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# HEADWAY

## IN WAR-TIME

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## THE INDIAN CLAIM TO-DAY

By CARL HEATH (Chairman, India Conciliation Group)

IN the second volume of his great book, *Civitas Dei*, Mr. Lionel Curtis has a most important chapter on the development of the British Commonwealth of Nations after the War of 1914-18. In 1911 at the Imperial Conference Mr. Asquith had brushed aside all idea of sharing Foreign Policy with the Dominions. In 1917, in the midst of the war, the Dominions, at the Imperial War Conference, demanded "a full recognition as autonomous nations of an Imperial Commonwealth . . . and an adequate voice in foreign policy." These things obviously could not be settled during the war, but were fully granted at the next Imperial Conference. They are embodied in the Balfour Declaration of 1926 and in the Statute of Westminster 1931.

It is well to remember this in looking at the present demand of the Indian party that controls eight of the British-Indian Provincial Governments. That demand is in effect a question put to the British Government:

*The Congress Working Committee invites the British Government to declare unequivocally their war aims regarding democracy and imperialism and the establishment of a new world order, and how these aims will be applied to India now, and whether they include the elimination of imperialism and the treatment of India as a free nation whose policy is guided by her own people.*

Mr. Nehru has described this in notable words: "India wants to forget the past of conflict and stretch out her hand in comradeship. But she can only do this as a free nation on terms of equality." It is to be regretted that this was not met by a frank and simple reply: "We do mean these things, and as soon as the war is over we will all sit down to implement them."

### Britain Means Dominion Status

Nothing more was needed, for we *do* mean these things as evidenced by the frank reaffirmation in the Viceroy's statement of Lord Irwin's promise of Dominion Status in 1929, and in Sir Samuel Hoare's speech in the debate on October 26: "When we spoke of Dominion Status we meant what we said, and we did not mean some system of government that deprived India of the full status of equality with the other British Commonwealths," and he rejected the idea that there was more than one kind of Dominion Status.

But unfortunately the British, like most imperial Powers, find it hard to deal with such matters simply and generously. Every possible difficulty is advanced for further delay. The most important now is the tension between the Congress Party and the Muslim League. This truly formidable difficulty is elaborated at length, and although Sir Samuel says that

"Dominion Status is not a prize that is given to a deserving community," India is told that she must solve this problem before she can be free.

The Congress Party is retorting by resignations of the eight Provincial Governments, thus compelling the British back to autocracy. What appears to be needed is another and more understanding effort by the British Government, for there were at least three good things in the Viceroy's statement, viz., the re-assertion of Dominion Status as the goal, the establishment of a Consultative body (beginnings of an all-India Cabinet) and a promise of reconsideration of the proposed Federal Constitution at the end of the war.

This new effort surely needs two things—a greater precision in time as to the admission of India to full Dominion freedom, and an initiative by the Government of India itself in respect to calling together Congress and Moslem League leaders, with a view to composing their political differences. This latter is surely the *duty* of the Government, now that it has declared Congress-Muslim tension to be the *one* great obstacle in the way of what it has promised time and again.

### Important Points to Remember

There are some important points to be borne in mind. If it be justly said that the Congress Party is not entitled to speak of itself as representing all India, though it does control eight out of eleven of the Provincial Governments, and on any democratic franchise would constitute the Government of All-India; neither is the All-India Muslim League entitled to say that it represents all Moslems. There are many Moslems in the Congress Party, including Dr. Khan Sahib and his Government of the North-West Frontier Province—a Moslem Province be it remembered.

It will be important however that the Congress Party be willing to provide effective guarantees for the rights of minorities. It is too ready to think that its mere word ought to be enough. It owes to its Moslem and other opponents much more solid guarantees.

Again in any useful reconsideration of the Federal Constitution, and the implementing of full Dominion Status, the problem of the autocratic Princes will have to be faced again, including the great over-weightage of representation given to them in the present Act.

Meanwhile India waits. Is it to be common cause against Fascism, to which all India is opposed; or is it to be a dangerous cleavage between the movement of a nation determined on freedom, and an Empire claiming to be the champion of that freedom and an effective democracy, but slow to see that this Indian problem, within its own commonwealth, presents to the rest of the world, as to India, an acid test of its sincerity?



## HOW MUCH CAN RUSSIA HELP GERMANY?

By LOUIS SEGAL

SOVIET-GERMAN economic collaboration is at present engaging almost universal attention, for it is realised that this economic activity may determine to a large extent the future conditions in Europe. The extent and possibilities of such collaboration must remain largely speculative, since past relations cannot serve as a safe guide for the future.

