

HEADWAY

IN WAR-TIME

The Journal of the League of Nations Union

No. 45

JUNE 1943

BRITISH LIBRARY

21 JUL 1943

POLITICAL AND
ECONOMIC SCIENCE
PRICE 3d

EDITORIAL

UP AND DOING

Events of breath-taking rapidity, as all the world knows, have sent the stock of the United Nations soaring, and that of Germany and Italy tumbling, in the few weeks since the last issue of HEADWAY. With the ignominious hustling of Axis power out of North Africa and the Mediterranean, the war of movement which the Allies, taking a leaf out of the *Blitzkrieg* book, have initiated enters upon a new phase. The Battle of Europe, heralded by the hammer blows of the R.A.F. and the American Air Force, begins. All is set for what we may hope will be the decisive stage in the smashing of Hitlerism. When the crucial blows are struck, speed in design and speed in execution will be the aim of the Allies.

The course which the war is now taking has a special significance for all of us in the ranks of the League of Nations Union. When Britain, honouring her pledge to Poland, took up arms in 1939, the Union's duty was plain. From the outset, two tasks stood out, neither having any point or purpose without the other. First, we had to play our part, both as a nation-wide organisation and as individuals, in helping to win the war, and to win it as speedily and completely as possible. For without the destruction of the ruthless

tyranny which had burst upon the world, no open and honest dealing between free nations was in the remotest degree possible—no hope of re-establishing a world organisation for the achievement of peace and prosperity by means of co-operative endeavour. So our second task was the corollary of the first. From the long-range point of view, winning the peace would be at least as difficult as winning the war. The only way to tackle it was by stimulating public study and discussion of the complex problems of post-war settlement by every means within our power.

Fuller Fields

Throughout the fluctuations of this war, the Union has kept its eyes on victory and the road beyond. In days of adversity and doubt, it played a not unworthy part in stiffening the nation's resolve. To-day, when the times are themselves heartening, fuller fields of opportunity are widening in front of the Union. As the immediate goal of victory draws nearer, so is the urgency of making the best use of victory forcing itself upon human intelligence. Man's vision is sensibly expanding beyond the mere right of survival, which once dominated our strivings. There is a revulsion from the "little-minded years,"

as Mr. Herbert Morrison called them the other day—from the selfish timidity of 1931-1940. In this respect, the political instincts of ordinary men and women everywhere are sound. Their broad conception of the kind of world which they want to see established after the war is the direct outcome of their realisation of the failures and shortcomings of the old. Commonsense is an excellent fingerpost at the start of the journey, but over difficult country a compass too is needed. Without knowledge, wrong paths may be taken, and the end lost in blind gropings after the means.

All this implies that, whenever peace may come, the time available to prepare for it will be all too short. Allied strategy is bound to take account of the eventuality of a long and bitter struggle being necessary to break through the iron wall with which the Nazis claim to have invested Europe. Should the war again call for patience and grim endurance, let us in the Union see to it that not one moment of the interval given to us for thinking and planning is wasted. On the other hand, what Napoleon termed the "imponderables" may intervene to shorten the war. A nation's morale is a curious, incalculable thing. That of Germany has been subjected to strains and stresses, internal as well as external. The snap, when it comes, may be sudden—as dramatically unexpected, to the onlooker, as the swift finish of the Tunisian campaign. Let us equally see to it that a comparatively speedy peace does not catch us unawares.

Get Busy

All branches and members of the League of Nations Union must be up and doing. The time has come to take stock of the situation and to mobilise our full resources to greater effort. Looking back, the Union has no cause to be ashamed of its war-time record. Certainly more constructive work has been accomplished than any of us

would have dared to prophesy in September, 1939. Much of the story has been told in the *Annual Reports*, the latest of which (that for 1942) will be in the hands of the General Council this month. But the story, though encouraging, gives no grounds for complacency. What has been done simply underlines how much more could be done.

Local conditions and possibilities naturally vary considerably in different parts of the country. Difficulties there are, even in the most favourable localities for Union activity—nothing else could be expected in war-time. The test of a good branch is its ability to draw vigour and vitality from the challenge of the times through which we are living. Everywhere—in the Forces no less than on the home front—the degree of interest in international questions is amazing. This is the Union's opportunity. In no place in the country should Union activity be impossible.

So we confidently look for a big drive in Union activity; up and down the country, in the precious months which we have to prepare for the peace. To strong and weak branches alike, the broadcast words of our Prime Minister (who is Hon. President of the Union) should be an inspiration to intensive effort. Whether through the medium of public meetings, discussion groups, "Brains Trusts," the Press, or carrying the Union's message to other organisations which are eager to hear it, there are chances for all of us to get busy. And never forget that, in the last resort, the Union's influence for good depends upon members and money. It would be absurd to suppose that the present paid-up membership represents anything like the full strength of support for the Union's ideals and policy. The problem is to tackle many thousands of people who are ready and waiting to pay their subscriptions. Let us see to it, then, that not one potential member is left outside the Union, when the urgency of our appeal is greater than ever before.

INTERNATIONAL LAW, YESTERDAY AND TOMORROW

Warmly to be welcomed by lawyer and layman alike is the issue in English of a continuation of *Hlidka Mezinárodního Práva*, the well-known Czechoslovak Scientific Review on International Law.* This year-book, indeed, reaches throughout a remarkable level of excellence. Dr. Benes leads off by drawing attention to the need of securing definite international legal regulation guaranteeing, universally, certain fundamental human, political and social-economic rights, and laying upon States corresponding obligations.

Professor Brierly exposes the common idea that the reason why States resort to war is that they cannot get their legitimate grievances redressed by peaceable means. This assumption history does not support. Do everything possible to eliminate international friction, but we must realise that no conceivable changes in the *status quo* would satisfy the interests of all States. Germany, in fact, found her pretext for the present war not in any doubtful provisions of Versailles, but in precisely those where every effort had been made to secure scrupulous fairness. Neither law nor equity was an alternative to the sort of things the Axis were determined to seize—but only the organisation of preponderant force behind the peace. International law and justice can underpin security and acquire fresh strength by the gradual abolition of fear, but they are not substitutes as eliminators of war.

