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# HEADWAY

## IN WAR-TIME

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### THE DUMBARTON OAKS PLAN

By VISCOUNT CECIL

The Report of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference is the first blue print of the future machine for the maintenance of Peace. The L.N.U. had already done the same thing a few months ago, and, to speak frankly, I do not think the official effort is any improvement on ours. But there is not much difference between the two. Both provide for a body representing the whole of the States-Members of the new Organisation called the Assembly. In both there is a smaller body called the Council, consisting partly of permanent and partly of elective members. There is to be a Secretary-General and a Secretariat in each case, as well as a Court of Justice like the existing one. Social and Economic questions are to be dealt with by Committees, who are to report to the Assembly.

#### The Security Proposals

All this is satisfactory; the more so since it makes it probable that any new Organisation for Peace will contain these features. There remains the much-advertised Security proposals. The Council is to be called a Security Council, and is apparently only to deal with the prevention of aggression. Probably it will be realised that it must also deal with all political international questions, such as Mandates, Minorities, Disarmament and others, since they all have a more or less direct bearing on Security. The same is true of Social and Economic questions. Even if it is not accepted that wars are the result of Economic grievances, which seems to go too far, there can be no doubt that, since national unrest is very often due to Social or Economic

difficulties, and that national discontent tends to produce national irritability, any council dealing with security should also consider those questions. It may well be that on further consideration all political, social and economic questions will be seen to be within the jurisdiction of the Council, and that the duty of actually preventing aggression should be entrusted to a Committee of Defence.

#### Sanctions

There remains the very vital subject which we used to know in past years as the question of Sanctions. First let us recognise that there is a good deal of nonsense talked about this. People constantly assert that no effective provision was made in the Covenant for stopping aggression by force. That is untrue. It was expressly laid down that any country which by violence broke the Articles of the Covenant providing for the peaceful settlement of disputes was guilty of an act of war against all other members of the League, who were therefore obliged to enforce against the covenant-breaker immediately all forms of international pressure, including "blockade," and to take counsel with other members of the League as to any military measures needed to secure compliance with the Covenant. As Mr. Churchill has truly said: "The war could easily have been prevented if the League of Nations had been used with courage and loyalty by the associated nations."

#### Covenant and Dumbarton Oaks

But it may be true that the Covenant was not sufficiently explicit as to the duties

of the League with regard to aggression. Its theory was that each member should be severally bound to use its strength against the aggressor. This applied to the smallest as well as to the greatest. It is obvious that if the aggressor was a powerful State (and unless he was the aggression was not a world-danger), then a relatively small State could not effectively resist him by itself. It was therefore generally understood that the obligation to go to war against an aggressor was not binding unless enough States to make success reasonably assured joined in.

The Dumbarton Oaks proposal is different. There is no individual obligation to go to war with an aggressor, but the Council, if convinced that aggression has taken place or is threatened, may direct the members of the Organisation to take whatever steps may be needed to stop it. It is not yet laid down how the Council is to act—whether by unanimity or majority, and, if so, by how great a majority. Whatever decision is come to on this point, there will be difficulties. On the whole, I am inclined to the view that it would be best to maintain the old system of individual responsibility for each State, but add to it a provision in that the Council should, by majority, express an opinion whether aggression is threatened and, if so, what steps should be immediately taken. If that were done it would be made clear what strength could be exerted against the aggressor and yet the right of each State to decide whether it was bound to go to war or not would be preserved.

### EDITORIAL

## ESSENTIALS IN PEACEMAKING

Goodwill alone can never be a sure bulwark of peace. That is a fact that must be driven home to the people of Britain and other countries now and in the critical formative years ahead. In the struggle to achieve a peaceful, ordered world, it is so easy to let a vague benevolence, aided and abetted by slipshod thinking, take the place of a clearcut purpose. President Roosevelt once estimated that ninety per cent. of the peoples of the world desired peace. If they could have translated desire into action, World War No. 2 would never have happened. But with most the wish at no

### Will to Work the System

I believe that the difficulty just discussed will not be as great in practice as it appears to be on paper. The truth is that no international system will work unless the nations mean to work it. That is what we found in the years preceding the war. Germany and her accomplices were determined to conquer the world by force. The peace-loving States were vacillating or worse. France, under the direction of Laval, was secretly encouraging Italy. Britain hoped that the dangers and difficulties could be avoided by appeasement. Russia was bewildered by the policy of the Western Powers and believed, not unnaturally, that she might find herself the sole active opponent of the Axis. In those circumstances the League was sidetracked, and the war burst upon us. If a similar state of international opinion arises in the future, the result will be the same. On the other hand, if the nations are prepared to put the maintenance of peace before all other national objects, then the Dumbarton Oaks plan will provide adequate machinery for the purpose. Our business is to see that no British Government can exist which is not whole-heartedly for peace through International Co-operation. That does not mean that we should not do our best to secure the best machinery available. But it does mean that even if we cannot get the exact arrangements we prefer we shall with all our strength support any scheme that is honest and reasonably effective.

time got beyond the stage of unconstructive sentimentality. The League was at Geneva and all was right with the world. Even when things palpably began to go wrong, too few learned in time from the logic of events. It was not (as Sir Norman Angell has pointed out) that the peace-loving ninety per cent. failed to inaugurate economic or social reform, but that they failed in the right politics of defence.

Humanity, as Mr. Churchill hinted, is soon to get its second chance. The general international organisation, which will inherit the principles, the experience and

the tasks of the League of Nations, will not lack good wishes as it starts on its hopeful career. It will have its enemies, of course—particularly those who have always been hostile to any sort of a League of Nations; but a good many of them will not dare to come out into the open as long as public opinion is generally sympathetic to the new venture. Whilst we must be on our guard to counter insidious attacks—like the studiously casual sentences that already are slipping into articles in the traditionally anti-League newspapers—it is unlikely that these will carry sufficient weight to bring about the collapse of the new League. No. Confusion of purpose in the ranks of the peace-makers themselves is a more potent danger. That is why it behoves the League of Nations Union to mobilise all its forces for the conduct of an intensive educational campaign up and down the country.

We must strive to get a sane balance between the various aspects of peace-making. First things—first not necessarily in point of time but of importance—must be put first.

Any number of hares will be started, and somebody will be found to run after each of them. Mostly they will be well-intentioned people; but their own private chases may prevent humanity at large from getting anywhere worth while.