There has been established in Russia the closest collaboration between the Commissariats for Foreign Affairs and for Foreign Trade. These departments are regarded as the right and left hands of the Soviet State, and they co-ordinate their activities and assist one another to a remarkable extent. Any measure directed against the U.S.S.R. by a foreign State is immediately countered not only by the diplomatic, but also by the economic, sections, and full pressure is applied on the perpetrator of the aggressive act. Although not admitted generally, the extent of trade depends, therefore, on political and diplomatic considerations, and these cannot be omitted in any examination of the trade possibilities between Russia and Germany during the war. Russia may supply the Nazis not only with commodities which she has to export for economic reason, but even with goods for which there is a shortage in the country, should political considerations demand it.

### Definite and Narrow Limits

There are, however, definite and narrow limits to Russia's capacity to supply Germany's war-time requirements. All the stories to the contrary, emanating from German sources, are mere bluff to encourage the Nazis and discourage the Allies.

Russia's trade with Germany was fairly uniform in the period after the Great War, although the volume of trade underwent considerable changes. Soviet exports to Germany attained their maximum in 1930, when they amounted to 436.3 million marks. In that year German shipments to Russia totalled 430.6 million marks. In 1931 German exports to Russia reached their peak with a total of 762.7, but imports from Russia dropped that year to 303.5 million marks. From 1932 onwards a persistent reduction in the trade between the two countries set in, and in 1938 it reached its lowest level with German imports from Russia amounting to

47.4 and German exports to that country to 31.8 million marks. The cause of the decline was partly political antagonism between the two Governments. But there were also economic reasons—as a result of the attempt of both States to establish a system of what may be called self-sufficiency. The three loans, each of 200 million marks, granted by Hitler to Russia in 1933, 1935, and 1936, failed to arrest permanently the process of decline.

Despite the reported promise of the two Governments to increase trade in 1940 to the 1931 level, such a result is most unlikely. Russia is certain to find it impossible to export products whose supply is insufficient even to satisfy home requirements to any extent. Transport also may present very serious obstacles.

Germany requires a great many things which she either does not produce herself or produces in insufficient quantities. These commodities include oil, rubber, copper, tin, aluminium, nickel, manganese, iron ore, wheat, fodder, fats, etc. Some of these commodities she still obtains, although in very limited quantities, from Italy, Rumania, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Russia, and other States, while others none of her neighbours or friends can supply her.

### Russia's Oil Surplus

Oil, of which on a most conservative estimate Germany requires to import about ten million tons a year for the conduct of the war, is not a great Russian surplus. Russia will not be in a position to supply her in anything like the quantities needed. Although output has risen in Russia by sustained effort to 30 million tons a year, oil exports were consistently and progressively reduced, owing to the vast increase in internal consumption. In 1933 Russia still exported nearly five million tons of oil products, in 1938 exports fell to less than a million and a quarter tons. It is hardly conceivable that Russia should be able to export in 1940 more than one million tons, unless she is prepared to cripple her agriculture and transport by reducing the supplies for tractors and motor lorries.

Russia is not in a position to supply Germany with either rubber, copper, tin or nickel, for the home production of these commodities is only a fraction of her own normal requirements. Only if Russia were allowed to import these

commodities in unlimited quantities could she be in a position, if she so desired, to supply Germany.

Manganese and iron ore could be produced in Russia in sufficient quantities to satisfy all Germany's requirements, provided transport could be arranged. The ore can be shipped from a Black Sea port along the Danube River. A quicker, but more expensive route, is by rail through Rumania and Hungary.

Russia is not in a position to supply Germany with the much-needed fats, as the requirements of her own population have to be met. On the other hand, Russia could assist Germany by the supply of fodder, which is of vital importance to her cattle breeding industry.

Russia could supply Germany with her timber requirements. In this connection, the Baltic-White Sea Canal, which was completed in 1933, can play an important part, as it forms a direct route between Archangel and Leningrad within Russian territorial waters. From Leningrad the ships can proceed to any of the ports in Eastern Prussia. Alternatively, Germany could obtain her timber requirements from the Scandinavian countries.

### Wool and Cotton Imported

Russia is now an importer of both wool and cotton, two essential materials for the conduct of war. Germany cannot obtain either of these commodities from any of her neighbours, unless they re-exported some of their own imports.

