Mr. Churchill as Honorary President of the Union. "We are deeply grateful." he said, "to the Prime Minister for according us the signal honour of being our Honorary President. We remember with pride that, in those fatal years when appeasement of an unappeasable enemy was the order of the day, and Mr. Churchill's appeal for 'Arms and the League seemed a solitary cry in the wil-

derness, he spoke on our platforms and we gave him all the support in our power." The Council members showed by acclamation how heartily they endorsed these words.

### Lord Cecil's Address

The most moving moment of the Council was when Lord Cecil arrived to give that Presidential Address without which any Council meeting would scarcely seem complete. The warmth of his reception was only equalled by the spontaneous ovation which followed his final stirring words. In tone and vigour the speech gave the Council just that lead which it had been expecting.

Speaking of the encouragement which the Union might draw from current events at a stage in the war when victory was no longer humanly speaking doubtful, Lord Cecil again urged the Union to consider fundamentals. What do we exist for? What is the purpose of the L.N.U.? Our one main purpose was the establishment of lasting peace. The first thing we must desire was victory, otherwise there could be no possibility of lasting peace, for the German theory was quite destructive of all we cared for.

Two factors in the problem seemed to him to stand out. There were two great currents Greatest of all was the desire for peace, which was practically unanimous in this country and the main view in nearly all countries. Secondly there was national feeling which made people ready to endure any hardship, even to sacrifice their lives, for their country. "Don't let's

right and proper feeling; but it might easily degenerate into a passion for national sovereignty. The problem was to merge the national feeling of each State into a greater feeling representing humanity at large. The task was not impossible; but it was one of the reasons why we must have an International Authority.

"We want," continued Lord Cecil, "10 recommend a settlement which will take account of these forces and establish machinery to carry them into effect." Our peace aims must be practicable—and so far, he thought, we had avoided the tendency to invent ingenious and interesting schemes which would not work. It was important to try to ascertain whether we and the Government were working in the same direction, and if so to assist the Government in any way that we could.

Support for the United Nations was the declared policy of the Government. As regards the policy which the United Nations were likely to pursue, the speeches of the Prime Minister had been eminently satisfactory, and we remembered his recent broadcast with gratitude. We also had to obligations undertaken by this country, consider what had been said outside this which we as the L.N.U. wished to see country, particularly in the United States.

Lord Cecil then went on to discuss the Conference at Hot Springs when all the United Nations considered the practical questions of what would have to be done when the war came to an end. He also dealt with the almost simultaneous proposal for a United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. The suggested machinery, he showed, was at every stage comparable to that of the League, except that the Director-General would have greater power than the Secretary-General had ever enjoyed. This was machinery that we could warmly welcome.

The latest important utterance by Mr. Sumner Welles was then cited by Lord Cecil. Mr. Welles had laid down that any form of international organisation must be based on certain cardinal principles: collective security, the establishment of an international tribunal to deal with all international differences, control of armaments, social and economic reform, and the conservation of national independence. There was also the unanimous resolution of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Amerithe most important things the Union had can House of Representatives (see p. 15

underrate it," urged Lord Cecil. It was a of this issue). "These," said Lord Cecil. "all make a kind of line for us."

Lord Cecil concluded with a strong personal appeal for all to play their part in educating the people in the realities of collective security. "What I am asking," he said, "is a tremendous job. It will take the whole of your energies. We must rely upon the deepest conviction of our members about the vital importance of trying to remove the hideous monster of war, and back our effort not only with Christianity and all the religions but with all the respectable philosophies as well."

### Social and Economic Reconstruction

Sir Ralph Wedgwood, on behalf of the Executive Committee, moved the adoption of the Report (Pamphlet No. 432) on Social and Economic Reconstruction. He outlined how the Executive had decided to investigate the general bearing of social reform on international relations, and what was within the competence of the Union and what was not. The resultant pamphlet fell under three main headings. First there was a definition of the international carried out. Here the Atlantic Charter, the Mutual Aid Agreement (Lease-Lend), the Anglo-Russian Treaty, Emergency Relief and Reconstruction Measures, and the Union's own documents had been examined. Secondly came an analysis of the international machinery needed, from which the conclusion had been drawn that it would be a very great mistake to set up a separate authority for social and economic matters leaving the League to deal with political. Thirdly the domestic measures for attaining these objects were discussed, including the bearing of the Beveridge Report upon the subject. Sir Ralph stressed that the first requisite was an international body to provide collective security—only on this sound political basis could economic and social reform be built.

Mr McLachlan (L.R.F.), seconding, wished the Council to pass the resolution and leave it to the Executive to press for action with all the vigour at their command Mr. K. Zilliacus (Executive) thought that the report, although admittedly a compromise document, was one of done for a long time. As the dehate proceeded, it was seen that the Council shared this view. Such criticisms as were offered were tinged with that "deep admiration' for the report mentioned by Miss Tweedie (Edinburgh). Alderman Beevers (Montague Burton Branch) would have liked it to be a little more definite in some things, Mrs. E. M. White (co-opted) thought that the emphasis on foreign trade was wrong, and Mr. Hawkins (East of Scotland) wished that more had been said about civil aviation. Finally the report was unanimously adopted.

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Edinburgh's motion on Social Security was then moved by Miss Tweedie in a speech which Dr. Murray, from the chair, described as "nice, but quite out of order." The Council shared this view and the motion was not put.

### Education for World Citizenship

There was a record attendance of members and visitors at the special evening session on Education for World Citizenship, at which the Report on "Education and the United Nations" prepared by the Joint Commission of the London International Assembly and the Council for Education in World Citizenship was discussed. Miss Courtney first described the London International Assembly, adding, "We British people feel it a great privilege and a great opportunity to be so closely in touch with our friends from other countries."

Mr. Jan Masaryk (Foreign Minister and Deputy Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia). after apologising for having to rush away by describing himself as "one of those people who comes and goes," labelled himself as a firm believer still in the League of Nations Union. The L.I.A., too, was an extremely useful body, trying to find out the truth. Both should be supported by all who really wanted to make this the last war. On the subject of the session, he said that what was needed was not only the re-education of Germany but the re-education of us all.