There will be so many jobs of rebuilding and reconstruction to be done after the war. In themselves they will be excellent objectives. None of them, however, can usefully be tackled in isolation from other problems. The trouble will come from supporters of this or that post-war project mistaking the part for the whole.

Lord Cecil has uttered repeated warnings against regarding economic and social reconstruction as the sole key to lasting peace. Another example of "running all round the issue," we venture to suggest, is to be found in the "National Petition for a Constructive Peace" for which the National Peace Council is now trying to obtain signatures in the parliamentary constituencies. In certain fields the National Peace Council has done admirable work. Some of its wartime pamphlets have filled gaps in the literature of international relations, and we have gladly drawn attention to them in HEADWAY. Its eight wartime conferences have contributed valuably to the discussion of current problems. But

it may be doubted whether the latest Petition will do more than confuse the issue. The seven propositions, it is true, include a number of worthy ideals—such as relief to distressed peoples or the abolition of poverty and unemployment—to which no member of the L.N.U. could possibly object. Nevertheless, to suppose that the realisation of the whole programme would suffice to safeguard peace is to foster an illusion. No programme that ignores the essentials can have any other result than to raise false hopes, which must inevitably be followed by bitter disappointment.

The sponsors of this Petition anticipate objections by arguing that they are not concerned with details but with principles; that it is not their province to say anything about dealing with aggression; that other bodies stress that side, so the N.P.C. leaves it to them. In all friendliness the League of Nations Union is bound to take a different view. It is just as concerned with principles, but it knows from experience that machinery must be devised to translate principles into action—and that requires careful study of details. Further, each piece of machinery set up for a particular purpose must be considered in relation to the larger International Authority, of which there is no word in the Petition. Of what use is it to mobilise the best minds in all countries to work together in the common good in such matters as relief, restoration and re-settlement, however valuable these achievements may be in themselves, if insecurity and the shadow of another world war hang darkly over all that is being done? U.N.R.R.A., the United Nations Organisation on Food and Agriculture, the International Labour Organisation, all the other functional bodies, will fail to achieve the best and most lasting work of which they are capable unless their respective activities are given a basis of political security.

That, in essence, is why the League of Nations Union attaches prime importance to the establishment of a general international organisation, with adequate powers and the will to deal promptly and firmly with any threat of aggression. Any proposals which ignore this essential are putting the cart before the horse. The achievement of international peace and security is necessary for the full flowering of international co-operation in all constructive fields.

## WORLD AFFAIRS IN PARLIAMENT

### LORDS DEBATE ON DUMBARTON OAKS

By OWEN RATTENBURY

After a month's hiatus, we resume this series of articles with a House of Lords debate. This does not mean that the Commons have been idle since their re-assembly. They have heard a big speech from Mr. Churchill, with a most important reply on the debate from Mr. Eden. There have been matters of some moment dealt with by Mr. Eden and Mr. Law at question time. This House of Lords debate, however, takes first place, for it was on "Dumbarton Oaks." It is no fault of the Back Benchers that the Commons have not discussed the same theme. They would have liked a debate on the subject, as many of them indicated, but the Government have needed all the time available to go through the various stages of several Bills. These will go to the Lords afterwards. In the meantime the Upper House has been able to discuss the notable Four Power talks on the post-war international organisation.

#### The Voice of a Critic

Lord Winster—whom some of us can fix much better by his House of Commons name of Commander Fletcher—raised the matter in a vehement speech. Quoting the Moscow Declaration, he insisted that the aim of setting up a general international organisation could only be realised by public opinion in all countries exerting its influence on all rulers. Therefore the public must be kept informed. What was at issue at such conferences as Dumbarton Oaks was not machinery and organisation, but the question of what the nations would sacrifice to secure peace. Would they sacrifice sovereign rights? Would they agree not to be judges in their own causes? Would they relinquish territorial aggrandisement, race discriminations, trade trusts and monopolies, power politics, frontiers? If not, it meant war.

The organisation contemplated at Dumbarton Oaks, continued Lord Winster, was one for keeping small boys in order by prefects who themselves were exempt from the rules. Would small nations be attracted by such an organisation? He was not surprised that no conclusions had been

reached on two vital matters—the veto and the vote. Russia, it was said, wanted the veto. Probably her long memory of the *cordon sanitaire* drawn round her, and the proceedings of the League of Nations in 1939, accounted for that. Waging war, he said, seemed to be child's play compared with waging peace. Did not Dumbarton Oaks contain escape clauses and emergency exits? The machinery involved delay. That meant shuffling. Hitler, he thought, would gamble on the shuffle. The idea of an International Police Force had been set aside. He finished by claiming that the negative task of restraining aggression should be supplemented by the positive tasks of raising world standards of living by international trade and commerce.

Lord Cranborne's comment on this speech was: "I do not think I ever heard such a Jeremiad." He was referring, of course, to the gloomy vision and not the fact that Jeremiah had been proved right in his contentions. It may be said at once that only a fellow-member of the Labour Party—the Earl of Huntingdon—supported Lord Winster. Those who took a critical attitude towards him, or at any rate a very welcoming attitude to the Dumbarton Oaks statement, were Viscount Samuel, Viscount Cecil, the Earl of Perth, and Viscount Cranborne.

#### The League Conception

Lord Samuel pointed out that the scheme was a draft and not an agreement, and other nations must express their views before a final decision was reached—a point underlined by the Earl of Perth, who called the draft an international White Paper with certain rough edges and gaps to fill in, towards which the co-operation of the smaller nations would be most valuable.

The general conception of the League, said Lord Samuel, had been maintained in the statement, with greater similarities to the League than differences. Points which he welcomed were its elasticity and the fact that France, in due course, would come in as one of the leading Powers. There was

need to maintain, and to define, international law, and to enforce it by a police force. In this war there had been three documents of fundamental importance—the Atlantic Charter, the Anglo-Russian Treaty of Alliance, and the Dumbarton Oaks report.

Lord Cecil, I understand, is contributing an article to this number of HEADWAY, so there is no need here to elaborate his views. He did ask Lord Cranborne one important question: What is to be done with the I.L.O.? Lord Cecil said that he would be sorry if anything were done to destroy it, for its work had been invaluable.

