

S 1083

8 SEP 1941

OFFICE OF
ECONOMIC STAFF

HEADWAY

IN WAR-TIME

The Journal of the League of Nations Union

No. 23

AUGUST 1941

PRICE 3d.

A COUNCIL MEMBER ON WORLD SETTLEMENT

By LEONARD F. BEHRENS

Six members of the Executive of the Union have contributed to your columns articles on the post-war policy of the Union, as drawn up by the Executive and amended and confirmed by the General Council. It is natural and fitting that, when a rank and file member of the General Council joins in the discussion, he should approach his task in a different manner and in accordance with his equipment and his experience. He must write, not so much as an expert on international affairs, as in the role of a propagandist, of one who tries to carry the ideas and policies of the Union to the ears of ordinary members of the Union, and even (if he gets the chance) to the still more ordinary men and women who lack the privilege of membership. For, after all, it is not enough that a policy shall be sound and statesmanlike; it must also appeal and be acceptable to the people who from time to time go to polling booths and make crosses on

voting papers. Is it not true that in the Covenant we had a plan which was sound and statesmanlike, but that the war came because collective security did not appeal and was not acceptable to the general public? In spite of the success of the Peace Ballot, the vital necessity not only of the League but of Governments pursuing a "League" policy was not grasped by a great majority of our fellow-citizens.

The Fatal Gap

The reason is plain. There was a fatal gap between the minimum which the League required of citizens of the States Members, and the maximum which those citizens were prepared to give. Our problem, the problem of statesmen and of propagandists alike, must be to abolish that gap. The gap can be abolished by reducing the minimum required (but not so as to weaken the international organisation to the point of impotence) and by increasing the maximum which the peoples will be willing to offer, not only after spurts of intensive propaganda effort, but

normally and as a matter of course. The minimum required by the League, as it was, consisted in compulsory economic and financial assistance to a victim of aggression, together with an implied obligation on all States Members to risk their existence in war against the aggressor. The maximum willingness of those States rarely went beyond a willingness (and sometimes that was hesitating) to protect their own national independence and that of their immediate associates. All other countries were beyond the horizon, and the disputes in which they became unaccountably embroiled were distant disputes of no interest to anyone but themselves.

Persuasion and Experience

The Union's proposals reduce to some extent the minimum obligations of League membership by the plan of Inner and Outer Rings; this is a reduction which should make the obligation more easily acceptable without depriving the international authority of the necessary power of action. It will now be the task of the Union and of like-minded organisations so to influence public opinion that the people of this country will be prepared to make a greater offer, and the gap could be closed. Will the people of this country be prepared to offer more? Two facts encourage us to be optimistic: public opinion is moved by persuasion and by experience. The persuasion has been and will be lavished on the public by the Union, not without effect. The experience is the experience of two frightful wars; and even the least intelligent can understand that it was the lack of an effective international system which made them possible. Experience has shown that it is not enough to be prepared to defend the shores of Britain

and that in the modern world no disputes are so distant as to be negligible.

Equitable Sacrifices

There is another way in which the minimum requirements of League Membership might be reduced. Under the Covenant economic and financial sanctions are universally obligatory. There must be no diminution of this obligation, and this is recognised in paragraph 21 of the Statement. But this obligation falls inequitably on different States Members, and this inequality was undoubtedly a major cause of the breakdown of the sanctions system. It should not be impossible to provide that sacrifices, such as the cutting off of economic relations, which some countries would find heavier than others, shall be borne fairly among all participating states, and the Union might with advantage study the possibilities of a scheme of international assistance and indemnity, so that countries which are large suppliers or customers in normal times of an aggressor nation may know in advance that their excessive burden in boycotting that nation will be reduced and laid equitably on the shoulders of the generality of States Members.

Two Sorts of Courage

But the prevention of war is not the whole of peace-making. If conditions that favour war are allowed to continue, even the best machinery supported by an instructed and resolute public opinion may be inadequate to maintain peace, and it will be necessary to show that, if the people of this or of any country desire peace, they must be prepared to do more than to oppose aggressors. It will be necessary to expand paragraph 12 of the Union's

(Continued on page 3, foot of col. 1.)

PLAN FOR PEACE

Says MR. SUMNER WELLES

(Speaking in Washington on June 22, 1941)

"I feel it is not premature for me to suggest that the free Governments of peace-loving nations everywhere should even now be considering and discussing the way in which they can best prepare for the better day which must come, when the present contest is ended in the victory of the forces of liberty and of human freedom, and in the crushing defeat of those who are sacrificing mankind to their own lust for power and for loot.