Edward Taborsky shows clearly that "Munich" and the Vienna arbitration have now no claim to rank as international law, but should serve as a warning of the collapse of the order and law which comes from perfidy and violence on the one side and shortsightedness and weakness on the other.

Sir Arthur Berriedale Keith develops this fatal combination of sins of commission and omission in an article on the

*CZECHOSLOVAK YEARBOOK OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. Published under auspices of Czechoslovak Branch of International Law Association, 30, Norfolk Street, Strand, W.C.2. 8s. 6d.

sanctity of treaties, marking the progressive undermining of International Law during the last decade. Japan, Italy and Germany adopted the doctrine that treaties cease to be binding the moment they seem to tell against national interest, and drove straight ahead along the road to aggression. But other Powers—Great Britain, France and the U.S.A.—also struck at the very roots of International Law by evading their treaty obligations to support in any effective way the victims of aggression. Morally there may be a difference between these sins of commission and omission, but the effect of both on International Law was equally disastrous. When peace comes, States will have to educate their peoples, and peoples their States, to realise that it is not enough to know what is right; the means to protect right must be provided.

M. Georg Schwarzenberger writes on the immediate problem of War Crimes and an International Criminal Court. After sketching the actual bearing of international customary law on war crimes, he goes on to analyse the Report adopted by the special committee on this matter set up by the Peace Conference in 1919. A compromise was reached, and everyone knows the contemptible farce of the trials of the criminals at a later date before the German Supreme Court, aided by the psychological fact that once fighting stops the idea of retributive justice appears to lose some of its force. M. Schwarzenberger outlined the patterns of various solutions of the problem after this war, to each of which there still clings a formidable array of objections. Perhaps there is insufficient recognition here of the enormous difference in scale between past war crimes and the totalitarian variety—the massed, nationally planned and executed massacres characteristic of the present war. The reaction, too, of the peoples actually face to face with these organised crimes will be correspondingly on a more explosive plane. National military courts are not discussed in this article, but that they will play a vital part in immediate post-war conditions no one can doubt. Yet this very certainty enhances the urgency of cutting through the brushwood and also creating an effective International Court.

THE INTERNATIONAL AUTHORITY

By THE EARL OF PERTH

(Formerly Secretary-General of the League)*

The nations have been given a second chance, and you who have held to the ideals of the League of Nations through good report and through evil report may be both happy and proud. A comparatively short time ago it was the fashion to decry the League and most of its works, and I have even met people who ascribed the present calamities to the foundation of the League. To-day those accusers have largely vanished or are silent, and we are experiencing a complete change.

Among the United Nations I know of no responsible statesman who does not recognise that, if you are to maintain peace and promote prosperity between nations, you must have an international organisation—the Prime Minister calls it “a World Institution”—capable and ready in the first place to prevent not only aggression, but aspirations towards aggression, and in the second to secure international co-operation in political, economic and social fields. I use the words “economic and social” in their widest sense. But surely these are exactly the objects which those who framed the Covenant of the League set out to attain.

The Preamble to the Covenant, which has so often been quoted, declares that the aims of the League are to promote international co-operation, and to achieve international peace and security. Practically identical except you will notice that the emphasis has been slightly changed. The new—no, not new, let us say revised—version lays perhaps the greatest stress on the prevention of war, while the Preamble to the Covenant gives priority to the promotion of international co-operation. I think that here the revised version is right, since international co-operation, international prosperity, and, indeed, social progress in this and every country are ultimately dependent on the preservation of peace, which must therefore be the primary duty of any International Authority.

* In his Presidential Address to the London Regional Federation of the L.N.U.

On the other side we must admit sorrowfully that the League did fail to accomplish the purposes for which it was founded. Why? In my view no simple answer can be given to the question. The reasons for the failure are numerous and complex. But is there nothing to be learnt for the future? Surely the lesson is that it is essential that the nations who desire peace shall be determined that aggression shall be checked, and that the potential aggressor shall be aware that this is a real and fixed determination, to which effect will be given by overwhelming strength. Only thus can peace be assured. Its attainment necessitates both unity and sacrifice—but how little compared to war!

The Basis

Unity: The United Nations, united in peace, as now in war. This is the structure on which we can most hopefully build. To the existing number of the United Nations must be joined, for the purposes of peace, first the Powers at present neutral—not necessarily all at the same moment, but gradually as the need arises; then the lesser enemy Powers; and ultimately, perhaps in a future which is still distant, the great aggressors. And so we shall reach the stage foreshadowed by the Prime Minister—“Some day all nations.”

I use deliberately the term “United Nations” because it seems to me that it may well be the most appropriate name for the new International Authority. We may have pangs in abandoning our old and cherished title of “the League of Nations,” but if its surrender facilitates in any way—and I think it may—the creation of a new and more universal authority, then surely we must not hesitate. If the substance of our vision can be realised, the style is of little account.

Let us assume that we have now reached the stage when an International Authority is established with the primary duty of preserving peace. From it will depend other international authorities dealing with

economics, with finance, with transport, with education, and with social activities such as health, labour and so on. Each of these other authorities should have its own appropriate constitution and organisation; but since it is not really practicable nor desirable to separate politics from economics, or from the other activities I have mentioned, the International Authority must be the supreme directing and co-ordinating body. In the same kind of way as the Government of a country directs and co-ordinates the activities of the numerous Government departments, so the International Authority will direct and co-ordinate international activities.

The analogy must not, of course, be pressed too far. I do not think that such a system should give rise to any serious difficulties. As you know, it worked successfully for many years at Geneva, and of course each organisation will have within its own sphere a varying measure of autonomy. A good and noteworthy example of the method is to be found in the International Labour Office, which was largely independent of the League. It derived, however, its financial resources from a vote of the Assembly, which, by its control of the purse, was able to exercise a general supervision over the programme of the work.

So much for the rough outline of the International Authority. There are, however, one or two subsidiary points of importance on which I should like to comment.

The Constitution

You must, I think, have a written constitution for the International Authority. Something in the sense of the Covenant; though I myself hope that the new document will be shorter and less ambitious. I would give pride of place to the first part of Article XI:—

“Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting Members of the League or not, is hereby declared to be a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations.”