It is obvious that an export programme depends not only on the availability of the goods, but also on adequate means of transport. More than ninety per cent. of Soviet exports are normally shipped by sea. Hitherto rail transport has been entirely confined to the exports for the Baltic and other neighbouring States. Transport is, therefore, a very serious and difficult problem in the attempt to supply Germany with goods. The establishment of a common frontier between the two States, as a result of the occupation of Poland, has not solved this problem. The three existing railway lines, connecting the two States, the Moscow-Warsaw line, the Kiev-Warsaw line, and the Odessa-Cracow line, are in a very bad way, moreover, they are needed by Russia to supply her own army of occupation and the economic needs of the recently acquired territory. Some of the commodities can be shipped from

Leningrad or from Libau or Tallin, the ports recently acquired from Latvia and Estonia. The trouble is that most of the export commodities, with the single exception of timber, come not from Leningrad or the Northern area, but from the south. The sending of these goods from the south to the north is a luxury which the Russian railways can ill afford.

On the evidence available at present there seems no doubt that some attempt will be made by Russia to supply Germany with commodities in order to enable her to continue the struggle and make sure of her ultimate exhaustion. If Germany were to make peace now,

with her forces virtually intact, and flushed with her victory over the Poles, the position might prove embarrassing to Russia in the near future. We must, therefore, expect a serious effort on the part of Russia to supply Germany with some at least of her most essential needs, in order to enable her to prosecute the war for some time longer.

The question of payment should not present a serious difficulty. If Russia is determined to assist Germany to go on fighting she will not find it difficult to reverse the time-honoured practice, and instead of accepting credits from Germany actually grant her financial aid.

We believe that something much more definite is required. The failure to put teeth in the Covenant was precisely where we came unstuck before. The rule of law founded on justice will not be maintained without power to enforce it, power instantly and constantly available. Let us be quite clear that we need not an international, but a supra-national authority. If we are not prepared frankly to advocate the Federal solution, let us at least face up to the need for an international force to carry out the decisions of a supra-national authority.

One further point. If any manifesto is to gain support in times like the present, it must read like a trumpet call, clear and strong. It must not beat about "possibilities being carefully studied." We cannot afford the pessimistic assumption that the old 1919 Covenant still represents the limit to which the nations are likely to go. It is our job to make this particular nation go a great deal further and carry the others with it. The 1919 Covenant was a magnificent advance on anything the world had seen before. After this war, why should we not take the final step that will banish war for ever?

M. A. CAMERON,  
DOROTHY G. CAMERON,  
CATHERINE B. TOOSEY,  
KENNETH BAIRD.

Welwyn Garden City, Herts.  
October 19, 1939.

## Letters from Members on Questions of the Hour

### Has an International Service Been Tried?

Sir,—On page 5 of HEADWAY for October, 1939, Dr. Gilbert Murray records the comment that "international administration has never worked well." Has it ever been tried? I do not know of any instance. There have been cases of *Condominium*; but that is a different matter, because it involves the conveying of final orders, and the exercise of ultimate control by two or more independent sovereign States. *International administration* would be controlled by an international body, i.e., would have one master, not more. It may be an unsatisfactory thing; but it should not be condemned on the score of an experience which does not yet exist.

JOHN MAYNARD.

18, Gilston Road, S.W.10.

Sir,—What is Dr. Murray's reason for saying that international administration in colonial affairs has never worked well? The only instance I can remember is the New Hebrides, where the English and French representatives each had a veto on the other, and consequently nothing could ever be done. This is very different from making colonial administrators responsible to a committee of the League instead of to the national Governments.

F. B. WALLIS CHAPMAN.

### An International Force is Necessary

Sir,—October HEADWAY does well to stress the need for thinking out the broad principles for which we are asking men to face death. We have heard before of a war to end war. That was the hope that sustained those who died in 1914-18. They were deceived. It is up to us now to see that those who die in this war are not similarly cheated.

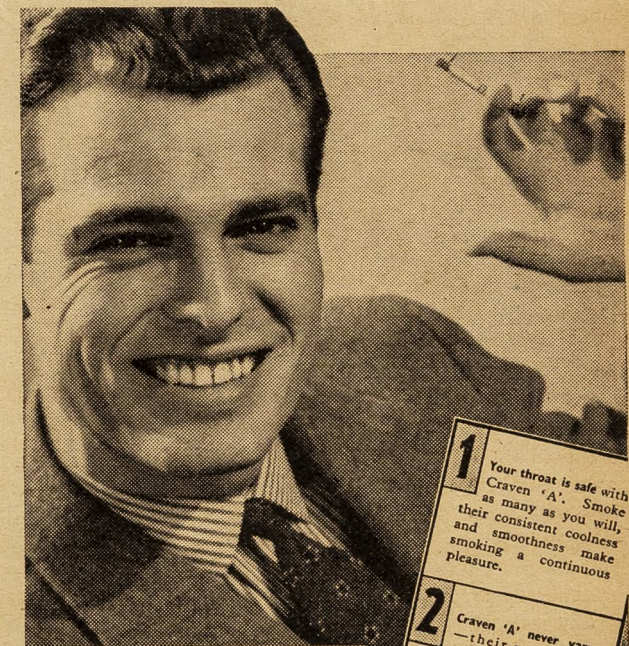
The basic reasons for being at war today can be reduced to two:—

- (1) Lack of impartial third-party justice between nations;
- (2) lack of force to resist injustice and enforce justice

Lack of justice in the early years after the last war brought Hitler to power; in the later years, lack of readily available force to resist aggression brought us step by step to the point where war became inevitable.

