

HEADWAY

IN WAR-TIME

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COLLECTIVE SECURITY IN THE POST-WAR WORLD

By VISCOUNT CECIL

(To signalise Lord Cecil's birthday on September 14, the League of Nations Society of Canada co-operated with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation in a special dramatic presentation, over the national network, on the League and the future of international co-operation. Mr. Warwick Chipman, President of the League of Nations Society of Canada, Mr. J. W. Dafoe, the Hon. President, Senator Beaubien, Professor Corbett, of Toronto University, and Dr. Boudreau, President of the American League of Nations Association, contributed to the programme. The Prime Minister of Canada and others sent birthday messages. There was a similar broadcast on the French network. Lord Cecil recorded the following message to introduce the programme.)

I am very glad to have been given the opportunity to say a few words to my friends on the other side. They and I have worked long for peace, and though we failed to prevent the present war, I do not think our efforts have been in vain. After all, we did show the world that an international organisation could co-operate more quickly and more effectively than any previous institution to promote the well-being of human society. And we also showed that the same organisation could be used—at least, so I think—to prevent war, on one condition, and that was that a sufficient number of the Governments of the world were prepared to use their whole strength to maintain peace. That is the whole point. Have the Governments learned their lesson?

Let us take the United Nations. What is their policy? To win the war? Certainly there can be no doubt about that. We are all agreed that victory is essential. But what are we going to do with it when we have got it? To me there is only one answer. We are going to make war impossible. Well, but how?

I don't think there should be any doubt about that either. Every government that begins an aggressive war does it because it wants to get something. If the aggressive government can be shown that it has no chance to get what it wants by war, it will try peaceful methods instead. So our whole object must be to make it clear that aggressive war cannot succeed.

At present, when peaceful countries are attacked they defend themselves and

they try to get other countries who are in danger of attack to help them. But if they put off doing that until the attack is delivered, the aggressors have a great advantage. They know what they are going to do and prepare accordingly. The victims are too often taken by surprise. How much better it would be if they got their defences ready beforehand, if they had what Mr. Cordell Hull called the other day an "international agency," which combined and prepared the peaceful countries to resist and prevent any aggression wherever it took place.

Surely that is common sense. All the governments and certainly all the peoples, except the international criminals, are agreed that they want peace, that peace is the greatest of their interests. Every civilised nation wants to be left in peace to work out its own plans of improvement and to be saved from the perpetual threats of armed aggression. Well, it can be done! There is no reasonable doubt about that. The Powers that want peace are immeasurably stronger than those that can ever want war. But they must be ready to

use their strength. They were not ready to do so before this war began, and that is why it came.

Will they be more ready in the future? Will they realise that their own happiness and that of humanity at large depends on their readiness to put down international aggression as ruthlessly as they would put down murder and outrage in their own country? That is what is meant by collective security, which is rather an elaborate way of saying "Each for All and All for Each." That must be the key-note of the New World after the war. I remember in 1919 hearing President Wilson make a speech in a small room crowded with people belonging to different nationalities. It was very eloquent, and the essence of it was that he looked forward to a time when it would be thought as disgraceful for a man to be false to the interests of mankind as it now is if he is false to his own fellow citizens. That time is, I fear, still distant. But at the end of the war we may have the chance of helping the world a stage further in that direction. Do not let us miss such an opportunity.

ACTIVITY IN AMERICA

From the AMERICAN LEAGUE OF NATIONS ASSOCIATION comes a stimulating account of recent activities. Through an informal, temporary "United Nations Committee," discussions and meetings on the principles of the Atlantic Charter have been encouraged all over the country, and useful work has been done to counteract anti-British sentiment and the tendency among some groups to fight an "America first" war. The campaign reached a climax on June 14, which the President designated as United Nations Day. Two important meetings in the series were the Free World Dinner on May 8, at which Vice-President Wallace spoke, and the United Nations Rally in Baltimore on June 17, at which Mr. Sumner Welles spoke.

Through the Commission to Study the Organisation of Peace, new people and new groups are being reached each day. Indeed, the expansion of the work has necessitated setting up ten or twelve strategically located centres, each with its panel of experts and its education committee to carry on the popular educational programme in its own region. It is hoped that a third Report—on the implementation of the Atlantic Charter and the expansion and development of the United Nations—will be ready in the autumn.

The increasing number of public statements and editorials pointing out that the United States made a mistake in not joining the League in 1919 is an encouragement and incentive to our fellow-workers in the United States. League stock is rising.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

INTRODUCING AMERICA

Our ways and America's, Mr. Churchill has said, are destined to be increasingly mixed up together. Which means that the average man and woman must get straight down to the job of knowing much more about this great neighbour of ours across the sea. Part to our need comes the first of a series of pamphlets issued by the American and British Commonwealth Association (18, South Street, Park Lane, London, W.1). It is *INTRODUCING AMERICA*, by *W. E. Simnett* (price 3d.). Full of facts, infectiously lively and furnished with a first-rate little bibliography, the pamphlet deserves to be unreservedly recommended. Look out for the second in the series, *INTRODUCING GREATER BRITAIN*.

In the *CONSTITUTION UNDER STRAIN* (Stevens and Sons, Law Publishers, 2s. 6d.). *Professor A. Berriedale Keith* objectively sketches the working of the British constitution from the crisis of 1938 up to the present time. Much of the trouble, he shows by marshalling the facts, is due to the way in which, at the time of the Ethiopian war and Munich, the League Covenant was ignored. The Government deliberately flouted not only democratic procedure, but also the will of the electorate as expressed in 1935. The snubbing of Russia, too, played its part in precipitating war.

The second volume of *Marcel Hoden's DIARY OF WORLD AFFAIRS* (Penguin Special, 9d.) carries on from the first, to which it is a worthy successor. Bringing

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BY **G. P. GOOCH, D.Litt., F.B.A.**

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the story of the last three aggressions up to the end of 1941, it covers an interesting period. Without laying claim to any special inside information, the author arranges events in an orderly and understandable sequence.