Such a provision surely gives the International Authority sufficient scope to deal with any danger to peace. If the States composing the International Authority are determined to prevent a breach of the

peace, they would derive from this Article adequate powers for any action, including the use of force, which they might think it desirable to take. If they are not so determined, any number of paper safeguards will prove useless. . . .

I may be told that the Article only applies to the safeguarding of peace, and not to international co-operation generally. I agree; but then I would fall back on para. 3 in Articles 3 and 4 of the Covenant:—

“The Assembly (or Council) may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world.”

This surely is all embracing.

Of course, further arrangements will be required, perhaps by way of regulations; because it is to my mind advisable that the clauses of the Constitution itself should be as brief and succinct as possible, to provide for regular meetings of the Authority, for the relationship of the Authority to other organisations, for the Budget and so on.

I am rather strengthened in my view by the letter which so eminent a supporter of the League, Dr. Gilbert Murray, wrote to *The Times*, advocating the addition to the Kellogg Pact of the first paragraph of Article XI of the Covenant.

Regions in Perspective

Next there is the plan for regional councils, which found so prominent a place in the Prime Minister's broadcast. Once the International Authority has been firmly established, then—but not till then—I favour the delegation to regional councils of purely regional concerns. But do not let us be under any illusion: it will often be found difficult to distinguish between what is regional and what is universal. For this reason there must be an easy possibility of recourse to the central International Authority.

I have made no mention of the Secretariat of the new authority, nor of the terrifying duty which Lord Cecil recently proposed should be entrusted to the chief official of that authority, namely, that he should be responsible for calling attention to any international situation which might ultimately lead to a resort to war. The idea has much to attract, as it takes away from any one State the invidious obligation

of lodging a complaint against another State. On the whole, I feel that it would be a wise measure—though the burden placed on the individual officer will be heavy, and he will have to be a man of wide experience, great competence and high courage.

Much is being spoken and written on the subject of the new international organisation, and a notable fact is that practically all the writers and speakers agree on the main points. These points

are those for which you in the L.N.U. have been striving for the last 20 years. You can therefore go forward with good hearts and high hopes. If, as we believe, effect can be given to the principles of the Atlantic Charter and the Anglo-Soviet Treaty, the aims of those who founded the League, and of those who supported it will at long last come to fruition. We must, however, realise that many sacrifices will be required before the ripe fruit appears.

FREEDOM FROM WANT VIA FOOD FOR ALL

By GORDON DROMORE

From Canada the I.L.O. has lately issued a whole number of important publications; but none is more timely and valuable than an article by Sir John Boyd Orr on "The Role of Food in Post-war Reconstruction," appearing in the March *International Labour Review* (2s. 6d.). Here are practical suggestions, which everyone can grasp, by an acknowledged authority on nutrition questions, telling us just how to implement President Roosevelt's "Freedom from Want," by planning here and now a World Food Policy.

There is no doubt that this can be done. When the war ends on a shattered world, the first essential will be for unity to prevent another war. But the United Nations' second task will be to provide food and shelter on a health standard. Of these, Housing is mainly a national problem, but Food is an international one, only to be solved by the co-operation of nations.

Advantages

In the hour of reconstruction plans which already command a large measure of agreement naturally offer special claims for priority. And here a food plan fills the bill, uniquely. Food requirements, for example, are known. Authoritative bodies have drawn up health standards for food, which are the same for all—not in the

sense of the same kind of food, but of the need for the same essential nutrients. And people can easily understand food plans, for they can be stated in terms of milk, butter, fruit, eggs, meat and the other common foods needed for families of various sizes. Food plans, too, are practicable, for Science has so enormously increased production power that all the food needed can be produced if Governments are anything like as energetic over their peoples' needs in peace-time as they are in war. The war itself, moreover, has already taken us a long way towards adapting the production and the distribution of food to meet peoples' nutrition needs. Take only two examples. There is the rationing system, which has made available a prodigious amount of knowledge about the actual working of food plans on a health standard. Or there is the large-scale adjustment of food production policy in the U.S.A. and in Canada to the imperative needs of European countries.

The social and economic advantages of a food policy on health standards are obvious to all. In Britain mortality among the worst fed is 30 per 1,000; among those who are adequately fed only 9 per 1,000. In the case of the former tuberculosis is twice as prevalent, stature three to four inches less, physique (including disabilities of short sight and hearing) worse. "If food were available on a health standard,"

declares Sir John, "we should save more man-years of life in one decade than we have lost in all the wars of the last 100 years." No measure could do more to promote human welfare than to bring a diet adequate for health within the reach of any family.

Such a food policy means, of course, a good deal of re-orientation of existing systems of food production. A great expansion of agriculture is essential. Sir John quotes figures for the increase needed in the U.S.A.—some 40 millions more acres of food and feeding-stuff crops. Similarly Britain will need an increase, in her case rather of the protective foods. Britain is well adapted for the production of milk, vegetables, fruit, bacon and eggs on quite as economic a scale as in Denmark or the Baltic countries. British agriculture, Sir John suggests, should develop like that of Denmark and the Netherlands. And imports of wheat, beef and mutton would have to be increased to make up for the fall in production of these foods, as a result of satisfying British needs of the more protective foods.

Then there is the effect of all this on Industry. If the United Nations set out to produce the food the peoples of the world want, there will be a new era of industrial prosperity. Industry cannot but profit from the need of widespread farm-reconditioning, more electrification power, houses for agricultural workers, better transport. Conversion of our tanks and guns to tractors and cultivators and milking machines need be no parrot cry—it is a practical policy well within our grasp.

Organisation

Sir John has no doubts about the broad organisation needed for realising a World Food Policy. Each nation must set up an organisation for its own national needs, and there must be an international organisation to enable nations to co-operate in food production, and to develop trade for their mutual advantage.

