

HEADWAY

IN WAR-TIME

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The Journal of the League of Nations Union

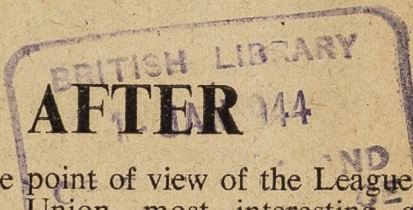
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EDITORIAL

MOSCOW AND AFTER



In a burst of unanimity as refreshing as it is stimulating, the freedom-loving world has given its spontaneous verdict on the Moscow Conference. The three Foreign Secretaries who participated were co-partners in an event of outstanding magnitude in this war of common effort, and the victory which they won in conference was mightier in effect than the outcome of a major battle in the field. A study of the five documents, issued at the conclusion of the discussions, shows that the headlines which, even in the more sober newspapers, announced "complete agreement" and "outstanding success," did not exaggerate. For once, the highest expectations have been abundantly fulfilled.

The main agreements cover plans for shortening the war in Europe, the establishment of a European Advisory Commission in London, the formation of an Advisory Council on Italy, help to Italy in restoring a democratic régime, the re-establishment of a free and independent Austria, and the trial of war criminals. China happily joined with the other three Great Powers in a most important declaration, mutually pledging themselves to continue their united action for the organisation and maintenance of peace and security.

Point 4 of this joint declaration is,

from the point of view of the League of Nations Union, most interesting and significant. By it the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, the U.S.S.R. and China declare:

That they recognise the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organisation, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving States, and open to membership by all such States large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security.

This is exactly along the lines of the proposals for an International Authority put forward by the League of Nations Union. From the highest possible quarter comes the recognition that, unless such a body can be established, there will not be the remotest chance of real and enduring peace. An admirable article in *The Spectator* for November 5 hailed the Moscow move as, in effect, "the resuscitation of the League of Nations," whether or not under some other name. The definition in the fourth point of the declaration, quoted above, "represents" (said *The Spectator*) "precisely both the structure and the purpose of the existing League. The more the various alternatives to the League have been examined in the past few years the sounder in essentials has the Covenant of the League been shown to be. The

Foreign Ministers at Moscow are clearly convinced of that, and it may be hoped that their conclusion on the point will be accepted as something outside controversy."

Only in one respect is the writer of the above comment perhaps unduly optimistic. It is by no means certain that the blessing of the Moscow Conference will suffice to disarm all criticism of the new international organisation. Already many ancient enemies of the old League are again becoming active. Their hostile voices are being raised in

LOOKING FORWARD

With the approach of a New Year it may be as well to consider the tasks that lie before the Union.

Although the war is still to be won, now—quite clearly—we have the chance to make it the prelude to lasting peace. The Moscow Conference, with its plain recognition of the necessity of an International Authority to maintain peace and security, is the first step. This International Authority can succeed only if it has organised public opinion behind it.

Who is in a better position to organise that opinion than the Union?

During more than four years of war our members have given, and are still giving, much to the war effort in personal service and savings. Is it too much to expect them to give at least the same amount of time and very much less in money towards the constructive tasks of peace?

A sustained effort will be required. So that we can plan ahead, may we again appeal to members to help us by paying their subscriptions under *Deed of Covenant*? By so doing they will greatly increase the value of the subscription without additional personal cost to themselves. Donations given in the same way would be very acceptable.

In the first eleven months of 1943 some 320 new and renewal deeds were received from members. Of these over 50 came from the County of London, followed by Surrey 41, Yorkshire 32, Lancs and Warwick 20 each, and Scotland 19.

May we look for a great increase in 1944?
H. S.

Parliament. Their pens are reviving old lies and prejudices, which are calculated to spread suspicions and jeopardise the chances of any international authority set up at the end of this war.

In this situation the League of Nations Union finds a double call to action. At Moscow, Mr. Eden, Mr. Cordell Hull and Mr. Molotov were unanimous in their broad conception of an international organisation which, this time, could be made to work. Since this conception is so completely in harmony with our own hopes, our job as a Union is to back it up, get it understood and make it as widely acceptable as possible. But, although informed opinion is overwhelmingly on the side of the proposed international organisation, it has enemies who have learned nothing from the past and will fight it to the last ditch. So the Union must also be on its toes to counteract their insidious propaganda. Let Branches and members arm themselves with enthusiasm and knowledge. As Mr. Eden reminded us, "The winning of victory, the best peace treaty which could be devised, are but the bones, the skeleton of peace. Only human will and perseverance can give them flesh and blood."

U.S.A. IMPRESSED

The United States Senate embodied Article 4 of the Moscow declaration in its own foreign policy resolution, passed by the encouraging majority of 85 votes to 5. On his return Mr. Cordell Hull had the rare honour of addressing a joint session of both Houses of Congress in Washington—another indication of the intense interest aroused by the Moscow Conference. Speaking in New York, Mr. Wendell Willkie strongly urged that the four Great Powers should now enlarge the basis of the Moscow declaration by inviting all the United Nations to sign a declaration of intention as the next step towards "the world we want."

THE FIRST THING FIRST

By SIR NORMAN ANGELL

Perhaps our chief enemy at the peace-making will not be hate or vengeance, or selfishness, or vested interest, so much as confusion—confusion arising from a multitude of counsellors and a multitude of plans. One American organisation alone has received during the last year more than one thousand plans for the reconstruction of the world—from societies, universities, study groups, churches, students.

The respective protagonists of these various plans tend to be exclusive. Each usually rejects all plans but his own; and is often very vituperative of the other man's ideas. A world tired by years of war, anxious to be relieved of the burden of thought about life and death problems, will, in the presence of so many conflicting voices, be in danger of giving up the whole thing in sheer weariness of spirit, and of allowing judgment to be determined, not by the most vital consideration, but by the one which happens to be occupying attention at the moment; the interest which happens to be the most immediate.