Part 6 of the *PENGUIN HANSARD* (price 9d.) covers the period between the German invasion of Russia and the Japanese attack on the U.S.A.

Two recent Puffin Picture Books (published by the Penguin company, 9d. each) are admirable for children. *THE STORY OF AMERICA*, by *James Holland* and *H. H. Hallinan*, is told in an easy, straightforward manner. *MISHA LEARNS ENGLISH*, by *Pearl Binder*, describes the grim-gay, everyday life of an ordinary Russian boy. Both are colourfully illustrated.

THE ABYSSINIAN CAMPAIGNS, the Official Story of the Conquest of "Italian East Africa" (H.M. Stationery Office, 1s. 6d.), with its 140 vivid photographs, is an extremely lively account of one of the most satisfactory episodes of the war. A more personal account is to be found in *SEALED AND DELIVERED*, by *G. L. Steer* (Hodder and Stoughton, 18s.).

GENERAL COUNCIL

The General Council of the League of Nations Union will meet in London, at the Conway Hall, on Thursday and Friday, November 19 and 20. Normally this meeting is held in December, but a somewhat earlier date has been chosen in order to take advantage of the moon.

WORLD AFFAIRS IN PARLIAMENT

By OWEN A. RATTENBURY

The assembly of Parliament for one week in September was mainly notable for the Prime Minister's war survey, and the fact that the House did not discuss it. Mr. Churchill's visit to Libya, Persia and Russia was of outstanding interest, and his contacts with King Farouk, of Egypt, and the King's brother-in-law, the Shah of Persia, were immensely important. The Prime Minister, especially, seemed to appreciate the latter's "able exposition of the solid reasons which make the interests of Persia identical with the victory of Britain and her allies." It was encouraging, too, to hear that King Farouk had affirmed his loyalty to the cause of the United Nations.

Mr. Churchill on Russia

With his usual instinct for getting the maximum effect from his statements, Mr. Churchill kept until the very end that part of his speech which the opposite benches wanted to hear more than anything else. Some of the members behind him, apparently, were not so eager to listen, and Sir Stafford Cripps subsequently had some scathing remarks to make about the exodus which then began. What Mr. Churchill said about his Russian visit is of vital importance to our future relations with Russia, and here are his words exactly:—

"It was an experience of great interest to me to meet Premier Stalin. The main object of my visit was to establish the same relations of easy confidence and of perfect openness which I have built up with President Roosevelt. I think that in spite of the accident of the Tower of Babel which persists as a very serious barrier in numerous spheres, I have succeeded to a considerable extent. It is very fortunate for Russia in her agony to have this great rugged war chief at her head. He is a man of massive, outstanding personality, suited to the sombre and stormy times in which his life has been cast; a man of inexhaustible courage and will-power and a man direct and even blunt in speech—which, having been brought up in the House of Commons, I do not mind at all, especially when I have something to say of my own. Above all, he is a man with that saving sense of humour which is of high importance to all men and nations, but particularly to great

men and great nations. Stalin left upon me the impression of a deep, cool wisdom and a complete absence of illusions of any kind. I believe I made him feel that we were good and faithful comrades in this war—but that, after all, is a matter which deeds not words will prove. One thing stands out in my mind above all others from my visit to Moscow—the inexorable, inflexible resolve of Soviet Russia to fight Hitlerism to the end until it is finally beaten down. Premier Stalin said to me that the Russian people are naturally a peaceful people, but the atrocious cruelties inflicted on them by the Germans have roused them to such a fury of indignation that their whole nature is transformed."

Mission to China

All allied operations except those taking place in China were covered by the Prime Minister's survey. Two days later, however, the Speaker informed the House of the appointment of the China Parliamentary Mission, which, at the request of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, would visit Chungking in the autumn. The Lord Chancellor and he had invited four Members of the two Houses to take part in this important undertaking—Lord Ailwyn and Lord Teviot, Mr. Scrymgeour-Wedderburn and Mr. Jack Lawson. Lady Astor here interjected, "Considering how great a part Madame Chiang Kai-shek has taken, would it not have been a good idea to have sent a woman?"

In view of the current interest in China, readers may care to know something about the records of these four members. Lord Ailwyn has had a somewhat distinguished naval career, including command of the "Dreadnought" when that ship was considered the last word in naval construction and participation in the Battle of Jutland. As some years back he commanded H.M.S. "Cumberland" on the China Station, he will no doubt renew old acquaintanceships. Lord Teviot, when he sat in the House of Commons, was a Liberal National Whip. Mr. Scrymgeour-Wedderburn is one of the tallest members in the Commons, a pleasant Scotsman with some experience as an Under-Secretary, and the title of "Hereditary Royal Standard Bearer for Scotland." Probably Chiang Kai-shek will be most interested

in his fellow Methodist, Mr. Lawson, a miners' M.P. in the Durham tradition of self-acquired scholarship and some literary power. He is a lay preacher and a keen student of Chinese conditions.

Mr. Eden, in answer to a question, assured Sir Robert Gower that eleven members of His Majesty's Embassy at Chungking have a knowledge of the Chinese language.

The British Council

The cultural activities of the British Council furnished the most interesting material at question time. Much has been done to encourage the reading of English books in Turkey. A subsidy enables approved Turkish booksellers to sell them at reasonable prices, and in addition books to the value of £2,000 have been bought by the Council and sent to Turkey for resale. Lending libraries at Ankara, Istanbul and Smyrna have created an immense demand for English books of all sorts. Libraries on geology, metallurgy and mathematics have been presented to Istanbul University, whose science libraries were recently destroyed by fire. Special attention is also given to books on medicine, science, agriculture and engineering.