The Earl of Perth made an interesting survey of the philosophy of sovereignty. In one sense any international agreement meant a sacrifice of sovereignty. But also entering into an agreement was an assertion of sovereignty. He was answering the difficulties of many people, who found this matter of the sacrifice of sovereignty a snag to Dumbarton Oaks and its consequences. He believed that the co-operation of the smaller Powers would be of great assistance in the phase of polishing, expanding and balancing the various factors involved in the Dumbarton Oaks plan.

#### Foresight of League Builders

Lord Cranborne, in his reply for the Government, started off by expressing surprise that a Socialist like Lord Winster should take such a pessimistic view of international organisation. He agreed that the more these difficult questions were discussed and brought before the minds of the British people, the more probable it was that a sane and sound public opinion would be built up.

The Dumbarton Oaks proposals approximated closely to those drawn up at the end of the last war—a remarkable tribute to the foresight of those who 25 years ago, had drawn up the League Covenant. After so many years' hard experience, it had not been found necessary to proceed on very different lines from those then laid down.

Variations—possibly improvements on the original organisation—there were, continued Lord Cranborne. The peace system now envisaged was more flexible and, in some respects, less legalistic than the League on certain occasions proved to be. Adjustments in the light of changing

conditions would be facilitated. It would be possible to tackle international problems at any earlier stage before they degenerated into disputes. The plan placed the responsibility for international security four-square on the shoulders of the nations best able to bear it. The military provisions had been carefully worked out to ensure that, if necessary, armed force could be brought to bear swiftly and effectively to maintain or restore peace. Thus the proposals allowed for a serviceable set of teeth—not always available to the League. The air arm would be of immense importance, and, in spite of Lord Winster's scepticism on the point, the proposals represented a real advance on anything known up to now.

Referring to the Economic and Social Council, which was supported by Lord Winster, Lord Cranborne reminded him that these social and economic provisions were valueless without a good security organisation.

These Dumbarton Oaks talks, concluded Lord Cranborne, were only the first step. He agreed with Lord Winster that machinery was of no use without the will to use it. The people of the world must be kept fully informed about it. As far as he knew, there was no wish anywhere to present the people of this country or the people of our Allies with anything in the nature of a *fait accompli*. They wished to have the draft fully ventilated and discussed. In particular, the United Kingdom Government must move hand in hand with the Dominion Governments. It was on the close collaboration of the nations of the British Commonwealth within the framework of a world order that the future of the new organisation would largely depend.

## FRESHWATER MEMORIAL FUND

Latest donations to the Freshwater Memorial Fund are as follows:—

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Handsworth's donation represents their fourth effort, bringing their total to £21 5s.—approximately 3s. per head of membership.

# PSYCHOLOGICAL DISARMAMENT FOR GERMANY

By JOSEF GETA\*

When we have reached the point at which the transformation from war to peace has become a reality, a new battle—or rather the struggle for psychological victory—will still be in progress.

Strategy with military superiority may lead to final victory on the battlefield, but they do not pave the way to peace. The argument that we did not achieve total victory in the last war, that if we had hanged the Kaiser and our troops had entered Berlin in 1918 the political development of the past twenty-five years would have taken quite a different course, is misleading. Admittedly there was not total victory in 1918, but it was the ignorance of the Western Powers which enabled Germany to prepare for a second world war. Few people outside Germany ever realised the importance of the steady process of psychological rearmament, cheap and unobtrusive, which was going on inside the country.

## Studying Germany's Weapon

To-day we face an enemy who has been subjected to various psychological preparations. Not only has the German Army paid enormous attention to this subject; even the *Jungvolk*, the "Hitler Youth," have had their own psychological selection course for the purpose of choosing their leaders. As propaganda is one of the main parts of psychological training we have to study this weapon, which has developed to such an extent in the past few years that I would prophesy that the new science of to-morrow will be psychological propaganda.

## Replacing Nazi Ideology

After the defeat of Germany, whether we see an evolution, a revolution or an internal collapse of the whole German home front, a new spirit or a new ideology must replace the dominant German idea of the last century, the idea of "Geopolitics" of Prof. Karl Haushofer and Prof. Gross's *Grossraumlehre*, which pointed the way to the military science of "total war." Both

\* Pen-name of a former Austrian Foreign Correspondent in Nazi Germany.

ideologies tried to find a historical foundation for the German nation in the Roman Empire. We have now not only to destroy this idea. We have to replace it if we want to avoid the development of a psychological resistance by certain groups inside the Reich—groups which may not even appear to be of any importance, but which will be quick to profit from any difficulties among the Allies. The transformation of millions of minds is not a thing that happens overnight or by the signing of a peace treaty. Assuming even that the most favourable terms are granted to Germany, the psychological effect on the mass of a nation which has been misled for twelve years by psychological propaganda will be almost nil.

In order to achieve security for ourselves, in face of apathy from a whole nation which may easily affect neighbouring countries, we shall be forced to adopt or adapt the Goebbels method of worldwide propaganda.

Before we come to the road which will lead to, or at least, show us the way towards, the psychological disarmament of Germany, the lessons of war propaganda on both sides have to be brought back to mind.

In his introduction to Kingsley Martin's "Propaganda Harvest," Francis Williams writes:—"This is a war of ideas; a revolutionary war fought to determine the future of European civilisation. In that conflict military power is important, but the power of the idea is not less important. For we are fighting not simply to destroy the military power of Germany, but to defeat the philosophy of Nazism . . ."

## Propaganda That Failed

Nothing could better express the importance of the factor with which we have to deal. At the beginning of this war we tried, with records of Hitler's speeches where he promised the independence of Czechoslovakia and Poland, to achieve a certain psychological effect on the German masses by showing the contradiction between the promises of the Nazi leaders

and their deeds. We failed. The guns before Warsaw were louder than the truth from London. We told the German people how much foreign currency their leaders had invested in the Argentine, Spain and Brazil. It made not the slightest impression. On the other hand, the bombs on Brussels and Rotterdam, and the surrender of the French Army at Compiègne, were a reality—the Germans could almost see and hear them. Goebbels made the most of it all, so that even an anti-Nazi could scarcely remain uninfluenced by the amazing success of military power built up in so short a time. But, from our point of view, every leaflet dropped over Germany, every B.B.C. talk outside the news bulletins, must have been considered a sheer waste of material and time.