"At the end of the last war a great President of the United States gave his life in the struggle to further the realisation of the splendid vision which he had

(Continued from page 2.)

statement. The *Times*, in a memorable leading article last December, stressed the need for "courage to oppose a policy advocated by British industrialists or British workers on the ground of the injury which it will inflict on the industries of France or Belgium or Germany, or to reject a measure designed to favour British agriculture because it would spell ruin to the Danish farmer." The Union must take a hand in instilling this courage, and not only this courage. Courage to oppose is a negative virtue; we require and we must ask for courage to initiate and to carry out policies calculated positively to favour the prosperity of others, and we must kindle in the hearts of our fellow-citizens a determination to prevent unemployment and misery not only among our own people, but among our other fellow-citizens of Europe and of the world.

held up to the eyes of suffering humanity—the vision of an ordered world governed by law. The League of Nations, as he conceived it, failed in part because of the blind selfishness of men here in the United States as well as in other parts of the world; it failed because of its utilisation by certain Powers primarily to advance their own political and commercial ambitions; but it failed chiefly because of the fact that it was forced to operate, by those who dominated its councils, as a means of maintaining the *status quo*. It was never enabled to operate, as its chief spokesman had intended, as an elastic and impartial instrument in bringing about peaceful and equitable adjustments between nations, as time and circumstance proved necessary.

"Some adequate instrument must unquestionably be found to achieve such adjustments, when the nations of the earth again undertake the task of restoring law and order to a disastrously shaken world. But whatever the mechanism which may be devised of two things I am unalterably convinced: First, that the abolition of offensive armaments and the limitation and reduction of defensive armaments, and of the tools which make the construction of such armaments possible, can only be undertaken through some rigid form of international supervision and control, and that without such practical and essential control, no real disarmament can ever be achieved; and, second, that no peace which may be made in the future would be valid or lasting unless it established fully and adequately the natural rights of all peoples to equal economic enjoyment."

POST-WAR WORLD SETTLEMENT

COMMENTS ON THE L.N.U. STATEMENT OF POLICY

By DR. L. FEIERABEND

(*Minister of State of the Czechoslovak Government*)

In the proposal the post-war period is divided into three stages. The first is from the armistice to conclusion of the Peace Treaty, the second from the conclusion of the Peace Treaty to the International Congress, and the third from the conclusion of this onwards.

The first stage is to be as short as possible. Immediately upon the conclusion of the armistice peace negotiations between the belligerents are to begin. The peace treaty, resulting from these negotiations, must restore the countries occupied by the enemy but all disputed frontier questions will be submitted to the International Congress for final settlement. This Congress should be convened some considerable time after the conclusion of the Peace Treaty so as to allow time for its provisions to be carried out. But neutrals and belligerents are to be present at it. It is calculated that this second stage will be a very long one.

Some Suggestions

I put forward the following suggestions for the elaboration of the proposal:—

The restoration of the countries occupied by the enemy should take place at the armistice. This will mark the starting point for the final territorial settlement which, as I shall explain later, should be made by the Peace

Treaty. Normal political conditions will have to be restored as quickly as possible in the occupied countries. This cannot be done if restoration is only to be made by the Peace Treaty itself. This would be unnecessarily late.

It will not be the first time that an armistice, which as a rule only ends hostilities, decides on the restoration of territory. In my opinion the armistice which ends this war will have a quite special character. It cannot be limited in its effects to the states which have been directly waging war for it must also take into consideration those which shared in any way in the territorial changes since 1938.

To guard against political or social disturbances in the enemy territory, which might very easily spread and either delay or completely prevent the post-war work of reconstruction, the allies will have to send troops to occupy all the enemy territory and will have to demobilise the armies of those states which started the world war and those which helped them.

At the same time steps must immediately be taken to alleviate famine, to prevent the spread of disease and to ensure the provision of the necessary food supplies and raw materials.

Provision must also be made at the armistice for the exchange of both military and non-military prisoners and for

the release of prisoners and for the release of refugees held by the enemy.

No Second Stage

The three stages suggested in the proposal appear to me dangerous. Particularly the second stage from the Peace Treaty to the International Congress, which is to be very long, so as to allow time for carrying out provisions of the Peace Treaty and preparing for the final world settlement.

The final settlement will require, if not a certain period of complete peace, at least no new tension. A long period elapsing between the Peace Treaty, which is to lay down temporary frontiers, and the International Congress, which is to delimit them finally, would bring about the reverse of this. It would foster exaggerated nationalism, the strengthening of national territorial claims, and would cause increased political and economic unrest which would not help towards a final settlement.

I would therefore give preference to a solution which would do away with this second stage altogether or else reduce it to the shortest possible space.

I am of opinion that this could be done.

Peace Treaty and Frontiers

If the Peace Treaty definitely settles territorial demands, then the International Congress can be convened as soon as it has been concluded. In this way we shall have only two stages of world settlement; the first from the armistice to the peace treaty, which will definitely delimit the frontiers, and the second from the International Congress, at which neutrals will be present, and which will continue the peace negotia-

tions and finally settle all other questions.

The Peace Treaty will definitely fix the frontiers of all those states which have undergone any frontier adjustment since 1938. It will of course fix them on lines voluntarily agreed upon, in the course of the peace negotiations, by the interested states. If such agreement cannot be reached, the frontiers of these states, like those of enemy states, will be fixed by the victors. I assume, of course, that the victors will be guided by justice in their decision and will endeavour to lay a safe foundation for final territorial settlement.

I find it hard to visualise the possibility of the Peace Treaty fixing only provisional frontiers and leaving the final settlement to the International Congress. Such a procedure if followed in fixing German and Italian frontiers would not only reveal the weakness of the victors but would be a moral blow to them as well. If German and Italian frontiers alone were fixed directly by the Peace Treaty, and those of other states referred to the International Congress, undesirable discrimination would have been shown, which might later be interpreted as deliberate injustice.