From Dr. Murray there followed a detailed explanation of the Report and how it had come to be written. This expression of opinion by such a weighty body, he hoped, would influence the Governments. So far the Committee had been satisfied with the reception they had had. They were particularly pleased with the warm welcome they had had from

America. Not only had Government Departments shown themselves interested, but certain important American bodies had clubbed together to publish the Report over there. Incidentally it had been seen that some of the plans brought out by American societies coincided very closely with our own.

Professor Vaucher (France) explained why, to carry out the recommendations of the Report, it was necessary to have a United Nations Bureau for Educational Reconstruction set up immediately. Mr. S. K. Chow (China) contributed an account of the way in which the Japanese invaders had made Chinese educational institutions special targets for their hatred; but, against this pathetic background, the Chinese were more eager than ever in pursuit of knowledge. Then Mr. Evan T. Davis spoke from the point of view of the C.E.W.C., emphasising that the policy of the Cabinets of to-morrow was being moulded in the schools of this and other countries to-day.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. Zilliacus limited his objections to the chapter on the re-education of the exenemy countries, in which he claimed there was a contradiction between the wholly admirable principle and the practice which it advocated. He was vigorously challenged by Professor Kulerski (Poland), and Dr. Murray added that these speeches at the end had shown the points of view that had to be considered when the report was being drawn up.

Next morning Dr. Murray moved the resolution welcoming the Report. After interesting views had been expressed by Dr. Maxwell Garnett (seconding), Mr. F. N. Keen, Mrs. Edgar Dugdale and the Dean of Chichester, the motion was adopted.

### Present and Post-War Relief

Some of the keenest debates at the Council concerned relief and aid, both now and after the war. Mr. Hawkins, moving the East of Scotland resolution on Famine Relief, stressed that this was a call for present action—the United Nations were quite prepared to do splendid work after the war. Miss Tweedie, seconding, said that the children represented to us one of the most valuable assets of the future; Mr. Arnold-Forster urged that, if we waited until another winter, the damage would be quite irreparable; and Mr. Martin Parr (former Secretary to the Governor of the Sudan) outlined the prac- Where the Union Stands tical implications. Lord Lytton summed up in the words of Abraham Lincoln-"We cannot do everything. To do less than we can would be a crime"; and the resolution was carried.

The Council heartily agreed with Miss Courtney that there was every reason for passing an urgency resolution on the Hot Springs Conference and the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. At Hot Springs the whole question of agriculture and nutrition after the war had been dealt with by the United Nations in a spirit of co-operation which, if maintained, would be a tremendous contribution to settlement after the war. The U.N.R.R.A., dealing with immediate postwar relief, was the result of many months of preparation, and was intended to act immediately. It was the first definite administrative organisation set up by the United Nations. Dealing as it did not only with food but with restarting the whole economy of every occupied territory, it covered a vast field. If the United Nations could be successful, they would have made a start towards success in the wider fields that awaited their co-operation.

This clear explanation brought from Mr. G. Green (Skipton) the tribute that "whenever Miss Courtney moves a resolution and explains it, there is nothing more to

A word may be said here on another urgency resolution brought forward by Miss Eieanor Rathbone, M.P., after the discussion on the Jewish Problem. Three impressively persuasive speeches had been heard-from Mrs. Edgar Dugdale, moving the Report (Pamphlet No. 433) on behalf of the Executive, from Professor Brodetsky, who stressed that the Jewish problem was more than either a refugee problem or a minority problem, and from Miss Freda White (co-opted), who argued that, in Palestine, "two rights had made a dreadful wrong." The Appendix to the Report posed the question, "What can be done now?" Miss Rathbone urged that everything practicable should be done to rescue as many as possible before it was too late. She further asked that the resolution should be brought before Branch meetings all over the country.

These and the other resolutions adopted by the Council are printed on pages 5-6 of this issue. That on the Work of the Union, as Miss Courtney explained, had the definite objective of placing on record where the Union stands with regard to the Atlantic Charter and the Declaration of the United Nations. We are not tied up only to what is in the Covenant, we are an organisation that moves with the times. "We are not a back number," said Miss Courtney. "We are a present number, and we mean to be a future number."

The Council, like the Executive, was sympathetic to Eastbourne's desire, expressed by Lieut.-Col. Keen, to devise some method by which any post-war Covenant or Pact, once signed, should not be put away in a pigeonhole and forgotten. Lord Perth, speaking from his experience as Secretary-General at Geneva, was inclined to favour a one-minute silence at the beginning of each session of the International Authority; but he asked for any other ideas to be sent up to the Executive.

Mr. H. S. Syrett, the Union's Treasurer, again had some forceful words to say on "the munitions of peace" (i.e., money and membership) needed if the Union were to be able to carry its plans into effect. He urged all present to regard it as an essential part of their work to increase the membership. Speaking of the way in which small sums would mount up if all who paid subscriptions of 10s. and over would do so by Deeds, he mentioned the experience of the Hospital Saving Association, which collected a million pounds a year in small sums. "We must be prepared for the great work which will have to be done when we can restore our organisation to its pre-war stature."

Dr. Murray, from the chair, paid a moving tribute to the late Lord Dickinson, whereupon the Council honoured an "old friend and leader" by standing in silence.

The Conference of Branch Secretaries and Other Workers, which met after the Council to discuss the best way to bring the Union's policy before the outside public, was presided over by Mr. L. F. Behrens (Manchester).

LESLIE R. ALDOUS.

## GENERAL COUNCIL DECISIONS

Officers, etc.

The General Council re-elected the Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill Hon. President, Lord Cecil and Dr. Gilbert Murray Joint Presidents, Lord Lytton Chairman of the Executive, and Mr. H. S. Syrett Hon. Treasurer. The Executive Committee for 1943-44 and the Co-opted Members of the Council were also appointed. The annual report and the accounts for 1942 were

### Social and Economic Reconstruction

The report prepared by the Executive No. 432) was Committee (pamphlet approved and adopted.

