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IN WAR-TIME

The Journal of the League of Nations Union

No. 61

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LOW ON THE LEAGUE



"WELL, BOYS, HAVE YOU LEARNED YOUR LESSONS?"

(By Kind Permission of the EVENING STANDARD)

"I SHALL ACT IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE SPIRIT
AND PRINCIPLES OF THE LEAGUE."

The Prime Minister

EDITORIAL

GREAT WORDS FROM MR. CHURCHILL

A gesture of superb encouragement from the Prime Minister has just come to all who believe that, out of the blood and sacrifice of this war, a new and stronger League of Nations will be born. Elsewhere in this number we are proud to publish Mr. Churchill's letter to Lord Cecil wishing him many happy returns on his 80th birthday, and Lord Cecil's reply. This correspondence furnishes a complete answer to those old enemies of the League who, even now, are starting to pour cold water upon projects for setting up a similar organisation invested with greater authority. The blunt, honest faith of the Prime Minister is a refreshing antidote to the cynicism of the defeatists. "This war," he repeats, "could easily have been prevented if the League of Nations had been used with courage and loyalty by the associated nations." Those who, in the Prime Minister's phrase, "tried their best" have nothing with which to reproach themselves; except perhaps, that they must resolve to try even harder when opportunity again knocks at the door. In this determination they will be upheld by the Prime Minister's assurance that "I shall act in accordance with the spirit and principles of the League, but clothing those principles with the necessary authority."

All in the ranks of our Union—and, we hope, many as yet outside—will realise the significance of that statement coming at the present time from our Prime Minister. The Four Great Powers, by the Moscow Declaration, have pledged themselves to set up a "general international organisation" as soon as possible. At Dumbarton Oaks, for some weeks past, three of them (China will come in at a later stage) have been getting down to the job of working out a scheme. At this moment, with a full knowledge of what has been going on at the talks, Mr. Churchill feels confident and courageous enough to nail his colours to the mast. "We must have

a League of Nations," is the essence of his message, "but this time let us all make sure that it is a League with teeth in it."

Our British League of Nations Union feels prouder than ever to have Mr. Churchill—who pays his subscription year by year like any other good member—as its Hon. President and Lord Cecil as its President. Throughout the war the Union has been working ceaselessly to bring about a re-constituted League of Nations. This aim looks like being speedily realised. But the vital necessity will still remain of mobilising an informed and determined public opinion behind the new international organisation. In this matter, as Mr. Anthony Eden told us recently, the National Government are sure that they "can continue to count on the whole-hearted co-operation of the League of Nations Union." Clearer than ever before, with Mr. Churchill's trumpet notes, comes the call to action. Not for years has our cause been commended so emphatically to the whole country; and we must see to it that the interest aroused does not evaporate. Branches can now go out boldly to bring in new members and, thus reinforced, set about the task in hand with fresh heart and vigour.

LONDON REGIONAL FEDERATION

BUFFET LUNCHEON

Tuesday, October 10

VERNON BARTLETT, M.P.

on

"Prospects of Peace"

Y.W.C.A., Gt. Russell St., W.C.1

Refreshments (2s.) at 1 p.m.

Address at 1.25 p.m.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND LORD CECIL

The Prime Minister sent the following letter to Viscount Cecil on the occasion of his 80th birthday (September 14):—

10, Downing Street,
Whitehall.

My dear Bob,

Many happy returns of your eightieth birthday. It must be a satisfaction to you to see that the great causes of international peace and justice for which you have so faithfully pleaded are now being triumphantly vindicated by the sword.

This war could easily have been prevented if the League of Nations had been used with courage and loyalty by the associated nations. Even in 1935 and 1936 there was a chance, by making an armed Grand Alliance under the aegis of the League, to hold in subjection the rising furies in Germany or at the very least to enter into armed conflict on terms far more favourable than those eventually forced upon us. We tried our best, and though the road has been one of tragedy and terror, the opportunity will surely be offered again to mankind to guard themselves at least for a few generations from such frightful experiences.

You may be sure that I shall act in accordance with the spirit and principles of the League, but clothing those principles with the necessary authority.

You are entitled to mellow reflections even while the storm still rages. Accept my very best wishes.

Yours very sincerely,

WINSTON S. CHURCHILL.

Lord Cecil, in reply, wrote to the Prime Minister:—

Chelwood Gate,
Haywards Heath,
Sussex.

My dear Winston,

Thank you very much indeed for your letter. It is extremely kind of you to have thought of your old friend in the midst of your tremendous responsibilities. I deeply appreciate it.

What you say about the League is, I think, quite true. The Governments had agreed to the Covenant without taking it seriously. To them any genuine attempt to apply its provisions against the threatened storm was "midsummer madness." You always saw the realities of the situation. There is a passage in one of your earlier books on the last war in which you visualise a League acting with force against an aggressor. But most people persisted in trusting to vague aspirations for peace. However, largely through you we have been given another chance and I hope we may be wiser. All depends on whether the Peoples can be made to understand the plain truth of the future and are not led away to put their faith only in social and economic reforms.

Again thanks,

Yours ever,

CECIL.

“THE END OF A CHAPTER”

FAREWELL TO THE L.I.A.

It is not an occasion for heartburning when an organisation, established in an emergency to meet a temporary need, comes to the natural conclusion of its labours with the ripe fruit of achievement rich upon them. Thus no long faces were to be seen at the Farewell Tea Party given by the League of Nations Union and the British Group of the London International Assembly to their foreign colleagues about to leave for their own countries. Rather, as “Peterborough” of the *Daily Telegraph* wittily put it, was there an “end-of-term spirit” about this leave-taking. The amazing speed of the liberation of Europe almost—but not quite—caught the L.N.U. napping. True, some distinguished members of the Assembly had already packed their jags and departed. But the majority were still in our midst, although, like Mr. Masaryk, they “knew where their trunks were.” So the guests included representatives of 21 countries—Australia, Belgium, Brazil, China, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, France, Great Britain, Greece, India, Iran, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Russia, Uruguay, U.S.A. and Yugoslavia.