## Propaganda That Succeeded

After Hitler's invasion of Russia, however, a new star appeared on the horizon of propaganda warfare. This star did not rise in London. It was the voice which asked the widow Frau Kramer why her husband had come to Russia: "We didn't ask for him. Couldn't he have stayed at home with you, Frau Kramer? Now he is dead. Yes, he is dead . . ." This was a powerful voice. It did more than fulfil its purpose of whispering propaganda inside the Reich. From that time, from the siege of Stalingrad to the latest air raid over the Reich, a powerful medium has been at work. The superiority complex of the Nazi *Herrenvolk* has been shaken. A nation has become afraid.

## What Germans Will Heed

When the war ends it is probable that we shall find the German State in the throes of fear and on the verge of mental and physical collapse. Under such conditions shall we have to start the psychological disarmament of Germany. The problem will still remain when UNRRA has solved Europe's "stomach" question.

The masses will start to think again. Politics, economics and education will once more come into the picture. Before this stage has been reached I myself would like to see loudspeakers established on every street corner in Germany, ready to broadcast three times daily every action taken by the Allies to save people's lives, and to compare this with what the Nazis had done to the Jews in Poland in a similar situation.

Now if you are a German what is the effect of such broadcast reports? At first probably you do not take any notice of them. The second time you may pay but small attention. But the third and fourth time you listen automatically to the words, and the psychological effect comes into operation. The Nazis did just this in 1935 and 1936 with reports about the monasteries in Munster and Catholic Bishops, and succeeded in provoking anti-Catholic feeling among the masses.

The second important factor which will have to play its part is the Press. Through the newspapers it must be shown that, with the fall of the Nazi Reich, Germany has begun to live as a European. Similar use can be made of the cinema and the theatre. I even think it would pay to employ the R.A.F. with the rôle of flying low over German roofs for the first six months after hostilities have ceased to demonstrate power in the air.

## Not By Force Alone

The stabilisation of peace cannot always rely on force.

When we condemn a criminal we think not only of punishment but of reformation. Can Germany's evil thoughts be transformed into good ones? In broadcasts and leaflets we appealed to the German people to destroy their leaders. We revealed the truth about the dark plans of the Nazi clique. But Goebbels's master propaganda had a greater effect, and we reaped no dividend in the form of strikes and mutinies. Since the day and night raids, however, the victory-minded German has changed and become fearful, apathetic or even anti-Nazi. From this we clearly see that force has a tremendous effect on the German psychology. Goebbels may still think that his propaganda of fear will keep German morale from reaching the breaking point. The future—and it may not be far distant—will prove whether the little Doctor is right or wrong.

The Allied Powers must constantly be on the lookout for the right moment when the idealising of Europe as a moral power has become, in the eyes of many Germans, a reality. A substitute will have been found for nazification and the militarism of the Junkers, which will be a guarantee of peace as Nazism and Prussianism were a guarantee of war.

## SECOND CHANCE—FOR AMERICA AND THE WORLD

By PROFESSOR ARTHUR NEWELL

*Our contributor is Senior Lecturer, Associates for Anglo-American Understanding. Many will remember him as Founder and former President of the American Outpost in Great Britain. He was sometime Professor of International Relations at Robert College, Istanbul, Turkey.*

The post-war world has already begun. This fact is often overlooked, merely because the shooting has not yet stopped. The problems of tomorrow are already upon us. Mr. Roosevelt must have had this in mind on October 23rd when he declared: "Our objective is to complete the organisation of the United Nations without delay and before hostilities actually cease."

Many Americans agree with me that in 1919 we missed our great chance to throw our weight on the side of partnership for a new world. The issue became the football of partisan politics and American public opinion was confused by a welter of irrelevancies. They had not come to familiar terms with the rest of the world. They had not yet fully emerged from that intensive cultivation of their own continent which had so absorbed all their energies for over a hundred years. The rest of the world was very foreign, an unknown quantity to be distrusted.

### Tug-of-War

During the next twenty years contrary influences worked upon the American mind like a tug-of-war. On the one hand, the wild pre-occupations of illusionary prosperity in the 1920's, followed by the decade of the chastening 1930's, kept many American eyes turned inward. At the same time people in every section of the country were quietly learning to apprehend this world of which they were becoming a conscious part. This was happening in schools, universities, women's clubs, chambers of commerce, adult education programmes and youth movements. The fresh outbreak of war in 1939 caught the American people before these counter-influences had resolved. We have, therefore, during the war had to learn wisdom the hard way.

### America's Chance

And now the great chance comes back once more, with even greater urgency. American partnership for the finishing of the war is guaranteed. The struggle is now joined inside America for the projection of their partnership into the creative task of peace.

If we merely look at party platforms and listen to campaign speeches, the too-facile conclusion would be that no more questions need be asked, that America's mind is made up to participate fully in the world of tomorrow. But the questions are not all answered in the minds of ordinary people who still tend to think in the pattern of pre-1939—even sometimes of pre-1914. Senators and Congressmen still quarrel; editorials and broadcasts still call for an America that goes her own way unhindered by awkward entanglements; suspicions, now of Britain, now of Russia, now of troublesome Europe as a whole, still act as a drag upon impulses at once generous and the plainest common sense.

### Will Wisdom Win?

But wisdom is gaining ground unmistakably. Said Congressman Fulbright a few weeks ago: "Surely we will not refuse to save ourselves simply because, in doing so, we may possibly help save others." In 1917 there were three organised movements promoting American participation after that war. Recently a list was compiled of nearly 400 such organisations now at work on behalf of American participation following this war. If this ground swell of new conviction, often unconscious and inarticulate, can be skilfully directed, American partnership is assured. It is an educational and political task calling for the highest capacity. Professor Butterfield has spoken of that "reluctance to bring

things to a decision until something like the general sense of the nation makes itself clear." The general sense of the American nation, while not yet crystal-clear, is becoming more so with each new look at the map of the world. 450 years ago Christopher Columbus, with a 15th-century mind, discovered America. To-day, rapidly winning a 20th-century mind, America is seeking to discover the world. May no fogs nor storms nor quarrels among the crew prevent our ship from keeping in convoy as we move steadily towards the desired port.

## WORLD ORGANISATION

THE LONDON INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY, that unofficial body made up of representative members of the United Nations which was brought into being three years ago by the League of Nations Union, is rounding off its work, now that so many of its leading figures are returning to their own countries. Months of research and study have resulted in a series of reports of substantial merit. All have been communicated to the Governments of the United Nations, and some have been published.