In Britain it is suggested that there should be a National Food Board, operating through a number of Commodity Boards as, for example, for milk, beef, mutton, eggs, bacon, fruit, fish, cereals, and so on. The N.F.B. would be appointed, after free discussion in Parliament, by the Government for a period of

years; and its job would be to bring the national supplies of the main foodstuffs up to the health level needed to provide enough for every man, woman and child, and to arrange that this level would be within the purchasing power of all. The N.F.B., with the necessary funds at its disposal, would work through the Commodity Boards, which would control and ultimately own the key points of food distribution, and be the main wholesalers for the foods they handled.

Nor need this involve serious dislocations. For the existing Agricultural Marketing Boards, which deal with some of the foodstuffs, would be taken over as going concerns to form corresponding Commodity Boards. But, it should be pointed out, these new Boards would be responsible through the N.F.B. to the *whole community*—to producers, distributors, consumers and taxpayers.

Such a broad outline—it makes no pretensions to a Blue Print—is given by Sir John to show that an organisation could quite well be built up without bureaucratic interference to meet the needs of the people, and leave full initiative and business enterprise to both producers and distributors, and a good deal of choice of food to ordinary people.

League Spadework

In the larger field, nations would co-operate in setting up international agricultural and food committees, whose business would be to give information and guidance on the best method of ensuring that the national larders are sufficient for the needs of the people; and to help trading in food and even arrange long-term credits. In fact, such a food policy would be in essentials the same as that started by the League of Nations in 1935, as a result of which within four years 22 Governments had set up National Committees. Had not war come, these 22 nations would have devised a definite scheme of co-operation.

A food policy, says Sir John, can be used as a self-starter to get the whole system going in the right direction, leading to expansion of agriculture, industry and trade. The structure would be stable and permanent, because based on the sure foundation of human welfare. It must be planned now.

AMERICA AT WAR

By MISS K. D. COURTNEY

A visitor to the U.S.A. brings back a vivid and heartening impression of that great country gradually swinging into war. I say "gradually," because no country—least of all one of the size of U.S.A.—can change over-night from peace to total war. Moreover, total war is a conception entirely alien to the American people, and a little time must elapse before the realisation of what it means penetrates the whole of that vast and complex society.

It is a mistake to suppose that there is no shortage of supplies of any kind in U.S.A. Rationing of some commodities is already in force, and more will undoubtedly follow. Coffee, sugar and shoes are already rationed; all canned goods which are the mainstay of the housewife in U.S.A. are rationed on points; but the rationing of petrol perhaps affects the citizen as much as anything else, since the whole rhythm of life in U.S.A. depends upon the motor car. Fuel, especially oil, has also been short this winter, and this has affected the heating system of nearly every American household.

As to opinion in U.S.A., one must speak on this subject with all reserves. One certainly gets the impression of great national unity about the need for winning the war and for organising the war effort. There is a natural tendency to regard Japan as public enemy Number 1, especially along the western seaboard, where everybody is conscious of the Japanese menace, and discussions as to whether the energy of the country should be bent on defeating Germany or Japan first are not infrequent. Moreover, U.S.A. has always had close touch with the Far East and has made many ties of sympathy and interest with China. Mme. Chiang Kai Shek was in U.S.A. during the period of my visit, and her

fine speeches and outspoken comments inspired great enthusiasm in U.S.A.

Europe Through U.S. Spectacles

To turn to Europe, Americans have been apt to regard Europe as a tiresome and quarrelsome continent in whose wars U.S.A. does not wish to be entangled. This point of view undoubtedly still exists, even if it is below the surface, and I do not believe that the nature of the Nazi assault on freedom and civilisation is realised to the full, nor do people seem to know enough about the heroic resistance of the people of the occupied and invaded countries and of the contribution to the allied war effort which this resistance involves. France has always held a high place in the admiration and affection of the people of U.S.A., and they are puzzled and baffled by the present situation; the political developments in N. Africa after the American landing did nothing to dispel this confusion, especially as many of the leading newspapers openly expressed their dissatisfaction. Russia is a country which has aroused an almost passionate feeling in the U.S.A.; there still remain those who regard Russia with fear and are anxious as to Russia's political intentions after the war, though I judge that this group is infinitely smaller than the number of those who are full of admiration and sympathy for the fight that Russia has put up and who are anxious that more should be done in the way of a second front in Europe.

Great Britain, of course, holds the leading place among the allies from the American point of view, and the fact that for a whole year she was alone in standing up to the enemy created unbounded admiration and enthusiasm among the American people. There were not a few who thought that

defeat was inevitable, and the admiration of Great Britain's victorious stand was proportionately increased. England has, however, always been an object of criticism in U.S.A., and this criticism still exists. U.S.A. prides herself on her democratic character, and is apt to regard Great Britain as riddled by class distinction. There is a great deal of interest in the changes which have been brought about in this country since the war, in particular the changes in our scale of values and in the acceleration in the process of democratisation and equalisation which has been going on for some time. The Beveridge Report attracted much attention in U.S.A., and was, indeed, an eye-opener to many people. I found some Americans are impressed by their own belief that the Beveridge Report would have a better chance of acceptance in England than the report which the Social Security Board has drawn up would have in U.S.A.

The Empire and India

The British Empire is a matter upon which Americans are critical, and, it must be added, extremely ignorant. We have no reason to resent this fact, for our own people are ignorant enough and with less excuse. It is, however, surprising—seeing that Canada is the immediate neighbour of U.S.A.—that Americans should actually believe that our great Dominions Overseas are both governed and exploited by Great Britain. The Indian problem arouses much feeling in U.S.A., and is as profoundly misunderstood as the whole question of the Empire. I found a singular ignorance as to the complexity of the Indian problem, and a tendency to regard it as a question of Great Britain simply granting freedom and independence to a unity—called India. These questions of Empire, of colonies and of India are important just because

they are obstacles to a really good understanding between our peoples, and it is for this reason that I dwell upon them here.

Post-War Planning

Post-war planning is, however, the subject which I found excites the most lively interest in all parts of U.S.A. It may be discussed from many angles, but fundamentally the issue is between isolationism and international co-operation.