'DAUGHTERS OF SHEBA'

The Ethiopian Women's Work Association was the "week's good cause" on behalf of which the B.B.C. allowed an appeal to be broadcast on September 27. Formed in 1935, when for the first time the Ethiopian women stepped out of their homes and organised themselves to serve their country in her hour of desperate need, the Association has been re-establishing itself since the Emperor's return to his capital. The late Princess Tsahai was actively engaged herself in this work when untimely death overtook her a few weeks ago. There are many spheres of reconstruction in Ethiopia in which the E.W.W.A. is eminently fitted to give a lead. We hear of relief work of various kinds, the care of orphans and the training of girls for nursing. Any aid forthcoming from British women's organisations would be a great help and encouragement. Full information can be obtained from Lady Barton, 19, Neville Street, London, S.W.7.

Mr. Eden further reported that in Palestine the British Council had established institutes in Jaffa, Haifa, Nablus, Nazareth and Tel-Aviv—open to all irrespective of creed. This work of the Council, he said, had had a beneficent effect upon the relations between Jews, Moslems and Christian Arabs throughout the community, and would be expanded as far as it was within the power of the Government to do so.

Thanks to active work in Argentina, more than 4,000 students are regularly attending British Council classes.

Austria's Position

Mr. Mander and Mr. John Dugdale both asked the Foreign Secretary about the future of Austria, and changes effected since 1938. In his reply, Mr. Eden referred to the speech made by the Prime Minister at the Mansion House in November, 1940, when he had declared that Austria was one of the countries for whom we had drawn the sword, and for whom our victory would supply liberation. The Government did not regard themselves as being bound by any change effected in Austria since 1938. In that respect, therefore, Austria comes into line with Czechoslovakia and other occupied countries in Europe.

MUNICH

Sir,—In an article in the September HEADWAY by Mr. Owen A. Rattenbury he speaks of Munich as a shame to this country, and of "truckling" to Hitler and Mussolini by Daladier and Chamberlain.

Is this fair to Chamberlain?

I am only a man in the street—a very old man. Chamberlain sought to avoid war. The rightness or justice of any matter is never settled by war.

Chamberlain's policy deferred war for a year. When Germany attacked Poland he declared war in support of our pledge to Poland. He was not a born military leader and had not the talent and military shrewdness of our present Premier, but I cannot see where shame comes in. Hitler's duplicity is not our shame—we had traditional friendship with Italy which Chamberlain sought to save. We did not "truckle" to anyone.

Chamberlain's reputation does not need any defence, but I like to think that HEADWAY is fair; it usually is so.

ARTHUR G. FARROW.

Wappenham, Towcester.

SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY IN RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT

By R. BISHOP

(Editor of "Russia Today")

The Treaty of Alliance between Great Britain and the U.S.S.R. pledges the two countries to work in unison with each other, and with all "like-minded States," for common action after the war to preserve peace and to resist aggression, and in so doing brings to an end a period of close upon a quarter of a century during which Anglo-Soviet relations were as bad as it was possible for the relations between two countries to be, without actual war resulting; so bad, indeed, that on many occasions it seemed war must be the outcome. If anything further was needed to complete the good work of healing the old wounds it has been provided by the visit of the Prime Minister to Moscow.

It is generally recognised now that the fundamental suspicions of the Soviet Union which motivated so much of our foreign policy in pre-war days did more to prevent the development of an all-embracing system of collective security in Europe than almost any other single factor.

A Lost Opportunity

Little space was given in the British newspapers to the speeches of the Soviet leaders, and when they were reported at all, it was generally assumed that they were speaking with their tongues in their cheek. Actually, there was little need to "interpret" what Stalin, Litvinov *et al.* had to say, for they spoke in the plainest language, and, as events have shown, meant exactly what they said. A realisation of this elementary fact might have saved the world from war by making possible an Anglo-French understanding with Russia which would have checked Nazi aggression, and rallied all the small nations of Europe to its banner.

From its earliest days the Soviet Government sought a peaceful understanding with its neighbours, making it clear that, as far as it was concerned, neither economic nor political differences

in state structure need stand in the way of such an understanding. Between 1922 and 1933 the Soviet Government extended its network of international understandings with every state that was willing to reciprocate.

Russia in the League

But the coming to power of Hitler in Germany in 1933 radically altered the whole European position. In the period between 1933 and 1939 the Soviet Union was the one country in Europe which consistently opposed fascist aggression, and fought for the building of a system of collective security. Years prior to 1934, when the U.S.S.R. joined the League of Nations, Litvinov, as the chief Soviet representative at the Disarmament Conference, had startled the world by the concrete character of the proposals he brought forward for total disarmament. Inside the League the Soviet Government spared no efforts to rally the other Powers in defence of Abyssinia, of Czechoslovakia, of China and above all, of Republican Spain. Even to-day, despite its own difficulties, the Soviet Union is still managing to send vast quantities of material to China.

In his book, *Mission to Moscow*, Joseph E. Davies, former U.S.A. Ambassador to Moscow, declares that the keystone of Soviet foreign policy between 1934-1939 was to secure an alliance with Britain and France. Unfortunately, those principally responsible for the foreign policy of these two countries had entirely different views. No less an authority than Dr. Benes has declared that, in his opinion, "the policy which led to the exclusion of Soviet Russia . . . was the real beginning of the present disaster to Europe and the world."

There was no mystery about Soviet foreign policy during this period, as witness Stalin's speech to the 17th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in January, 1934:—

"Our foreign policy," he said, "is clear. It is a policy of preserving peace and

strengthening commercial relations with all countries. The U.S.S.R. does not think of threatening anybody—let alone of attacking anybody. We stand for peace and champion the cause of peace. But we are not afraid of threats, and are prepared to answer the instigators of war blow for blow. Those who want peace and seek business relations with us will always have our support. But those who try to attack our country will receive a crushing repulse to teach them to keep their pigs' snouts out of our Soviet garden."

That was plain language for all to understand.