#### India

The General Council of the League of Nations Union desires to send to Field-Marshal Sir Archibald Wavell an expression of cordial good will on his appointment as Viceroy of India, and at the same time to express the hope that he will do everything in his power to bring about such conditions of concord and mutual good will inside India as may permit the fulfilment of the proposals of the Cripps Commission and enable India freely to settle her own

### Education and the United Nations

(1) The General Council of the League of Nations Union welcomes the report (entitled Education and the United Nations) on the Place of Education, Science and Learning in Post-War Reconstruction, prepared by a Joint Commission of the London International Assembly and the Council for Education in World Citizenship. Without necessarily endorsing all the proposals of the Commission, the Council trusts that they will receive the earnest consideration of H.M. Government and the governments of the other United Nations. In particular

(2) The General Council pays homage to the heroic resistance under persecution and famine of the professors, teachers and students of the enemy-occupied countries. It views with horror the systematic destruction by our enemies of the education and national culture of those countries. It recognises that their reconstruction will in many cases be a task beyond the resource of the separate nations themselves and must be regarded as the collective responsibility of the whole body of the United Nations. For this reason the Council urges H.M. Government to propose the immediate formation of a United Nations Bureau for Educational Reconstruction.

(3) The Council records its detestation of the uses made of education in Germany and other Axis States to falsify facts and to imbue their peoples with the spirit of racial hatred and aggressive war. It calls upon H.M. Government to consider with the governments of the other United Nations how best to ensure that the Universities and schools of the Axis States are purged of such corruption and that their peoples are set free to learn the lessons of willing and loyal partnership in the common quest for truth and a good life. The Axis peoples must be re-educated and, in our view, they must re-educate themselves. No one else can bring about that change of feeling and of purpose that alone can enable them to become loyal and trusted members of the community of nations. Certainly such a spiritual change cannot be dictated by conquering powers, but they can and should do whatever may be possible to create the conditions in which the re-education of the mind and character of the Axis peoples may be most likely to succeed.

(4) Among the measures that will be necessary in the effort to attain "freedom from want and freedom from fear" the Council recognises that there must be a general extension and improvement of education in all countries and that this must of necessity be a matter of international concern. It therefore calls upon H.M. Government to ensure that, as part of any International Authority that may ultimately be established, there shall be an International Organisation for Education to promote, through the co-operation of the governments, the education authorities and the great associations of teachers, the general advancement of education and, in particular, of education for world citizenship. This Organisation should also have the duty of checking, by appeal to the International Authority or otherwise, any educational development which definitely threatens the common peace.

(5) Finally, the Council offers to the Council for Education in World Citizenshin. the London International Assembly and their Joint Commission its most hearty congratulations upon the work that they are together doing for the advancement of education for world citizenship here in Great Britain during

### Solemnity of International Obligation

Assuming-

(a) that some form of League or Society of Nations will emerge after the present war, and

(b) that the signature of some Covenant Nazi Massacres of lewish and or Pact outlawing resort to war for the settlement of international disputes will be a sine qua non of membership,

and in view of the fact that past experience has shown that the signature of such a Pact or Covenant does not mean the same to all

The General Council urges upon the Executive Committee that, with a view to upholding and strengthening the standard of international morality and good faith, they should consider the possibility of recommending some means whereby the solemnity of the obligation incurred by such signature should from time to time be brought home to the representatives of all States Members of the League and through them to the Governments and States which they represent, and that this should be done annually in open Assembly in as solemn a manner as possible.

### The Work of the Union

The General Council of the League of Nations Union, welcoming the declarations of members of H.M. Government as to the necessity of an International Authority after

Taking note of the principles and ideals of the Atlantic Charter subscribed to by the United Nations and the Declaration by the United Nations proclaimed at Washington on January 2, 1942.

Declares

That the promotion of the principles and ideals contained in the Atlantic Charter and the Declaration by the United Nations is, in conformity with the Third Object of the Union's Royal Charter, a necessary development of the work of It desires especially to emphasise the Union; and

Calls

Upon all members of the League of Nations Union to give their full support to that development.

### Famine Relief

The General Council of the League of Nations Union, viewing with increasing anxiety the worsening conditions of the distressed populations in occupied countries, urges upon H.M. Government that, subject to the exigencies of the war, no effort should be spared to expedite immediate measures of relief by the granting of every possible facility for such assistance.

While recognising that the General Blockade is a part of the Allied War Measures, the Council trusts that the supply of food concentrates and vitamins for the children, expectant mothers and the sick may still be possible by agreement under the control of the International Red Cross.

## Other Victims

The Council of the League of Nations Union registers its deep concern over the apparent lack of progress made in rescuing the Jewish and other victims threatened with wholesale torture and massacres by their Nazi persecutors. While fully realising the difficulties impeding large scale measures of rescue, this Council desires to point out that over six months have now elapsed since the Declaration made in both Houses of Parliament on behalf of the United Nations, exposing the full facts of the massacres, and that nearly two months have elapsed since the conclusion of the Bermuda Conference on Refugees; yet that nothing is so far known to show that any substantial number of victims has yet been rescued.

This Council therefore urges H.M. Governfent to carry out as speedily as possible the boldest practicable measures of rescue and repeats the assurance given to Mr. Eden at Washington on March 20 in a most

weightily signed cable that:

British conscience so deeply stirred that country prepared for any sacrifice consistent with not delaying victory.'

### United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture

The General Council of the League of

Nations Union warmly welcomes the Report of the United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture at Hot Springs, and

the proposal to establish a United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administra-

that no long term plan for world production and consumption can function effectively unless within the framework of an international organisation which will provide security against war; and that Freedom from Want is in fact

dependent upon Freedom from Fear. since without this nations will inevitably pursue a policy of National Selfsufficiency.

### Union Finance After the War

The General Council asks the Executive to investigate the question as to how the Union shall be financed in the post-war years, giving special attention to the financial relations between Headquarters, Federal Councils and Branches.

### World Settlement After the War

The motion of the Beddington, Carshalton and Wallington Branch, together with the

## EUROPE IN BONDAGE

BACKGROUND OF POST-WAR RELIEF

Almost simultaneously with the Hot Springs Conference and President Roosevelt's announcement of a detailed and comprehensive plan for the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration comes a most useful "background book". on present conditions in Europe.\* It is the child of the London International Assembly. The documents, submitted by the Allied Nations in London to that body, have been arranged by Mr. John Armitage, editor of the Fortnightly Review, in the form of an honest and straightforward story. Lord Cecil, in his preface, commends its "studious moderation." "World Civilisation," he writes, " is at this moment very sick indeed, at least in Europe, and will require the utmost care and skill to restore it to health. This book may be regarded as an aid to the diagnosis of some of its most distressing ailments."

amendments in the final agenda, will be considered by the Executive when it undertakes the promised examination of "World Settlement after the War" now that the report on Social and Economic Reconstruction has been adopted by the Council.