The latest to appear in print is a pamphlet on THE FORM AND FUNCTION OF THE WORLD ORGANISATION PROPOSED BY THE L.I.A. (London International Assembly, 11, Maiden Lane, London, W.C.2. 4d.), which comes at a most appropriate time in view of the publication of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. It may be said at once that the views here set forward are not in every respect identical with those of the Four Great Powers—nor, for that matter, do they completely coincide with the Union's *Draft Pact for the Future International Authority*. Fruitful comparison is thus invited between the three plans.

At the end of this report many readers will be interested in the "Who's Who" which appears, of the officers and members of the London International Assembly. It will tell them something about the men and women of so many different nationalities who have been taking part in this significant experiment in international collaboration.

## NOTES

All readers of HEADWAY who remember MR. FREDERICK WHELEN, for a great many years the Union's Senior Staff Speaker, will be glad to know that he has now arrived safely in this country. In June, 1940, he was caught in France by the German occupation, and spent some time in internment camps before being allowed a certain degree of liberty.

A conference in London, held under the auspices of the League's Health Organisation, has just succeeded in drawing up an international standard for *Penicillin*. We hope to publish, in our next issue, an authoritative explanation of what this means in the international campaign against disease.

The Dumbarton Oaks proposals have been published by H.M. Stationery Office (Cmd. 6560. Price 2d. net). Copies are on sale at the L.N.U. Book Shop.

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## UP AND DOWN THE COUNTRY

The eagerness of Branches and other organisations to hear about plans for the new International Authority has resulted in a healthy crop of meetings, large and small.

Dr. Gilbert Murray, O.M., speaking on "The New League" for the L.R.F. in WESTMINSTER, had Mr. Geoffrey Mander, M.P., as chairman. At LETCHWORTH Miss K. D. Courtney spoke on the Dumbarton Oaks talks, stressing the excellent beginning which had been made, but warning her audience against expecting everything to go through without a hitch. The Dean of Chichester visited HAMPSTEAD to talk on "The New League of Nations" at the first of a series of meetings which this Branch has in prospect for the winter. At WALLINGTON his subject was "International Authority: How Big?" and the Mayor took the chair. At BURSLEM Sir Ralph Wedgwood gave an address on "Equal Partnership or Power Politics."

Professor Arthur Newell visited EDINBURGH to give a series of three lectures in the North British Station Hotel on "America and Her Place in the World." At the first, with Sir John Fraser in the chair, he vividly described the American multi-coloured past. Next, under the chairmanship of Sir George Morton, he showed how the "thirty years' war" had transformed America. Lastly, with the Hon. Lord Russell as chairman, he answered the question "Is America Part of Tomorrow's World?"

For the winter, the EDINBURGH BRANCH has arranged to provide speakers for meetings of 15 other associations.

BOURNVILLE WORKS BRANCH has got out an interesting syllabus for a series of monthly Discussion Meetings between October and next March. Mr. F. E. Pearson opened the series by talking on past mistakes and the future development of the League of Nations. At the subsequent meetings Mr. J. N. Hyde is speaking on an International Police Force, Mr. J. White on Disarmament and the right use of power, Mr. W. H. Monk on a World Court, Mr. H. Watts on Social and Economic Justice, and Mr. W. E. Meredith on the need for a "yardstick" for international affairs. "What My Country Expects after the

War" is the general title of a series of eight lectures (on Monday evenings until November 13) which NORTHAMPTON is running at the Y.M.C.A. Hall. The speakers are well-known foreign statesmen and experts.

Sir Stanley Wood, M.P., was the speaker at a meeting arranged by our GERRARDS CROSS BRANCH. At the TEES AND CLEVELAND DISTRICT COUNCIL, Miss Nancy Stewart Parnell outlined the draft of the New International Order. At meetings at HAMPSTEAD and WEYBRIDGE, Mr. L. R. Aldous spoke on the Future International Authority, and at CRICKLEWOOD he showed the place of Hot Springs, UNRRA and the I.L.O. Mr. J. T. Catterall, at LEAMINGTON, discussed Planned Industrial Production.

ROTARY CLUBS which had addresses from L.N.U. speakers during October included ASHFORD (Mr. Aldous on the International Labour Conference at Philadelphia); MILL HILL (Mr. Catterall on "Britain and World Peace"); and ST. ALBANS (Mr. H. H. Walker on "The Four Power Conference").

BEACONTREE HEATH Women's Bright Hour had a talk from Mr. Catterall on "Our Part in World Peace." He visited the WOMEN'S INSTITUTES at LANGLEY and PANGBOURNE to speak on "The Atlantic Charter" and "The Shape of Things to Come."

The LONDON DIOCESAN BOARD arranged for Mr. Aldous to address three women's meetings at Bishop Creighton House, Fulham, St. Peter's, Cricklewood and St. Andrew's, Westminster, on the Problems of Post-War Europe.

LAMBETH BRANCH, after a brief lull due to the flying bomb menace, has got going again—during October speakers were supplied to eight local organisations.

**LEND-LEASE.** By E. R. Stettinius, Jr. (Penguin Special. 9d.)

A review of this fascinating story of a "weapon for victory—and peace" appeared in the May number of HEADWAY this year. The only drawback was the stiff price. There are few recent books of which a cheap edition is more welcome, and we cordially commend the remarkable value of this Penguin Special.

## LONDON CALLING—

### ARE WE PREPARED FOR PEACE IF VICTORY COMES TO-MORROW?

This question is one which must be uppermost in the minds of all those who are concerned to carry to a successful conclusion the Union's aims and principles. To do this, the strength and influence of the Union must be increased—not only at headquarters, but in every Branch up and down the country. If, owing to the war, there are gaps among the workers, it is important at this time to call together the few who remain to consider what can be done to ensure that every Branch plays its part in the great task of educating and inspiring public opinion in the years ahead. Youth must help in this essential service, but at present the young are absorbed in war duties and depend upon us to carry on for them until they return.

Those pioneers of the League, who have loyally supported the Union's policy

through its darkest days, now stand in a strong position. The fact that the truth which they then recognised did not win immediate acceptance is no reason for despair. Rather is it a challenge that what these realists sought to establish must now be carried to a successful conclusion; and it will be for the Union to point the way with YOUR help.