In March, 1939, after the German rape of Czechoslovakia, Stalin crossed the "t's" and dotted the "i's" in another clear declaration of Soviet policy:—

"We stand for peace and the strengthening of business relations with all countries," he said. "That is our position and we shall adhere to it as long as these countries maintain like relations with us, and so long as they make no attempt to trespass on the interests of our country. We stand for peaceful, close and friendly relations with all the neighbouring countries, which have common frontiers with the U.S.S.R. That is our position, and we shall adhere to this position as long as these countries maintain like relations with the Soviet Union, and as long as they make no attempt to trespass directly or indirectly on the integrity and inviolability of the frontiers of the Soviet State. We stand for the support of nations which are the victims of aggression and are fighting for the independence of their country. We are not afraid of the threats of the instigators of war who attempt to violate the Soviet borders. Such is the foreign policy of the Soviet Union."

DRUG CONTROL

Meetings of two League of Nations bodies concerned with the international control of narcotics have just concluded in London.

The session of the Permanent Central Opium Board was attended by Sir Atul Chatterjee (India), who presided, Mr. Herbert L. May (U.S.A.), Sir Malcolm Delevingne (United Kingdom), Mr. J. H. Delgorge (Netherlands), and Dr. George Woo (China). To enable it to keep a check on the world drug situation, the Board had before it annual reports for 1941 submitted by fifty sovereign States and more than sixty colonial and mandated territories. That so much evidence

No Hidden Meaning

This speech was crystal clear; no man or woman in any European country could fail to understand its import once they read it. But, unfortunately, the rulers of many of the most important countries refused to accept the plain meaning of the spoken words, and preferred to seek for some hidden and entirely contrary meaning. Compare these two speeches delivered with an interval of five years in between. Rarely has such consistency been seen in the utterances of any head of Government.

Reciprocal Obligations

In the last speech quoted, Stalin also made it clear that, whilst the Soviet Government was prepared to act in collaboration with other powers to check aggression, it was not prepared to pull the "chestnuts out of the fire" for other Powers. He emphasised that any obligations entered into must be reciprocal in character. That is why the negotiations with Britain and France fell through. Neither Chamberlain nor Daladier had any intention of entering into any obligations, whether mutual or not, to the Soviet Union. The Soviet Government was forced into the position of concluding the non-aggression pact with Germany in August, 1939. For two years after the Soviet Union strove constantly to prevent the spreading of the war, and at the same time steadily improved its own defensive position in the west.

(Continued on page 16)

should be available in war-time was one of the most remarkable features of the meeting. The Board was able to consider certain questions of policy and the handling of special problems arising from the circumstances of the war.

The Supervisory Body met to examine annual estimates sent in by Governments with regard to their respective drug requirements for next year. Various questions arising out of the estimates for 1943 were discussed, and in due course the Supervisory Body's annual statement on world requirements of narcotic drugs for that year will be issued.

The report of the Joint Meeting of the League's Economic and Financial Committee is now being printed in London and will shortly be available.

THE "I.L.O." AND THE SHAPE OF THINGS TO COME

By CLIFTON ROBBINS

One of the problems of dealing with the post-war period is the use of words as labels which, though generally suitable, bring many complications in their train. "Reconstruction" is such a one. Although it is obvious there must be a reconstruction after the war, to many it appears that, in the midst of a terrifying world struggle when every energy must be bent to making ultimate victory secure, discussion at present is not only premature but also an actual waste of much needed effort. Then there is "planning," a word which can be taken to mean simply that the peace cannot be left to haphazard rearrangement, but can also put large numbers of people into a panic fear that it means an unpleasant combination of bureaucracy, nazism, fascism, and communism, all rolled into one.

The Atlantic Charter

So, for the moment, the "shape of things to come," though longer, would appear more suitable. The basic principles of "things to come" have been laid down in the Atlantic Charter, the shape is gradually evolving. Take Point Five:—

"They desire to bring about 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."

This leads directly to a consideration of the part the International Labour Organisation will be called upon to play.

First of all it must be remembered that the "I.L.O." has continued to function, although with activities dangerously curtailed, throughout the war period, both among combatant and non-combatant countries. "The very existence of the I.L.O. is the result of

the spiritual urge existing in the workers' minds," said Mr. Bevin in a speech last April, "It can be said that it sprang out of the desire of the people in industry to overcome frontiers, language and racial difficulties, and to make common cause in the great task of achieving an equitable and proper standard of life." Mr. Bevin added "The people in all countries expect the International Labour Organisation to lead in a great advance in civilisation and to build it on the foundations already established."

Lines of Development

Mr. Bevin was welcoming to London the Emergency Committee of the Governing Body of the I.L.O., and from this meeting emerged some of the lines of development which will be followed. Most important was the approval of the setting-up of a "Committee of economic statesmen," described as "people whose names carry great weight because they have had experience of translating into the day-to-day economic administration of their countries, as statesmen or administrators, theoretical economic proposals." This committee will have the authority and experience to advise the Governing Body on the most practical line to follow in the midst of the many and often conflicting policies which will be put forward.

Apart from the guidance for which this committee will be invaluable, the I.L.O. has to go ahead with the steady work which it was doing for twenty years or so before the war and which has been sadly curtailed. Hours of work, social insurance, safety measures, protection of children, unhealthy processes, and many another problem with regard to which the "I.L.O." had brought

about valuable international progress, will need the same attention—possibly increased attention—when peace comes. The meeting of the Joint Maritime Commission in London in June (described in the August issue of HEADWAY) shows the revival of this work and it is interesting to see that in September the I.L.O. gave great help to the Inter-American Conference on Social Security which was held in Santiago.

Post-War Problems

It is well to remember that industrial questions must arise in an acute form immediately the war is over. Problems which have a "long term" range will be inextricably linked with those calling for instant settlement. The physical fact of rebuilding homes and factories throughout Europe emphasises the necessity of

international agreement on the conditions in which the actual builders will carry out their work. The social fact of the repression of trade unions in occupied countries emphasises the need for reconstructing in individual nations the tripartite basis (Government, Employer and Worker) on which the I.L.O. is founded. And these are but two examples.