Unnecessary Complication

Yet very many of these confusions are an unnecessary complication. Men can live at peace, securing substantial justice under widely differing constitutions. There are at least some fifty different national constitutions in the countries of the west alone. Within the limits of each country the peoples have usually managed to live at peace, though the national constitutions may differ greatly. The ancient Swiss Confederation is very different from that of the Norwegian or Danish Monarchy; or the American Union. Yet in all these countries a high standard of peaceful civilisation and social progress has been possible. It has been possible because, though the details of their constitutions differ, the various national societies all recognise and act upon certain identical social principles. If those principles, for any reason, were not operative, no constitution however cunningly devised, could produce peace. During the nineteenth century many countries of Latin America

were in constant turmoil and bloodshed, though the constitutions which they had adopted were often admirable, and had in many cases been copied from those of very orderly States. The same constitution which in one case ensured peace and welfare, in another case failed completely to do so because in the second case the conditions indispensable to successful working of any constitution were absent. Where those conditions or fundamental principles obtain, the details do not so greatly matter. Indeed, many foreigners, accustomed to precise and written constitutions, often cannot understand why ordered government in Britain does not break down, since there are no exact constitutional provisions governing details of legislation and law which in some countries would be regarded as absolutely indispensable to order.

One of the virtues of the League Covenant was that it enabled nations of very diverse constitutional structure to cooperate in setting up the essential condition of peace without demanding too great a change in the structure of the national units, without offering too great a challenge to national and nationalist prepossessions. Yet its form did not render impossible development towards a closer knit structure, towards, for instance, something more "federal" in nature. It would not be true to say that the form and details of the future international organisation of peace are unimportant; but we shall secure agreement the more easily on details if there is first of all agreement on one or two fundamentals; agreement, which in fact in the past has not shown.

Collective Defence

The first principle upon which, surely, we had to agree, if we were to organise successfully a Society of Nations (the French term is better than our "League"), was that the power of that community should be available for the defence of its members from lawless violence. If each is left to defend himself, without help from organised society, then each will try to be stronger than any prospective enemy, thus setting up competition of armament; and

if each is his own and sole defender any powerful aggressor that can make itself stronger than one can take the nations one by one, dividing them and conquering them.

All this seems plain enough after the event. We see now that if we cannot hang together for collective defence, then the Hitlers will be in a position to hang us separately. But this very elementary proposition was, during the years of debate which followed the last war, one of the most hotly challenged of all. Curious confusions arose in connection with it. Collective action for the defence of the victim of violence was repeatedly described as resort to coercion, when we ought, insisted the critics, to rely upon conciliation and co-operation. The application of sanctions to Japan and Italy were represented as coercion, the fact being, of course, that the purpose of sanctions was to prevent coercion; to prevent coercion being used by those countries against their victims.

Loose Thinking About Arms

Similarly the issue was made to appear as one between arms and no arms, force or no force. And even to-day many critics of the League insist that the resurgence of Germany was due to our disarmament. Yet the truth is that the trouble was not lack of arms, but lack of political agreement among the Allies themselves as to how they should use their arms. Some of them ended by pointing their arms at each other instead of at the erstwhile enemy. Obviously it serves no purpose of security to pile up armament if the guns are going to shoot in the wrong direction. For more than a decade after the signature of the peace treaties the Grand Alliance still possessed overwhelming preponderance of armament over the enemy of 1918, if only that Allied power could have been pooled for the common purpose of resisting aggression. Hitler did not come to power until fifteen years after the armistice; he had not yet built up German armament, nor occupied the Rhineland, nor annexed Austria; nor formed his alliance with Japan and Italy; nor tried out blitzkrieg methods in Spain. It was not lack of armament in those early years which prevented action against aggression, but lack of a common will, a common policy, political unity. The second war came because the anti-Axis nations had lost their power to act col-

lectively in resistance to aggression, when aggression might have been prevented.

Cart Before Horse

Political unity is still in jeopardy from a confusion of only slightly different kind. There is a tendency among progressives now, not to challenge, but to push into the background, to give second place to this need of mutual and common defence against violence, and to give first place to economic and social changes. To imply that the political anarchy of Europe was due, not to its divisive nationalisms, but to a bad economic system. This surely puts the cart before the horse. If we are to have economic planning on an international scale, then we must have international political order; no nation can be permitted with impunity to make war upon its neighbour as a means of settling (say) a frontier dispute therewith.

As Russia has discovered, even a completely socialist state cannot go on with its socialism unless it is secure from outside aggression; and Russia has discovered that such a state cannot effectively defend itself without the aid of other nations that may not be socialist.

The Fundamental Condition

Many progressives seem in effect to suggest that the nations must be agreed in their social and economic doctrines if there is to be peace; and that collective power must be used to support that agreed doctrine. Note where such a principle would lead, if adopted either within the nation or internationally. Within every real democracy there are rival political parties with their respective rival doctrines. We do not say, "Peace depends upon resolving all these differences, and then putting the power of the State behind the right doctrine." On the contrary, we say that progress depends upon the existence of such differences. We say, "If any one political party attempts to impose its programme by violence, to destroy by such violence a rival party, the constitution will defend this latter, whatever its doctrine." That surely is the fundamental condition of peace, as of freedom. A political party has the right to persuade the electorate peacefully, and on that condition will be defended by the constitution. The purpose of the consti-

tion is not to promote the doctrine of one party as against another, but to ensure that settlement of the differences and resulting change shall be peaceful. If the power of the community were used for the purpose of promoting one particular economic or social doctrine, and forbidding this, that or the other doctrine, then that would be the end of freedom as we know it, and ultimately, the end of peace.

The general principle here indicated is not less applicable to an international scene which must include nations of such widely

divergent social and political doctrines and methods as Russia and the United States, Britain, China. If we can agree to defend each other against aggression, whatever our respective internal economic systems are, we can have peace. If we make such assistance against aggression dependent upon all agreeing to be capitalist, or free enterprise or Socialist, or Communist, then we shall fail to get peace, and the world may drift into new wars of religion, a new and still more devastating Thirty Years War.

NORMAN ANGELL.

