

# HEADWAY

OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SCIENCE IN WAR-TIME

*The Journal of the League of Nations Union*

No. 63

DECEMBER 1944

PRICE 3d

## EDITORIAL

### THE PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE

International interest, until the latter part of November, was concentrated more upon diplomatic and political developments than upon military progress on the various battle fronts. Whilst there were many indications that a mighty, concerted Allied onslaught would not be long delayed, stiff German "delaying action" and the Allies' supply problems combined to slow up for a while the tempo of the war. From a long-range view, however, what has been happening in other spheres has been hopeful and encouraging.

#### **Roosevelt's Hand Strengthened**

First, the American Elections. During the electoral battle in which the rival candidates pressed their respective claims on the American public, it would have been improper for British public opinion to appear to take sides. But now that Mr. Dewey has added his good wishes to the mass of congratulations showered upon President Roosevelt after his victory at the polls, we on this side of the Atlantic may perhaps be permitted to welcome the verdict of the United States electorate. Personal contacts between the Heads of States, which have proved so effective for co-ordinating strategy to win the war, are bound to play an equally important part in the next few years if the war is to "stay won." One big doubt in many minds was whether Mr. Dewey, in the event of his election, would have proved a strong enough personality to meet Mr. Churchill and Marshal Stalin on equal terms. About President Roosevelt, of course, there were no such doubts. He had abundantly proved his mettle. As the

Americans have apparently taken that view, a tried and tested continuity is assured (barring accidents) for the most difficult post-war years. This is quite apart from the differences of policy that were being advocated during the elections. It is nevertheless satisfactory to note the defeat of certain of the most prominent Isolationists at the polls. "The nation has determined," comments *The Economist*, "that the United States must take its part in an international organisation."

#### **Marshal Stalin's Vision**

Another important event was the speech of Marshal Stalin, on November 6, at the meeting of the Supreme Soviet in Moscow. In tone and vision alike, it was the utterance of a statesman. For the rapidly approaching defeat of Germany, he did not claim exclusive credit for the Soviet forces, mighty though their feats in the field have been; the Red Army, he stressed, had not been fighting alone. His theme was the triumph of a common cause against the German coalition. Nor, although the Soviet Union is not yet at war with Japan, did he mince words in speaking of Japanese perfidy and aggression. On the series of conferences culminating at Dumbarton Oaks, the Marshal powerfully proved the futility of the last Nazi hope of splitting the United Nations. Differences between the Powers did, of course, exist, just as they do between members of the same party. "What is surprising is not that there are differences, but that there are so few of them, and that they are almost always overcome, thanks to the unity and co-ordinated

action of the three Great Powers. There has been no more serious difference between us than the difference about the opening of the Second Front, and this was ultimately settled in a spirit of complete unanimity." One day the peace-loving nations might once again find themselves caught unprepared, unless they took steps now to elaborate special measures to prevent aggression. Would the actions of the new International Organisation prove sufficiently effective? "They will be effective if the great Powers which have borne the brunt of the struggle against Hitlerite Germany will continue to act in a spirit of unity and concord in the future. They will not be effective if this essential condition fails."

### The Place of France

Finally, there is official recognition of France's potentialities as a Great Power once more, in the invitation extended to her to join the European Advisory Commission. Before the fall of France in 1940, the League of Nations Union looked to Anglo-French collaboration as one of the great pillars of peace in the future. Political corruption and the Maginot mentality in high places did almost as much as Hitler

to bring France low; but none could doubt—especially in the light of the unconquerable spirit of the ordinary people as exemplified in the Resistance Movement—that she would rise again. She is still sick and bleeding from her wounds; but recognition will be the best possible aid to recovery. And, in this new move to restore France to her rightful place among the Powers, none of her friends has played a bigger part than Britain. "Among Great Britain's contributions to the final triumph," writes Raymond Aron in the current number of *La France Libre*, "the rôle played by British diplomacy, and by the Prime Minister in particular, in bringing this co-operation into action will not be placed last. This rôle will not end with the foundering of Hitler's empire. The time has gone when success in arms was the sole arbiter and where the victor had only to allow the gains of the battlefield to bear their fruit. The organisation of the peace will bring up problems perhaps still more complex than the organisation of the world alliance. The man who did so much for the one will have an equal influence upon the other. And that is why Churchill's journey would be much more than a sentimental historical episode between two peoples."

## THE TASK BEFORE US

By F. C. BEARDWOOD (*Hon. Secretary of the Formby Branch of the L.N.U.*)

It has been abundantly clear for a long time how the leaders of the United Nations had resolved to face the post-war critical issues of securing peace. Hardly a week has passed without some weighty pronouncement vindicating all that the L.N.U. has stood for. Our own Prime Minister put the choice before mankind in a phrase, "World order or world anarchy." Responsible Americans declared with great force for an international authority, and the term "collective security" is common in the United States; the Senate passed a resolution. The Russians are surer now than ever that peace is "indivisible." The League of Nations is, in effect, reborn in Charters and Statements and Declarations. All responsible men understand that although one attempt to create a peacefully ordered world did not succeed we are

bound to try again, and to go on trying. If we fail or cease we accept war as "a burden, inevitable and recurrent upon mankind"; an attitude of utter despair condemned by every dictate of common sense, self-interest and high principle.