If my solution be accepted (i.e., the determination of frontiers by the actual Peace Treaty) there need not be such a short stage between the armistice and the Peace Treaty. I think that haste at this stage would be a pity. On the other hand it is useless to delay the final territorial settlement. The length of the period between the armistice and the Peace Treaty must, of course, be determined by the political situation at that time. The final territorial settlement and the new world order can be safely

introduced only when there is a condition of sufficient political quiet.

Another reason why the Peace Treaty should introduce this definite settlement is that the victors will then have all the means at hand to ensure the strict carrying out of the peace demands, by force if necessary.

The International Congress

The International Congress must be convened immediately after the conclusion of the Peace Treaty and must be, as it were, its continuation. I must accept the territorial settlement laid down by the Peace Treaty as the basis of all its work. This will also guarantee it a firm basis. The neutrals are to be invited to it and all the participants, that is victors, defeated and neutrals, are to have the same rights. The International Congress is to decide on the formation of another League of Nations, a system of collective security, and is immediately to set about the social and economic reconstruction of the world.

By the end of the International Congress the organs of the new League of Nations will already be functioning. In

all directions its political, military and economic apparatus will fall into place. The Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague must also be used to the full. From this time onwards all legitimate changes in the territorial structure of the world will be carried out only on the decision of this body, which must naturally also be furnished with suitable executive power.

The new League of Nations must begin, as soon as it is constituted, to formulate and codify international law, the application of which to the corresponding cases in the future would be better than voluntary submission to arbitration.

One must welcome the ideas contained in the proposal, though the manner of their practical application may perhaps still be discussed. It is, however, certainly too early in the day to do this and in any case it is only subsidiary. The proposal is deserving of all respect and we must all be deeply grateful to the League of Nations Union for it.

I should like in conclusion to express my personal thanks for the opportunity afforded me to put forward the Czechoslovak view.

BRANCH OFFICERS, SPEAKERS and Students of International Affairs

- The Executive Committee invites the Officers of Branches, Speakers, Leaders of Discussion Groups and others who are interested in International Affairs to attend a Summer School at KNEBORTH HOUSE, Hertfordshire, September 4th to 8th, to be opened by RT. HON. THE EARL OF LYTTON, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.
SUBJECTS: Inside Europe, American Foreign Policy, the Foreign Policy of the U.S.S.R., and the Union's own Draft Reports on:—Social and Economic Reconstruction, Peaceful Change and Colonial Settlement.
- COLLECTIVE SECURITY:* For the convenience of those who cannot attend the whole School, the session on Collective Security has been arranged for Saturday afternoon, September 6th.
- FEES* for full course, including Board and Lodging, £2. 10s. 6d. Accommodation is limited and application should be made as soon as possible to the Secretary, League of Nations Union, 11, Maiden Lane, London, W.C.2.

LYNTON.—The Council for Education in World Citizenship regrets that it can accept no further applications for the Summer School at Lynton as all available accommodation is now booked.

THE LEAGUE'S SOCIAL SERVICES

(From Our League Correspondent)

HEADWAY from time to time has shown how the Economic, Financial and Transit Department of the League is flourishing at Princeton, New Jersey. Other constructive activities are also continuing.

The Health Department remains at Geneva. It is maintaining, under difficult conditions, its regular broadcasts of epidemiological information from Geneva and Singapore, is publishing regularly its weekly bulletin, and proposes to issue the annual Epidemiological Report again this year. The health situation in Europe is being followed with special attention, in view of the danger of a rapid spread of infectious diseases. In recent months the Health Department has been much occupied in replying to requests for information concerning not only contagious diseases, but every aspect of public health. Most of these requests have come from Governments, but inquiries have also been received from municipal authorities, research institutes, Red Cross organisations and such like bodies.

The Social Section, now amalgamated for reasons of economy with the Health Department, is carrying on certain work on child welfare and the protection of the family, and a summary of Government reports on the traffic in women and children has been distributed.

International assistance to refugees is still being supported by the League, and the High Commissioner's report shows that emigration work continues, though on a reduced scale because of the war. The settlement of the Assyrian Christians has reached the stage when only a little supervision is necessary.

Recently the Opium Board sent out a reminder from Geneva that "annual reports" were almost due—the dates being October 1 for Far Eastern countries and

July 1 for others. From the mass of material collected from all parts of the world, the League is able to judge the trend of the traffic, the sources of supply, and the latest methods used by drug traffickers. Some of the annual reports, which have already come in to the League, indicate that the situation is apparently well in hand, though the need for constant vigilance must again be stressed. Japan is still the villain of the piece. In the Chinese territories which she has occupied, the dope business is run as a regular and profitable racket. Thus an interesting report from the Shanghai Municipal Council shows that the evil of heroin addiction is almost entirely due to the extensive activities of Korean peddlers of heroin operating in various parts of the Settlement.