Isolationism is a traditional policy in U.S.A., and it is natural enough that it should be so, both because Americans are descended from those who left Europe to escape from its complications and because the vast continent of America not only provides most of what the nation needs, but has also, until recently, offered a vast field for the pioneer. So profound is this desire for isolation that nothing less than the shock of Pearl Harbour could have jolted the U.S.A. out of this attitude. Most observers agree that had it not been for the Japanese attack, U.S.A. would never have come into the "shooting war"; but the Pearl Harbour incident undid in one day the work of centuries, and isolationists and pacifists were converted in large numbers to co-operate in a war in two hemispheres. Many competent observers believe that isolationism has gone for good, and that the vast majority of the American people appreciate the fact they can only exist in close co-operation with the rest of the world.

I do not feel so confident that isolationism may not again rear its head when the war is over. It has a lure for Americans which I think is understandable, and it will need a great deal of hard thinking both on the lines of economics and politics to convince every American that world co-operation is essential to his future prosperity and security. It is on these lines that

excellent work is being done by the organisations concerned with post-war planning; practically all of them appreciate the necessity for world co-operation, and marshal their facts and their arguments in such a way as to lead inevitably to that conclusion. It is partly no doubt for this reason, partly because of the splendid leadership given by the administration, and partly because of the inexorable logic of events, that a large number of American leaders as well as great masses of the public are coming to understand the need for international co-operation. Their security has been rudely assailed. They know they cannot fight Japan single-handed.

They begin to appreciate that freedom and independence cannot exist in small or large states without security, that a sound world economy is not possible if each country must be on guard against aggression, and that the only answer to the problems which all these facts raise is the answer of collective security.

Because of all these things I return from America not only with a renewed admiration and affection for the country and its people, but with a sober confidence that, if we labour for real sympathy and understanding, we shall find the people of U.S.A. ready to co-operate with us in the building of the post-war world.

UP AND DOWN THE COUNTRY

Through the initiative of the Rev. John M. Stormonth, Superintendent of the Circuit, Special Services are being held at Darlington Street Methodist Church, WOLVERHAMPTON, with the double object of concentrating public attention on both the short term policy of maintaining courage at a high level and the long term policy of fighting for a world fit for decent people to live in. A large congregation, on May 2, listened with rapt attention to a challenging talk from Major-General J. W. van Oorschot. For the benefit of a group of Dutch officers who attended from a neighbouring camp, the lesson and prayers were rendered in Dutch. One of the previous services was addressed by Dr. Vaclav Benes, whose visit also aroused great interest.

WESTMINSTER BRANCH, in order that members may know something about the nature and extent of the wider work of the Union, is proposing this year to send a copy of the *Annual Report* free of charge to all who would not otherwise receive it. At the Annual Meeting on June 1, in the Jerusalem Chamber of Westminster Abbey, Canon Don is taking the chair and Lord Cecil has promised to be present to answer questions.

At a meeting arranged in the Pump Room by our BATH BRANCH, the Dean of Chichester gave an address on "The League of Nations: its works and its importance for

the future." The spirit of Munich, he said, was always waiting round the corner; and he hoped that people after this war would realise that, just as wars had been won by nations combining for that purpose, so the best way to gain peace would be to remain combined together. Councillor L. N. Punter presided, supported on the platform by the Rev. J. R. Presland, President of the Branch.

One of the most crowded and successful meetings in the history of the CROUCH END BRANCH followed the annual business meeting. Miss Knight Bruce, speaking of Britain's part in the post-war world, said that one of our biggest jobs would be to take out of the minds of other nations the suspicions created by our past policy. In peace, as in this war, we must never surrender the principles for which we stood. Capt. L. D. Gammans, M.P., addressing the Branch and visitors for the second year in succession, emphasised that he was speaking not as M.P. for Hornsey but as a member of the L.N.U. In the Branch, he said, there was plenty of room for new members. We must keep our faith in what the League stood for, and make sure that never again would we blunder into war through trying to get peace "on the cheap."

At the Annual Meeting of the HUDDERSFIELD BRANCH, held in the Town Hall Council Chamber, the President (Arch-

deacon A. Baines) introduced Dr. H. G. Chapman, Headmaster of Ossett Grammar School, who spoke on "The Pacific," stressing that the problem of Japan would still be there even after Japan had been defeated. The annual report showed that, although 20 new members had been enrolled during the previous year, a lot of work remained to be done in getting in renewals, and an appeal was made for volunteers to help with the collecting.

As in previous years, Mr. George S. Green's annual Presidential Address to our SKIPTON BRANCH has been printed in pamphlet form, so that members in the villages may be kept in touch with what is going on. We vividly remember the excellent surveys of the international situation which Mr. Green provided in previous years, and congratulate him on maintaining the same high standard.

Our LOUGHTON BRANCH is holding a series of talks on "Some Thoughts on Reconstruction." The first of these was given by Dr. Z. Grabowski, the well-known Polish journalist and editor of Polish news bulletins. He stressed the necessity for international collaboration and for a better educational system in which youth from all countries could meet together on a really large scale and exchange views.

Addressing our STREATHAM BRANCH on "Social Reform from the International Standpoint," Mr. James Macdonald gave a reasoned analysis of what goes to make up Social Security. He regarded the Atlantic Charter as an encouragement to Social Security, while the Anglo-Soviet Treaty and the Polish - Czechoslovak Agreement showed the desire of other countries to make their contributions.

Mr. A. Michalopoulos gave an absorbing account of "Greece's Contribution to the Cause of Freedom" at the May Buffet Lunch arranged by the LONDON REGIONAL FEDERATION. After showing how Greek resistance first to Italy and then to Germany had completely upset the Axis timetable, he proved that British help had been completely justified from the point of view both of honour and of strategy. The first post-war task would be to establish security. "Be patient if we smaller nations quarrel a bit," he said. "That will be the result of our misery."

At the next L.R.F. Lunch on Tuesday, June 8, at the Y.W.C.A., Miss K. D.

Courtney will speak on her American tour.

More "Brains Trusts" were arranged by L.N.U. Branches during May. At HAMPSTEAD, there were two British representatives, Miss K. D. Courtney to deal with political questions and Mr. J. R. Leslie, M.P., to deal with social and economic. Dr. Vaclav Benes (Czechoslovakia) and Miss Hebe Spaul (Russia) were the other members, and the Question Master was Mr. A. E. W. Thomas.