### The Rank and File

So much for the leaders. I have not observed, however, any signs that the rank and file see things so clearly or share their convictions. One would expect that, after experiencing some of the horrors of war, people would clamour to support a constructive effort to prevent them ever happening again. The plain truth is that they do not. And the membership of the L.N.U. remains below sixty thousand! Why? There's the question. Headquarters must not blame the branches. I feel it should

face up frankly and realistically to the question of how far the ordinary people of this country are prepared to range themselves in a crusade to end war, and how far can the Union become the expression of that determination.

### The Norman Angell Touch

I have had long experience of branch work and have gained insight into the attitude of mind of the general run of individuals. All my experience tends to confirm the continual need for educational work by the Union in the simple principles it exists to set forward. HEADWAY could well do with a dozen Norman Angells to hammer away, month by month, on the logical common sense and practicability of what the Union stands for. There needs to be created a dreadful sense of the urgency of the matter. People joined the Union because the League of Nations was to them a sort of entity of itself which was going to prevent a repetition of the agony which they had overpassed in 1914-18. They believed in an organisation rather than in a principle. When the former failed they withdrew their support; I found even sincere people resentful in a way because something in which they had trusted had failed them. An intelligent man, a bank manager, resigned because of "the lamentable failure of the League to prevent another war." (Some years earlier a Roman Catholic priest had declined to support the Union because, as he said, he had hung his head in shame when the League failed to stop Japanese aggression in China.) Influential members of my branch took the view that, now that the war was upon us, it were better to put the Union and its principles into cold storage for the duration. That view nearly prevailed.

During the war years the great mass of people have had room for one pre-occupation only. At first it was the grim question of survival; later it became the task of winning the war. There is nothing to show even now that they look any further for the prevention of the next war than an imposed peace. They would be content, in the main, to secure peace by just those same methods of domination which in the German form they have been fighting to overcome.

### Keeping Alive Principles

I have always conceived the primary function of the Union to be educational,

and to be the means whereby the rank and file can declare their belief in man's ability to work out a peaceful alternative to war. During the years of war there was a simple principle to be kept alive; other things were secondary. I am disposed to think that the Executive Committee has been concerned overmuch with its secondary functions. The bulk of the people are not interested in the particular form a more or less hypothetical new international authority may take. They are not interested in the minutiae of peace. Thus the Union's Draft Pact, for example, while probably important to the select few, has made no appeal to the majority and gained few, if any, new members.

So I would venture to suggest, both to the Executive Committee and to HEADWAY, that the urgent need is concentration on the primary function of the Union. The people have still to be convinced that what we stand for is eminently sane and practicable. This country is committed to sharing in a second attempt to work out a peaceful world order. I want the L.N.U. to be accepted, first and foremost, as the medium through which the ordinary people can demonstrate their approval and their support of the leaders who have so committed them. If the peoples of the world would only understand, they could build a structure of peace so strong and so sacred that none dare break it.

### Something Big Demanded

This is an issue far transcending party politics; it is a purpose which the Churches should bless and commend. I feel that the moment demands something big from the General Council; something in the nature of a new start, with this single and simple aim in view.

Let the experts and specialists on the Executive continue to act as watch-dogs on successive Governments, by all means; let them go on considering and proclaiming how best the peace of the world may be achieved and preserved: but let that be a subsidiary function. How much more influential would be their pronouncements and their representations to Governments if they spoke in the name of not merely sixty thousand members but six hundred thousand; if behind the Union, supporting its principal aim, were ranged all the organised bodies—religious, political and so forth—that are of any moment in the counsels of the nation!

# PENICILLIN AND THE LEAGUE

By SIR HENRY DALE

(A Conference recently called by the Health Committee of the League of Nations in London succeeded in drawing up an international standard for Penicillin. We are glad to publish the following Statement, explaining the significance of this achievement, by the Director of Laboratories of the Royal Institution and former Director of the National Institute for Medical Research at Hampstead.)

As long ago as 1921 the Health Committee of the League of Nations began to take in hand the question of measuring the activity and the doses of a number of the modern biological remedies—antitoxins, hormones, vitamins, etc.—with the object of obtaining an international uniformity in such matters by agreements to use a common set of standards and units.

Agreements of this kind were first obtained for antitoxins, particularly that used against diphtheria. It was agreed that the standard samples of these remedies should be kept in and distributed from the State Serum Institute of Copenhagen, of which the Director (Dr. Madsen) was President of the League's Health Committee. From 1923 onwards, successive international conferences took similar action with regard to a series of hormones, drugs and vitamins; and the adoption of international standards and units for these produced a world-wide order and uniformity of practice, in place of the confusion of competing notations which had previously been present in some cases and threatened in others.