The Supervisory Body, which examines Governments' estimates of their drug requirements, and which issues each year a statement of the estimated world requirements of dangerous drugs for the following year, was able to carry out its functions during 1940. Estimates for 1941 have been received in respect of 52 countries and a large number of territories. Better evidence than this could scarcely be demanded of the continued readiness of Governments to co-operate with the League in suppressing the drug traffic.

THE I.L.O. AT WORK.—This vivid new illustrated pamphlet has reached us from the I.L.O.'s war-time organising centre at Montreal, Canada. It graphically describes how the I.L.O. has settled down to solid work in its new quarters; in the spirit of Albert Thomas, its first Director—"face upright and uninjured." "A Day in the International Labour Office" gives a pen picture of present activities. We have a few copies at 11 Maiden Lane, W.C.2, which will be sent on application to anybody who is interested.

“LET IT ROLL”

By THE EARL OF LYTTON

Sir Rowland Evans has written a pamphlet on post-war conditions, and has secured for himself the approval of Lord Chatfield and a commendatory notice in *The Times*.* Lord Chatfield, in his Foreword, says that the pamphlet should be read and re-read. I hope our members will follow his advice. They can afford to smile at the author's reading of history, also at his scorn of the League of Nations Union and the “sloppy internationalism” which he attributes to them, and will note with interest that his conclusions are very similar to their own, though expressed in different words.

Two Proposals

Sir Rowland Evans makes two proposals:—

1. “That the British Commonwealth of Nations and the United States of America should, after the war, agree to maintain between them supreme power on the sea and in the air.”
2. “That a Freedom Area or Commonwealth of Free Nations should be instituted with Great Britain and the United States as its magnets.”

After the collapse of France, and the consequent disappearance of the Anglo-French partnership which we had first envisaged as the starting point of just such a “Freedom Area” as Sir Rowland Evans describes, the substitution of an Anglo-American partnership has been definitely in our minds. If we have not advocated it in terms, that is because we have no authority to do so, since we have not had the opportunity of discussions with representatives of the

*“Let It Roll.” By Sir Rowland Evans. (Hutchinson. 6d.).

U.S.A. such as we had with members of the French League of Nations Society during the first year of the war. But any intelligent person who has taken the trouble to read our revised proposals for a post-war settlement must see that these proposals could only be realised with the active co-operation and participation of the U.S.A.

A Vital Difference

But there is one vital difference between our proposals and those of Sir Rowland Evans. He recommends that the two “magnets,” as he has called them, should constitute themselves the creators and guardians of his “Freedom Area” without seeking any further mandate for their self-appointed task. We, on the other hand, whilst admitting that for a time, while the political and economic reconstruction of Europe is taking place, the victorious Powers must accept the responsibility of seeing that peace is not again broken, have sought to provide the Security Agents of the future with an international authority.

Our conception of Anglo-American co-operation is totally different from that of Sir Rowland Evans. If anyone thinks that the U.S.A. is going to support us in the protection of British interests he is living in a fool's paradise. Even Anglo-American co-operation for the protection of Anglo-American interests, where they are identical, would be no guarantee of peace in Europe. The Anglo-American bloc would soon be faced with a revived Axis bloc which on the Continent of Europe would have an overwhelming superiority. What the

smaller States of Europe want is a guarantee of security clearer and more dependable than the Covenant. Sir Rowland offers them nothing which will meet their needs.

Internationalism

Even complete federal Union between the U.S.A. and the British Dominions would not bring us nearer to world peace if their armed forces were only to be used for protecting the interests of this enlarged state. Departure from the sterile basis of national self-interest involves a policy of internationalism of some kind. Sir Rowland's “Freedom Area” is a form of internationalism, much vaguer, much more sloppy, in fact, than the proposals of the League of Nations Union. See how he describes its normal policy in relation to countries outside it—“goodwill, tolerance, vigilance, and a readiness to effect just changes by peaceful means.”

Again, Sir Rowland devotes two and a half pages of his pamphlet to proving the impracticability of an international police force, yet he goes on to describe the policing duties which he ascribes to his “Freedom Area or Commonwealth of Free Nations” relying on the armed force of its two magnets. They are to undertake (1) “to prohibit the export of armaments, ships of war, and military and naval aircraft to countries outside the Area; (2) to control and, if necessary, to prohibit the export to those countries of oil and all raw materials essential for the manufacture of armament; and munitions of war; and (3) to control and, if necessary, prohibit all loans and credit to such countries.”

“Coming Along”

Note finally these two passages:—

1. “Once the Freedom Area has been established it should be possible to

arrange, for example, specific arrangements for mutual defence, perhaps on a regional basis, if groups of members immediately concerned desired to do so.”

2. Out of this Anglo-American co-operation there is to grow “a new system providing on the one hand an invulnerable bulwark against fresh attacks on the citadels of freedom, and, on the other, a better opportunity for strengthening the spirit of freedom, for extending its reign over all peoples and lands, and for making life richer and happier for all mankind.”

Surely we may say that our critics are coming along hopefully, even if they do not yet realise where they are going!

CANADA CARRIES ON

The July number of the magazine of the League of Nations Society in Canada is devoted to a full report of the Annual Meeting of the Society's National Council. From this it is clear that the meeting was as virile and enthusiastic as our own General Council in London.