### International Authority

The motion submitted by the Executive Committee, together with the amendments tabled by Bournville Works Branch and the Manchester District, will be further considered by the Executive.

### The Jewish Problem

The Report prepared by the Executive Committee (pamphlet No. 433) was approved and adopted, subject to verification of references to the Palestine Mandate.

### Contact with Other Organisations

At the Conference of Branch Secretaries and other Workers, it was agreed that, in view of the existence within branch areas of such organisations as Sisterhoods, Mothers' Unions, Women's Institutes, Co-operative Guilds, Brotherhoods, Ruri-Decanal Conferences, "Religion and Life" and other Church Meetings, Toc H, etc., Branches be urged to make contact with such organisations by offering to supply speakers on L.N.U. subjects for their meetings, and that Headquarters be requested to give Branches every possible assistance.

Geography alone is not the key to Nazi domination. Hence Mr. Armitage has arranged the European countries more logically, according to the respective parts which they were destined to play in the fulfilment of Hitler's schemes. The first group includes Germany's Lebensraum-Czechoslovakia, Poland, Luxembourg, and Alsace-Lorraine. France, with her fate hanging in the balance, is next considered. Belgium and Holland, from whom Hitler hoped to gain "collaboration," are taken together. Next is Yugoslavia, exploited in the interests of four occupying Powers. Lastly come Norway and Greece, who were not included in Hitler's original plan of invasion and occupation.

In some of these cases we read of barefaced persecution, exploitation, and robbery; in others the mailed fist is wrapped in the quisling glove. But everywhere it will be found that, however the occupation was accomplished, the results have been essentially the same. "For 'New Order'" (vide Belgium) "read pillage, industrial imperialism, national insolvency, famine, and the slavery of the working classes." This might have been written of any of the other countries. In Norway, Terboven openly declared that it was a matter of complete indifference to the German authorities how many Norwegians starved. Want stalks grimly everywhere. In Greece, where the occupation began against a background of unparalleled destruction, the food situation is tragic. As Mr. Armitage points out in his summing up, Europe's initial need will be medical supplies and food.

After the last war Lord Keynes has reminded us, the Allies did pitifully little to deal with the "fundamental economic problem of a Europe starving and disintegrating before their eyes." Hot Springs and the plan for the U.N.R.R.A., taken together, offer hope that the leaders of the United Nations are seeing in time the need for taking the long view.

\* EUROPE IN BONDAGE. Edited by John Armitage. (Lindsay, Drummond. 6s. To L.N.U. members 3s. 6d., on application to 11, Maiden Lane, W.C.2.)

## A LOOK AT THE INTERNATIONAL HORIZON—I.

By HUGH VIVIAN

In this series of articles, entitled "A Look at the International Horizon," it is intended, at any rate in the first instance, to give a very general survey of some of the major problems which loom on the vast and many-coloured international horizon. Some of the more important subjects may well justify a more detailed study in later articles, but, for the present, space will not permit more than a cursory glance at the many and complex problems to be considered

Let us consider, this month, some of the possible forms which our future international organisation may take. Naturally this is a question which cannot be settled fully until the Peace Conference and after, but it is right that we should consider the problem broadly in advance. The Prime Minister has told us that no promises but every preparation is the order of the day, and if public opinion is not prepared in advance, how are we to be in a position, when the time comes, to choose a course which is both wise and right, and to discharge the responsibilities which are ours as democratic citizens?

It is easy, when we examine the mistakes and experiences of the period which has come to be known as the Twenty Years' Truce, to pick upon former leaders as scapegoats. A defence of these leaders would serve no useful purpose, but if we are honest with ourselves in our historical researches, we are bound to reach the conclusion that public opinion, too, was at fault during that disastrous period. This time let us educate ourselves in advance. so that we may be qualified to decide, when peace comes, which of the numerous courses open to us is the right one, and what are merely red herrings strewn across our path.

There are still some people who contend that because the old League of Nations was in many respects a failure, then any international organisation is doomed in advance. That is a very defeatist attitude. It is not really surprising that the first real attempt at such an ambitious, idealistic

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One thing, however, is certain. If we do not try to make some start, even if it is only a humble one, in the right direction, we can never hope to succeed, and we can only resign ourselves to more world wars, ever growing in violence and in frequency, until the human race, or at any rate the so-called civilised races, are entirely annihilated. If, on the other hand, we in the British Commonwealth of Nations determine to co-operate with our allies, to add our not inconsiderable power to theirs, and it may well be to give them a lead towards the common ends of keeping the peace and providing access for all to the world's plentiful resources, then there can be little doubt that, however humble the start, however long and hard the struggle, and however slow the progress, we must triumph in the end.

It is the will to co-operate which matters; and faith in final success. The form of the machinery which we shall use is only of secondary importance, though we must beware of attempting anything too ambitious in the early stages of the peace.

Many people would like to see a Federation of at any rate the European States, backed if possible by a World Confederation. There can be little objection to such a project in theory, but doubt is bound to arise as to whether this is not too ambitious a first step to offer the maximum chance of success in the long run. It must be remembered that the only attempts 10 federate the self-governing countries within the British Commonwealth, bound together as they are by ties of blood, of language and of mutual affection, apart altogether from political and economic considerations which tend to lead them along a common path, have failed because of the lack of an unanimous will to federate.

Again, there are many who contend that

as the British Commonwealth is the only example of successful collaboration between self-governing countries, then some loosely defined organisation on that model would be most likely to succeed. There is much to be said for such a theory, which is by no means to say that predominantly British control is implied, though we must beware of building our world organisation so loosely that no adequate machinery exists for settling crises and problems which, nowadays, may arise so quickly. Should such a state of affairs come about. the position of this country, as a connecting link between Europe and the great selfgoverning peoples overseas, would be a very responsible and a very interesting one.