These two causes are closely related; force must be used only to establish justice and prevent injustice; justice unenforced leaves the way clear for future power-drunk dictators to make war again inevitable.

During recent years we have been told time and again that we had not arms enough to risk a war in defence of League principles. What use is it to urge now any programme that suggests disarming before real collective security has been achieved? And how will the collective security of the future differ from that of the past if based only on a vague undertaking by various States "to take their fair share in preventing and stopping aggression"? If that is to be the only means by which an international authority is to protect the States who disarm from those who don't then Heaven help those unable to help themselves!



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# NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY AND THE COVENANT

By W. ARNOLD FORSTER

"WHAT'S wrong with this League is that its Covenant imposes no real restriction upon national sovereignty." Do people often put that argument to you, as they do to me, when discussing the League? How do you reply?

Let us begin by agreeing that a large curtailment of national sovereignty is indispensable if there is to be a worthwhile League of Nations. No international society can be assured of peace or equipped for justice and general prosperity unless its members sincerely renounce their freedom to behave anti-socially in certain essential respects. Let us recognise, too, that this curtailment of sovereignty cannot be achieved in a moment by the simple expedient of writing a formula into a Covenant. The authors of the Covenant of 1919 were well aware of the need for such curtailment; but they knew, also, that if they demanded too much at the outset the collective peace system which they were founding would never grow into a system of world government because the peoples and Governments would fail to honour their new obligations when a serious test came. So those Covenant-makers deliberately steered between asking too much and asking too little; they reckoned that their Covenant restricted sovereignty enough to give the League's growth a fair chance, but not so much as to deter States from joining this League and loyally fulfilling its obligations.

Now look at your Covenant, beginning with its central article, XI:— "Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action that is deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations. . . . It is the friendly right of each member of the League to bring to the attention of the Assembly or of the Council any circumstance whatever affecting international relations which threatens to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends."

Do you realise—have our Governments realised—what far-reaching

curtailments of sovereignty are involved in loyal acceptance of the obligations of that article? In our capacity as League members we here renounce our freedom to say, in regard to some distant war crisis: "We wash our hands of this quarrel because it is in a distant country between people of whom we know nothing." We renounce freedom to say to China, Abyssinia, or Czechoslovakia, as fellow-members of the League: "Am I my brother's keeper?" We may not stand aside, neuter and indifferent, on the plea that our own "vital interests" are not affected. By signing Article XI we accept the first obligation of world-citizenship—the obligation to share in the responsibility of safeguarding "the peace of nations."

And that is not all. We renounce also the sovereign right to treat our peace or the peace of some foreign land as if it concerned ourselves alone. We may not say to the League: "Hands off the Suez Canal zone or the Persian Gulf, because the peace of these regions, in which Britain has special interests, is exclusively Britain's concern." (If Japan were still a member she would likewise be debarred from claiming exclusive concern for the peace of East Asia; Germany would be debarred from such claims in Poland.)

Now, look at Articles XII, XIII, and XV. They go far towards complete surrender of the sovereign right of a nation to break the peace. Members agree in Art. XII that "in no case" will they resort to war till they have fully tried the peaceful procedure provided. If they choose to submit their dispute to legal judgment, they must carry out the decision given, and may not resort to war against any member who complies with that decision. If they choose, alternatively, to submit their dispute to mediation by the Council, and the Council's report is unanimous, then they may not go to war with any disputant who complies with that report. If the Council's report is not unanimous, then, after three months' further delay, they recover freedom to go to war; but this "gap in the Covenant" is closed (on paper) by the Kellogg Pact.

In effect, then, the Covenant involves complete surrender of the sovereign right to break the peace suddenly,

without first trying the League's peace-making methods, though it leaves open a limited right to go to war in the last resort in certain circumstances.

The same articles involve a far-reaching surrender of the right of a nation to be judge in its own cause. In particular, members recognise in Art. XIII that an enormously wide category of disputes is "generally suitable for submission to arbitration or judicial settlement."