Professor Eagleton, from the American League of Nations Association, spoke on the Study Commission which, in the United States, has been working on the Organisation of Peace. The idea of Anglo-American *Union*, he said, had come into the discussion; but it seemed that the people of the United States would not accept anything so definite as a union. He mentioned Mr. Duncan Hall's scheme for making the British Commonwealth the model.

In a resolution on *co-ordination of action* between the British Commonwealth and the U.S.A., the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Society commended such co-ordination as “not only essential for the present war period but also equally essential to the post-war reconstruction.”

A MESSAGE TO MEMBERS

By SIR PHILIP GIBBS

(For reasons of space, HEADWAY is compelled to publish a slightly abbreviated version of this Message from a distinguished journalist and writer. A leaflet containing the full message is being issued by the L.R.F., 32, Fitzroy Square, W. 1.)

I have been asked to give a message to the London Regional Federation of the League of Nations Union in the midst of this terrible and murderous war which seems, but only seems, to make a mockery of all the ideals and all the hopes of those who supported the League in time of peace. I would say to its members—"Do not renounce or forget your ideals and hopes because the League failed to prevent this war, and to establish that justice and equity and peace among nations for which it was designed. An ideal is not wrong because it fails. It will never prevail if those who believed in it abandon their faith because of disillusionment and despair."

A Great Betrayal

The League was betrayed—history will say so—by the Governments who sent their representatives to its Assemblies with secret instructions to resist any progress towards general disarmament and international action against aggression, while pledging themselves to professions of faith in such principles. Often in the old days when I went to Geneva I was sickened by the insincerity and treachery of European statesmen whose speeches were addressed to world opinion, while they put up every obstacle behind the scenes to make the League ineffective. But the fact that

they had to "pander" to public opinion was in itself a proof that the masses of men and women in many countries—in all countries, I truly believe—put their faith and hope in this idea of international law and justice for the safeguarding of peace. The League of Nations Union in this country had evidence of that. Its organisers found their recruits waiting for them in homes where men and women, intelligent and hard-thinking after a world war, were deeply anxious to support the League and its principles with almost religious fervour. They wanted peace. They wanted a decent security for civilised ideals. They wanted to get away from the jungle law which had caused innumerable wars and untold miseries. They were for the League.

The Flame of the Spirit

There were days when the League itself seemed to be touched by the flame of the spirit, and when lip service and insincerity were swept on one side by a passionate desire for peace and human progress. One such day was when Germany came into the League and Briand held out his hand to Stresemann. Briand's speech was magical. "For once the old play actor is sincere," said a French journalist. "I confess he made me weep."

There were many who had tears in their eyes when Briand welcomed Germany to the League. It seemed to hold

out the promise of a peaceful Europe, relieved of the old feuds and fears, and the crushing burden of armaments. France and Germany had agreed to work for the commonwealth of nations. Briand, looking back upon the fields sewn with little white crosses of the dead, the agonies of French and German mothers, the old tracks of war and blood, turned towards a new road reaching to new heights of human progress. After all, we thought, the League has been justified. This is the day of promise! But Briand was stabbed in the back by Poincaré. Stresemann died too soon after many threats of murder. A new portent appeared by the name of Hitler.

The Coming of Peace

But this war is not going to last forever. What kind of a world are we going to build upon its ruins? What ideals are going to the making of the peace? Surely this time we must see to it that war must never happen again. It is for the coming of peace that the old supporters of the League must keep their faith in some system of international justice and equity. We see now, most of us, that the Governments which made up the League were not in tune with the spirit of their own peoples or of the time itself. We see that the League had no power behind it to enforce its decisions. There must be, it appears, some international police force to prevent aggression and to arrest international bandits. The lines of the old League must be reshaped. Perhaps there will be federation and free trade between nations. Bombing aeroplanes and all the weapons of modern warfare must be restricted and controlled. But more important than all that is the spirit of the peoples, and

their common desire for peace and security.

A Better Way of Life

I believe that when this war has ended after many more horrors and agonies, we shall take a stride forward to a better way of life with more sense of brotherhood and fair play. Our people deserve all that and much more. As all the world agrees, the common crowd in this island, under threat of invasion and heavily bombarded, are showing a courage and spirit beyond the ordinary limits of human nature. I am staggered by the valour of our own people, and by the spirit which burns in them. It will be frightful if they are let down afterward by unimaginative leaders, thinking on party lines, or using the opportunity of peace to put new chains upon a people who have suffered all things for liberty. I hope that will not happen. It will not if the spirit which inspired the members of the League of Nations Union, its common membership of ordinary folk, lights the torches of those who will lead the way out of darkness to the coming dawn.

KNEBWORTH

Many branches and members would welcome an opportunity to discuss the "Collective Security" aspects of "World Settlement After the War" more fully than was possible at the last meeting of the General Council. Arrangements have therefore been made for this subject to be fully discussed at the Knebworth Summer School at 2.30 and 5 p.m. on Saturday, September 6. It is hoped that many members unable to attend the whole course (September 4-8) will spend the afternoon at Knebworth. The discussion will be opened by Lord Lytton.