But possibly the solution which will appeal most strongly to supporters of the League of Nations Union is a revival of the old League, modified greatly where necessary, and with provisions against the mistakes of the past and amendments to the Covenant in the light of our dearly bought experience. Evolution is an old Conservative method, and there will be many who would prefer to evolve some practical machinery from the old organisation, conserving what is of value, discarding what has been proved of little use, and amending drastically where necessary, rather than to start all over again in a new and untried direction.

A suggestion which will be of general appeal is that certain states should undertake to keep the peace at all costs, including military action, in certain areas where their interests are paramount, and backed by the general support of the rest of the League. Another point which warrants careful consideration is which States have shown themselves to be suitable for admittance into the League, in view of their present conduct and past record in home government and foreign affairs. Yet another possibility will be the creation of an international police force which will gradually replace national armament.

Let us consider carefully in advance, this time, which of such possibilities is the sanest, and, above all, let us not fall again between two or more stools. The statesmen will thrash out the details when the time comes, unhampered by rash and premature commitments, and, let us hope, supported by a well-informed and united public opinion.

## WORLD CITIZENSHIP SUMMER SCHOOL

Pencoed, South Wales, 3rd to 9th August, 1943.

President: GILBERT MURRAY, O.M., D.C.L., LL.D., D.Litt.

- 1. The World Citizenship Summer School will include:—
  - (a) The International Summer School and Conference for Educational Administrators and Teachers on:

### "EDUCATION AND THE UNITED NATIONS."

(b) The League of Nations Union Summer School on:

## "THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE ORGANISATION OF PEACE," and is open to all students of international affairs.

2. PENCOED is situated in very pleasant country in South Wales, between the hills and the sea. Every afternoon and two half-days will be left free

for walks and excursions.

The Summer School will be held at Maeslas, a modern, well-equipped and comfortable Ministry of Supply Hostel, under the Joint Management of the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., where accommodation and all meals will be provided for resident members. All bedrooms have two beds and friends who wish to share a room should give particulars when registering.

3. NUMBERS must be limited as there is accommodation for only 300 resident members. A proportion of those places will be reserved for lecturers, discussion leaders and representatives of many countries who have been invited to take part. It is therefore important that, to avoid disappointment, application for admission to the Summer School should be made as soon as possible on the Registration Form which can be obtained from

## World Citizenship Summer School,

11 Maiden Lane, London, W.C.2.

### FEES

10s. 0d. Registration and Lecture Fee, plus £2 2s. 6d. for full board and lodging from tea on August 3rd until after breakfast on August 9th.

## UP AND DOWN THE COUNTRY

Members of the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union have been in great demand as speakers during the past month, and some excellent, wellattended meetings have been reported.

MINSTER BRANCH Miss K. D. Courtney, Vice-Chairman of the Executive, very successfully filled the place of Lord Cecil, whose accident prevented him from being present. The Jerusalem Chamber at Westsentative audience, who heard with great interest a brief sketch of its history from Dr. Jocelyn Perkins. The meeting heard with deep regret of the death of one of its Vice-Presidents, Lord Dickinson, spoke, with the Mayor in the chair, the Chairman of the old League of Nations Society (1915-18), one of the founders of the League of Nations Union and a Past President of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies.

The interest aroused by Miss Courtney's address at the twenty-fifth consecutive Buffet Luncheon arranged by the London L.R.F. meeting before the General Council REGIONAL FEDERATION at the Y.W.C.A. was shown by the varied questions which followed from the audience. In the comprehensive picture which Miss Courtney drew of "America in War-Time," she stressed the essential need for continued unity between America and this country if lasting peace were to be realised. The amazing way in which Americans were seeking knowledge about other peoples and other countries—and particularly about Great Britain—was a hopeful indication. A share in policing Europe after the war was generally accepted as inevitable in the U.S.A.

Miss Courtney, we learn, was "in really great form" when she addressed the NORTH-EAST REGIONAL CONFERENCE at LEEDS on "World Organisation-America's Part, Now and in the Future." In addition to the information about America which she gave in her talk, her replies to questions were particularly appreciated.

Mrs. Corbett Ashby had an excellent meeting arranged by the HEADINGLEY Branch, at which the attendance was the best for a long time. She spoke again to a large lunch-time audience at MESSRS.

Montague Burton's works, and addressed other meetings at SHEFFIELD and WORKSOP.

The Dean of Chichester was another visitor to Sheffield. When the Dean addressed the Annual Meeting of the At the annual meeting of the West- Eastbourne Branch the audience was gratifyingly large, and the three local newspapers all gave helpful reports. Mrs. Ferguson, the Branch Secretary, recently addressed the Hampden Park Townswomen's Guild, the chairman of which at minster Abbey was crowded with a repre- once set a good example by resuming her membership of the L.N.U.

> The STRATFORD-ON-AVON BRANCH looks like taking on a new lease of life. After a meeting at which Mr. D. L. Lipson, M.P., committee was called and speedily got to work on plans for the future.

Sir Ralph Wedgwood spoke on "The World After the War" at North HACKNEY. At a meeting in the BASINGSTOKE Town Hall Mr. W. Arnold-Forster's subject was "The Atlantic Charter." At a special he spoke on "Famine Relief."

There was a strong platform at the PADDINGTON International Brains Trust, the questions being answered by Miss Courtney (Great Britain), Mr. H. Levitt (Russia), Mr. C. Y. Hsieh (China), and Mr. R. I. Kull (U.S.A.).

That International Brains Trusts, besides being interesting and instructive to a wide public, can definitely strengthen the Union is shown by the fact that at the BOURNEMOUTH Brains Trust nineteen fresh applications for membership were received.

Usefully provocative" is perhaps the best description of the address given by Captain L. D. Gammans, M.P., at the Annual Meeting of the WARWICKSHIRE FEDERAL COUNCIL, held in LEAMINGTON. After conveying the good wishes of the President (Mr. Anthony Eden), he urged the importance of a realistic outlook to discover why the League failed last time.

BOURNVILLE WORKS BRANCH organised a highly successful meeting, which was addressed by Dr. Tan Pao-Shen, Chinese Consul-General, on "China After Six Years of War." A film, "China at War," was also shown, and music was contributed by the Arden Singers and Mr. Clifford Ball (organ). There were upwards of 350 present, and the collection realised £21 5s. 2d. for the United Aid to China Fund.