The London Regional Federation arrange various activities in Central London which are intended as rallying points to which all within the Metropolitan area can come for information and inspiration. The real work of preparing public opinion must, however, *come from within a Branch itself.*

*Have you a strong Branch in your district? If not, may we suggest that you seek out its Secretary and offer your help?*

## BRANCHES IN CONFERENCE

Regular visitors to the Union's General Council must have been disappointed that the June meeting had to be cancelled. An unbroken sequence of over twenty years is not lightly disturbed but, in view of the obvious preparations for "D" Day, the Executive Committee felt compelled to accept the Government's direction to discourage travel. In the event, the decision proved even more fortunate than was first anticipated for by June 29th London had suffered a fortnight's intensive fly-bombing.

During the past six weeks several Regional Conferences have taken place in provincial centres and others are announced for November dates. They are designed to fill something of the gap left by the cancellation of the June Council, to encourage discussion of the Union's job and how best to do it, and to strengthen the links between the Branches and the Executive Committee. To date Conferences have been held in Birmingham, Bournemouth, Bristol, Southampton, and Wellingborough, and those to follow include London (October 28th), Worthing (October 30th), Bradford (November 4th), Sheffield (November 11th), Liverpool (November 18th), Manchester (November 18th or 25th), and Newcastle (November 18th or 25th). At each the Executive and the Secretariat have been or will be represented, and amongst the visitors

we notice the names of Lord Cecil, Dr. Gilbert Murray, Lord Lytton, Miss Courtney, Mr. Behrens, Professor Brodetsky, Mr. Burris, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, and Sir Ralph Wedgwood.

Before the publication of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, discussion was largely directed towards some anticipation of what the New International Organisation would be like; and when the draft was made public this turned to careful scrutiny of what was actually proposed. Domestic discussion has covered a wide field, but in every Conference one has found the recurrence of certain themes: a change of name for the Union (arguments both pro and con), the recruitment of younger men and women particularly upon their demobilisation, the gap between what the enlightened citizen can *know* about international affairs and what he can *do* about them, changes which may be necessary in the structure of the L.N.U. to bring Branches and Areas into closer relation with Headquarters and with each other, etc. Less comprehensive but equally valuable have been the suggestions about posters, literature, meetings and all the other devices for the better enlightenment of outside folk.

In practically every Conference "tea" has been an important item on the agenda and has acted as the catalyst both of debate and fellowship.

H. H. W.

**BOOKS OF THE MONTH**

**KEEP THE PEACE THROUGH AIR POWER.** By Allan A. Michie. (Allen and Unwin, 40, Museum Street, W.C.1. 172 pp. 10s. 6d.)

The Dumbarton Oaks proposals, with their provision for the use of air force contingents for "combined international enforcement action," lend special topicality to Mr. Michie's main thesis. His concern is to dispel the dangerous illusion that, once we have beaten Germany and Japan, we can settle back and enjoy our rightful inheritance of peace and security. Until a world community of nations can be established on a firm foundation, interim measures to keep the peace must be devised. As things are at the moment, the Germans are in some respects better prepared to win a possible Third World War than the Allies are to win the peace. The last peace was lost because the victors were unwilling to run the risk of using force in the last resort. Three questions have now to be answered: Are the nations ready to use force? Who will contribute and wield it? What shape will it take?

Until aggression becomes only a bitter memory in a wiser world, urges Mr. Michie, air power is best fitted to provide a sword in the hand of justice. By redirecting their air power the Allies can keep in check the nations not yet politically matured. As Winston Churchill wrote, "The new instrument of world order should be armed with the new weapon of science." Three or four Great Powers, who have a common interest in the keeping of peace, must pool their air strength. There is an interesting discussion of how this could be done in practice, particularly by the application of "inverted blockade" from the air and "pin down" blockade to international action.

**DEATH PAYS A DIVIDEND.** By Fenner Brockway and Frederic Mullally. (Gollancz, Henrietta Street, W.C.2. 158 pp. 3s. 6d.)

Some courage is required to write or to publish a book about a trade which is wearing a wartime garb of respectability. The authors take a long view and write with passionate conviction. To them, the only victory which matters is victory over the things which make wars possible, hence this restatement of the evidence against uncontrolled activity on the part of private

armament manufacturers. In its general outlines it is an oft-told story; but much of the material—about "gremlins" at Geneva, what one of the big noises in the arms industry called the "comic opera wars" in South America, the help given by armaments rings to Germany and Japan in their war preparations, and the air angle—will be new to many readers. A useful chart, based on data published by the Nye Committee, shows the ramifications of the armaments cartels between the two wars.

A strong case is made out for complete State control of arms-producing capacity and facilities—preferably by world agreement. Given a genuinely international Authority, with a court and police powers to back it up, it is argued that the evils of armaments rivalry could be largely controlled. Incidentally, the authors stoutly contest the Beverley Baxter theory that the League "persuaded the righteous to disarm and the wicked to arm." In fact, the sound principle of universal disarmament was vitiated by the unholy alliance between armament manufacturers and chauvinists

**COLOUR, RACE AND EMPIRE.** By A. G. Russell. (Gollancz, Henrietta Street, W.C.2. 278 pp. 7s. 6d.)

Impressive in its thoroughness is this carefully documented study of the economic, political and religious causes of the problem of race and colour. The ease with which the author moves among masses of material drawn from every conceivable source enables him to cover a tremendous amount of ground—Africa, where the tradition has been moving away from forced labour; the West Indies, with their accumulation of fascinating and almost intractable problems; Malaya, where the impact of Western civilisation has been less productive of evil than in almost any other area; even remoter colonial areas. Mr. Russell does not succeed in being quite impartial, but he is always usefully provocative. How, he asks in the latter chapters of the book, can our war-time experience of planning be applied to the future of colonial development? An Economic General Staff to give purpose and objective, application of British experience in "regional" organisation, and lend-lease to help in bringing prosperity to the colonies, are among the answers which he suggests.

**LEAGUE ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL COMMITTEES. REPORT TO THE COUNCIL ON THE WORK OF THE 1943 JOINT SESSION.** (Princeton, N.J.; Allen and Unwin, League Publications, 40, Museum Street, W.C.1. 2s. 6d.)