UP AND DOWN THE COUNTRY

A healthy crop of Garden Parties during the past few weeks has given a summer tonic to Union activity throughout the country. With August and September before us, there is still time for branches to organise further meetings of this kind.

HUDDERSFIELD'S extremely successful Garden Party was attended by 110 members. Dr. H. G. Chapman, Headmaster of Ossett Grammar School, in a stimulating address on "This Civilisation" gave cogent reasons why the League idea lived on and would live on. Useful publicity was obtained in the *Huddersfield Examiner*, which not only reported the Garden Party, but used it as the text for a stirring leading article on the theme, "The League is Dead—Long Live the League!" The L.N.U., it concluded, "can be wonderfully useful." Looking ahead, the Huddersfield Branch is already making its plans for more study group meetings during the winter.

In glorious weather HARROW BRANCH held its Garden Meeting in the grounds of Harrow School. During the afternoon tea was served by the girls of the Heathfield High School, and the singing of the madrigal group of the Harrow Philharmonic Choral Society added to the delight of the occasion. A large audience heard Mrs. M. Gladys Stevens give a talk on "Past Mistakes and Present Opportunities."

At MALDEN'S Garden Party, the Headmaster of the Grammar School spoke on the causes of the war. Real interest and not merely the "grand tea" provided contributed to an attendance of 68 people, and the Committee has decided to follow up with an indoor meeting in the autumn.

Within a fortnight of our General Council Meeting in London, ST. ALBANS BRANCH arranged a Garden Meeting at which the Editor of HEADWAY gave a full account of what had been done at the Council.

The experiment of a High Tea Talk at the Plane Tree Restaurant, on July 3, has

encouraged the LONDON REGIONAL FEDERATION to proceed with a series. Those present overflowed into the corridor to hear Dr. Gilbert Murray, O.M., give a thought-provoking talk on "Glimpses of the Obvious." Dr. Murray said that he did not agree with those who thought that the war had come about through the rotten state of civilisation. The Church had never been so much listened to as it was to-day. Social conscience had never been so strong nor the level of education so high. The development of a sense of service to the community had been shown by the extraordinary response to the work of the Peace Ballot. Dr. Murray held that changes in our mode of life had been so rapid and overwhelming that it had been very hard for people to assimilate them. This was much more the root cause of this war than the much-blamed Capitalist system, or the so-called materialistic age.

The L.R.F.'s next High Tea Talk is to be held at the Plane Tree Restaurant, 106, Great Russell Street, W.C.1, on Friday, August 8 at 6 p.m. Dr. Wolfram Gottlieb, formerly London correspondent of leading Baltic newspapers, will speak on "Russia To-day."

Sir Arthur Haworth's visit to CHORLEY (Lancs.), which secured excellent publicity in the local Press, has "brought the League into the limelight again locally."

Travelling difficulties after the previous day's Blitz did not prevent a good attendance at the Annual Meeting of the EAST YORKS AND NORTH Lincs COUNCIL at Beverley. Three ex-Mayors were present, one being the host and another the chairman.

A brilliant address on "America, the War and the Future" was given by Helen P. Kirkpatrick, American correspondent to the *Daily Telegraph*, and London correspondent to the *Chicago Daily News*, to the STREATHAM BRANCH. So stimulating was the effect on the local newspaper re-

porter that he wrote of "wandering homewards full of beans for the L.N.U."

HASTINGS BRANCH was well satisfied with an attendance of more than 100 at the Annual Meeting—considering that many of the keenest supporters have evacuated. The spirit and interest were splendid, and the collectors had a busy time getting in subscriptions.

Other meetings for which Head Office provided speakers during July were held at Barnet, Chesham, Darlington, Dunstable, East Grinstead, Guildford, Hampstead Garden Suburb, Hanley, Leamington, Letchworth, Nutfield, Oxted, Redditch, Reigate, Southgate, Stroud (Rotary Club), Wembley, Wimbledon and Worcester (Youth Group). The speakers included Dr. Gilbert Murray, Sir Arthur Haworth, the Dean of Chichester, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Mrs. Corbett Fisher, Canon Godwin, Captain Oliver Bell, Miss B. Barclay-Carter, the Rev. M. Donovan, the Rev. Marcus Spencer, Mr. H. Walker, Count Balinski, Professor A. Newell, Dr. Helene Maasz, and Dr. W. Gottlieb.

HALLAM BRANCH has made such an effort to get in arrears that, during the first five months of 1941, as many subscriptions (over 400) were collected as during the whole of last year. Two good recitals have also raised £17.

"I'm glad to say that the Cause not only continues to hold its own, but we are gradually regaining the interest of many of our members who for one reason or another relaxed their interest in the movement during the past few years." Thus reports the Secretary-Treasurer of the CHICHESTER BRANCH, which held its annual meeting on July 11.

In ordering extra posters, the KESWICK Secretary adds:—"We need them! There are so many visitors in the place, and so many of them walking that they stop to read posters." Since the General Council meeting, the Branch representative has spoken at one Sunday afternoon tea party at Oxenhope on what she saw and heard, and similar little tea parties in other parts of the area are being arranged. These, it

is hoped, will stir up the interest of members who pay up regularly when the collector calls, and yet never attend ordinary meetings.