Before the speechmaking music was provided by Mlle. FUCHSOVA, the well-known Czech pianist. The triumphal A flat major Polonaise of Chopin, following Reginald Redman’s “On the Cornish Coast,” admirably interpreted the mood of the gathering.

LORD LYTTON, who presided, briefly explained the reasons for this social party of those who had been intimate with the L.N.U. in the discussion of various problems, before they separated to their respective countries. Some had already gone, and we were glad for the reasons which prevented them from attending. “I cannot help,” said Lord Lytton, “making special mention of the members of the Chinese Group and offering them a special word of sympathy.” For longer than any other country they had been bearing the brunt of aggression. To all he wanted to say that he hoped for many opportunities to see them again, and of still co-operating for the furtherance of a cause which had united all here. In calling upon

Lord Cecil to speak, he paid tribute to the charm, dignity and ability with which he had presided over L.I.A. meetings.

“The End of a Chapter.” That, began LORD CECIL, was what the London International Assembly had reached. He took his mind back to the days when first they came together. The Assembly was an unofficial body. Many who belonged to it held great positions, but they came as individuals. The main object was to get to understand one another, so that when they came to work together after the war they would have some knowledge of what was practicable and what was desirable. The Assembly was a microcosm of the public opinion of the various countries. After a time the discussions had developed more and more point, vigour and reality, with certain definite conclusions. Some of the conclusions had been submitted to the Allied Governments. Lord Cecil referred to the Assembly’s Report on War Criminals, expressing ideas which had become practically the general view of all who had to deal with the subject. Perhaps even more remarkable had been the Report on “Education and the United Nations”—though he must confess that education was a subject that he knew nothing whatever about.

That part of the Assembly’s work was now coming to an end. The formal business of peacemaking, now beginning, must be done by Governments. Nevertheless, unofficial work in the construction of peace would still be of enormous importance. Peace had got to be made not solely between Governments but between nations. Public opinion was vital in the matter. Each in our own countries must create the proper public opinion. That necessitated the formation of organisations in each country which would make it their business to spread the proper ideas on peace. In this country the L.N.U. had now developed a fairly complete method of work. In the past too many League of Nations Societies had been merely branches of the Governments. He hoped that would not happen in the future. Independent organisations were needed all over the world, inducing people to understand the enormous impor-

tance of questions of foreign policy and particularly peace. There must also be an exchange of ideas with similar societies elsewhere. As he saw it, annual meetings would be wanted, and something in the nature of the L.I.A. as a connecting link.

M. JAN MASARYK, replying for the guests in a speech that was the happiest possible blend of good humour, wit and common sense, started by assuring Lord Cecil how much we all admired and loved him. It had been a wonderful experience co-operating with Lord Lytton and Lord Cecil, and all must strive to be worthy of the ideas for which they had stood. It was essential to keep on the work started here in the L.I.A. during the war. The trouble had been that there hadn’t been any real public opinion—they had just hoped and groped. Now they must all go home as crusaders, striving to get the people to understand. “Mother Europe,” said M. Masaryk, “needs a new lease of life, and it is up to us to give it to her. Our civilisation is not finished.” The day of hating one day would stop; but meanwhile he appealed to the English not to become sentimental too quickly over Germany—“they don’t understand if you show weaknesses.” We must be just and stern; and then some day the orchestra of Europe would be able to give a try out to a new Germany.

MR. AGHNIDES, the Greek Ambassador, was grateful to Lord Cecil and his gallant associates who in the days of darkness had preached faith. If we could come together and work in such difficult times, how much more must we continue collaboration for peace.

GENERAL DE BAER (Belgium) first alluded to the pleasure that it gave everybody to see Lady Cecil with them. When the L.I.A. first placed on its agenda the Trial and Punishment of War Criminals, many said, “It cannot be done.” But the work had proved that much could be done and, if the Germans were to be taught an object lesson, must be done. What applied to War Criminals was equally true of World Organisation.

PROFESSOR NEWELL (U.S.A.) expressed what the L.I.A. had meant in the way of mutual encouragement. There had been no “flash in the pan” spirit but continuity all the way through. Let there be continuity into the future.

Before the company separated, LORD LYTTON had a few closing words. They had first got to know one another in a dark hour. They were separating in a bright hour for all of us. It was his hope that they would meet again at the first meeting of a revived Federation of League of Nations Societies.

LESLIE R. ALDOUS.

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The Rt. Rev. the Lord BISHOP OF SOUTHWARK

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WHAT THE SOLDIER IS THINKING

By MAURICE GOLDMAN

(Our contributor, who has an honours degree in sociology and social psychology, has for some years past been specialising in this field in connection with the Army. Lately he has been gathering first-hand information on the fighting man's attitude to post-war organisation.)

When they sound the last All Clear, how happy the citizen-soldier will be! Because he does so want to get home, back to civvy street. He wants to be his own boss again, and not be bound by the irksome restraints—many necessary, many petty—that are inseparable from military life.

This desire is fundamental throughout the Forces. You have only to mention demobilisation in the mess or canteen, and you begin an intensely passionate discussion.

I stress this, because it shapes the way in which the soldier thinks about the post-war world.

Further, ask him what he will want most when he gets home, and he will tell you bluntly: "to stay there."