At the first meeting held by the CHURCH END (FINCHLEY) BRANCH since the 1940 Blitz the Rev. Marcus Spencer spoke on Federation and/or League" from the American point of view. His survey of plans for post-war settlement was most illuminating, and stimulated a lively debate. more had not been done to relieve Jewish victims of Nazi oppression and urging the Government to make further efforts with greater determination than hitherto shown.

Major-General J. W. van Oorschot (Holland) undertook a three days' tour in YORKSHIRE, addressing schools, factory workers, and Rotary Clubs in addition to public meetings. At HARROGATE the Deputy Mayor was in the chair, and Sir Montague and Lady Burton also attended. The General's other engagements were at Don-CASTER, YORK, and RIPON.

Miss Olive Lodge, in another tour, spoke to many audiences, including schools at BRADFIELD, CROMER, NORWICH, and DISS.

COVENTRY had two speakers during the month—Mr. A. Michalopoulos (Greece) and Mr. Eric Colban (Norway). Pastor Dr. Julius Rieger addressed meetings at HENDON (on "The Re-Education of Germany") and LOUGHTON ("Some Thoughts on Reconstruction ").
When Mr. John T. Catterall addressed a

public meeting in the Town Hall, HUNGER-FORD, he made a profound impression and proved himself (in the words of Mr. T. Sendall, the Hon. Secretary) "one of the best speakers we have yet had." He was most effective in his answers to questions put by opponents of the League.

Mr. Catterall's visit to MIDDLEWICH, when he spoke on "Russia," was highly appreciated by an audience of sixty. The immediate results were six new members and many renewals.

The Editor of HEADWAY addressed the Annual Meeting of the UPPER Norwood Branch, the Wembley Brotherhood, Lee GREEN WOMEN'S CO-OPERATIVE GUILD. WALTHAMSTOW COUNTY HIGH SCHOOL, and the MAIDA VALE P.D. SCHOOL.

ROTARY CLUBS which had L.N.U. speakers included: ASHFORD, Captain Brusgaard (Norway), Mr. Norman Mackintosh (Canada), and Major-General van Oorschot (Holland); ENFIELD, Mr. Catterall; Maidenhead, Mr. Norman Mackintosh; MITCHAM, Mr. Alexander Niven (Yugoslavia); READING, Mr. Catterall; and ROCHESTER, Dr. Hella Lambridi (Greece).

"I do appreciate all that you do in providing international speakers," writes the Programme Secretary of one Club, "and I A resolution was carried, regretting that know the members of the Club feel the same. The standard of the addresses has always been high, and I believe they have made an impression on the minds of the hearers, who are generally men in influential positions."

> Union speakers visited Women's Insti-TUTES at COULSDON (Mr. Catterall), WEST MERSEA (Miss Hebe Spaull), HOLMBURY St. Mary (Mr. Jaya Deva), and Castle Bromwich (Miss Olive Lodge).

> LAMBETH R.A.C.S. WOMEN'S GUILD had talks from Mr. Robson (Fighting France) and Miss Olive Lodge (Yugoslavia). Miss Lodge also visited the CARSHALTON MARRIED WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION. Miss Proud spoke at the West Norwood SISTERHOOD, and Mrs. Riley (Fighting France) at the ST. THOMAS'S HOSPITAL WELFARE CENTRE.

HANDSWORTH BRANCH reports "the biggest and best Annual Meeting we have had for many years." Raising the monthly order for News Sheets by an extra fifty copies, the Secretary of the WELLING-BOROUGH BRANCH writes: "We have considerably increased our membership of late."

We learn with deep regret of the death of Miss J. E. Montgomery, devoted Secretary of the West Hampstead Branch. Although evacuated and in ill-health, she kept her Branch going and as recently as June 19 organised a successful meeting at Crediton Hill.

From the Australian League of NATIONS UNION (VICTORIAN BRANCH), we learn that the TASMANIAN BRANCH is in process of being reorganised and that a new Organising Secretary has been appointed. He (Mr. J. B. Piggott, of Hobart) recently spent some days in Melbourne studying the working of the Victorian Branch.

## WORLD AFFAIRS IN PARLIAMENT

By OWEN RATTENBURY

"Civil Aviation" last month produced funny business," and could stop the buildan exceedingly lively discussion in the House of Commons during the first full- a Lufthansa. dress debate on this subject. There is a growing realisation that this issue is bound to have important repercussions on international affairs—indeed, on the whole problem of world settlement-after the war. Varied and vehement arguments were heard in Parliament. They left one with the impression that a lot of hard, clear thinking is necessary. And that, in present circumstances, is not easy. As Mr. Attlee and Sir Archibald Sinclair seemed to be conscious in their replies, there are so many "unknown factors" for the future. Also, in debating possibilities, it is fatally easy to be led astray along sidepaths of an immensely complex subject.

### **International Airways**

Mr. Perkins (Stroud, U.), in urging planning ahead, argued that it would be a crime' to mankind to scatter to the winds a great accumulation of skill, energy, and human material which should be kept for the benefit of the world. What might be called the "idealistic" point of view was put, quite early in the debate, by Mr. Bowles (Nuneaton, Lab.). His speech was not strongly supported and aroused a good deal of criticism. His point was that the aviation services of the world should exist for the public and not the other way round. He deprecated making national prestige an important matter. An international airways corporation or company should, in his opinion, be floated. He wanted the directors to be nominated by the smaller countries, such as Sweden, Norway, and Switzerland, though the nominees need not necessarily be nationals of those countries -they might select a decent, internationally-minded Englishman! Such a board would endeavour to provide the world with the best possible air service. In a short time, he thought, this International Airways, Ltd., would change its name to International Communications, Ltd., taking over shipping, railways, cables, telegraphs, and so on. A body of that sort could bring pressure on any country "if it started any

ing up of a Luftwaffe beneath the wings of

This speech aroused excited comment. especially as to many minds, the real object of the debate was to maintain that civil aviation was so important to our postwar trade that more strenuous arrangements should now be made. Group Captain Helmore (Watford, U.), who thought that in the discussion of air problems peace and war were indivisible, argued that, if we were not going to repeat the mistake of having a League of Nations with no striking power behind it, we must have an air force capable of enforcing the decisions of any united council of allies. Other speakers asked for design at any rate, and thought that the Air Ministry was too absorbed in the war itself to be of much use, so that a special Ministry for Civil Aviation should be set up now.