Articles X and XVI and XVII and the last paragraph of Art. XIII involve repudiation of the policy "Each for himself and devil take the hindmost." If a League member recognises that the Covenant's main rules of peaceful behaviour have been broken by a resort to war, then that member is bound to co-operate in economic sanctions against the peace-breaker. The "sovereign right" to be "neutral" in face of this international crime is renounced. Further, the Council have the duty of recommending what effective armed force the League's members "shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the Covenants of the League." (How much better off we should all be now if these obligations had been loyally fulfilled by France and Britain in the Abyssinian case!)

Now turn back to Article VIII, which says that the Council is to formulate plans for the reduction of national armaments "for the consideration and action of the several Governments." These Governments formally recognise that the maintenance of peace requires reduction of their armaments "to the lowest point consistent with national safety" (vague phrase) "and the enforcement by common action of international obligations." After the Governments have adopted these disarmament plans, "the limits of armaments therein fixed shall not be exceeded without the concurrence of the council." Here, again, loyal fulfilment of the Covenant would involve a most important curtailment of sovereignty; limitation of armaments would be a *continuing* obligation, and members would renounce freedom to exceed the agreed limits at their own discretion.

Further, the article pledges members to "interchange full and frank information as to the scale of their armaments, their military, naval, and air programmes, and the conditions of such of their industries as are adaptable for war purposes." Think what a far-reaching surrender of the weapon of secrecy this means.

Article XVIII likewise restricts the sovereign right to prepare for war in secret. It prescribes that "every treaty or international engagement" shall be registered with the League and published, and shall be invalid unless so registered.

Article XXII, the Mandates article, imposes unprecedented limitations upon sovereignty in colonial government. Its purpose is to substitute international trusteeship "on behalf of the League" for the old principle of unqualified sovereignty; it empowers the League to define "the degree of authority, control, or administration to be exercised by the Mandatory Power," and it provides for a Mandates Commission to examine the annual reports which the Mandatory Powers have to submit.

I cannot make a thorough analysis here, or even a complete catalogue.

But this is enough, surely, to show that the Covenant does demand from League members great curtailment of their old "sovereign" right to do as they please; the right, for instance, to go to war as a means of getting their way; the right to be judge in their own disputes; the right of secrecy in preparing arms and alliances; the right of unlimited competition in armaments; and, above all, the right to stand aloof, indifferent, neutral, when any part of the international community is attacked or threatened.

You will be saying, perhaps: "This is all very jolly, but the trouble is that the States haven't fulfilled these obligations."

Yes, that is true, tragically true. What is the inference to be drawn? Surely, it is this: the curtailment of national sovereignty is essential, but it cannot be hurried or forced. Let us remember that there are still very many people in this country, some of them in positions of authority, who loathe the whole idea of renouncing any of our national freedom to drive our national car any way and anywhere we please on the crowded international highway.

Most of us in the L.N.U. would like to see the curtailment of sovereignty carried very much further than the authors of the Covenant thought

prudent in 1919. I hope it will be found practicable to make some substantial advances when the Covenant is reviewed after this war. But let us always remember that, whereas the old nationalist loyalties are tough with age and deeply rooted, the new loyalty, based on the conception of the world as one place, is still frail. And, above all, let us not dupe ourselves with the comfortable pretence that we shall have done what is needed when once we have got some sentences in a Covenant rewritten or some new body set up.

We cannot afford to dawdle in our advance towards world order through world government; but what is needed, much more than any tinkering with texts, is better understanding and more loyal observance of such obligations of world citizenship as were included in that pioneer Covenant of twenty years ago. We need a League of Nations movement, at home and abroad, so strong, so free and well-informed that the Governments will not dare to deride and dishonour the collective peace system, as they have so often done during the past eight years, but will confidently abandon those "sovereign rights" which prevent the growth of a commonwealth. Progress towards the goal of world order through world government must be speeded up.

## THE UNION IS ACTIVE

### An Account of What is Being Done in Difficult Times to Serve the League Idea

TODAY the League of Nations Union is seeing, more clearly and confidently than a month ago, the lines along which it will carry on its work in the difficult days ahead. When the first number of HEADWAY in war-time appeared, it was too early to take stock of the situation into which we had been plunged.

We knew, of course, that the Union ought to be the body to undertake the task of enlightening and organising public opinion in war-time. That we should be able to take advantage of a demand for information on international affairs (war aims, possible peace terms, and so on) also seemed certain. Ways and means of putting our work on a war-time basis were being explored, and wherever possible schemes were being put into operation without delay. But many factors were still incalculable. How many branches and members would respond enthusiastically to a lead? Granted a widespread will to carry on, how far would they be able to overcome loss of officers and restrictions upon meetings? These are the questions to which encouraging answers have since been reaching Headquarters; and the evidence of continued co-operation and good will continues to flow in.