While the I.L.O. has been busy reporting on Social Policy in the post-war world, the League's Economic and Financial Committees have weighed in with a joint report to the League Council on the work of their last session at Princeton. It largely takes the form of a closely connected review of the recent nine publications which have been issued dealing with Trade and Commercial Policy (four reports), Relief and Reconstruction (three), and Economic Security (two). For the reading public—a large one in the case of these League Economic and Financial Reports—the clear outline given of the four guiding threads which run luminously through the whole of this series will be found of paramount interest. The first, which is thrown into prominence no matter what side of economic life is under view, is the vital necessity of carrying out an *orderly transition from the economy of war to that of peace*. The second is the plain fact that *no economy will work smoothly unless there is political security*. From this the third point emerges that *no political security can be enduring unless there is economic security*: both are pre-requisites of post-war progress. And the fourth—a fact of major importance—is the *inescapable interdependence of the various classes of economic policy*—agriculture and mining depend for their prosperity upon industry at home and abroad, and on the standard of living of industrial workers. Economic policy, in brief, must be formulated as a whole, and it must include financial policy.

This League Report is in no doubt that the mechanism already set up, or to be set up, for dealing with special sides of economics, e.g. food and agriculture, must depend for real success on the existence of some over-all organisation to co-ordinate policy. And, to assist such co-ordination, a central investigating and fact-finding body is indispensable. Here the League has already blazed a unique trail.

MAURICE FANSHAWE.

**"CHILD OF THE LEAGUE"**

Says VERNON BARTLETT, M.P.

An outstanding speaker, a fine day and great news combined to attract a record audience when MR. VERNON BARTLETT, M.P., addressed the L.R.F. Buffet Luncheon on "Prospects of Peace."

Describing the Dumbarton Oaks proposals (announced that morning) as "the first draft of a new Covenant of a new League of Nations," Mr. Bartlett said:—"The parentage is so obvious. This is the child of the League, for which we worked so hard. All the newspapers to-day contain proof that we were right."

The speaker discussed a number of current proposals for dealing with Germany, every one of which was negative. Some would have to be used until we could get our positive system going; but more and more we were driven to the realisation that the only real solution was collective security. Hence all that the statesmen had been able to do was to produce, with slight changes, another Covenant. We would have a new machine with many parts of the old machine in it.

In Mr. Bartlett's opinion, the new League would stand a better chance than the old. It was good that much of the unthinking, enthusiastic idealism had gone, for he doubted whether international affairs should be dealt with emotionally. People were now beginning to look at things with more realism and greater understanding.

MISS K. D. COURTNEY, proposing the vote of thanks, spoke of that day as "the christening day of the new League." She urged the audience to "stick it out," as, unless we did get public opinion more determined and understanding, the new League would succeed no better than the old.

As a landing has now been made in Greece, Modern Greek has more interest to L.N.U. members. The HEADWAY LANGUAGE GROUP can add to your interest. Apply to M. Darnley Naylor, 158, Henleaze Road, Bristol.

## FROM "HEADWAY'S" POST-BAG

## Colonies

Sir,—Mr. C. A. Littler in September HEADWAY pleads for a share-out of our Colonial Empire, quoting Banse's *Germany and the next War* for the "striking statement" that "England, France and America own three-quarters of the surface of the globe." This statement, however, is too striking to be accurate. The correct figures are as follows:—

Area of British Colonial Empire ...	2,140,000 sq. miles
Area of French Colonial Empire ...	3,791,000 sq. miles
Area of U.S.A. Colonial Empire ...	711,602 sq. miles
Total ...	6,642,602 sq. miles

less than one-eighth of the land area of the globe (55½ million square miles).

The motive behind Germany's desire for the return of her colonies must now be obvious to everyone. It is not an economic one. In 1914 Germany was probably the most prosperous country in the world; yet the total value of her trade (imports and exports) with her colonies was only £16 millions—less than one per cent. of her total external trade. Up to 1939 she was as free to trade with those territories as she was before she lost them. Germans, too, were equally free to settle and trade in them. There were more Germans than British non-officials in Tanganyika when the present war began. As an outlet for her surplus population Germany's colonies were useless to her. In the decade to 1914 they took only 0.13 of her total emigration. Their entire German population was less than ten per cent. of the number of Africans exterminated by the Germans in quelling risings provoked by their administrative methods. Any who think that the Germans have been badly treated should study *Germany's Claim to Colonies*, by F. S. Joelson, from which these particulars are taken.

But the basic flaw in Mr. Littler's argument is "the assumption that the relationship of a colony to the parent state is that of a chattel to its owner, available to be sold for cash or distrained on for debt." I quote from a too brief summary in *The Times* of 7th September of a speech by the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Colonel Stanley was certain (wrongly, as it seems) that there was not an individual in this country who would accept this thesis, or listen for one moment to any proposal based on it. "We think," he added, "of the future of the colonies as belonging first and foremost to themselves; and it is

for us to help them to achieve the maximum of self-government and prosperity."

In a word our relation to our colonies is one of trust; and a trustee cannot divest himself of trust property to a person (other than the beneficiary of the trust) who openly professes that he wants it for his own private purposes.

Apart from all this, there is high authority for assurance that it is the meek (or kindly) who shall inherit the earth: and it is not altogether clear that the Germans possess that qualification.  
Lymington. J. ARTHUR WATSON.

## Munich

Sir,—There is one simple answer to the pleas of the Munichites, Mr. W. W. Payne and "Subscriber to the L.N.U.", and that is this; that in May, 1938, there was a crisis, a threat by Hitler against Czecho-Slovakia, and it was successfully resisted and thwarted by Mr. Chamberlain's doing what "Subscriber to the L.N.U." said he would have been a fool to do, i.e., he informed Hitler through the usual diplomatic channels that in the event of an attack upon the Czechs Britain would be forced to line up with France. That country and Russia had already intimated their intention of standing by their treaty with the Czechs. *This united collective resistance, despite the comparative weakness of British armaments, was for once effective. Hitler drew back.*

As the military situation was practically the same in September as it was in May, it is therefore not true that a firm stand by Chamberlain in September would have brought Hitler's bombers to London. The difference between the two cases lay in the change in the British Premier's attitude and his decision, on the second occasion, to "sell the Czechs down river."

Bedford. E. A. RICHARDS, C.C.

## The Hansard Society

Sir,—In June, 1943, the Association of the Friends of Hansard was formed as a non-profit-making society with the object of promoting knowledge of the proceedings of Parliament by publicising the fact that Hansard (the official report of the Parliamentary Debates) was on sale to the public. A year later the sales of Hansard had increased by 100 per cent. The interest this aroused in the proceedings of Parliament led to many enquiries about Parliament reaching the offices of the Friends of Hansard.