Hopes But No Illusions

All this has two implications. He realises that he will only be able to keep his feet on his hearth when he is assured on the national plane, of a job and a home; and, on the international plane, of freedom from fear.

No British soldier believes that peace will at once bring contentment and plenty. On the contrary, he envisages a hard struggle at home somewhat in terms of the post-1918 situation.

The handling of the Beveridge Report in particular, and in a minor way the lack of town-planning, the postponement of the raising of the school-leaving age, all tend to convince him that civilian life is going to be difficult.

He has, however, moved in general to the Left, and he feels that it is possible to organise society on more rational economic lines. No soldier will be prepared to blow the trumpet in the gutter for pennies, as perhaps his father did after the last war.

Organisation for war, he has seen, has

resulted in jobs for his wife and neighbours, and has improved the health of his child. That sort of thing he is quite prepared to fight for when he gets home. But he does not want to put on khaki again, in an international struggle.

Can We Stop War?

There is no agreement as to why this war began. Different political views produce their own pet arguments. Some abuse Chamberlain, others Stalin. Some blame the Labour Party, others the Munichers.

But there is agreement that it must not happen again. On this, there is complete unanimity of opinion.

But can wars be prevented?

The soldier is not quite sure about that. Wars, I have often been told, are inevitable and, like poverty, must always be with man. Others, however, hold the view that it may be possible to put an end to war—if, for example, each nation is guaranteed a share of the world's goods proportionate to the needs of her people.

Thus, although there is a difference of opinion on whether wars can be prevented, there is *no basic difference on the need to prevent wars.*

Discussion on the League

In this context, I have discussed the League of Nations many times with different groups of soldiers; and I see now how the failure of the League may be regarded as being responsible for a great deal of the unhealthy scepticism and mistrust that exists about post-war international organisation.

A pretty general opinion is that the League in action in pre-war days was not a very convincing body. It seemed always to do the wrong things. Manchuria, Abyssinia, Spain and Albania are always being brought up as horrible examples of weakness.

"The League was a good idea," I have often been told, "but what was the use of

it if the aggressor was allowed 'to get away with it' every time?"

Many believe that the League was deliberately rendered impotent by the friends of the aggressors. But it is not regarded as sufficient excuse. Somehow or other, the League constitution should have been designed to prevent that.

Belief in Concerted Action

Yet the soldier believes in an international comity of nations. He has fought side by side with all the peoples of Europe against Nazism, and he sees that Hitlerism is only being smashed as a result of concerted international action.

In this regard, the changed attitude to the U.S.S.R. is important. It will be difficult for any post-war Government to raise a "Red" scare again. The successes of the Red Army have impressed the soldier tremendously. Although he may doubt whether two countries with such different economic systems as Britain and Russia can string along together in eternal peace, he welcomes the Anglo-Russian agreement and regards it as the basis for peace in Europe.

At a higher level, the thinking soldier welcomes also the Atlantic Charter, the Moscow and Teheran decisions, and the series of conferences on international organisation in the U.S.A.

Although he can sympathise with the natural desire of the smaller nations to have a say in things, talk of "Rule by the Big Powers" does not as a rule scare the soldier in the least. "If that is the way to prevent war, then we'll have it," is his comment.

The Place of Force

The soldier does not want peace to be maintained by force. That is regarded as undesirable. He wants it to be done on a basis of collaboration.

But he looks at facts. Collaboration by itself was not enough in the pre-war world, and the soldier does not want to take any more risks. Therefore, in discussion circles, the question of an international police force has been raised many times. On all occasions, in my experience, there has been agreement that such an organisation is necessary.

"Does that mean that might will always be right?" I was once asked. Instead of replying at once, I asked for comment from

the twenty or so men assembled, and an interesting discussion ensued. "Not necessarily," was the summing up. "But the international force would be very useful to prevent wrong from becoming right."

"Sock the Aggressor"

The soldier knows that the world is to-day a small place. He believes that it contains within it sufficient to satisfy all man's material needs.

"We could live in plenty," is the general view. "But there will always be nations, like the Germans, who will kick over the traces. Let's make sure that we have the proper organisation to stop them. Stop wars by making clear in advance that any would-be aggressor will be socked hard as soon as he makes a false move."

With this cry of "No more Hitlers" the soldier of to-day will, therefore, support the demand for giving the new League "teeth", even if this means measures for the conscription of his own children, because he believes that only through some form of an international pooling of strength and resources—with the Big Three as the nucleus—will peace be preserved.

ARE REFUGEES AN ASSET? Europa Publications (for PEP), 39, Bedford Square, W.C.1. (32 pp., 1s.).

This reasoned analysis of the position of refugees in Great Britain reaches the conclusion that refugees are likely to be an asset in post-war Britain. Only about 40,000—i.e. less than half the number here at the outbreak of war—will want to become permanent residents. They will help to offset our declining population, to develop new industries, and to enrich our cultural life. Equality of rights and, for those eligible, naturalisation should be granted.

Other pamphlets in the same series are MEDICAL CARE FOR CITIZENS, DEMOBILISATION AND EMPLOYMENT FOR ALL.

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HEADWAY

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INTERNATIONAL SUPERVISION OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

MAIN POINTS OF NARCOTIC DRUG CONTROL

By BERTIL A. RENBORG

Chief of Drug Control Service, Secretariat, League of Nations

It is perhaps not sufficiently known that, through the activities of the League of Nations in collaboration with Governments, a whole economic activity has been made the subject of world-wide international regulation and control. I am referring to narcotic drugs. The fact that international regulation of this subject has been possible *and has worked* is interesting in itself. It assumes, however, additional significance at the present juncture when plans are being made for the rebuilding of a shattered world and for the laying of the foundations for a peaceful world. There is no doubt that valuable lessons can be drawn from the experience in international drug control and that the system of supervision and collaboration which has been developed in this field may serve as a model in other fields.