Beyond all shadow of doubt, the branches are boldly facing the present situation. Since the Union and its

branches are inseparable, the whole movement is strengthened in meeting the challenge of the times.

#### Meetings are Valuable

Meetings, it is clear, are being recognised by branches as both a valuable educative activity in themselves and also a means of demonstrating that the Union is very much alive. Branches, as our readers will remember, were strongly urged not to cancel meetings if they could possibly help it. True, in the first moments of doubt, a number of meetings which had been arranged fell through. That was unfortunate, but perhaps inevitable. What is more important is that the later period of relative calm has told a different story. In many cases meetings organisers, after deciding to cancel existing arrangements, have thought twice, with the result that meetings have been restored. Further, new meetings are being organised. As the first sign of the turning tide, news of six such meetings reached Headquarters in one week. The next week there were eighteen more to add to the list, and often the initiative had been taken by the branch. This healthy impulse to hold meetings shows no signs of slackening.

Branches are displaying ingenuity in overcoming



obstacles to the holding of public meetings. Now that the fear of the black-out has to some extent evaporated, evening gatherings are not proving the "impossibility" that at one stage numbed initiative. At Scarborough, more than a thousand people came together in the evening to listen to the Archbishop of York. Some branches have wisely decided to take advantage of the full moon for keeping on such events in their programmes as cannot be fixed for afternoons or week-ends.

### An Increasing Demand

In present conditions there is increasing demand for study circles; group discussions are more and more frequent in branch programmes. If private houses can be "borrowed" for the purpose, one major difficulty is solved. At least two London branches, however, have arranged for their meetings to be held on Saturday afternoons in local cafés, where tea is followed by discussion. In many other cities and towns similar arrangements could be made.

Elsewhere, openings for "missionary" activity on the part of the Union are not being overlooked by zealous and energetic branches. If big public meetings must be fewer in number, that is all the more reason for making the most of current interest in world problems and carrying the Union's message to other organisations. In this spirit, the Sheffield branch has succeeded in arranging fifty small meetings among churches, trade unions, co-operative guilds, and similar bodies. Twenty similar small meetings have been organised in Bradford.

Naturally, in their efforts to keep the flag flying, the branches have every right to expect leadership and guidance in full measure from the Head Office. There has been a heavy and continuous demand for the Executive's memorandum, "World Settlement after the War." It is not unfair to claim that the last number of HEADWAY has played a useful part in giving direction to Union activity throughout the country. Our branches, too, have circulated well over 100,000 copies of the October NEWS SHEET, especially written in simple language to explain the Union's war aims to the ordinary member.

### Help for Study Groups

For the assistance of discussion groups, the Head Office is now preparing a series of Study Outlines which will be produced as quickly as possible with reduced staff. The first will be ready this month, and it is hoped that all will be available by Christmas. Papers on the following subjects will probably be included in the series:—

#### War Aims.

What is this war about?

#### Between the Wars.

1. The Making of the Covenant.
2. The Political Work of the League.
3. The Technical Work of the League.

#### European Problems.

4. Treaty Europe: phases of the settlement in North and Central Europe.
5. The Mediterranean.
6. Germany.
7. The U.S.S.R.
8. Danube Basin and Balkans.
9. Spain.
10. Minorities and the Jewish Problem.

#### Extra-European Problems.

11. The Near East and Palestine.
12. The Far East.
13. The U.S.A.
14. The Colonial Problem.

#### Economics.

15. World Economics.

#### The Conflict of Ideas.

16. The Growth of International Thought.
17. Rival Ideologies.
18. Peace Planning.

There will also be a short guide to the History of Europe for those who feel the need for solid historical background to their study of present problems and future possibilities.

### A London Example

It is not suggested that all branches that adopt the "discussion group" idea must necessarily feel bound to embark upon so ambitious and comprehensive a syllabus. Shorter and simpler courses may in some cases be better adapted to the needs of members. One London branch, after a successful meeting on "World Settlement," immediately decided to devote six further sessions to discussing the limitation of sovereignty (two meetings), economic problems, minorities, empires and colonies, and a summing up of the whole position.

While Headquarters is ready to do its best to provide speakers for meetings, whether large or small, it will be appreciated that many who have helped us in the past have in present circumstances other calls upon their time and energies. More than before we must rely upon branches' being able to discover local talent. As far as Headquarters is concerned, the best plan appears to be to attempt to systematise the organisation of meetings on a regional basis, and it is essential for us to have lists of speakers available for the different areas.

One last word. Branches can help us enormously by telling us exactly what they are doing, and whether the meetings which they are arranging are public meetings or discussion groups. Like the B.B.C.'s Mr. Walker, we want to know!