Many statesmen, particularly in Great Britain and the United States, realise the great responsibility thus placed on the I.L.O. Mr. E. J. Phelan, Acting Director of the International Labour Office, realises it. It does not seem too much then to ask that in a "people's war" and "people's peace" they should look for understanding and support from the people themselves in the task which is being undertaken.

THE PUNISHMENT OF WAR CRIMINALS

In his historic speech on September 8 the Prime Minister took the opportunity "most particularly to identify His Majesty's Government and the House of Commons with the solemn words which were used lately by the President of the United States—namely, that those who are guilty of the Nazi crimes will have to stand before tribunals in every land where their atrocities have been committed."

Meanwhile the LONDON INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY, an unofficial body representing the main sections of the national life of each of the United Nations, has been studying this very problem in its Second Commission which has put forward for consideration the following proposals—its first resolution on the subject:—

"Whereas in violation of the Pact of Paris (Briand-Kellogg Pact) the Axis Powers have taken recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and Whereas in the course of and in connection

with the war of aggression thus waged by the Axis Powers heinous crimes have been and are being committed by nationals of the Axis Powers, and

Whereas by the Atlantic Charter retribution for such crimes has been proclaimed to be one of the major war aims of the United Nations,
It is proposed

- (1) That at the earliest possible moment a Protocol be agreed between the Governments of the United Nations
 - (a) defining what acts shall be punishable as 'War Crimes' and in accordance with what law they shall be tried;
 - (b) setting up machinery for the prosecution and punishment of such War Crimes, to take effect immediately upon the signing of the Armistice.
- (2) That provision for the immediate surrender of offenders be included in the Armistice Terms."

UP AND DOWN THE COUNTRY

When Commander Stephen King-Hall, M.P., was appointed chairman of the Fuel Economy Publicity Committee, our KESWICK BRANCH wondered whether, in the new circumstances, he would be able to keep his engagement with them. These apprehensions were unfounded. To keep faith, the Commander made a difficult cycle journey in bad weather to Keswick. The largest hall was full, with 470 in the body of the hall, 20 on the platform, and people sitting on the stairs and standing on the balcony. Stewards had a busy job to keep "seat-crashers" out of the 300 places reserved for ticket-holders. Speaking with his usual frankness, S. K.-H. made a powerful plea for starting to institute our "New Order" now, so that we could say to the German people and the world, "We are going to smash down the German Nazi military machine which prevents us from applying this system all over Europe, and we call upon you to assist us to do that."

"A quiet corner of Europe," was the way in which a German colonel in Berlin once described Norway to Lieut. I. Marm, who at the L.R.F. BUFFET LUNCH, on September 15, gave a vivid picture of his country under Nazi rule. Every Norwegian, he said, was thankful for their great King's decision to carry on the fight. All political dissensions had been put on one side, and there was a splendid spirit of collaboration with the one object of frustrating the common enemy. When the Norwegian fleet, to a ship and a man, disobeyed Quisling's orders to put into Nazi ports, a wonderful treasure had slipped out of Hitler's grasp. Inside the country, the whole Trade Union movement, the Courts, the Church and the teachers—even sports organisations and the theatre—had all resisted, and were still resisting, every pressure brought to bear on them. With his own flashes of humour, Lieut. Marm was an excellent illustration of how the Norwegians "laugh when things are not going well, and still work unceasingly underground for the Allied cause."

At the September meeting of the HIGH-GATE discussion group, Captain L. D. Gammans, M.P. for Hornsey, opened a

discussion on "The Colonial Problem." Basing his remarks largely on fourteen years' practical experience in Malaya, he urged that Britain must use her undoubted political genius to devise for the colonial empire a form of self-government which would work, offering guarantees against both external aggression and internal anarchy. There was too much apathy all round about public affairs, and our first job was to make people take an interest in the colonial problem. As regards the future, he himself was strongly in favour of a Development Council for the whole Empire, as well as a Defence Council. The colour question, he thought, was the greatest problem in the Empire to-day.

"A unique and impressive departure" was the comment of the *Streatham News* on the "International Brains Trust," organised by our STREATHAM BRANCH. The members of the Brains Trust were Sir Ralph Wedgwood (Great Britain), the Rev. Marcus Spencer (U.S.A.), Mr. F. Y. Chai (Press Secretary to the Chinese Embassy), Miss Hebe Spaul (Russia), and Mr. S. L. Hourmouzios (Secretary of the Greek Ministry of Information). A crowded audience followed with the liveliest interest the proceedings conducted by Mr. Arthur Skeffington, Question Master.

Another "International Brains Trust," arranged by the NORTH HACKNEY BRANCH, also attracted an interested audience, including quite a number of young people. The Rev. H. Donald, as Question Master, put questions in turn to Dr. I. G. Schwarzbart (Poland), Mr. C. Honig (Russia), Mr. S. Chow (China), and Mr. Leslie Aldous (Great Britain). So many questions had been submitted by members of the audience that a large number had to be left unanswered.

Miss Helen Dale, of SHEFFIELD, has undertaken to give a series of talks to soldiers on searchlight sites. The general subject of "Current Affairs" gives plenty of scope.

Soldiers enjoying the amenities of the Toc H. canteen formed an interested part of the audience when the NORTHFIELDS LEAGUE OF WOMEN HELPERS had a talk from the Editor of HEADWAY on "The

League and the Post-war World." When the time came for open discussion, they put up plenty of "flak," but all in an obvious desire to get information.

Other organisations which have just had an L.N.U. speaker include the ROTARY CLUBS of WOOD GREEN and HARROW, the TAPLOW WOMEN'S INSTITUTE, the NEW-MALDEN WOMEN'S CO-OPERATIVE GUILD, and the WEMBLEY BROTHERHOOD. The Rotary Club of Harrow has prepared and printed its own report on Post-War World Reconstruction.