It is not possible within the space of a short article in HEADWAY to deal with this question thoroughly and I can therefore only indicate a few of the main points which characterise drug control and which may be applicable to other problems.

The Nature of the Commodity

International regulations must necessarily be adapted to the nature of the commodity to be regulated. Narcotic drugs have two special characteristics which need to be considered in this connection. In the first place narcotic drugs are dangerous because they can be and are abused, while they are of the greatest value to mankind in medicine. Society needs to be protected but at the same time sufficient quantities of drugs for world medical and scientific requirements must be provided. There is a certain analogy between narcotic drugs and arms and munitions of war which, although in a different sense, all represent a danger to mankind. In the second place it should be kept in mind that the quantities of narcotic drugs required are in themselves comparatively small and can be reckoned in a few hundreds of tons annually. International regulation of drugs

therefore constitutes a much smaller problem than international regulation of such commodities as wheat, sugar, rubber, tin, where world requirements are reckoned in millions of thousands of tons.

Main Features of Drug Control

The following are the principal features of the machinery for drug control which may be of interest in the question under discussion:

(1) The regulation of narcotic drugs is the subject of world-wide collaboration on the basis of international instruments—conventions and agreements—under which Governments have accepted to abide by certain national and international rules. In fact, there is an international law which defines the conduct of States in regard to these substances. This system of collaboration is virtually universal, as there are only two countries in the whole world which have not subscribed to some or all of the instruments.

(2) The manufacture of narcotic drugs, and thereby also the available supplies, are limited under a flexible system by the operation of international law.

(3) The international trade (exports and imports) is strictly controlled and also limited in respect of each country to the quantities it requires. No export can take place to any one country without the previous sanction of the authorities of that country. In the past when the illicit traffic flourished and constituted a serious menace to the whole world, its main source of supply was the international trade. This menace has now been eliminated, as also the menace which was constituted by manufacture in excess of requirements.

(4) The supplies available to each country are strictly limited through estimates of requirements furnished by Governments and examined by an international body. Governments have undertaken an obligation not to exceed their estimates and if their estimates are exceeded, international

sanctions are applied by embargo on further exports to the country in question.

(5) Governments have undertaken well defined obligations to keep order in their own house by exercising a strict control over import and export, manufacture, stocks, wholesale and retail trade. All persons dealing in drugs must be licensed, must keep detailed account books and are subject to Government inspection.

(6) Governments have accepted obligations to account for their stewardship to the international bodies operating under the Covenant of the League of Nations and under the Conventions, in other words, they are, as far as narcotic drugs are concerned, subject to international supervision.

Real International Administration

This international supervision constitutes a real international drug administration, which functions permanently and which follows developments in each country on the basis of material which governments are under an obligation to supply. Thus they must communicate to each other through the League of Nations laws and regulations enacted in application of the Conventions; they must furnish an annual report on the operation of the Conventions in their countries, drawn up in accordance with an international form; they must send regular reports to the League of Nations on all important cases of illicit traffic; and, finally, they must annually and quarterly supply an international body with complete statistics covering the whole field of narcotic drugs, i.e., production of raw materials, manufacture, quantities kept in stock, consumption, and imports and exports, and also quantities seized in illicit traffic. All this material is scrutinised regularly by the international bodies which may ask for explanations, make suggestions and recommendations, and may criticise governments. The statistical information is carefully checked against estimates and, as far as import and export are concerned, against the corresponding statistics of other countries, and there is in fact a complete international accounting system for narcotic drugs. The international drug administration consists of a governmental body, the Opium Advisory Committee of the League of Nations, which exercises general supervision over the application of Conventions; the Supervisory Body, which

examines estimates and establishes each year a statement of world requirements of drugs; and the Permanent Central Board, which exercises a statistical supervision and may apply sanctions to a country which exceeds its estimates.

A necessary cornerstone in the international structure has not yet been laid, namely, the limitation of the production of raw materials from which drugs are manufactured. A good deal of preparatory work had been done by the League of Nations before war broke out in 1939 and in fact a draft convention for the limitation of the production of raw opium had then been submitted to Governments.

Planned World Economy

The sum total of all this is that by international action, planned world economy is in application for the whole narcotic drug industry. Every transaction is subject to rules laid down in international law. Governments have accepted to do certain things and not to do other things. They are under constant international supervision, but it is important to remember that they themselves participate in the supervision through their membership of the League of Nations or through their participation in the work of the Opium Advisory Committee. Not the least important aspect of international drug control is that international discussions are held under the sharp light of publicity and thus in the final count the peoples of the world themselves are able to guarantee that they are given the necessary protection against dangerous narcotic drugs. Another important aspect is that sovereign states have by voluntary action in the interest of the whole world consented to important restrictions of their freedom of action.

Lord Cecil is very grateful to the many Branches and Councils who have sent him messages of congratulation on his 80th birthday. He very much appreciates these and wishes all L.N.U. Branches every success in the very important work they are doing.

UP AND DOWN THE COUNTRY

Dr. Wellington Koo, Chinese Ambassador in London, was the speaker at a meeting arranged by our HARROW BRANCH in the Speech Room at Harrow School.

Miss K. D. Courtney, Vice-Chairman of the Union's Executive, spoke at BOURNEMOUTH on "America and the World Organisation of the Future." Her subject, at another meeting in the LEYTONSTONE Public Library, was "The New League of Nations."