In spite of the rival attraction of a regimental band concert in an adjoining park, the BERKHAMSTED Brains Trust was well attended, with a good number of young people in the audience. Mr. Knox Johnston (Question Master) put the questions in turn to Mr. Aldous (Great Britain), Dr. Vasifdar (India), Dr. Jolles (Poland), Mr. Moussman (Russia), Mr. Sonnenfeld (Austria), and Mr. Gerard (Belgium).

The LEYSIAN MISSION'S Brains Trust consisted of Mr. J. T. Catterall (Great Britain), Miss Hebe Spaul (Russia), Mr. Reginald Bridgeman (Far East) and Mrs. Eileen Travis (U.S.A.).

At BLAIRGOWRIE, the members of the Brains Trust were Sir George Morton, Sir William Mackechnie and Mr. C. G. Hawkins.

A resolution calling upon the Government to carry out the boldest possible measures to save the Jews from being massacred by the Nazis was carried unanimously at a meeting called by our SOUTHAMPTON BRANCH. This was done after an earnest and forceful address by Mr. Victor Gollancz, who said that of the six million Jews in Europe before the war broke out it was probable that two millions had already been massacred. The meagre measures so far adopted were most disappointed.

At the Annual Meeting of the HARTFORD BRANCH, a resolution urging H.M. Government to take every possible step to bring hunted victims of Nazi oppression to a place of safety was carried unanimously. The annual report describes the past year as "the most encouraging we have had since the war began." There has been a gratifying increase in membership, and it is particularly encouraging to note that a high proportion of new members are readers of HEADWAY. In addition to its steady programme of meetings, the Branch throughout the year has regularly placed HEADWAY in

the Brunner Library and in the Hartford Methodists' canteen for the Forces.

Sir Ralph Wedgwood presided at a public meeting of the NEWCASTLE-UNDER-LYME BRANCH, when the Rev. J. Burton (Ipswich) spoke on "How can we save the Jews?" A strong resolution urging action was carried unanimously.

Major-General van Oorschot undertook a four days' tour in NORTHAMPTONSHIRE, addressing many groups of the Forces as well as L.N.U. meetings. Two large meetings at the MONTAGUE BURTON FACTORY (Leeds) were addressed respectively by the Dean of Chichester and the Dean of Durham. Mr. A. Pelt, formerly of the League Secretariat and now working for the Dutch Government in London, spoke at a Union meeting in the BROMLEY Public Library. Mr. D. L. Lipson, M.P., was the speaker at a meeting in the Town Hall, STRATFORD-ON-AVON.

Mr. John T. Catterall's engagements included meetings at LEISTON, WATER ORTON, DUDLEY, READING, LEIGHTON PARK, CHESTER, MIDDLEWICH and WORCESTER. Other Union meetings were held at CHURCH STRETTON (M. Francois Eyriey), BUCKHURST HILL (Miss Hebe Spaul), LAMBETH (Mr. T. C. Archer), ST. JOHN'S WOOD (Mr. Richard V. Jenner), and NORTH FINCHLEY (Miss E. A. Waite). At WEST WICKHAM there was a better audience than at any time since the beginning of the war, when Miss Freda White gave a stimulating talk on "The Inevitable League." The STREATHAM HILL CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH started off its series of International Talks by inviting Mrs. M. G. Stevens to address a group of young people on "The League and the Commonsense of World Peace."

ROTARY CLUBS which had L.N.U. speakers during May included:—ASHFORD (Mr. Norman Mackintosh on "Canada," and Dr. Z. Grabowski on "Poland"), DUDLEY (Mr. J. T. Catterall on "The Atlantic Charter"), MAIDENHEAD and SLOUGH (Mr. T. Filipowicz on "Poland and her Problems"), SCARBOROUGH (Mr. Jaya Deva on "The Far East"), SOUTHALL (Mr. Leslie Aldous on "The Statute of Westminster"), ST. ALBANS (Mr. Gustav Stern on "The Future of Central Europe"), and WEST HAM (Mr. G. S. Pulimood on "India").

Our PUTNEY BRANCH has arranged a series of three meetings in the next few

weeks. On Thursday, June 3, Miss Freda White will speak on "Colonies in the Post-War World," with Mrs. Jaffe in the chair. At the Annual General Meeting, on Wednesday, June 30, Lady Layton will preside and Dr. Gilbert Murray, O.M., will talk on "Why we need a League of Nations, and what the League is doing now." On Thursday, July 15, the Rev. Chalmers Rogers will open a discussion on "Post-War Education," with special reference to the international aspects. All meetings are at 59, Putney Hill, S.W.15, at 7.15 p.m.

BURY CALLS GRAND RAPIDS

It was a proud occasion for our Bury (Lancs) Branch, when, early in May, eleven of Bury's townfolk spoke about their activities and interests to listeners in Grand Rapids, Michigan, U.S.A. The broadcast took place in the "Bridge Builders" series of the B.B.C.'s North Atlantic Service. But it was really a development of the move started last year by our Bury Branch to link up representative local societies with their opposite numbers in the American town, thus helping to create a solid friendship between the peoples of the two countries.

After the Mayor of Bury had greeted the Mayor of Grand Rapids, the Rev. J. W. Maw, chairman of the Bury Branch, briefly described the work of the League of Nations Union. "We look hopefully," he concluded, "to you in the United States to take a leading part in the great adventure of making a good life possible for the 'common man' everywhere."

Then, with cheerful promptings and interpolations by Tommy Thompson, the compère, who had helped to write the script, the representatives of other local organisations spoke in turn.

Bury folk who wanted to hear the broadcast had to miss some of their sleep. It was relayed to entertain American listeners at their tea-time on Wednesday, May 5, but the corresponding time over here was 1.15 a.m. on Thursday. A repeat recording was sent over the air at 2.45 a.m. on the Friday, and the Rev. J. W. Maw, who stayed up to listen, reported it as "coming through well."