WORLD AFFAIRS IN PARLIAMENT

By OWEN RATTENBURY

During Mr. Eden's absence in Russia and Egypt, Mr. Richard Law had a busy time answering questions for the Foreign Office in the House of Commons. The League of Nations, at the moment, seems to be troubling certain members of the Conservative Party. They have recently put a number of edged questions. Thus Sir Harold Webbe wished to know whether League expenditure was properly controlled and was there any waste? Mr. Law reassured him. Then Major Petherick asked about the proportions of the total contributions paid by Britain and the Dominions. This continual questioning induced Mr. J. J. Lawson to inquire if the hon. gentlemen opposite were against all co-operation with other nations; and Mr. Mander to ask whether it was not enough for them to have murdered the League without continually stirring up trouble. Rear-Admiral Beamish spoke against semi-official bodies—evidently meaning the League of Nations Union—doing irreparable injury to this country. Mr. Law reiterated that the Government attached very great importance to those sections of the League now in existence and operative. On a later date he told Major Petherick that Great Britain and the Dominions were temporarily bearing most of the cost of the League (which is inevitable under present conditions); and, in reply to a supplementary as to whether it would not be better to spend the money on an Imperial

Alliance of some sort, repeated that the Governments of Britain and the Dominions obviously attached great importance to the League.

Clearly it is not the amount of these contributions to which the critics are objecting, for that is quite small. On November 9 a Supplementary Vote of Credit of £1,250,000,000 was agreed to without a single speech from Minister or member—and so rapidly that, when the next business was called, the members who wished to speak on it were not in their places, and the subsequent adjournment was also agreed to without a speech. Yet a 5,000th part of that sum, if subscribed to the purposes of the League of Nations, would have seemed so vast that members would have gasped at any such proposition.

When the work of the I.L.O. came up, a sneering question was asked as to whether, as this seemed the only part of the League which was working, the rest could not be scrapped. Mr. Bartlett at once intervened to point out the valuable work of the Economic Section.

Mr. Eden's Return

The return of Mr. Eden brought his statement on the Moscow Conference, but the joint statement previously issued to the Press had shorn his speech of any element of surprise. His tributes to Mr. Molotov and Mr. Cordell Hull were striking. The cordiality of the Conference and Mr.

Molotov's general helpfulness had evidently impressed Mr. Eden, and, in turn, impressed the House. Mr. Walter Elliot admirably summed up the general feeling when he said, "We must admit the discretion and admire the frankness of the Foreign Secretary when he said: 'There was, at any rate, no problem which we did not discuss. We put our cards on the table as to all and each of them. Our two colleagues knew the views of this country, as we were freely and frankly informed of theirs.'"

Mr. Greenwood, in a short but succinct speech, made what I thought was a necessary and emphatic statement welcoming the speech delivered by Marshal Stalin on the previous Saturday. "It was," he said, "the speech of a great statesman. It was a speech full of hope and a speech which indicated, to my mind, that we had blown away the clouds of suspicion in the present, and were determined to march together in the future."

Commander King-Hall had a passage in his contribution to the debate which is surely worth quoting in full:—

"There will have to be set up ultimately, for the sake of security, some international machinery. Put plainly, that means recognition of the obvious fact that the League of Nations, or something like it, will have to be restored. It was well said, as Voltaire said of God, that if the League of Nations did not exist it would have to be invented. Yesterday I noticed some members making remarks and asking questions which seemed to cast a certain amount of contempt upon the League idea. I wish those people would recognise that in criticising the League they are criticising themselves. The League of Nations could not be better than the States that compose it. It was a mirror in which it was possible to see a picture of the world's international face. It was not always a very pretty spectacle, but if one looks into a mirror and is not satisfied with what one sees, one does not necessarily smash the mirror. We shall need to set up something like the League of Nations, and there is hope this time, because it will start on the basis of the membership of these three Great Powers."

Starving Europe

A short debate occurred on the question of relaxing to some extent the economic warfare so far as it was affecting the lives and health of our Allies in Belgium and Greece. The suggestion was made solely and simply for children. Mr. Stokes made moving references to what a starving child really was. What was asked was permission to send supplies to Belgium and to Greece that would save some of their children from starvation. Mr. Stokes asked for an increase of foodstuffs already allowed to Greece, and something in the way of essential medical provisions and vitamins for Belgium. His chief contention was that 70 per cent. of their normal imports in Belgium and 60 per cent. in Greece came from places not blockaded by us. Therefore, it was their normal supply we were keeping from them, and it was quite erroneous to suggest that any starvation there was solely the responsibility of the enemy who had stolen their food. Mr. Harold Nicolson supported and very effectively spoke of the difficulty he had in persuading the Swedes, who wanted to do this, that the refusal of navicerts was reasonable. Sir Peter Bennett mentioned his difficulty in persuading Americans we were acting rightly in the matter. Mr. Harvey and Mr. William Brown added their pleas—the latter concluding by reference to Mr. Dingle Foot's "noble father, who sat in this House and is still alive. He was a great man, and there are elements of greatness in the hon. member. I ask him to let those elements express themselves."

Mr. Foot could give very little hope. His figures suggested that conditions were not so bad in Belgium as was stated. He also implied that what had already been done in Greece had really acted for the benefit of the enemy, in that the greater strength of the people owing to our concessions had provided the invaders with fitter labour for their war effort. He did, however, add that "it may be possible—I will not put it higher, because I do not want to create disappointment—to meet some of the requests."

IN OUR POWER TO BEGIN THE WORLD AGAIN

TOMORROW ALWAYS COMES. By Vernon Bartlett. (Chatto and Windus. 5s.)

Dentists' optimism is dreadfully depressing, but an atmosphere of inspissated gloom runs it pretty close in the United Blues Stakes. The central part of Mr. Bartlett's book is an imaginary, un-lived diary of events following the collapse of the war in Europe. (Incidentally, it must be fun fixing up lunches with one's friends all in the future like this, at one's favourite restaurants and Capitols.) In this part, in spite of the vicarious pleasure one may get from molten cauldroning Hitler and *à la lanterning* Laval, bigger and better bogies seem to lurk behind every tree, as far as Germany has left any. For example, at one moment we shiver at the rupture of understanding between the United Nations, at the next we shudder at isolationist recidivism in America, and before we have got our breath there is our old friend the Bolshevik Menace in new post-war rig; and, to finish up with, the Tweedle Dee deafness of Europe to the importance of war in the Pacific and Tweedle Dum indifference of the U.S.A. to the need of immediate co-operation if Europe's gaping wounds are ever to heal.

No doubt warnings are needed—for certain types of people. But, in general, their Grand Guignol scale somewhat defeats its own end. History, in truth, rarely repeats itself. And the evidence of the two latest international conferences, at Hot Springs and Moscow, runs counter to any Witches' Chorus *à la* 1919.