Sir Ralph Wedgwood addressed a meeting at DORKING on "Post-War Reconstruction."

English summer weather prevented our active LETCHWORTH BRANCH from holding its Annual Garden Party as arranged in the St. Christopher ground, but nearly 150 people spent an enjoyable afternoon in a large nearby pavilion. Flags of the Allies and a large range of L.N.U. posters decorated the building. There were stalls, and photographs were displayed. Dr. P. Tiech, of the Czechoslovakian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, gave an address on "Central Europe and the Peace." The meeting was a challenge to the people of Letchworth to unite to face the problems of rebuilding the world.

EALING BRANCH, one of those which went into cold storage during the war, resumed activities with a meeting at which Mr. E. Allenby, Headmaster of Drayton Manor County School, presided and Mr. E. J. Elliott, of Acton, explained the draft Pact for the Future International Authority. The *Middlesex County Times*, describing the Branch's revival as well-timed, commented that there was a wholly inadequate appreciation of the extent to which an enlightened and determined public opinion might influence the situation. An electoral programme of "Hang Hitler and a little bit of social reform" would not be sufficient substitute for the ending of international anarchy.

To give impetus to its new membership drive the HARTFORD BRANCH is planning a

widely-advertised meeting with a speaker from Headquarters. The work of calling upon likely people and trying to persuade them to join is being shared by the Committee. With the aid of a leaflet specially drafted for the purpose, the Branch has secured a number of new members and hopes to get many more before the end of the year. Ten new HEADWAY subscribers are included in the latest batch of counter-foils sent to Head Office.

HANDSWORTH BRANCH held a "Trinity Tea Party" to help three great causes. Those attending were invited to join or rejoin the Branch, to bring a child's garment or a toy for the children of liberated Europe (Save the Children Fund), and to bring something for the White Elephant Stall in aid of the Freshwater Memorial Fund.

At NELSON'S International Brains Trust five representatives of United Nations and Colonies' took part with the M.P. for the division.

ROTARY CLUBS which had L.N.U. speakers during September included ASHFORD (Dr. R. M. Luzzatto), ENFIELD (Mr. H. H. Walker), HARPENDEN (Adjutant Monteux), REDHILL and SLOUGH (Mr. J. T. Catterall), and ST. ALBANS (Rev. Marcus Spencer).

Among TOWNSWOMEN'S GUILDS which had L.N.U. speakers were TAMWORTH (Mr. F. E. Pearson), NEW SOUTHGATE and NORTH CHINGFORD (Mr. L. R. Aldous).

For more than three years Mr. A. J. Howe has presided over the monthly Buffet Luncheons arranged by the LONDON REGIONAL FEDERATION. At the September lunch he had the pleasure of introducing his brother, Dr. E. Graham Howe, medical psychologist and author, who spoke on "Ourselves at War." Dr. Howe's talk was a logical and closely reasoned plea for individual responsibility in the establishment of right relationships. No plan, no principle, no idea, no ideal, no treaty, no frontier, no "ism," he argued, could in itself be good. Each must depend for its value and efficiency on the human factor. Nothing could be good unless we made it good and did it well. We had the solution to the problem of right relationships between nations if only we were prepared to use it. The solution was in ourselves and

we were part of the solution. Real service meant that there was nothing of ourselves that we were not willing to give in order that the problem might be solved. Where millions had died in war, a profit might come from their death if we could become initiated into the meaning of their sacrifice. In setting up a League of Nations or some other International Authority, we must remember that machinery was not enough. If in our satisfaction at having done a good job we left the responsibility to the International Authority, it would fail because no machinery could take the place of an enlightened public opinion.

"NOTHING TERRIBLE"

Miss Nancy Stewart Parnell, while touring a rural part of England on behalf of the League of Nations Union, had a talk with the Secretary of a Branch in a tiny village on the borders of two counties. This worthy bluntly said that he had lost faith in the leadership of the L.N.U. When pressed to give his reasons, he explained. Before the war L.N.U. speakers had frightened him by their lurid descriptions of the devastation and suffering that any future war would cause. In his view they had been proved inaccurate and unreliable because, as he said, "Look at M——. Here, as you can see, there has been nothing terrible!"

SIR ARTHUR HAWORTH

Sir Arthur Haworth's death at the age of 79 will be keenly felt by the League of Nations Union, nationally in a great degree but more intimately in the Manchester area.

On the national Executive Committee Sir Arthur was a loyal and faithful member, attending meetings in London almost up to the time of his death.

In Manchester, where he was a well-known figure in religious, political and commercial life, our Branch owed much to his lively interest in all its activities. He was a really active chairman and presided regularly at meetings.

FRESHWATER MEMORIAL FUND

The following donations, arranged according to Branches, have been received at Head Office since our last issue:—

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Bedford	3	0	0	Southend-on-			
Bournville				Sea	1	0	0
Works	25	5	0	Welsh			
Brislington	1	10	0	National			
Bury	8	10	0	Council	0	5	0
Colinton	1	11	6	Widnes	5	0	0
Edinburgh	0	13	6	Yeadon	0	5	0
Hall Green	1	1	0	Unattached	2	5	0
Nottingham	0	10	6				

Stop Press: Grand Total (September 25),
£1,458 5s. 6d.

L.N.U. LIBRARY

The following Newspapers and Periodicals may now be read in the Reading Room:—

DAILIES

The Times, Daily Telegraph, News Chronicle, Daily Herald, Daily Express, Manchester Guardian, Birmingham Post, Yorkshire Post, Western Mail, The Scotsman, Glasgow Herald.

SUNDAYS

Observer, Sunday Times, Reynolds.