FROM HEADWAY'S POST-BAG

Education

Sir,—I have received a delayed letter-telegram from Mr. Rossello, the Assistant-Director of the International Bureau of Education, at Geneva, referring to HEADWAY of November, 1942, page 5, and instructing me to send the Editor Mr. Rossello's article, translated by me, in the "New Era" of January, 1943. I am therefore enclosing it here. Now that there is so much talk of creating an International Education Office, it might interest your readers to know what has already been done, in a small way, in that field.

MARIE BUTTS,

Former General Secretary of the I.B.E.

[The article in "The New Era" describes the opening, in 1925 at Geneva, of an unofficial International Bureau of Education. In 1929 the scope of the Bureau was enlarged and it was given a juridical status of a semi-official nature. By 1939 seventeen Governments, or their Ministries of Education, were members, and the yearly conferences convened by the I.B.E. at Geneva were attended by the official delegates of about fifty Governments. No country has left the I.B.E. during the war and useful work is still being done—including intellectual assistance to prisoners of war.—Ed.]

GENERAL COUNCIL

The Summer Meeting of the General Council of the League of Nations Union will be held in the Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1, on Thursday and Friday, June 24, 25 and, if necessary, on Saturday, 26.

A special Session, to meet members of the London International Assembly and the Council for Education in World Citizenship, is being arranged for after tea on the Thursday. Members of the Joint Commission of the L.I.A. and C.E.W.C. will open a discussion on Education for World Citizenship, with special reference to their Report on "Education and the United Nations."

Any member of the League of Nations Union may attend this session. Tickets will be sent free on application to the Secretary, 11, Maiden Lane, London, W.C.2.

Russian Foreign Policy

Sir,—Mr. Berry appears to agree with me that national armies and national tariff walls should not be restored. I make no distinction between large and small states. All states who wish to be included in the new war-free and want-free area must transfer responsibility for defence and tariffs (or quotas) to an international authority, equipped with an international force. Frontiers, including that between Russia and Poland, will then cease to have the importance which Mr. Berry attaches to them.

"CENTURION."

NEWS FROM SWEDEN

The dominant will of the Swedish people to take part in a free world organisation after the war is stressed in a letter from Mr. Allan Degerman, Secretary of the Swedish League of Nations Union. He encloses a copy of "Principles for a New International Order of Justice," adopted by the Swedish Committee of the I.P.C. (of which the Swedish L.N.U. is a member) at its annual conference in Stockholm on April 17 and 18, 1943.

The present co-operation between the nations for destructive purposes, says this declaration, must be replaced by a co-operation for constructive work and mutual aid; but this co-operation must be secured by a universal order of justice. While there may on certain conditions be a Nordic as well as a European bloc, the final aim must be an organisation embracing the whole world. The experiences which since 1919 have been gained within the League of Nations and the International Labour Organisation should be utilised as much as possible, and the organs which have justified themselves at Geneva must be preserved. Then follow a series of proposals for securing peace, freedom and a respect for human values, and for replacing war by something greater and more positive.

HEADWAY is reaching Sweden regularly, and Mr. Degerman has translated parts of it for publication in that country. We heartily welcome all this evidence that our friends in Sweden are actively planning for the world of to-morrow.

WORLD AFFAIRS IN PARLIAMENT

By OWEN RATTENBURY

For some reason it used to be considered highly reprehensible to work out plans for the future when the full conditions precedent were not ascertainable. It was called by the wisecracks "counting your chickens before they are hatched." I am not sure that such a description would be considered the height of wisdom to-day. After all, the science of poultry farming has advanced so tremendously in recent years that it may be possible for the best owner to reckon with practical certainty the results of his hatchings, and so to be able to make those pre-hatching calculations without the risk of great confusion resulting.

Britain's Currency Plan

Certainly in the ordinary sense of the proverbial term the Chancellor of the Exchequer and other speakers in the House of Commons were indulging in this sort of thing when they discussed Post-War International Currency and the important subject of an International Clearing Union. Sir Kingsley Wood had previously referred to varied ways of approach to post-war economic problems as follows: An orderly reduction of barriers to the flow of goods between countries; the work of the I.L.O.; direction of international investments for development; and the approach to an international monetary mechanism to help international trade. He now said that the White Paper that had been prepared by the Exchequer did not commit the country to the principles or details of the scheme outlined, which was really the fruit of Lord Keynes's fertile brain, assisted by consultation between departmental officials. Although this was a British plan it did not mean we are putting the flag on it and backing it as our scheme against others. It was derived from the experience of British banking, international trading, and the clearing of international balances. The particular voting suggestions he regarded as of very secondary importance. They were aiming at a common sense working of the participating countries.

His premises for the future suggested that the goods of each country be exchanged as freely as possible, that the immense tech-

nical developments stimulated by the war be worked to produce a harvest for peace, that the unity of the world should be something more than a pious phrase, and that employment in this country should be linked up with our export trade.

The proposal is to establish a currency or, as the White Paper says, a Clearing Union resting on the foundation that all participating countries agree to pass their payments of international balances through a Clearing Union; that for this purpose they use a unit of account to be called "Bancor," which is fixed but not unalterably in terms of gold and to which the par value of the exchange of each country should be related, that each of the participating countries should have an international overdraft based upon the value of its foreign trade over a period (say, three pre-war years), and upon such factors as are appropriate. This was not the same system as Germany's, which led to a complicated system of blocked balances and economic pressure in the interests of Germany. The individual trader will not consciously come into touch with the Clearing Union at all. He will make his necessary arrangements with his own bank. The aim of the Clearing Union is to restore the old system free from excrescences like the German clearing system and free from excessive bilateral agreements.

I need not go into further details as the Chancellor did. It seems to me that some impressions of the speech and the debate as a whole are more likely to be useful. The underlying aim of the Government and their representative, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, is apparently to run the monetary systems of the world for the benefit of the world. It aims, in fact, at an expansionist in place of a contractionist pressure on world trade. They know that the world is going to be practically bankrupt. Old monetary ideas and values cannot survive an immense spending on material which is produced for no other purpose but destruction. Mr. Greenwood's recent statement that pounds, shillings and pence are meaningless symbols is well

understood to be true. Exchange values entirely alter the meaning of such symbols, and when you deal with such a figure as that mentioned by the Chancellor of total adverse balances of £25,000,000,000 with its counterbalance of the same amount of credit balances, what conceivable meaning is there to it? Add another half-dozen noughts and it just means about the same thing. The imagination cannot grasp it.*

The aim, however, is to see that no nation, because of its impoverishment, shall be so out of the picture that it may be destroyed by accumulative depressions. The whole thing in essence is founded on an internationally minded set of people.