Besides, to do him justice, Mr. Bartlett adds a healthy dose of jam both before and after his Diary pills. After all, he points out, there are highly encouraging signs. This time the Four Great Powers are fighting together, for self-preservation—they have an operative interest in common. And, at the next Peace Conference Ball, Russia and China will be no wall-flowers. Then the League of Nations, in actual fact, came so near to success that its precedents are bound to influence any second great attempt to abolish war—which, moreover, millions are to-day

utterly convinced is unjust, intolerably wasteful, a Dodo among other dead dogmas, and about the worst possible method for settling international quarrels. The chances, for Governments and for peoples, are thus far more favourable.

Readers will find much to stimulate them in Mr. Bartlett's further outline of a post-war, renovated League, with its Supreme and its Regional Councils, its majority voting (with the possibility of one vote corresponding to one financial unit of contribution), and an International Parliament with membership in proportion to membership of different parties in legislative assemblies at home. For on these things Mr. Bartlett speaks with unique authority.

One suggestion and two warnings deserve special attention. The former is that there should be a United Nations Flag, which is a sound piece of political psychology. The latter deal with the urgent need to prepare as much as possible of post-war short-term settlement *well beforehand*, and with the avoidance of the vice of *chewing a catchword* like democracy, which for long years to come will be a word with very different meaning in Great Britain, or America, or China.

The "Squanderbug" propaganda has done fine work—but, whatever happens, it must not prevent one from buying and lending out Mr. Bartlett's mixture of Practical Guide and Cautionary Tale.

GORDON DROMORE.

L.R.F. BUFFET LUNCH

VISCOUNT CECIL

ON

"THE MOSCOW POLICY"

Tuesday, December 14, at 1 p.m.

Y.W.C.A. CENTRAL CLUB,
Great Russell Street, W.C.1.

COMMUNITY SETTLEMENT LIFE IN PALESTINE TODAY

By HARRY G. FIELD

It is not my intention to debate the pros and cons of Communal Settlements, but rather to describe a visit I paid to one of these schemes in Palestine, a visit which I shall never forget, partly on account of the hospitality afforded me by these Jews, and partly because of the lessons I learned from them.

While serving with the New Zealand Forces in the Middle East, I had the opportunity of taking a fortnight's leave in Palestine, and as my peacetime vocation was in the line of modern farming development I made up my mind to study at close quarters the systems practised on the settlements of the new Jewish home.

From the Tel-Aviv Information Bureau I obtained full particulars of the various types of settlement, and the offer of having arrangements made for me to visit one. Having stated the type I wished to study, I was told to call at the Bureau the next day, when all details would have been arranged. At the time stated I called again and found that I was expected at the Ein-Harod Settlement in the late afternoon of that day. I was told what bus to take to Haifa, and what one to take from there, and that I would be met by a member of the community who would see to my welfare for the duration of my stay there. With directions like this I could not go far wrong, and I arrived at Ein-Harod, which is about half-way between Haifa and the Sea of Galilee, in time for the evening meal.

My guide proved to be the man in charge of the Settlement Police Force. He spoke very good English, one of the few members of the community who did, and he took me along for dinner, which is served to all the members in a central dining-room. This was a very large building equipped with all modern and labour saving devices. The kitchen was under the main hall; it was complete with electric and steam ovens, power-driven mixing bowls, and other conveniences; an electric lift was used to bring the cooked food up to the tables, and the food was then dis-

tributed further round by trolleys. The food was certainly not of the kind I had been used to, but it was good and wholesome, and there was plenty of it.

Running the Settlement

After dinner I was told something about the organisation of the settlement, what its objects were, how they operated the 3,000 acres of land, what methods were used, where the people came from, and numerous other details, and in the next two or three days I saw and realised for myself what happened there.

Ein-Harod is run on the basis of all work done for no monetary payment. Everybody over the age of 15 years works at whatever job he or she is best suited for. Each branch has at the head a person fully qualified in his or her line, but they live just as the others, and receive no payment. There is a certain amount of trading done with the outside world, but whatever cash comes in is put into a central fund for use in improvements generally. This settlement is one of the largest of its kind in Palestine, and embraces every trade and profession known. There are 1,000 men, women and children living off this 3,000 acres.

Farming and Engineering

They milk 250 cows, which provide all the milk, butter, cheese, cream required, and also provide a surplus for external sale. In this section of the activities they are very progressive in most respects. Having plenty of labour, they do not use milking machines, but use machinery for numerous other jobs round about the shed. A fully qualified veterinary surgeon is on the place all the time, artificial insemination is regularly practised with good results. On the sheep side they keep a flock of about 600, which provides wool and like products. Their own staff wash, card and comb the wool, spin and dye it. They even have their own clothing factory, where the wool and other cloth is made up into

garments, etc. Still on the farming side they keep about 40 horses, light draught and hacks, tractors being used for all the heavy ploughing, discing, etc.

In the engineering shops I saw skilled electrical, mechanical and motor engineers at work, with machines of all types in regular use. They assemble their own tractors and trucks, no repair job is too big for them. In this section of indoor work I also saw the extensive joinery and cabinet making shops. Here again men were working in peaceful surroundings now, whereas probably a few years ago they had been plying their trade in some highclass workshop in Europe, and in some cases had been there when hostilities broke out and they had to flee. Another building in this group houses a very modern printing press, complete with linotype and other machines one would expect to find in such a workshop.

The people live in small bungalows, married couples naturally living together, with any family they may have over the age of 15 years; children up to that age live in a nursery from birth to two years old, then in the kindergarten to the age of about eight, and from there they enter young people's quarters. Competent teachers run the school, just as fully qualified doctors and nurses look after the physical welfare of the settlement.

Cultural Welfare

As regards cultural welfare, the settlers are well catered for with a large selection of books on all sorts of subjects, mostly, of course, written in Hebrew; but if a member wishes to study in English or some other tongue, copies are obtained or translated by some other member. I may state here that even though the people are of various races, they all speak Hebrew, only one or two speaking English. They have their own Open Theatre, where they perform quite frequently, often entertaining neighbouring centres and communities. These happy people do not practice any recognised religion. Although they do not work on the Saturday, except for really essential duties, in general only the elder members attend a very small synagogue. The rest just take things easy; they told me that if everyone was happy and contented with his or

her lot, that was all they wanted, and they certainly appeared that way to me.