Mr. John T. Catterall is now available to speak on the following new titles:—"Shams and Realities," "Superstitions and Supermen," "Revolution or Evolution?," "The Declension of European Civilisation," "Man versus the State," "Ideals and Realities," "The Essential Freedoms," "Power Politics and Peace," "Economic Nationalism and Internationalism," "Dynamics of Peace," and "A Reconstructed World." Applications for his services should be sent to the Secretary, League of Nations Union, 11, Maiden Lane, W.C.2.

"Collection of subscriptions is going well here," writes the Secretary of our WEST MERSEA BRANCH. "All the shilling members whom I have so far approached cordially agreed to pay 3s. 6d., and have paid up."

Aid to China

The response so far to the Union's appeal on behalf of the Aid to China Fund has been encouraging. It is too early yet even to guess at what the final

result will be, but here are a few samples of the kind of support being given by our branches and members.

A lady at WILMSLOW promptly sent a cheque for £100, "as a result of reading your articles in the September number of HEADWAY."

HAMPSTEAD GARDEN SUBURB BRANCH, anticipating the Executive's lead, had already organised a meeting, from which over £11 was realised. HEVERSHAM BRANCH has sent a cheque for £13 19s. 6d. collected at a public meeting. CHURCH STRETTON has arranged for a collecting box in the Parish Church, and is also organising a meeting. At BRISLINGTON a special collection is being taken in church. REDDITCH is arranging a devotional service with a collection. The SHEFFIELD BRANCH is co-operating with the China Campaign Committee in organising a big meeting in October. SEAFORD'S special effort is to be a garden meeting with speakers on China.

In addition, many branches are stimulating, or co-operating in, local activities. Thus, at CHORLEY (Lancs) the Mayor has consented to preside over a committee fully representative of the town's interests. At DORCHESTER, where the Mayor is arranging a house-to-house collection, the L.N.U. Branch is taking part in the town effort.

A number of branch officers have given a lead by sending their own donations without waiting for more representative efforts. A gift of £1 from the Secretary of one branch represents money earned by black-currant picking.

A DATE TO NOTE

INTERNATIONAL UNITED SERVICE

St. Martin-in-the-Fields,

SATURDAY, 17 OCTOBER, AT 3 P.M.

HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

will preach the Sermon.

Nationals of the following countries will take part in the order of Service:—
CHINA . . . RUSSIA . . . UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

It is hoped that the Norwegian Choir will lead the singing.

LOOKING AHEAD

TEACHERS CONFER AT KESWICK AND LYNMOUTH

"The Conference profoundly believes that there exists for all teachers a double responsibility. As citizens they must strive to create a state of society in which the children whom they teach may grow up to live their lives in freedom from fear and freedom from want and to contribute the best that is in them to the welfare of their fellow men. As teachers they must strive to ensure that all children everywhere shall enjoy such social conditions and receive such education as shall enable them to develop to the full their natural gifts of spirit, mind and body for the service of their fellow men in a society in which service to the community rather than personal profit is the main incentive." In these words, the International Conference of Teachers, held by the Council for Education in World Citizenship at Lynmouth from August 12 to 19, clearly defined its challenge. It is the task of the teacher to prepare children for life in society, but he abuses his responsibility if he teaches them the principles of unselfishness, loyalty, co-operation and good faith and does not at the same time strive to create a state of society in which they can act upon those principles.

Keswick

At its Annual Summer School, at Keswick from July 24 to 31, the Council, fully aware of this double responsibility of all teachers, took as its main subject of study "The World We Mean to Make." The Inaugural Address was given by Dr. Sommerfelt, Director-General of the Norwegian Ministry of Education; and, as further background to a proper appreciation of post-war problems, Count Balinski (Director of the Polish Research Centre) gave a realistic survey of "Conditions in Europe To-day," whilst Dr. Pennell spoke on "India."

The School was then privileged to hear

Mr. Zilliacus, in two brilliant lectures, analyse and discuss the various declarations of "War Aims" so far given in official documents and speeches by leaders of the United Nations. He was ably followed by Dr. Kunosi of Czechoslovakia on "Social and Economic Foundations of the Post-War State and Inter-State Relations," Mme. Semenov of the U.S.S.R. on "The Anglo-Soviet Pact: Its Meaning for the War and for the Future," Professor Newell (President of the American Outpost) on "America and the Future," and Professor Brodetsky on "Possibilities of World Government."

The problems of education were treated no less ably in papers by Dr. Viola (of Austria) on "The Failure of Democratic Education on the Continent of Europe," M. Drzewieski (former Vice-President of the Polish National Union of Teachers) on "The School and the World Community," Miss Dymond (Principal of Portsmouth Municipal Training College) on "History Teaching in Relation to World Citizenship," and Miss Lloyd Williams on "Physical Education in Relation to World Citizenship."

The Headmaster of Brighton Grammar School, Mr. Barron, presided and the Hostess was Miss Lloyd Williams. The School was attended by some 75 Directors of Education, Training College Lecturers and Teachers from Public, Secondary and Elementary Schools. There was also a group of twenty sixth-form girls—some of the very large number who were unable to find places at the Sherborne Conference described in the last number of HEADWAY.

Lynmouth

The International Conference of Teachers, to which reference has already been made, was one of the most remarkable achievements of the Council during the war. It was attended by Professors and Teachers—a number of them serving in the Allied Forces and given special leave for the occasion—from Belgium, China, Czechoslovakia, Fighting France, Greece, the Netherlands, Poland and the U.S.S.R.; from Great Britain, Northern Ireland,

Australia, Canada and South Africa, with refugee anti-fascist teachers from Austria, Germany, Hungary and Spain.