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## BUILDING A BETTER WORLD

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS IS STILL AT WORK FOR THE HEALTH, WEALTH AND HAPPINESS OF MANKIND

ON September 30, 1938, the Assembly adopted a resolution regarding collaboration between the League of Nations and non-member States. It expressed the view that any comment or suggestion for the wider development of such collaboration would be welcomed by the Members of the League represented at the Assembly.

The Secretary of State of the United States of America sent to the Secretary-General, on February 2, 1939, a note in which he stated that:

The United States Government notes with interest the Assembly's reaffirmation of the policy of the League to invite the collaboration of non-member States in its technical and non-political activities. It shares the Assembly's satisfaction that such collaboration has steadily increased and the Assembly's belief that it is in the universal interest that such collaboration be continued and further developed.

### U.S. Support

The League has been responsible for the development of mutual exchange and discussion of ideas and methods to a greater extent and in more fields of humanitarian and scientific endeavour than any other organisation in history. The United States Government is keenly aware of the value of this type of general interchange and desires to see it extended.

Encouraging as has been the progress already made, much remains to be done for the promotion of human welfare in health, social, economic and financial fields. This Government regards each sound step forward in these fields as a step toward the establishment of that national and international order which it believes is essential to real peace.

The United States Government looks forward to the development and expansion of the League's machinery for dealing with the problems in those fields and to the participation by all nations in active efforts to solve them. It would not be appropriate for it to make specific suggestions for the development of the League's activities, but it will follow with interest the League's efforts to meet more adequately problems relating to the health, humanitarian and economic phases of human activities. It will continue to collaborate in those activities and will consider in a sympathetic spirit means of making its collaboration more effective.

At a private meeting of the Council on May 23, 1939, the Secretary-General suggested that the dialogue so happily inaugurated by the Assembly resolution should not be discontinued. He thought

it would be useful to study appropriate measures of organisation to enable the proposed collaboration to be made more effective, to ensure the development and expansion of the League's machinery for dealing with technical problems, and to promote the active participation of all nations in the efforts made to solve those problems.

### Doors Still Open

Concerted international action, which was for long one of the objects which the Economic and Financial Organisation attempted—not without success—to attain, is not at the moment likely to yield successful results.

But although this door is temporarily closed, other doors, through which the efforts of the various departments of the Economic and Financial Organisation of the League can be made effective, are still open.

The economic life of the nations is growing in complexity. The modern world is faced with the difficult task of employing effectively the resources opened up by scientific discoveries to increase the general material well-being. As the Second Committee stated in last year's report to the Assembly:

"The bridging of the gap between what can be produced and consumed and what is being produced and consumed is the fundamental economic problem of our times, and one to which the League is very rightly paying special attention."

No country can remain unaffected by this trend of human endeavour. Even where the doctrine of autarky is impressing itself more and more upon the national economic system, authoritative opinions have been voiced, sometimes in dramatic form, as to the absolute necessity of participating in the international circulation of wealth which is created by the ordered movement of commodities, capital and labour.

The Economic and Financial Organisation of the League renders the services expected of it in present circumstances by examining, in its traditional spirit of impartiality and desire for practical achievement, definite problems chosen from among those of current interest. The lessons of experience learned by various nations or categories of people are thus made available and presented in the form of recommendations or otherwise so that statesmen or Government departments can utilise them. The spread of practical knowledge is thus brought about in a form

which is at once flexible and effective and is calculated gradually to harmonise to some extent the policies of the various Governments.

### Nutrition

It is not difficult to find tendencies in the policies of Governments which are traceable to the work of the Organisation. A particularly striking example is to be found in the case of nutrition, studies on which were inaugurated by an Assembly resolution of September 27, 1935, and have been pursued since that date both in their economic aspect and in connection with general questions of health. The interest it has aroused and the research to which it has given rise throughout the world are increasing day by day. This example is mentioned here only to show the value and expediency of the method adopted, which is based on the principles enumerated above.

The technical committees of the Organisation have, during the year, persevered along these lines, which were admitted by the 1938 Assembly to be those best adapted to the circumstances. The same year the Council approved a Co-ordination Committee. The Committee's critical and detailed examination of the work done during the course of the year naturally enables it to determine the main lines of the programme of the technical committees for the following year, in accordance with the principles adopted by the Assembly and the Council. By means of this examination, and thanks to the great ability of its members, the Co-ordination Committee is able to facilitate liaison between the various technical committees.

### Standard of Living

The need for such liaison becomes more and more evident with the increase in the number of subjects examined which by their nature come within the province of several organisations at once. This applies in particular to the studies on the standard of living, carried out along varying but convergent lines by the Economic Committee, the Financial Committee, the Fiscal Committee, the Health and Transit Organisations and the International Labour Office. In this way, the recommendation of the 1938 Assembly to the Co-ordination Committee "to keep constantly in mind the bearing of the whole economic and financial work of the League on the fundamental problem of the standard of living" is realised.