Going back to the land I found a very intensive system of planning ahead in operation. Not a fraction of land was allowed to go to waste, rotational cropping was the rule. Weather permitting, the tractors were at work all night, worked by relays of drivers. On a good night one could see, from the elevated position of the housing block, the flashing of lights as the tractors pulled ploughs, discs, etc., round the fields. These night crews were also guarded from possible attack by mountain tribes of Beduin Arabs by roving patrols of their Police Force. Even now the Arabs do attempt these attacks when circumstances are favourable to them, although my guide told me they were not near so frequently as they were before this present war. They, the settlers, were working hard for a better understanding with the Arabs.

In this short article I have not covered the whole workings of this settlement, but I may have started some readers' enthusiasm to hear more of these schemes.

TO-MORROW'S CITIZENS

For "To-morrow's Citizens" the Council for Education in World Citizenship is organising a course of Christmas Holiday Lectures and Discussions at the Central Hall, Westminster, from January 3 to 6, 1944.

The Lord Mayor of London, Sir Frank Newson-Smith, will welcome the young people at the opening session. Addresses, followed by discussions in small groups, will be given by Dr. Gilbert Murray, O.M., Dr. Audrey Richards, Professor E. H. Carr, Sir William Beveridge, Professor John Marrack, the Rt. Hon. Philip Noel-Baker, M.P., and Mr. J. B. Priestley. There will also be a showing of the Ministry of Information film, "World of Plenty."

The charge for tickets for the whole course will be 5s. for members of school societies associated with the Council, and 7s. 6d. for non-members. Members must be between 15 and 19 years of age. Application forms may be obtained from Miss Monica Luffman, 11, Maiden Lane, London, W.C.2.

UP AND DOWN THE COUNTRY

November was a busy month for members of the Union's Executive Committee, and for other Union speakers. Miss K. D. Courtney, Vice-Chairman of the Executive, addressed a number of meetings in different parts of the country, at which the greatest interest was displayed in her impressions brought back from the United States. At MUSWELL HILL she spoke on "America moves Towards World Co-operation," while in the West Country she had a good audience at the TAUNTON Public Library, and at WESTON-SUPER-MARE she visited Southlands College. Her survey of "Post-War Problems" at HAMPSTEAD was particularly useful because of the views from the United States which she was able to include. At HARROW Miss Courtney spoke on "The League and Its Future."

When Sir Ralph Wedgwood spoke on "The League and Social and Economic Reconstruction" in the HORSHAM Town Hall, his chairman was Sir Cecil Hurst, Judge of the Permanent Court of International Justice since 1929, and President of the Court from 1934-36. Lord Davies, visiting SOUTHAMPTON, took as his subject, "Winning the Peace." Mr. W. Arnold-Forster, at the Howard Hall, LETCHWORTH, struck a topical note with a talk on "Moscow and the Atlantic Charter." The Dean of Chichester addressed a meeting for our ROMFORD BRANCH.

Northern audiences at HUDDERSFIELD, ALTRINCHAM and RAWTENSTALL had an opportunity of hearing Major-General J. W. van Oorschot speak on "The Freedom-Loving People of the Netherlands." Our WEST HAM BRANCH, at one of the meetings arranged by Miss Wilson, welcomed a representative of Poland in the person of Mr. T. Filipowicz. Mr. K. L. G. Kjelsen went to BLACKHEATH to talk on Norway.

The question, "Will Russia Unite for Peace?" was answered by Mr. Reg. Bishop, Editor of "Russia To-day," in the affirmative when he spoke at STREATHAM. Russia was also the subject of a meeting at RUGBY addressed by Miss Kathleen Taylor.

Dr. Jaroslav Cisar spoke on "The Role of Czechoslovakia" at BRIGHTON. Dr. Alice

Gurnett on "Yugoslavia" at WITHINGTON, Miss Olive Lodge on "Yugoslavia" at a drawing-room meeting at ST. ALBANS, Miss Barbara Barclay Carter on "Anglo-American Friendship" at GUILDFORD, and Miss Bancroft on "The British Commonwealth of Nations" at MALDON.

Members of the JORDANS BRANCH enjoyed the privilege of a visit from Mr. David Belloch, of the International Labour Organisation, who has recently arrived in this country from Canada. In speaking on the subject, "The Social Foundations of International Peace," the lecturer referred *inter alia* to the future of the I.L.O. for implementing declarations of various statesmen on post-war plans.

LEAMINGTON BRANCH, continuing its series of discussions in the Pump Room on "Problems of Reconstruction," had two speakers during November—Mr. Leslie Aldous on "Hot Springs and After," and Mr. James Macdonald on "Social and Economic Reconstruction." Mr. Aldous also spoke on the Hot Springs Conference in the Memorial Hall, PEASLAKE, under the chairmanship of Mrs. Pethick-Lawrence, opened a discussion on social and economic reconstruction at HARLOW, Essex, and addressed a drawing-room meeting arranged by the CHELSEA BRANCH. An old friend of the Union, Mr. T. Gillinder, discussed "Mass Unemployment—an International Problem," at BECKENHAM. Mrs. Western talked on the Beveridge Report at one of the discussion meetings arranged by Miss G. Butler at WONERSH.

Mr. Clifton Robbins (London Office of the I.L.O.) was the speaker at the first of two meetings arranged jointly by the OXTED AND LIMPSFIELD Branches of the L.N.U. and Federal Union. His subject was "The Industrial Problem in the Post-war World."

Excellent publicity in the *Essex County Telegraph* was one satisfactory result of the COLCHESTER BRANCH'S meeting addressed by Miss Freda White, who took as her subject "Conflicting Views on Post-war Security." At Christ Church Congregational Church, ENFIELD, Miss White spoke on "World War—Why not World Peace?"

DUNDEE BRANCH, which is now arrang-

ing a Brains Trust, has done everything possible during war-time to keep the L.N.U. to the front, by holding regular series of meetings as well as the annual meeting. In response to an appeal for increased membership by the Chairman, nominees of corporate members promised to do their best to get individual members in their own organisations. One lady was successful in enrolling ten new members in this way.