Speaking on the first day under the general title: "What is Our Aim?" Dr. Gilbert Murray suggested that it is the education of "Men Fit for Society," Dr. Ambrosova, of Czechoslovakia, urged the importance of creating "A New Spiritual and Mental Attitude," and Senateur de Brouckere of Belgium spoke on "A Society Fit for Men." The following day, with the help of Professor Vaucher (Fighting French), Mr. S. K. Chow, Mr. Humphreys and Mme. Semenov, the Conference considered the contribution to "A New Society of Men and of Nations" that should be drawn from the philosophy and practical experience of Europe, China, America and the U.S.S.R. Dr. Murray and Lt. Dr. Vranek of Czechoslovakia then reviewed the past work of "The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation," Major Dr. de Boer, Member of the Amsterdam Royal Academy of Science, spoke on "Some Problems of Post-War Educational Reconstruction and How to Prepare for Them"; and, in a later discussion on "The Re-education of Germany," the whole Conference was greatly moved by the sincerity and vision of Dr. Minna Specht, one of the refugee anti-Nazi teachers from Germany who took part.

Finally, after two very able papers by M. Drzewieski of Poland on "Relations Between the School, the State and the World Community" and by Captain Van Ormond of the Netherlands Army on "Science and Ethics in Education," the Conference set to work vigorously to discuss in several sessions the contribution that may be made to Education for World Citizenship through the Youth Movements, School Societies and out-of-school activities, and through the teaching of religion and ethics, history, geography, modern languages and other subjects; and the reforms that are needed in the training of teachers.

A United Declaration

In its "Findings," the Conference warmly approved the work now being done by the Council, in collaboration with the London International Assembly, to study and prepare for the problems of post-war educational reconstruction in the devas-

tated countries, for the re-education of the enemy peoples, and for the advancement of education generally. It also set out, for the consideration of the Council, its views on the educational machinery needed to achieve its main aims. But the most noteworthy section is a United Declaration, unanimously adopted at the final session whilst the whole Conference stood for a few moments "to render humble and solemn tribute to all those professors, teachers, and other intellectual workers who daily risk their lives or have already fallen in the fight for the defence or liberation of their own lands and the freedom of the human mind," and pledged itself "as a body of soldiers and citizens to fight until victory has been won." The Declaration is of such importance that it is hoped to print the full text in the next issue of HEADWAY. Arrangements have already been made to broadcast the message to teachers in the occupied countries.

The Council is greatly indebted to Badminton School for providing a most hospitable welcome at Lynmouth and to Miss Baker for acting as Hostess of the Conference.

C. W. JUDD.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION DIARY FOR 1943

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FROM "HEADWAY'S" POST-BAG

Another Conversion?

Sir,—The leading article in the *Evening News* of September 18 is surely a tragic case of "wisdom after the event." "Eleven years ago," it says, "something happened which ought to have sounded alarm-bells in all the free nations of the world. . . . But the free nations were deaf and blind. To them Manchuria seemed very far away."

I seem to remember that the *Evening News* was among the bitterest opponents of the League of Nations policy of Sanctions and the Union's efforts to stir up public opinion for their wholehearted enforcement. It was foremost among those who declared that events in such far-off places as Manchuria and Abyssinia were no concern of ours, and its powerful influence no doubt largely counted in preventing effective action being taken by the League.

The *Evening News* now admits by inference that it was wrong and the L.N.U. was right. But what a terrible mistake it has been!

Croydon.

E. L. FOWLER.

Collective Security

Sir,—At our Executive Committee meeting the other evening one of our members directed the attention of the meeting to a preliminary report on economic reconstruction which had been submitted to the Board of Trade by the Grand Council of the Federation of British Industries, and proceeded to read the following excerpt from page 3 of said report:—

"We would therefore state as our first submission that whatever the future form of co-operation in policing the world against aggression may be, it is essential that the democracies and other peace-loving nations of the world should take a continuing and permanent interest in ensuring the maintenance of a sufficient force to curb aggression, and that they should be prepared to use that force without hesitation or delay should the necessity arise, otherwise any post-war economic structure will be founded on a quicksand.

Our member then proceeded to point out that this had been the foreign policy of the League of Nations Union for many years prior to the war, and I was instructed to sug-

gest to you that this quotation might be of interest for publication in HEADWAY.

Dundee. EVA PATTERSON, Secretary.

Sir,—The old Covenant of the League only provided for Sanctions in the event of actual aggression. Thus the League was powerless to check the infiltration of German "tourists" into neutral countries, the cornering of commodities, the construction of secret submarine bases, etc. Neither was the League itself able to take or authorise similar steps to secure the bases and commodities necessary for defence.

It should be evident by now that both aggression and defence must be planned long in advance, hence the League must be able to take or authorise effective military action without waiting for an invading army to cross its victim's frontiers.

This will mean the use of Sanctions to force unwilling nations to carry out, not only the negative duty of refraining from aggression, but also the positive duties of making their resources available to all law-abiding peoples and providing bases of operations.

In other words, the League powers must sometimes strike first if their strategic position is not to be slowly undermined.

Beverley.

S. E. FOSTER.

The Hitler Myth

Sir,—Your reviewer of Professor Namier's "Conflicts" quotes, with apparent approval, his assertion that Hitler "is probably one of the most representative Germans that ever lived." Is he, an Austrian, also "one of the most representative Austrians"? And if he really is so representative, why did the Germans, in their last free election (November, 1932), give his party only 33 per cent. of the votes? Again, if freedom means so little to the Germans, how totally unrepresentative their great writers must be! How odd, too, that Posa's passionate appeal for freedom, in Schiller's "Don Carlos," received always (in 1937) such clamorous applause, that the Nazi overlords were much embarrassed, wrote against it in their Press, and were glad to get the play off the stage.

I lived many years in Germany and, under the Republic, found a freedom of thought and utterance that I have not found elsewhere. I watched, too, the enormous ex-

pansion of the Gestapo needed to suppress it. Of course I could write of German weaknesses, but I believe it will prove more important to remind ourselves of their creative and generous qualities—qualities of which I had abundant evidence and which can help us in building up a wiser international policy.