### Co-operation not Competition

Mr. Fred Montague (Islington W., Lab.), who was Under-Secretary for Aircraft Production under Colonel Moore Brabazon, and whose work for aircraft production his political opponents were careful to acknowledge, came out in the ranks of the "internationally-minded." His rather forthright accusations that certain speakers were anxious that we should "by Empire agreement tell America where she gets off" were in some quarters resented. That was perhaps an extreme way of putting it; but certainly the burden of many speeches was that we must do something to catch up with America, whose transport planes had been manufactured in such numbers. So Mr. Montague argued that it ought to be possible to have an Empire aviation executive concerned with routes and their operation, not as a competitive weapon, but in co-operation with other free countries in a loyally observed and comprehensive air policy. It was not, he said, just a question of American and British production. Russia, and perhaps China as well, would have a say in post-war conditions, and this would include aviation. "If civil aviation is to be used for the sowing of more

dragons' teeth," he declared with emphasis. "then to hell with civil aviation so far as I am concerned."

### General Security

Mr. Attlee, in the course of his general reply on the technical matters, stressed that civil aviation could not be considered apart from the general security "set up." Answering one member, who asked whether difficulties were arising because we were advocating a policy of internationlisation, he said:

'There are various methods by means of which this problem might be dealt with. Among others, some form of internationalisation may be considered. (Laughter.) Really, I do not know what has upset hon. members. . . . Even some eminent Americans have advocated some form of internationalisation."

Concluding, Mr. Attlee insisted that air transport must be developed on the basis of international co-operation. There must be no return to the pre-war system of unbridled competition leading to political rivalry between the nations. Never again must there be a system under which unscrupulous Powers could use the development of civil aviation as a cloak for military planning. These remarks were loudly applauded.

There followed a brilliant "imperial"

speech from Mr. Hore Belisha (Devonport, Ind.), who argued that Mr. Bowles's proposal for an international airways corporation was "a bird that would not fly." His suggestion of "Queensberry rules of the air" was regarded as ominous by Mr. Ridley (the new Chairman of the Labour Party), who spoke as an unrepentent believer in complete internationalisation. Lord Winterton thought that no United States or Russian statesmen would agree to internationalisation. Mr. Wilfrid Roberts (Cumberland, Lib.), after touching upon the part which the Dutch and the French had played in civil aviation before the war, said that he hoped to see an international air police force. The development of civil aviation would be an immensely important factor in international relations. Let us not be pushed at this stage into a thrusting nationalistic point of view. Our policy must fit international co-operation after the war.

Sir Archibald Sinclair, replying as Secretary of State for Air, dealt mainly with the theme of production of civil aircraft, but he added that it was not the policy of the Government to rush into rivalry with the United States or any other country. Cooperation in world transport was important, and he had in mind the nations working together to make civil air transport the service of mankind.

### **CO-OPERATION OF** NATIONS

(Those of our readers who have not seen it already will be interested in the following letter from Lord Lytton published in THE TIMES on June 5, 1943.—ED.)

### TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

Sir,—The speech made by Mr. Sumner Welles at the North Carolina College, a report of which was published in your issue of June 1, is very heartening to read. His proposals are more detailed than the general principles enunciated in the Atlantic Charter, which have been accepted by all the United Nations; and it is most encouraging to learn from so high an authority that the people of the United States are now coming to realize that the maintenance of peace and resistance to aggression are,

"in the truest and most practical sense," the business of every nation.

The experience of the League of Nations proved how difficult it was to make collective security effective without the active assistance of the greatest of all democracies; and nothing could give greater encouragement to those in this country who have for years advocated the principle of international co-operation for peace than the prospect, so authoritatively held out. that, when the time comes to build anew, the help of the people of the United States will be forthcoming in securing for the new international organization the powers indicated in Mr. Welles's five points.

I am yours, &c.,

LYTTON.

18, Chester Street, S.W.1, June 4.

### BOOKS OF THE MONTH

SUBJECT INDIA. By H. N. Brailsford. (Gollancz. 6s.)

In spite of a certain Shelleyan unrealism, Mr. Brailsford does make a real contribution to comprehension of the Indian question. The central problem is economic—in other words, poverty; the poverty of India's peasants. And poverty on a gigantic scale can only be solved in two ways, by bold policies and big expenditure on the part, of Governments or by peasant revolutions. This will have to be faced by the Indian politicians themselves when the hour comes for India's freedom.

For all his known sympathies with the claims of Indian nationalism, Mr. Brailsford says some very fair things about the actual results of the British Raj. It has given order and peace; it has abolished plague and the old-time famines; it has given India many of the benefits of modern engineering; above all it has given her unity and a vast free market. As against this, he points out, the British have a big share of the blame for India's prevailing poverty—not, be it noticed, from any Germanic habit of exploitation, but from an opposite tendency to laissez faire, and an over-reluctance to offend Indian forces of resistance in the way of reform. At the same time, Mr. Brailsford is not afraid to point to India's own share. Hindu beliefs and the social structure of India do themselves seriously militate against economic and social progress. A main lesson of the 1857 Mutiny for British administration seems to have been one of caution in doing anything which could offend Indian religion. Mr. Brailsford's judgment that the British record is "poor in economic daring" may be said to stand; though, once nationalism had arisen, any foreign Government was bound to be criticised and become a scapegoat. If various national susceptibilities were respected, the British Government could still be attacked for failure to cure gross abuses; whereas, if measures of reform were driven through, at the inevitable expense of many vested interests, this policy could equally well be flayed as a violation of Indian interests or. anyhow, as the work of "foreigners."