WEEKLIES

Spectator, New Statesman, Time and Tide, The Economist, The Times Literary Supplement, Picture Post, Listener.

L.N.U. LIBRARY, 11, MAIDEN LANE, LONDON, W.C.2.

EIGHTY YEARS YOUNG

The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union did honour to Viscount Cecil on his 80th birthday by inviting him and a few friends to a tea party in London. It was a happy and informal occasion. Lord Cecil, obviously deriving immense pleasure from the host of good wishes which he had received, including those of the Prime Minister in the letter printed elsewhere in this number, was in his most twinkling form. Indeed, as Dr. Gilbert Murray remarked, trying in vain to make the candles on the cake add up to eighty, "there must have been some mistake in counting the years."

Supposing, said Dr. Murray, some future historian writing about "this unhappy but not inglorious generation" were looking for a leader with the elements of greatness. What qualities would be required? This leader should see what the main issue was and concentrate upon it—and this issue would be preserving peace. He should be not merely a preacher or a prophet but a statesman, seeing how the thing was to be done. He should have the gifts of a diplomat in facing highly complex issues. In the ultimate test, if he failed to persuade his colleagues, he would be ready to sacrifice office and position. "Our future historian," commented Dr. Murray, "would not have to go far out of this room to find him." For 25 years Lord Cecil had worked hard in the cause of world peace. Who could say yet whether his efforts had met with success or failure? But 25 years was a short time for working out a solution to so immense a problem. Lord Cecil had been not only a beloved leader but a real personal friend.

After letters from Dr. Kunosi and M. de Brouckère had been read, Lord Lytton presented Lord Cecil with an attaché case, in the name of the Executive and millions of friends throughout the world. Those present were only a small section of an enormous family of friends, whose trusted leader Lord Cecil had been for so many years. The League of Nations, Lord Lytton reminded his hearers, was only an instrument, which could not succeed unless

it were used. It had not been used, consequently the purpose for which it had been created had not been fulfilled. But he was hopeful that when another international organisation was put in its place, with a backing of authority and will it would succeed.

Lord Cecil, in reply, recalled that Geneva had often been likened to a "Monkey House." Well, here in the room were some of the "chief monkeys." In fact, his days at Geneva had been among the happiest of his life, and he had been enormously impressed by the real desire among those working there to "make the thing work" and to serve the world by keeping peace. If, as he anticipated, a new International Organisation was set up more or less on the same lines, that spirit would grow more and more. The development of an *esprit de corps* in the new international body would help to solve the problem of international peace. The creation of this international loyalty was one of the great objects of the future. But, to prevent some reckless savage breaking things up, justice must be backed up with force.

Among those present, in addition to Lord and Lady Cecil, were Dr. Gilbert Murray, O.M. (Joint President of the L.N.U.), Lord Lytton (Chairman of Executive) and Lady Lytton, Miss K. D. Courtney (Vice-Chairman of Executive), H. S. Syrett (Treasurer), C. W. Judd (Secretary); the Norwegian Ambassador, the Greek Ambassador, the Chinese Chargé d'Affaires (representing the Chinese Ambassador), Lord Cranborne, Sir Archibald Sinclair, P. J. Noel Baker, Arthur Henderson, Lord Sankey, Lord Perth, Lady Gladstone, M. Zaleski, Professor Worm-Muller, M. Pelt, M. Comert, Count Balinski, L. R. Aldous, W. Arnold, Professor S. Brodetsky, F. M. Burris, L. J. Cadbury, Dr. Hilda Clark, Lady Dickinson, M. B. Fanshawe, Miss Philippa Fawcett, Dr. and Mrs. Maxwell Garnett, L. H. Green, Lady Hall, Miss A. Hansell, Mr. and Mrs. Wilson Harris, A. J. Howe, Lady Layton, Miss V. Lazarus, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Thomas Lodge, James Macdonald, Señor S. de Madariaga, G. le M. Mander, Miss K. New, Professor Arthur Newell, W. T. Pritchard, Miss E. Rathbone, Professor Seton-Watson, Councillor H. F. Shaw, Nowell Smith, Mr. and Mrs. Alan Thomas, Professor Arnold Toynbee, A. G. Walkden, Frank Walters, Miss Freda White, Mrs. Judith Whitfield, Professor Basil Williams, Sir Alfred Zimmern.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

WORKING DEMOCRACY

NEW ZEALAND. A WORKING DEMOCRACY. By Walter Nash. (Dent and Sons, Bedford Street, W.C.2. 290 pp. 8s. 6d.)

We can think of no finer advertisement for your "Small Nation" than the simple, inspiring account by Mr. Walter Nash, Finance Minister in the present New Zealand Government, of the far-seeing, courageous policies—social, national and international—so consistently carried out by New Zealand in the years between the two World Wars. What an example it all could be for many far larger and more powerful nations!

In New Zealand you have an economic and social laboratory for Democracy, for a democratic way of life which is fused equally by a firm faith in individualism and in the value of collective organisation for the individual as well as the nation. A note of practical sanity runs through domestic affairs. New Zealanders already have social security and benefits. The New Zealand soldier is going back to something better than Beveridge.

In the international field New Zealand has been an impenitent champion of the League's principles of co-operation. In the darkest days she stood firmly for collective security. She damned appeasement. And when the ultimate hour for supreme action came, quietly and quickly she took her place at the side of the nations who would not submit to Axis domination. The glory of her record in this war is known to all the world.