DR. F. H. WADDY, who has been a tower of strength to the Hallam Branch almost since its foundation, will be obliged, for domestic reasons, to leave Sheffield next month. House-to-house canvassing is the field in which Dr. Waddy has excelled. Two years ago he had enrolled more than 400 new members, and, as he has relaxed none of his activity, the number must now be far larger. When the war made conditions difficult, Dr. Waddy nobly volunteered to collect arrears in any district temporarily without a collector. This seems a fitting moment to record our appreciation of a fine record of service.

Many of our Branch secretaries have had alarming and tragic experiences, but few can have carried on more gallantly under great difficulties than MRS. TOMLEY, of the Radford and Coundon Branch. A series of providential escapes in air raids, during which many of the Branch records were destroyed, culminated in injuries to her ear and temporary facial paralysis. Nothing has shaken her determination to keep the Branch together until better times return.

THE EXECUTIVE AT WORK

Readers will be interested to know that the Executive has already begun its consideration of the Reports on "Social and Economic Reconstruction," "Colonial Settlement," and "Peaceful Change," with the assistance of a number of experts who helped to draft them. Branches, in their own studies of these documents, are advised to call in expert advice whenever possible (e.g., those near to Universities might invite a professor or lecturer in the Department of Economics to consider these papers with them). The reports will also be fully examined at the Knebworth Summer School, September 4-8.

BOOK OF THE MONTH

LET THE PEOPLE KNOW

The spirit of Books is the spirit of Freedom—universal through, yet independent of, time, clime, religion and race. The first book written was the first nail in the coffin of tyrants all over the world.

No two problems preoccupy our minds and hearts more than "How are we to reconstruct things after the war?" and "What is to be done with Germany?" The following books are chosen because they definitely do help towards both rational and emotional understanding.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF WORLD TRADE. By *J. B. Condliffe*. (Allen and Unwin, 12s. 6d.) No more brilliant and readable study of political economy has appeared for a very long time. Readers who want to know the plain meaning of the vital issues which face us all in the smashed economics of to-day, as well as in the hopes and chances of co-operatively rebuilding them to-morrow, will be richly repaid by this remarkable book. It is not in the least dull; in fact, it is frankly exciting. Dr. Condliffe leaves it in no doubt how or why world trade collapsed; we tread the whole 39 steps which led to the débâcle. Of special interest are Nazi "emotional" economics, which are a sheer smokescreen for the policies of a Power State—in short, our old enemy Militarism. World trade collapsed, not from inherent faults, but from the deliberate intrusion of national governments of an extreme type. Dr. Condliffe has no cut and dried programme of reconstruction, no blue print to dictate. But out of the present welter emerge a number of strong life lines, leading positively to better international co-operation and

regulation.* First Nazism must be extirpated. Then must come American and British co-operation and leadership. It is likely to be a world of both national and regional organisation—but this is no ultimate reason why the stabilisation and economic internal expansion desired by many should not be won by combination, rather than carved out by cut-throat competition. The end in view is enormously worth while, at the cost of some sacrifice of full national sovereignty.

WHY BRITAIN FIGHTS. By *R. H. Tawney*. (Macmillan War Pamphlet No. 13, 3d.) One answer we all know: We fight to preserve a way of life—good faith, tolerance, mercy to the weak, equal justice to all, free speech, the ordinary decencies and humanities of intercourse. The Nazis have placed them all on the operating table; if they win, out goes democracy like a candle. And we shall get compulsory labour, the correct name of which is Slavery, dictated by an arbitrary, irremovable Government. So we prefer dying on our feet to living on our knees that way. Yet this answer is not enough. For we are not out to preserve just the old, pre-war order. On the contrary, we must build a better one which will fill the world's two greatest needs to-day—economic prosperity and order. There is no doubt that it can be done. The path to economic prosperity has been so blazoned by the pioneering of the League that there are no overwhelming technical obstacles in the way. A natural form would be something like an International Reconstruction Commission for allocating food-stuffs, raw materials and credits on some principle of equity, to ensure that the weak countries get as square a deal as the

* "We shall hope," said Mr. Eden in his "Reconstruction" Speech on May 29, "to see the development of a system of international exchange in which the trading of goods and services will be the central feature."

strong. The only real difficulties are political. In other words, there must be the will to work this new order in a framework of peace. There must be a central authority behind it; it must have teeth. Few among us do not wish our economic and social systems to be every bit as much a source of pride to us as our political institutions. But, to bring this about, we must grasp the fact that Democracy is something to be won; not mere absence of restrictions, but the active presence of opportunities in which all can share according to their powers. A start should be made now, during the war, so that all the world can visualise our purpose—the conquest of nature by co-operative effort for the service of man.

WOMEN'S PARTNERSHIP IN THE NEW WORLD. By *Maude Royden*. (Allen and Unwin, 5s.) A noble appeal to women to take a full, high-hearted share in building up a new world after the war; and to men for their understanding and help. No class, no sex can do this building properly by itself. Each must give of its best. And women have special gifts, supplementing those of many men. They are more emotional, i.e., there is more moving force in their make up. And the importance of the right kind of emotion to-day is paramount. Women are more personal in their outlook, have more reverence for personality, so that they react more instinctively against the murder of personal freedom by the Nazis, or its menace by some aspects of Democracy itself (such as soulless mass production). In the unfettered use of women's gifts there is a sure hope for a to-morrow when Life, though hard, shall not be ignoble, Peace can be made worth while, and Adventure is round the corner.