The author makes a suggestion that Congress would do well to agree with the Moslem "Pakistan" claim (leaving subsequent events to modify this division of

India in the direction of a common unity). while the British Government might, in return, agree to refrain from protecting the Indian Princes in the exercise of their autocracy. If the British Government were to stand aside (not a probability, of course, in the crisis of a world war, to the implications of which Indian nationalism, true to the narrowest type of this emotion, deliberately shuts its eyes), there would. Mr. Brailsford seems to believe, be a general flood of democratic feeling over India overwhelming resistance to a vast majority. Nevertheless, it is difficult not to see in this an over-simplification of the problem. It is misleading to look at India and at Indian nationalismsurely as much autocratic in its Congress form as any Princes' autocracy—through benevolent European democratic spectacles. Mr. Brailsford underestimates the spontaneity of the clash for economic power between Moslems and Hindus, and the seriousness of the conflict of religions; and he is apt to write down "tenderness to minorities." Nor does he ever seem to grasp the possibilities of federalism as a way to Indian self-government.

But Indian poverty remains, and the picture in this book comes from the heart. Whether the use of democratic methods to enable India to get her freedom will not result in 'he erection of a summary form of government far nearer totalitarianism than any Parliamentary system is quite another matter. The conception of caste is allergic to democracy. But one thing is certain: that large-scale ameliorations of India's poverty would be an immeasurable contribution to the prosperity of the whole of Asia

### L.R.F. BUFFET LUNCH

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Mr. Meulen makes a strong case for the restoration to banks of the freedom of note issue that they enjoyed before 1844.

### (Continued from page 14)

Everywhere there are signs that economic thought, particularly among the younger, is desperately interested in monetary problems. For this reason a second edition of Henry Meulen's FREE BANKING (Macmillan, 7s. 6d.) is welcome. In these days of incessant demands for more Government interference it is a rational redressing of the balance to face up to considered pleas for more individualism and a scientific analysis of alleged disastrous effects of Government interference in banking in the recent past. Briefly, Mr. Meulen's view is that cyclical trade depressions and financial crises, preceding 1934, were very largely due to the fact that our banking and currency laws have rested on a ridiculously inadequate basis of gold. This, unfortunately, compelled the country's banks to cut down credit at home just when industry tended and needed to grow beyond the limits of our gold store. The result in practice of banking laws. notably the Act of 1844, has been a monopoly in banking with corresponding lack of incentive to take risks. The prime sufferer has been industry. The remedy, according to Mr. Meulen, is more and freer competition in banking—repealing the bank legislation which has, he declares, caused the supply of exchange medium to lag behind demand. He advocates the gradual restoration of freedom of note issue, with permission to bankers to devise their own means of protecting their gold reserves. These and other proposals, deriving from a lucid history of recent British and Scottish banking, deserves the student's most careful consideration, all the more that in some respects they appear highly provocative. In this way it is possible to correct an obvious shortcoming of this interesting book, which is that its date (1934) precludes reference to more recent developments of thought concerning currency and banking, particularly post-war proposals such as those outlined in the Keynes and White plans.

### HIS GOOD DEED

A Scottish member of the Union, living in California, U.S.A., writes as follows:—

"I would not cease helping the Union after so many years, when its noble work is more urgently required than at any time in its existence. And, as I have just listened to our Hon. President—the Prime Minister—address the U.S. Congress and Senate, I have made out the enclosed Covenant for £5, instead of the previous £2 2s.; so, as the old saying goes, 'It's an ill wind that blows nobody good.' . . . As the Prime Minister said, we shall win the war. But to win the peace and hold it firm will take every effort we are capable of and, in that intensive campaign, the League of Nations Union will surely play a great part."

Thank you, Mr. B. H.!

### A POINTER FROM U.S.A.

The following resolution was unanimously adopted by the Foreign Affairs Committee of the American House of Representatives on June 15, 1943:—

"Resolved by the House of Representatives:

"That the Congress hereby expresses itself as favouring the creation of appropriate international machinery with power adequate to establish and to maintain a just and lasting peace among the nations of the world, and as favouring participation by the United States therein."

### FROM HEADWAY'S POST-BAG

### Sovereignty

Sir—It is apparently accepted that after the war national sovereignty must be restored. This means that each nation will have the right, and will probably exercise it, to retain or to reinstate its armed forces.

At the same time, the League of Nations is to be so reconstituted as to admit of the formation of an international force to impose

its decisions.

These two ideas puzzle some of us and seem almost, if not quite, incompatible. Could we have some enlightenment?

Oxted.

R. A. PRICE.

[An article on the point raised by our correspondent will appear in HEADWAY in the near future.—ED.]

### New League's Name

Sir,—As it is probable that a change in name will be advisable in deference to the wishes of prospective candidates among the nations for membership of the new international organisation, I would suggest for the new name "International League for Collective Security," or, for short, simply "International League."

There are I believe, advocates of the term "United Nations" to form the principal part of the new name, but surely it is desirable to avoid the use of a phrase so much associated with the conduct of the war!

W. A. BARRON.

Streatham, S.W.16.

### The Jewish Question

Sir,—Mrs Edgar Dugdale's article on the Bermuda Conference overlooks, in its last

section, the main difficulty in sending large numbers of Jewish refugees to Palestine, and this difficulty is so serious that it merits very careful consideration. The Balfour Declara-tion is by no means unconditional in the promise it makes to the Jews. The rest of the population are to be considered, and while Arabs are in the majority and are most unwilling for more Jews to enter, the consequences of an endeavour on our part to override their objection and their historic claim to the country as their homeland would probably issue in the same hatred and bloodshed which made the years following the "peace" of 1918 such unhappy ones. I was twice there before the present war, and lived there (and taught Arab children) in 1940-41, and my opportunities of meeting Arabs were constant, so that I do not write without experience of the subject. In spite of the relative quiet which prevails, I think that there is little real goodwill on either side and that it will take the utmost tact and care on the part of our Government to ensure the maintenance of quiet even without a large addition to the 400,000 Jews already permitted to enter. Nor have we only to consider the Arabs of Palestine. Moslems in other parts of the world have been and will be deeply moved by what they consider an injustice to their fellow believers. Do not let us make the difficulty of settling Jews in our own empire an excuse for crowding them into a little country the size of Yorkshire, where there may very soon be trouble from over-population besides in the ways already indicated.

We believe them grievously wronged then let us make sacrifices ourselves for their

sake.

Alvechurch.

M. E. PUMPHREY.

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