HANDSWORTH BRANCH, in a practical and direct way, continues to link the winning of the war with the winning of the peace. Working parties are held before the monthly committee meetings. Up to date over 1650 children's garments and six dozen cot blankets have been despatched to the Save the Children Fund, and to Dr. Barnado's Young Helpers' League, as well as 78 dozen full-sized knitted army blankets to the hospitals and forces through the Birmingham army blanket scheme. By these means Union members have been kept together, ready to go forward with the vital work of winning the peace.

OXFORD BRANCH organised two International Brains Trusts during November—the first by invitation of the Summertown Congregational Church, and the second by invitation of the East Oxford Men's Co-operative Guild. Those who took part included Dr. Gilbert Murray, O.M., Dr. Maxwell Garnett, C.B.E., Mr. Nowell Smith, Mrs. Vanamee and Mr. J. L. Etty.

Mr. Henry S. L. Polak, of the India and Burma Association, treated our WEST WICKHAM BRANCH to one of the most interesting and instructive lectures in its history. The local newspaper was so impressed that it devoted half its space for West Wickham news to the meeting.

Before the end of October, LEYSIAN MISSION BRANCH had enrolled seven more members than the previous year's total, i.e., 358. There are also some 30 subscriptions due which are almost certain to come in. Mr. J. Southall, the devoted Branch Secretary, has set his heart on reaching the 400 mark by the end of the year. "It will not be quite easy," he writes, "but I think it can be done."

FERNDALE BRANCH, which earlier in the year raised over £77 for the Aid to China Fund, has sent a further cheque for £82 7s. 2d., the proceeds of a concert

organised by Mrs. J. R. Jones, the Branch Secretary.

"That an International Authority, on the lines of the old League, should be set up after the war": this motion was carried by a large majority at a meeting of the STREATHAM DEBATING SOCIETY. Mrs. M. Gladys Stevens, in the strong case which she presented for the League, cogently argued that the first attempt was frustrated, not because it was a bad League, but because statesmen upon whom we relied to work it lacked the will and determination to make this great experiment a success.

Mr. John T. Catterall's engagement during the month included a tour in the RAWTENSTALL area, in course of which he addressed the Women's Electrical Association, Longholme School, two senior schools and the Rotary Club. At LOWER DARWEN Congregational School he spoke on Russia, at STAMFORD HILL on Economics, and at STREATHAM HILL Congregational Church on "The Moscow Declaration and After."

ROTARY CLUBS which listened to L.N.U. speakers during the month included:—ENFIELD (Mr. Norman Mackintosh on "Canada"); LEWISHAM (Major-General J. W. van Oorschot on "Holland"; and Mr. Catterall on "The Collapse of Hitlerism—What Then?"); NORTHAMPTON (Mr. Sten Gudme on "Denmark"); ST. ALBANS (Mr. Milton Waldman on "the U.S.A."); SHOREDITCH (Mr. S. L. Hourmouziou on "Greece"); and SLOUGH (Madame Langhorne on "France").

LAMBETH BRANCH continues to lead the field in the matter of speakers supplied to other organisations. The list for November included:—Christ Church Young People's Club (Miss Olive Lodge), Oakley Place Methodist Mission (Mr. Aldous and Mr. Rupert Arthers), St. Paul's, Brixton (Mrs. Riley); Royal Arsenal Co-operative Society, Brixton (Miss S. Teichfeld); St. Thomas's Welfare Centre (Mr. Jaya Deva); Holy Trinity Men's Meeting (Mr. J. Silkin); St. Mark's, Kennington (Mr. Robson); Stockwell Sisterhood (Mrs. Riley); West Norwood Sisterhood (Dr. Hella Lambridis); St. Saviour's (return visit of Mrs. Riley); Fentiman Road Methodist Church (Miss Cruttwell Abbot); and Moffat Institute (Mrs. Riley).

The following WOMEN'S INSTITUTES had

A LOOK AT THE INTERNATIONAL HORIZON—V.

By HUGH VIVIAN

Last month we considered the maintenance of the will to co-operate by re-education of the nations. This month let us discuss another fundamental problem—the removal of the causes of war by economic agreement among the nations. The importance of the economic aspect of international security was not understood at Versailles, and it is insufficiently realised even now. No doubt one of the reasons for this is that economic problems are difficult to master on account of their highly technical nature.

The basic facts are, however, simple enough. The late Sir Kingsley Wood outlined our broad economic requirements in the course of a debate in the House of Commons on February 2, 1943. He said:

"First, we need a policy of expansion so that employment is maintained and production serves the ends of consumption. We need an expansion in international trade and the ordinary reduction of unnecessary barriers and other practices which interfere with the flow of goods between one country and another and give lasting benefit to neither.

"Secondly, we need a strong effort to

prevent those disastrous swings in the prices of the raw materials and primary products of the world.

"Thirdly, we need an international monetary mechanism which will serve the requirements of international trade and avoid any need for unilateral action in competitive exchange depreciation.

"Fourthly, there is another phase of international economic co-operation which has proved itself and which we hope will be of increasing importance—the work of the International Labour Office, with its interest in the standard of working conditions in all countries, a matter which is not only of great interest in itself but has a great bearing on the orderly development of international trade.

"Finally, as the world begins to settle down after the war and each country has a clearer picture of its own resources, we may well need some international organisation for assisting the direction of international investments for development."

Expansion—and a Fallacy

A policy of expansion is now, of course, almost universally advocated as a cure for want and unemployment, and the restric-

L.N.U. speakers:—CAPEL (Madame Conochie), HOLMBURY ST. MARY (Miss Hebe Spaul), and SANDHURST (Madame Langhorne).

BOXMOOR MOTHERS' UNION heard Mr. Jaya Deva on "Reconstruction for World Peace." Miss Olive Lodge addressed the Women's Section of the ST. ALBANS LABOUR PARTY. BRADY BOYS' CLUB (WHITECHAPEL) had a visit from Mr. Catterall. Mr. Aldous spoke at the NORTH BOW HALL WOMEN'S CIRCLE on post-war reconstruction, and at the KINGSTON WOMEN'S CO-OPERATIVE GUILD on the I.L.O. Miss B. Barclay Carter gave a talk at the BURNT ASH YOUTH CLUB.