GERMANY POSSESSED. By *H. G. Baynes*. (Cape, 16s.) A highly important analysis from the medical psychologist angle of the place of Hitlerism in German history. The trouble is, Germany never entered fully into the moral inheritance of Christianity. The embers of anti-Christian fires were always smouldering. They were blown into a blaze by Hitler, who gained a kind

of magical ascendancy over many Germans by playing the role of medium to their "collective unconscious." (That Hitler behaves like a medium, and is possessed by forces stronger than himself, is also the personal evidence of another writer, *Rom Landau*, in *WE HAVE SEEN EVIL*, Faber, 7s. 6d.) It must take time to mend the German mind. There is, however, more to it than this dæmonic possession which Mr. Baynes argues lies at the back of Hitler's "maniacal extraversion, with its inhuman insistence on movement, marching, action at all costs"; something commonplace, political, and therefore curable. There has always been a predatory, gangster side to the whole Nazi business, together with sinister support (not in Germany only) from industrial plutocrats and last-ditch militarists. Once we recognise the gangsters' impulse we have our feet on firmer ground. For here is something which can be cut out, ruthlessly, and to the benefit of the German people.

Readers' attention is specially called to the following smaller books and pamphlets. WHAT HAVE I TO LOSE? By *W. J. Brown* (Allen and Unwin, 2s. 6d.) gives a blunt answer to revolutionary defeatism and the propaganda of Indifference and a Negotiated Peace; remember this reply to Hitler's coming campaign. WAR AIMS UNLIMITED, by *A. A. Milne* (Methuen, 1s.) is a lively criticism of those who can see no victory save in elaborate blue prints for the New Order now, and are apt to believe planning and blue prints are a substitute for thought. Mr. Milne's own peace aims centre on a League of Democracies—with which many would agree. VANSITTART'S GIFT FOR GOEBBELS, by *Heinrich Fraenkel* (Fabian Tracts Series No. 254, 2d.) is a German exile's answer to "Black Record." Finally, a new series of OXFORD PAMPHLETS (Nos. 1-8, 6d. each)—reviewed in *The Times*, July 4—do admirable service in bringing to English readers authoritative American views on the war: Not on any account to be missed, especially AN AMERICAN LOOKS AT THE BRITISH EMPIRE, by *James Truslow Adams*.

TO ALL YOUTH GROUPERS EVERYWHERE

DEAR YOUTH GROUPS,—

Since I last wrote to you, an event has happened which I know has cheered many Youth Group members. The Soviet Union is now our ally—an event which might have changed the course of history had it taken place two years ago—but this is no time for regret, and let us say with the simplicity of Alexis Tolstoi, “It is good news.”

In a smaller sense it is good news for the Youth movement too. I hope that we shall now forget our past differences and work together in the spirit of comradeship which we enjoyed before the outbreak of the war.

I have heard from only two groups since I last wrote—three months ago!

Leamington have amalgamated with their branch for the duration.

Worcester report that their membership has increased, as indeed it should, with their impressive record of lunch and tea meetings; social events; war work, and careful attention to Press and posters. The chairman, M. Chandler, even finds time to send in a comprehensive report when he is home on leave. Does this prick the consciences of other Youth Group officers?

The July issue of HEADWAY has told you about the meeting of the General Council. Whatever detailed reservations we may make, we must agree that the Union's policy is one of which we can be proud, and for which we can work enthusiastically. I hope that you will send for all of the supplementary reports, and discuss them carefully, sending in your remarks to Major Freshwater. I especially draw your attention to the report on “Social Reconstruction,” because its study will help to solve the big query about the future in the minds of our generation.

In my last letter I recommended Mander's “We were *not* all wrong”—on re-reading it I would like to stress its value as a record of what we have said in the past. It should be very useful to L.N.U. speakers. May I also recommend a very fine book by Francis Williams called “Democracy's last battle.”

Here is a note for London Youth Groups—or should I say ex-Youth Groups? Plans are being made to reorganise, and it will greatly help if all members who are ready to assist will write to me. If we can rebuild our London groups we may be able to pass our experiences on to the other blitzed cities.

Finally, the National Executive Committee of the Union has invited me to become a co-opted member, and I have accepted this great opportunity to present the views of the younger members, and also to show how anxious we are to help in the Union's great task. But my own private views are not important enough—I must have suggestions, criticisms and news from Youth Groups, and from individual members.

To all Youth Groupers everywhere my best wishes for our future.

Yours sincerely,

ETHEL A. WAITE.

THE PRICE OF PEACE

“We had believed perhaps too easily that a peace system that would recommend itself to the good sense of all peoples could be planned and debated in the Council room without other effort and without harder sacrifice on our part. We have learnt that that is not so; that the price of peace is constant vigilance, readiness, courage; and we must never forget that lesson.”—
(July 29, 1941.) MR. EDEN.