Inevitably we find most arresting for the moment those chapters in which Mr. Nash explains why the war is being fought and what kind of world, if we want to survive, we must build to-morrow, nay to-day. New Zealand's war aims are quite clear. They spell *the application of the principles of the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms throughout the world*. Make the Atlantic Charter a real scheme of action, freely conceived and firmly carried out. Why should not, asks Mr. Nash, the Four Freedoms be written up on the walls of all schools? Why should they not be the subject of prayer and study in Church and home? Why, still more, should not the

Atlantic Charter be approved by the Legislatures of every one of the United Nations?

But, in any case, there must be a central organisation responsible for carrying out these aims and this is, clearly, a *Council of the United Nations*, which should be set up here and now. The principles of the League of Nations still stand and they must be revived. But, says Mr. Nash, they can best be expressed and win wider approval to-day through a new organisation, working with a new spirit. A Council of the United Nations would start with the advantage that all members have already accepted certain *moral* principles as binding on future policies and actions in domestic and international spheres: they have, in fact, already signed *the bills of right of a future humanity*.

Common action welds the United Nations to-day. Common belief must weld them to-morrow. This common belief must be based on moral principles—Mr. Nash is not in the least afraid to say Christian principles. If this can be done, then indeed there will be a new era in the true sense of the word. And we shall not have failed.

GORDON DROMORE.

CHARTERS OF THE PEACE. By W. Arnold-Forster. (Gollancz, Henrietta Street, W.C.2. 138 pp. 6s.)

Mr. Arnold-Forster's writings need no recommendation to HEADWAY readers, many of whom will remember his series of articles on the Atlantic Charter. In this new book the same theme is taken, expanded, elaborated and brought right up to date in the light of subsequent developments, such as the Declarations of Moscow, Cairo and Teheran, the Hot Springs Food Conference and U.N.R.R.A. The author believes passionately that, in a democratic country like ours, it is of the utmost importance that the broad implications of the Atlantic Charter policy should be widely understood. Only so can a guard be set against the danger—already threatening in certain quarters—of opportunism in the hour of victory. To help in spreading such understanding here, at least, is a whole armoury of facts and

arguments marshalled with lucidity and logic.

Bound up as it is with the declarations which have followed it, the Atlantic Charter is more substantial and consistent than might be supposed from a cursory reading. But, without certain essential requirements, the bottom falls out of the entire programme. Most important, it must be accepted that collective security against aggression is a desirable and practicable aim. Three things, says Mr. Arnold-Forster, are needed—an International Authority, a fair start for peace, and a shield of power. In the transitional period a nucleus of power must inevitably be supplied by three or four countries.

There are illuminating flashes of comment, amid solid explanation, on each of the points of the Charter. We see that the "unconditional surrender" policy of the Allies need not invalidate the Charter. But the author, while sympathising with the British Government's difficult position, does not disguise his anxiety at the talk of "compensation", which he fears may gravely prejudice the achievement of a just and durable peace. Restitution, on the other hand, is perfectly fair in principle. Self-determination the author regards as a realistic policy taking into account the passionate desire of national communities for independent nationhood. Nevertheless, as regard self-government, the rights of nationality must be tempered by the duties of international fellowship.

A very substantial part of this book is devoted to the economic and social programme, designed to achieve "an economy of abundance". The world just cannot afford to resort again to the strangulation of international commerce. In this connection, the opportunity is taken to discuss very fully President Roosevelt's "Four Freedoms". At the same time, stress is laid on the fact that the foundations of peace and justice are both political and economic; in avoiding the error of Versailles, we must be careful not to rush headlong into the converse mistake.

In frankly outlining various dangers during the transitional period, Mr. Arnold-Forster shrewdly observes that, while for Germany equality of rights *forthwith* is out of the question, equality of rights *never* would lead to an explosion sooner or later. One of the most useful chapters deals with some of the thorny territorial problems

which are likely to arise in the Peace Settlement.

PROBLEMS OF THE PEACE. By Wilson Harris. (Cambridge University Press. "Current Problems" Series. 116 pp. 3s. 6d.)

Sir Ernest Barker, the General Editor of this series, has once more shown his genius for putting his finger on the right man for the job. Soon, very soon, every one of the post-war problems raised by Mr. Wilson Harris for discussion and argument will be live issues. All, as he points out, have got to be dealt with somewhere, at some time, by someone. And who could better suggest "talking points" than one who was closely concerned with the Paris Peace Conference and has shrewdly followed the results of its decisions ever since? It may be, as he warns us, that the future is full of question marks, that any solutions proposed now must be "disturbingly provisional". But to get a grip on the evidence presented in this book is the best way to introduce some elements of certainty into the uncertain future.

For, after the war, settlement and certainty will be the crying demands of all Europe. A strong hand will be needed to get order out of chaos. Mr. Wilson Harris is not afraid of terms that frighten the tender-hearted. "Unconditional surrender" and a "dictated peace", in the circumstances, there will have to be. The Armistice and subsequent measures must be such as to render Germany incapable of further mischief. Disarmament must even include Germany's surrender of her radio.

Problems of relief and rehabilitation will be much more difficult than after the last war. Frontier questions, on the other hand, should be easier. That does not mean that there will be no tough nuts to crack—in eastern Europe, particularly, when the question of the territory annexed by Russia before she went to war with Germany comes up. This brings in the Atlantic Charter—the basis of settlement, though Germany cannot appeal to it as a right. It may be that, with other principles conflicting, some deviations from the strict letter of the Charter may not be avoidable. But, if there are many departures, the Atlantic Charter will inevitably be left a little tarnished.

In settling with Germany, vindictiveness and revenge should be avoided; even so, if

justice is to be done, the payment due from Germany will be heavy. Many factors enter into the assessment of how and by what means payment can be exacted. And, in the matter of relief and rehabilitation, Germany's place must be at the end of the queue.