EDITORIAL**A WORLD ORDER MUST BE BUILT**

**W**AR was declared two months ago. In its first weeks the tragic overthrow of Poland was completed at headlong speed. Great Britain and France were left with a debt of honour to win back the freedom of their allies. Since then events in the West have followed a course no one had expected. No prophecy has been fulfilled. There have been no battles, no massed air attacks. The activities of the armed forces on both sides have been confined to contact, reconnaissance, skirmish, blockade.

**War is Failure**

Especially in the countries at war but also elsewhere, ordinary men and women have come to understand in its full tragic significance that war is political failure. War comes because men and nations have failed to build a political system which will give them security against attack and satisfaction for their just demands. Such a system is well within the reach of civilised men. If the peoples not only wished for it, as they do, but insisted on their rulers devoting to its construction the necessary thought and effort and resources, war could be made a receding nightmare and all conflicts between nations could be brought, with whatever difficulty and delay, to peaceful settlement. The cost would be infinitely less than that of six months' fighting. Already evidence from many quarters justifies a hope that the disappointments of twenty years and their climax will not have been suffered in vain. Thousands are resolving that this time peace shall be made right, with complete awareness of the gains which may be harvested by the right policy and the penalties which may be provoked by the wrong.

**The Peace Must Be Right**

The peace must be right. True. Every day the war continues means the destruction of life and wealth, which in its turn means a world less vigorous to grapple with the problems of peace and less well equipped to use its opportunities. True again. Why not make peace now? Or if peace cannot be made forthwith, why not hold a conference to prepare the way for an early peace? The question is pertinent. But it is by no means so conclusive as many of those who ask it seem to imagine. Peace now would be peace only in name. A conference now would either break up in confusion or would negotiate an uneasy truce during which the final, fatal attack would be planned against law and freedom. Herr Hitler and Herr Ribbentrop in their recent speeches have destroyed the last excuse for anyone

to misunderstand the situation. Despite her repeated pledges, Germany has seized Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland. She proposes to keep the booty, but is ready to offer France, Great Britain and anyone else the same pledges which she gave Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland. There is the essence of the matter. Throughout his career, in home policy and foreign, as agitator, party leader and head of the German State, Herr Hitler has used the same method. He has been mechanically consistent. Always, for each attack, he has freed his hands by friendly promises to his intended next victim. Conference some day there must be, and the sooner the better. But serious conference is impossible except at a favourable moment and after careful preparation. From the premiership of Mr. Lloyd George to that of Mr. Neville Chamberlain world history records many conferences, big and little, hastily assembled and fruitlessly continued with no other result than damage to the high purposes they were intended to serve.

**What Must We Do ?**

What, then, must we do? Get on with the war and leave the peace to shape itself when the time comes! By no means. We must make clear to ourselves, to our friends in all parts of the world, and to our enemies, beyond all danger of deception or ambiguity, our motives in going to war, our war aims, and our peace aims. The distinction should not be overlooked. We demand neither annexations nor indemnities. We do not wish to oppress or impoverish the German people. On the contrary we would see them free and prosperous, in unthreatened possession of their place in the sun, taking an equal part with the other peoples in building up a peaceful world order. But the rights the Germans enjoy must be secured also to others. From this starting point we must go on to shape our common future in detail by vigorous thought and close discussion. We must design our instrument and guarantee its employment. In other words, we must put new life into the League of Nations.

**Steel and Stimulus**

In planning peace we shall help in the most effectual manner to shorten the war; a vision of the new world will be steel and stimulus to our own hearts and minds, an enlistment of the liberal democracies everywhere in our cause and an attractive prospect for the German people. We shorten the war by formulating wise terms on which to terminate it.

**The objects of the League of Nations Union defined in its Royal Charter are:—**

1. To secure the whole-hearted acceptance by the British people of the League of Nations as the guardian of international right, the organ of international co-operation, the final arbiter in international differences, and the supreme instrument for removing injustices which may threaten the peace of the world.

2. To foster mutual understanding, goodwill, and habits of co-operation and fair dealing between the peoples of different countries.

3. To advocate the full development of the League of Nations so as to bring about such a world organisation as will guarantee the freedom of nations, act as trustee and guardian of backward races and undeveloped territories, maintain international order, and finally liberate mankind from war and the effects of war.

If you approve of these objects, and wish to become a member, write to the Secretary, L.N.U., 60, St. Martin's Lane, London, W.C.2, for the address of the secretary of your local branch.

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