Following the remarkably successful meeting addressed by Mr. Vernon Bartlett in the Speech Room at HARROW, the chairman of the Urban District Council has written suggesting that the

time is suitable for an open letter to the people of Harrow and district urging support for the local branches of the L.N.U. He is prepared to get all the leading people to sign it, and it will be distributed to all churches, organisations and schools. On the back of the letter will be a brief statement of what the L.N.U. stands for, a quotation from the official statement of the Moscow Conference, and the addresses of all local Branch Secretaries. We commend this splendid lead, in the confident hope that it will inspire other branches.

WEST HAMPSTEAD BRANCH, hard upon the death of Miss Montgomery, has suffered another severe loss in the sudden death of its Chairman, *Mr. L. C. Wharton*. He was a familiar figure at our General Council Meetings, another of which he had expected to attend this month.

tion of the inter-war period when it was often more profitable to cut down production than to increase it. This will, in fact, constitute the basic economic problem which every Government will have to solve, and all other measures for improving the condition of the peoples will depend upon the degree of expansion which each is able to achieve. The numerous plans for better education, improved housing and greater social security can only be implemented by those Governments which succeed in increasing their national wealth in order to pay for them—as pay for them they must, whatever their political creed! In other words, a reasonable standard of living will only be possible where the full national effort is harnessed to maximum production and efficient distribution for home consumption and foreign trade; where every available man and woman and every available field and factory is fully employed in exploiting the earth's resources.

This vital issue is, however, too often confused by the popular fallacy of associating economic expansionism exclusively with one or other of the political creeds. A policy of expansion does not rest with any national ideology, whether Capitalist, Radical or Socialist, but with the international organisation. The nations can only exploit their resources to the full if they are guaranteed in advance a fair share of world markets for what they produce; and they can only be certain of these markets when they have remedied by international agreement the state of economic anarchy which prevailed before this war. The high tariffs, the scramble for markets, the destruction of crops and the closing of mines and factories—those are the scourges which must be eliminated in the interests of peace and prosperity. Even nations which could be more or less self-supporting, like the United States and Soviet Russia, can ill afford to forget this; we in Great Britain, with our highly developed industries, which demand a thriving export trade, and our heavy population, which demands a decent standard of living, should be the last to forget it!

Steps to Economic Agreement

Quite a number of steps have already

been taken towards promoting international agreement in this field. Point 4 of the Atlantic Charter advocated that all countries have access on equal terms to the trade and raw materials of the world. Article 7 of the Mutual Aid Agreement (Lease-Lend between Britain and U.S.A.) provided for the betterment of the worldwide economic arrangements and the expansion of production, employment, exchange and consumption. The recent Moscow Conference declared that the close collaboration of war-time must be continued in order to promote the political, economic and social welfare of the peoples in peace-time. The Hot Springs Conference went into greater detail in connection with the essential primary commodity of food, and it made short-term proposals for post-war relief as well as long-term agricultural recommendations.

Prevention of undue swings in prices is undoubtedly another essential factor in the future world set-up. Slumps and booms have indeed been the cause of much hardship in the past, and they have been at the back of many an unemployment problem and many a ruined family. Most people are agreed that, in order to eliminate such swings, even the modern Capitalist State will have to concern itself increasingly with the broad issues of industrial and commercial policy, though many hope at the same time for the survival of a healthy and competitive private enterprise operating as freely as is compatible with the public interest. Schemes such as the present British Government's price stabilisation policy and various plans for insuring industries against slump periods will probably be useful to many nations. The individual efforts which various Governments may make to keep prices stable will, moreover, need to be co-ordinated by the international authority if they are to be truly effective.

An important development in this connection was the International Wheat Agreement which provided a substantial pool of wheat for post-war relief. Although the Agreement was only concerned with this one primary commodity for the period immediately following the cessation of hostilities, it may well prove of great value not only for relief purposes, but as a buffer to prevent vast fluctuations

in the price of wheat, and as a model for other similar projects.

Monetary Mechanism

The need for an international monetary mechanism became increasingly apparent in the inter-war years. During that period many nations recognised the inadequacy of the Gold Standard as a means of settling international balances, partly because it related national wealth too closely to a nation's holding of gold—in itself a comparatively valueless commodity. Most States, therefore, whether from choice or necessity, withdrew from the Gold Standard, but they made little attempt to find a practical substitute. The result of this was that, what with violent fluctuations in the exchange rates of the various currencies and international balances which had departed far from equilibrium in one or other direction, trade became distorted to a degree unwarranted even by the restrictive commercial policies of the day. This problem will also have to be solved by international action.

Article 6 of the Mutual Aid Agreement gives a good send-off to post-war monetary plans by emphasising that no financial obligations are now being incurred, similar to those which after the last war were so largely responsible for wrecking the exchanges and bringing international trade to a standstill.

The British Proposals for an International Clearing Union and the United States' Proposals for a United and Associated Nations' Stabilisation Fund put forward tentative suggestions for solving this problem. The two Plans differ widely in their approach, but they are broadly similar and equally laudable in their aims. Both are designed to provide a mechanism by which international balances can be freely settled; national exchanges which are reasonably stable, so that goods and services can be marketed with knowledge of the value they will command; and the means with which countries whose economies have been ruined by the war can have the temporary international monetary facilities to start up their trade.

Expanding the I.L.O.

The work of the International Labour Office should obviously not be overlooked

in any discussion such as this, for the world will need that work more than ever after the war. The I.L.O. has struggled manfully and successfully, even since the outbreak of hostilities, to remove evils such as low standards of living, insecurity and unemployment, which are among the root causes of war, and which can undermine any peace structure. This branch of the international organisation will need to be expanded in the post-war period.

Point 5 of the Atlantic Charter pays an indirect tribute to the I.L.O. by recognising that there must be the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing for all improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security.

The last of these five economic requirements is by no means the least important. An international organisation for the direction of investments for development could do very valuable work in assisting progress in the more backward lands. There may well be need for control capital leaving the various States, in their own interests as well as that of the countries to be developed. (This is one of the central points made in the League of Nations Report on "*The Transition from War to Peace Economy*.".) Furthermore, until we have evolved a foolproof political organisation for preventing war, we shall need a very strict control of capital to be invested in the aircraft, armament and other heavy industries of nations whose intentions are doubtful.