Discussing the new "League"—the term is at the moment a convenient one whatever title may eventually be agreed upon—Mr. Wilson Harris stresses that the original League was well planned and the tasks allotted to it well conceived. Perhaps, because of hostility to it in certain quarters, the best thing to do would be to liquidate the old League and reconstruct it on much the same basis as before, with the United Nations as original members. Those United Nations, by the way, are an alliance doing precisely what the League was intended to do, and their action was initiated by two League members in accordance with basic League principles. Many League bodies could be taken over as going concerns, and U.N.R.R.A. and similar organisations could be co-ordinated in the structure. In time the armed forces of the United Nations might evolve into an international force under the direction of the new League.

THE WAY TO PEACE. By Lionel Curtis. (Oxford University Press, Warwick Square, E.C.4. 98 pp. 1s.)

Further exploring the theme of *Decision, Decision and Action* and *Faith and Works*, Mr. Curtis puts forward a strong plea for an international union of defence as the chief means of implementing the Atlantic Charter. He does not expect to see it come into being in his own lifetime. As long as the world is divided into sovereign States, some such organisation as the League of Nations will be needed. He stresses the success of the League in the "functional" field, and thinks that it may help to prevent some local wars as it did in the past. The practical need for the League will vanish only when all nations have joined the international union. Mr. Curtis also challenges the defeatist doctrine that war cannot be stopped once and for all.

NO MORE FOREIGN AFFAIRS! By J. Hampden Jackson. (Lund Humphries, 12, Bedford Square, W.C.1. 22 pp. 1s.)

This study of the way to make the peace settlement after this war more enduring

than the settlement of 1919 is No. 2 in the Liberal Party's "The Life We Want" series. Chiefly it is a reasoned argument for implementing the Atlantic Charter. The warning is added that plenty of latent opposition is only waiting for a favourable moment to exert obstructive influence—and that the lions in the path will masquerade in lambs' skins and other disguises to deceive the public. Some slight inaccuracies should be corrected, e.g. date of the Corfu crisis (1923), and the statement that at no one time were more than three of the Great Powers members of the League (at the high water mark six Great Powers were nominal, and five of them active, members).

PAMPHLETS ON INDIA

A useful trio of pamphlets has reached us from the India-Burma Association. **ARE WE HUMBUGS?**, by P. J. Griffiths, is a valuable corrective to some of the more extremist propaganda put out on both sides. The very fact that it is impossible to give a simple answer to such questions as "What does the country look like?", "What are its people like?", "What do they eat?" and "What is their language?" shows the complexity of the Indian problem. Our author clearly outlines such factors as Hindu-Moslem disunity, the scheduled castes and the Indian States which complicate a solution, and shows the meaning of the Cripps offer in 1942.

Sir Alfred Watson, in **IF BRITAIN QUIT INDIA?**, looks ahead in the belief that peace in India will be a prime factor in the peace of the East. The whole future might be jeopardised if we left the Indians to their own devices without at least the blue-print of a workable constitution. There is a big test ahead for Indian statesmanship, and it may be that ultimately the Indians will determine upon other forms of government than those which, in all good faith, we have sought to give.

Lastly **Edwin Haward**, the Secretary of the Association and a former member of the League of Nations Secretariat, has prepared **A PICTURE OF INDIA**—a factual account of its history, people and government, which is sumptuously illustrated. All may be obtained, free of charge, from the India-Burma Association, Outer Temple, 222, Strand, London, W.C.2.

DIARY OF EVENTS

- Aug.
 23. *Rumania accepts Armistice Terms.*
 25. *Liberation of Paris.*
 27. *Bulgarian Government announce withdrawal from war.*
- Sept.
 2. *Finland breaks with Germany.*
 4. *Liberation of Brussels.*
 5. *Russia declares war on Bulgaria.*
 6. *Bulgaria asks Russia for armistice, and declares war on Germany.*
 9. *Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah begin talks in Bombay.*
 10. *Liberation of Luxembourg City.*
 11. *Mr. Churchill and President Roosevelt at Quebec.*
 11. *Invasion of Germany begins.*
 14. *Lord Cecil's 80th Birthday.*
 17. *Airborne Invasion of Holland.*
 18. *Council of U.N.R.R.A. (Montreal).*
- Nov. 30-Dec.
 1. *General Council of the L.N.U., Conway Hall, London.*

NOTE

As Parliament was in recess until September 26, "World Affairs in Parliament" is absent from the present number.

Owing to great pressure upon space, it has been found necessary to hold over Letters from Readers until the next issue.

G.B.S. ON THE LEAGUE

Mr. Bernard Shaw, in his new book, *EVERYBODY'S POLITICAL WHAT'S WHAT* (Constable, 10s.), discusses (pp. 124-125) how, in his opinion, the little successors of great rulers produce world wars and make super-State Constitutions necessary. In lively fashion he describes how the League of Nations was rendered impotent, and such League bodies as the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation were handicapped by "no funds, no publicity, and consequently no attention."

"But" (he sums up) "*the League, whether renamed International Council or what not, will have to be revived with sensible and practicable covenants; for civilisation no less than its component States must have a constitution or be dominated by dunderheads, do-nothings, incapable hereditary monarchs, ambitious conquerors, popular speakers and broadcasters, financial and commercial gangs, successful revolutionists who are no rulers or stick-in-the-mud rulers who are no revolutionists: in short, by amateur actors of all sorts clever enough to make themselves the idol of the mob of political ignoramuses who are idolised by Democracy.*"

"*Meanwhile the League, through its most anomalous and yet most useful organ the International Labor Office (the only feature that was ever real about it), holds the fort as best it can.*"

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