Letchworth.

HAROLD PICTON.

"Words for All Nations"

Sir,—I am amazed that the article "Words for all Nations" should have appeared in the current issue of HEADWAY. One of the characteristics of a tyrant power is that it imposes its language on others. How then can you hope to promote harmony among the nations of the world if you advocate "Basic English"? Why not "Basic French," or German, or Chinese?

The language problem has already been solved by Esperanto, which has been used at international gatherings of thirty to forty nations. Both at home and abroad I have proved its worth. Why devote two or three summer months (or winter evenings of black-out) to "Basic English," an "instrument . . . which is not to be looked on as a language," when the same time given to Esperanto, even by those who do not hope to "take degrees," would give the student a working knowledge of a living language which may be found in every quarter of the globe?

Ilford.

PHYLLIS M. STRAPPS.

Sir,—Dr. Garnett's article in your September issue on and in Basic English brings to the forefront a question for the future which is only secondary in importance to the need for collective security—namely, the establishment of a common language for international use. Something of this sort is clearly essential as an ingredient in the framing of a reasonable world-order, but—looking at the question as an ordinary man, and not as a linguistic expert—it seems to me quite hopeless to expect that other nations would be ready to concede to us that immense commercial and cultural advantage of allowing our language, even in a simplified form, to occupy that honourable position.

From the point of view of the Briton and of the citizen of the U.S.A. the choice of Basic English would be, of course, an ideal solution of the problem, but it seems a naive expectation that Frenchmen and Germans, Russians, Italians and Spaniards would be of the same opinion.

After some study of this important and fascinating subject I have come to the conclusion that—quite apart from their merits or defects for that purpose—it is hopeless to expect a general acceptance of any national language (simplified or otherwise) for com-

mon international use, as it would give too great an advantage to the nation whose language had been chosen. The remaining two alternatives would probably have their difficulties and disadvantages, but at least they would have some hope of general acceptance. These alternatives would be either a simplified form of Latin or an "artificial" language of the Esperanto type.

Croydon.

E. L. FOWLER.

Ethiopia

Sir,—I fail to see what Ethiopia's treaty with Britain has to do with her eligibility for inclusion among the United Nations. The fact that she was the first nation to resist the European end of the Axis should surely have entitled her to an honoured place among the Allies from the start. The omission of Ethiopia from the original list of the United Nations was a gross discourtesy for which it is extremely difficult to find any reason except colour prejudice. It is not surprising that the Emperor does not seem inclined to beg humbly for a place which should long ago have been accorded to his country as a right. The patronising attitude of Britain towards the country she betrayed is not merely incomprehensible, it is nauseating.

Hartford Branch. (Miss) K. ROBSON.

Branch Problems

Sir,—Our Branch, although conscious that its membership is at present far too small for the size and population of the district, has at least solved the two problems of which Miss W. Marriott writes in the July HEADWAY.

Each member of the Committee has accepted responsibility for collecting a convenient number of subscriptions. This allows the Secretary to concentrate on taking every opportunity available to bring the L.N.U. before the public. Much depends on the Secretary—the Committee will work willingly if the Secretary shows no stinginess in working also.

Chief features of the year's work are the Annual Meeting with a special speaker, the One Day School held in the summer, and the United Churches Service on Armistice Sunday.

All forthcoming events are advertised in the local cinema; also, in the form of advertisement, the quotations from prominent men as supplied on posters by the Union.

We are in demand, too, for speaking at Sunday School classes. Last and not least we take an interest in any good charitable cause. With our splendid Committee eager to do a good share of the work, we have high hopes of increasing the membership by continuing to slog along.

(Mrs.) L. ANDERTON.

Castleton and Sudden Branch.

SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY

(Continued from page 7)

But, unfortunately, Britain and France, until the outbreak of war in September, 1939, aided and abetted fascist aggression through the policy of appeasement which reached its culmination in the fatal Munich agreement of September, 1938. Some of the appeasers no doubt believed that ultimately Germany, Italy, and Japan would turn against the U.S.S.R., and leave Western Europe in peace, and able to benefit from the consequent weakening of all the other Powers. Had the present Prime Minister been in power in those years, the history of the world might have been different, and happier. But the leading statesmen of the Western democracies had not then learned the truth of Litvinov's famous phrase, that "peace is indivisible." And this despite Mr. Eden's statement on his first visit to Moscow, that at no single spot do British and Russian interests clash.

Allies in War and Peace

It is fortunate for the world that when Hitler marched his armies across the Soviet borders in June, 1941, there were men of a different calibre in charge in London and Washington. As Lord Maugham wrote in the *Sunday Times*:—

"It is a remarkable and most fortunate thing that at this crisis of the world's fate

there should be three men of outstanding ability and unflinching determination at the head of the three nations of Great Britain, U.S.A. and Russia. . . . We need not approve all their respective political ideas, but those who know them best are agreed as to their being men of exceptional capacity whom we can trust and follow without doubt or hesitation."

Great Britain and the Soviet Union are allies in war until such time as victory crowns their efforts; but they will be allies in peace, too—allies to defend each other if attacked, allies in the rebuilding of a world about which nothing is certain except that it can never be the same world again as it was in 1939. For twenty years the Treaty remains in being, and the contracting parties are pledged to co-operate with all other "like-minded nations." In this Treaty lies real hope of a genuine and universal system of collective security after the war. The Soviet Union has shown its worth as an ally. No matter how the fortunes of war fluctuate from week to week, the Soviet Union has displayed such qualities of fortitude, solidarity and faithfulness as compel the admiration of even the most unwilling. When peace descends upon the world again the peoples of both countries will insist that the barriers which once divided them, having been broken down, shall never again be erected, and will give short shrift to any who try to do so.

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