It became clear that a need existed for a non-profit-making, non-party political society which should do for the subject of Parliament what the Royal Empire Society, the

Royal Institute of International Affairs, and other learned societies do for the subjects of the Empire, of Foreign Affairs and other special subjects. It is indeed remarkable that there are 2,000 of such societies in Britain, but we have hitherto lacked a "Parliament Society," although it is clear that there is work of national importance to be done in this respect.

At a general meeting of the Friends of Hansard it was decided to merge this association into a new non-profit-making educational society called the Hansard Society. It is governed by an elected Council, and individuals and associations (firms, schools, Trades Unions, etc.) are eligible for election as Members or Associates.

My Council ask for the hospitality of your columns in order to make known these facts and to say that a booklet giving full particulars of this educational work of national importance will be sent to any person or firm who writes to the Secretary, The Hansard Society, 804, Hood, Dolphin Square, London, S.W.1. In order to comply with the law, a 2½d. stamp should be enclosed.—Yours sincerely,

STEPHEN KING-HALL,  
Chairman of the Council.

## Our Austrian Allies

Sir,—I should like the comments of your readers on an aspect of the Austrian problem. Allied armies are approaching Austria rapidly from the south, south-east and east. If the Austrians contribute to the collapse of Germany by making the rear of their armies unsafe and by cutting the communications between Germany and Italy, Yugoslavia and Hungary, this would be of great military value. Austria, the first victim of Nazi aggression, has been promised independence in the Moscow declaration of November, 1943, signed by Molotov, Hull and Eden. But is it not time to make a practical gesture which would counteract Goebbels' efforts to spread doubts and would impress the Austrians? An obvious step would be the formation of an Austrian-fighting unit in the British Army.

Possibly one difficulty in face of this is the absence of a Free Austrian Government in London. But I cannot believe that this is insuperable, and although I feel sure that the British Government must have considered the question and rejected action with regard to it only after finding weighty reasons against such action, yet there appear to be so many reasons in favour of it that these ought to be discussed more often and more openly. Even if nothing of practical value should arise thereby, this discussion would at least express the sympathy which we feel for our Austrian friends and publicise the sacrifice which they are making for our common cause.

There are at least 3,000 Austrians (men and women) in the British Forces in this country, France, Italy and the Middle East. They are all volunteers. This number represents one-quarter of the Austrian population in this country. Many of the Austrians in the forces are active supporters of the Free Austrian Movement which for nearly three years has suggested again and again the formation of an Austrian fighting unit. The knowledge of the existence of such a unit would encourage the patriots in Austria, many of whom have laid down their lives for Austria's independence. Moreover, the unit would act as a magnet for the Austrian soldiers pressed into the German army, as the Czech and Polish armies attract Czech and Polish soldiers now compelled to serve under the Swastika flag.

KATHLEEN OLDFIELD  
Cambridge. (Lady Kathleen Oldfield).

## Insurance Against War

Sir,—In renewing my covenanted subscription for another seven years, I hope most of those who gave the early covenanted subscriptions will renew their covenants.

If they believe what Mr. Churchill wrote to Lord Cecil the other day, as I have always believed, they could look on their contribution as an insurance premium against war, if the principal directors of the Insurance Organisation—"The League of Nations," or its equivalent—carry out their covenant to insure against the risk of war, as understood by those whom they represent. I hope the new directors will be true to their principles and make the new "United Nations" organisation a real insurance against war, as well as all its other beneficial activities.

Weston-super-Mare. H. FILER.

## "Headway"

Sir,—HEADWAY is so vitally important for members of the Union and non-members alike that I am much looking forward to the time when conditions will enable us to see it on the bookstalls again.

Meanwhile can you not urge Branches to see that it is sent by each Branch to its own Public Library?

MARGARET DARNLEY NAYLOR.  
Henleaze.

## Our Address:

## HEADWAY

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## DIARY OF EVENTS

Sept.

25. *Estonia virtually freed by Russian drive on Baltic.*  
 28. *Prime Minister's War Survey.*  
 29. *Argentina's Assurance on War Criminals.*  
 30. *Russian Troops enter Yugoslavia.*

Oct.

1. *Fall of Calais.*  
 3. *Warsaw—end of organised resistance to Germans.*  
 5. *Allied Landing on Greek Mainland Announced.*  
 5-8. *Big Red Army Advances in Hungary and Lithuania.*  
 8. *Death of Mr. Wendell Willkie.*  
 9. *Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden Fly to Moscow.*  
*Dumbarton Oaks Proposals Published.*  
*Allied Onslaughts on Japanese in W. Pacific begin.*  
 11. *Russian encirclement of Memel.*  
*Polish Prime Minister Invited to Moscow.*  
*House of Lords Debate on Dumbarton Oaks.*  
 13. *Liberation of Riga and Athens, "Penetration" of Belgrade.*  
 15. *Hungarian Armistice Moves.*  
 16. *Nazi Coup in Budapest.*  
 18. *White Paper on Air Transport Policy.*  
*Drastic German Measures for Defence of Reich.*  
 19. *Allied Invasion of Philippines.*  
 23. *Recognition of De Gaulle Government.*  
 Nov. 30-Dec. 1. *L.N.U. General Council, Conway Hall, London.*

## FROM DOWN UNDER

As one indication of the splendid work which the AUSTRALIAN L.N.U. is doing under difficult conditions, our Executive has warmly welcomed a Statement of Policy recently adopted at a Conference of Australian Branches held at Canberra. This, after declaring that "the security, prosperity and welfare of the world or any part of it require an inclusive world organisation" (regional pacts alone are not sufficient), goes on to suggest basic principles for achieving this aim.

The VICTORIAN BRANCH of the AUSTRALIAN L.N.U. sends encouraging news of the revival of work among Youth and in the Schools. The issue of *Junior News Letter* has been well received, and "picture nights" have been arranged. Junior branches have been formed as a result of addresses in schools.

The work of the TASMANIAN BRANCH is increasing in scope and membership is going ahead. Public leaders readily give helpful pronouncements, and it is not difficult to get members from the more educated sections of the community. The real problem, which the Branch is energetically tackling, is to get hold of the rank and file. More than 16 denominations and religious societies helped in the preparations for the International Week held from August 28 to September 3. At a meeting in Hobart Dr. H. V. Evatt, Federal Attorney-General, declared that the policy for the future world organisation envisaged by the L.N.U. was in general principle the policy of the Australian Government.

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