Such, then, are a few of the economic problems ahead. The whole subject is a very difficult one, but it is one of which we must all try to understand the broad principles. Every nation will have to submit to unwonted controls and to surrender cherished freedoms in the interests of international security. We must understand why; and we must realise that a few controls are vastly better, for private enterprise no less than for State enterprise, than the useless destruction of wars, the ever-increasing burden of heavy armaments and the unnecessary economic hazards of *laissez faire*.

FROM "HEADWAY'S" POSTBAG

Peace Policy

Sir,—It is with great pleasure I read your Editorial in the current "Headway" on "Working out a Peace Policy." The hour of victory draws nigh, and once again, with the blessing of God, the United Nations will have won the second World War. We rejoice exceedingly in the "Tremendous Success" (to use President Roosevelt's words) of the Moscow Conference, and are grateful for the many declarations which have been made from time to time on the new world that is to be, but as you say, the time has arrived for public opinion to develop increasingly definite conclusions concerning post-war international policy and organisation aiming at world security and prosperity. The League of Nations Union is invaluable in this respect, and I most sincerely hope that its influence will grow and extend.

I notice in the daily press that a few days ago the U.S.A. Federation of Labour unanimously passed a resolution demanding that the scope of the International Labour Organisation be extended. That is a very welcome sign. Its good record of service and the great experience of the I.L.O. are certainly needed in the coming period of reconstruction.

Guildford.

J. R. PHILLIPS.

The Great Peace

Sir,—Whatever form the organised peace may take, its success will depend on the loyalty it is able to evoke from the peoples of the world. We must assume an allied victory to make this possible. I wish to suggest, therefore, that we should now begin to think of the best means by which we can create a supranational loyalty—loyalty to the Supreme International Authority—so that the criminal lunacy of war as a means of settling international disputes may be finally brought to an end.

Educational work to this end would be brought about in a form which would have psychological as well as political value if in every country great bodies of men and women (and particularly youth) were to sign a declaration on some such lines as this:—

"In international affairs only, our loyalty is to the International Authority which has been set up so that law may take the place of war. We intend, by every means in our power, to make that loyalty effective and in this positive and constructive effort we shall not hesitate to withhold support from any national government—our own or another—which seeks to upset the commonly agreed rule of law."

By some such declaration opinion could be mobilised most effectively. The pledge which I originally included in a pamphlet is out of date, but the idea remains valid and could be fitted into the post-war situation as one of the educative factors at work in building up a new international morality.

Ditchling.

DAVID A. PEAT.

Post-War Security

Sir,—In his article in the "Daily Telegraph" of 12th October Mr. J. C. Johnstone enumerated the various causes of the failure of the League of Nations, but he might have added another which stood conspicuous by its absence, namely, the lack of appeal of any sort from the ethical or spiritual point of view to the assembled delegates at Geneva.

Probably the realisation of the profound divergencies between the different religions of the world made such a move apparently useless, but where it is common ground in all religions that there exists some spiritual Power which transcends and should override material considerations, the influence of such a spirit acknowledged by all, Christian, non-Christian or of no religion at all, might this time well prevent the defection of some and give pause to others.

Anyhow the League did succeed, on several occasions, in averting wars between small countries which might easily have developed into major conflicts, as also the Mosul incident between Turkey and ourselves, and if at the time the Assembly had been animated by such spiritual and ethical considerations it might well have sufficed to stay the rot, and decisions other than those taken at different major crises in the League's history might have had happier results. It is to be hoped that someone may next time be found bold enough to make such an appeal to the conscience and common sense of all as will place first the consideration of the security and welfare of the human race throughout the world.

There is abroad to-day a much greater degree of goodwill and tolerance as between nations and peoples generally, as evidenced by the Archbishop of York on his return from Russia, and it is to be hoped that when a new League for Post War Security is formed it may be built on such a foundation.

CHARLES SENDEL.

Kingston-on-Thames.

"Faith and Works"

Sir,—May I warmly support Mr. Welsman in urging that the Union should come down much more definitely in favour of the limitation of national sovereignty? Sir Norman Angell's dictum that national

sovereignty is the direct cause of war recently received powerful support from General Curtis in his great Guildhall speech, when he pleaded that we should not allow false pride of national sovereignty to prevent us from abolishing war. Yet that vital sentence is, I regret to see, omitted from the long quotation from his peroration which you print.

It should be emphasised that the mere signature of agreements, such as the Covenant of the League, does not limit national sovereignty in the slightest degree. It is only limited when a supernational authority assumes responsibility for certain sovereign functions of government such as foreign policy and defence. In "Faith and Works" Mr. Lionel Curtis makes this point very clear, however open to criticism other features of his proposal may be.

W. L. ROSEVEARE (Major).
Golders Green, N.W.11.

Union Membership

Sir,—In reference to the letter of M. Ridges in October "Headway" other Branches may be interested to know that for several years the Committee of the Elie and Earlsferry Branch of L.N.U. has distributed "News Sheet" to all its members, and has continued doing so through the war years. It is difficult to hold meetings now, but absolutely essential that all L.N.U. members should know what the League is doing both at home and abroad. And it is doing much. "News Sheet" provides some of this needed information.

Wynd House, Elie.

C. M. E. BELL.

Sir,—As we know, renewals depend largely upon collectors. It may be of interest to quote the experience of the Bromley Branch this year.

As Financial Secretary I have managed to get six voluntary collectors working. Four of them have brought in just over 300 subscriptions, and the other two will probably account for another 80-100.

Collectors are, of course, difficult to get hold of nowadays, but they evidently *are* to be found. I think this might be emphasised to Branch Secretaries.

Bromley, Kent.

A. J. HOWE.

MR. F. E. PEARSON, of Birmingham, writes warmly recommending the Ambassador Davies film, MISSION TO MOSCOW, to all L.N.U. members.

Sir Norman Angell, who contributes a challenging article to this number, needs no introduction to HEADWAY readers. LET THE PEOPLE KNOW was the title of a book of his, answering the Isolationist, which was published in the United States at the beginning of this year. "If a million Americans read this book," wrote one reviewer, "there will be a million Americans waterproofed against the most dangerous propaganda in this country, the German propaganda to promote disunity in the United States, and in the United Nations." The book has sold to date about 400,000 copies—an unusual sale for a political book, especially one by an Englishman addressed to Americans.

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