The American Scheme

An American scheme has also been drawn up. It has essential differences from the British scheme. It proposes an international fund of gold, currencies and securities of member governments, to which each subscribes a quota largely based on its holdings of gold. The monetary unit of the fund is called "unitas," an equivalent to 10 dollars. Some speakers seemed to think that the differences between the British and American schemes were so great as to be irreconcilable. Others, on the other hand, thought in terms of compromise between the two schemes, on a kind of "*bancor cum unitate*" basis. Others, again, pointed out that Russia comes into the picture, and if you are talking in terms of gold, the production of Russia is a very big factor indeed. China, too, is an important factor. There are potentials other than gold potentials. Assets include industry. China cannot be left out of any scheme if industry is an element in it. Nor can the smallest nation. If you speak in terms of sacrifice can any nation match Holland?

It was pointed out that it would be a disastrous thing if Britain and America came to an agreement and then tried to force their joint scheme on the world. That, however, seems an unlikely development. It certainly was not contained in the spirit of Sir Kingsley Wood's scheme.

* This figure should have been 25,000,000,000 DOLLARS not pounds. In answer to a question in the House, on May 25, Sir Kingsley Wood admitted that he had "slipped up."—Ed.

Sir Kingsley, indeed, seemed open to formidable criticism only on the ground of inconsistency with former Protectionist ideas. It might be argued that, to cope with the high tariffs of other determinedly Protectionist countries, the Protectionist weapon was absolutely necessary; but when practically the whole of the business system which created that situation has been eliminated, and an entirely new set of affairs arises, to claim consistency in the ways and means of dealing with the two situations is entirely stupid. It is not conversion from Protection to Free Trade, but the using of weapon "A" for one type of warfare and weapon "B" for another type. I use the word "warfare" advisedly I think, for the struggle with the terrible conditions that must eventuate after the war cannot be described as anything less than a warfare against tremendous natural and artificial forces.

World Interest

To me, the best thing in this debate was the obvious wish of all who spoke to help the world rather than only to help Britain. Perhaps they were not quite certain as to the place of the enemy in that post-war world. Who is? Our vision does not stretch far enough ahead to prophesy in the way of that supreme Jewish vision of the future when "the wolf shall dwell with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them." But in spite of all, world settlements must come to that to be effective in the long run. The House of Commons has gone a part of the distance.

KENSINGTON BRANCH

Sir JOHN MAYNARD
K.C.I.E., C.S.I., D.Litt.

on

"RUSSIA AFTER THE WAR"

Saturday, June 5th, at 5 p.m.

At Essex Church Hall,
Palace Gardens Terrace, W.8.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

REPORT FROM TOKYO. By Joseph C. Grew. (Hammond and Co. 2s. 6d.)

The former U.S. Ambassador to Japan issues a very serious warning against pre-conceived ideas about Japan's physical, industrial and moral weaknesses, or her vulnerability in this war. "Know your enemy" is half-way to victory. Democratic States, who are mainly preoccupied with peace, start nearly scratch in the business of preparing for war. But modern Japan is the product of cumulative capitulation to militarism, and all that this virulent poison entails. The Japanese militarists, who were preoccupied with war, concentrated for years in strengthening their machine. Intensive training became very nearly the whole order of the day. Reserves piled up, a rigid fighting spirit was scientifically inculcated into a docile people to the point that it accepted a national ambition to conquer all Asia and beyond. What Japanese friends of Western civilisation and the ways of peace there have been were completely powerless to prevent war. Mr. Grew analyses recent Japanese depredations and broken promises. It is unnecessary to eat a whole egg to know that it is bad. "You cannot treat with such people; you can only defeat them." The militarists are determined to destroy anything that smacks of international co-operation. And these leaders, Mr. Grew warns us, with a people behind them drugged to the edge of any fanatical sacrifice, will not accept or adapt themselves to Western ideas: they will fight to the death for their own.

Only by the utmost effort, and with unbending unity, will the United Nations

win through to victory. And that victory will not be an end but a beginning. Militarism must go. But "I want no traditional hatred to be established between our peoples," adds Mr. Grew. "We must and shall face the problems of peace with a broader understanding of the world we live in, knowing that to solve these problems our eyes must be idealistic and our feet realistic."

THE GREAT HATRED. By Maurice Samuel. (Gollancz. 3s. 6d.)

This fervent study of Anti-Semitism, which even to-day is but dimly understood by many who are loudest in denunciation of its intolerances, is from many points of view timely. The author claims that Anti-Semitism is not just one of the temporary expedients of Nazism, a vote-getting device or strategy to be discarded when it has served its turn—it is in itself an ideal, fundamental to Nazism. The real attack is on the whole moral code of Judæo-Christianity which, with its hope of moving away from the force-foundation of human relationships, is the denial of "the eternal privilege of force and strength" claimed by Hitler in *Mein Kampf*. Since, however, a direct onslaught against Christianity would not do, more subtle means must be devised to destroy its significance from the earth.

Mr. Samuel's weakness is that, in his enthusiasm for his subject, he overstates his case, and fails to take into account other important elements which go to make up Nazism. Further, his indictment of the liberal intellectuals is not the most persuasive form of argument.

MAIN CONTENTS

	PAGE
Editorial - - - - -	1
International Law, Yesterday and To-morrow - - - - -	3
The International Authority. <i>By the Earl of Perth</i> - - - - -	4
Freedom From Want via Food for All. <i>By Gordon Dromore</i> - - - - -	6
America at War. <i>By Miss K. D. Courtney</i> - - - - -	8
Up and Down the Country - - - - -	10
World Affairs in Parliament. <i>By Owen Rattenbury</i> - - - - -	14