## Making Doses Safe

For a remedy like Insulin, for example, which can only be safe and efficacious if the dose is exactly adjusted to the need, and is neither too large nor too small, it was a matter of great urgency to arrive at such an agreement that the "unit" would have exactly the same meaning in all countries; and this has been achieved, through this international action, since 1925.

All these standards, for remedies other than the antitoxins, have been kept, maintained and distributed throughout the world by the Department of Biological Standards under the direction of Sir Percival Hartley, at the National Institute of Medical Research, Hampstead, which is an enterprise of the Medical Research Council. Since the Hampstead Department had duplicates also of all the serum-standards kept at Copenhagen, it has been able, even during the war and since Copenhagen fell

under enemy occupation, to keep the whole mechanism in effective action on behalf of the League of Nations.

## Penicillin Agreement

The newest remedy calling for such international action to procure an agreed standard and unit of activity, and consequent world-wide uniformity in notation and dosage, is Penicillin. It is comparatively simple, even during the war, to arrive at an international agreement in this case, because we are dealing with one of the few discoveries which can be claimed to have been made wholly in this country, while the developmental research and enterprise responsible for a large part of the supply now available has been due to effective action by our colleagues and allies of the United States of America.

The matter at this early stage, therefore, could be settled by friendly agreement between those expert in such matters in the two great English-speaking communities. Any agreement which they so conclude will be accepted without question in other countries, as these in turn are able to take up research on Penicillin and to develop its production.

## The London Conference

It was the more desirable that uniformity of action in this matter, among the English-speaking peoples, should be assured without delay. The interest of Dr. Raymond Gautier, Officer in charge of the Health Service of the League, was enlisted. With his co-operation, arrangements were made for a Conference to meet in London during October, with three representatives from the U.S.A. (Drs. R. D. Coghill, R. P. Herwick and M. V. Veldee); one (Dr. G. D. W. Cameron) from Canada; one (Major J. L. Bazeley) from Australia; and three from this country, with Sir Percival Hartley as Scientific Secretary and friendly organiser for all of us.

After all arrangements were made, the possibility of contact with liberated Paris came as a welcome surprise, and we were

able to get an invitation sent to Dr. Trefouel, Director of the *Institut Pasteur*, to join the Conference as the representative of France, and he was able to do so at the last moment.

This small body of nominated representatives has had the duty of considering the evidence and making formal agreement by which an international standard and unit have now been adopted for Penicillin also. They have had the very great advantage, however, of being joined in their deliberation by a larger number of those who, in one way or another, have been engaged in investigations on Penicillin which have given them expert knowledge of the kind required to aid the decisions. Among these is Sir Alexander Fleming (the "father" of Penicillin). Sir Howard Florey, who later became its foster-parent and, with his staff of expert nurses, brought it up to the stage at which it was ready to be introduced into the adult circles of practical medicine, is away on the other side of the world. Dr. Heatley who, in Sir Howard Florey's laboratory, first worked out the method of measuring Penicillin which the world now uses, gave the Conference his valuable help.

The Conference also had with it, in this advisory capacity, other representatives

from the U.S.A., Australia, South Africa and India, as well as from this country.

## Significance of Conference

The results which a Conference such as this can achieve may seem small, when viewed as a contribution to scientific knowledge; but there can be no doubt that the certainty now assured that workers on both sides of the Atlantic, in the Antipodes, and eventually in the whole world, will be using the same descriptive dosage and meaning exactly the same thing when they speak of a unit of Penicillin, will be a factor of great importance for the progress of scientific knowledge of Penicillin and its chemical nature, as well as for its proper and accurate use for the benefit of the sick and wounded to whom it has already brought, in this war, relief beyond the most optimistic estimates which had been formed on its potentialities.

After the Conference had finished its work and recorded its agreement on all essential points, the delegates were entertained at luncheon by the Government at the Dorchester Hotel. The Rt. Hon. C. M. Attlee, M.P., Lord President of the Council, who presided, gave a message of welcome to the Conference and congratulations on its achievement from H.M. Government.

# L.I.A. ON WORLD ORGANISATION

"The Form and Function of the World Organisation proposed by the London International Assembly" were explained at a Press conference in London. The subject naturally invited comparison with the Dumbarton Oaks plan.

PROFESSOR ARTHUR NEWELL, presiding, said that traces of individual thought by various organisations could be seen in the Dumbarton Oaks report. It was essentially a report of progress, in no final form. It was being submitted both to the Governments and to the public opinion of the world, so that future conferences might reach final conclusions. The people of the respective countries were being invited to make their contribution, and it was in the spirit of accepting the invitation that the present meeting had been called.

LORD LYTON proceeded to describe the L.I.A. proposals. They had, he said, many features in common with Dumbarton Oaks, but there were also many differences.

He proposed to deal with the differences, as they were the points requiring explanation. It was important to remember that the two schemes were the work of different authors meeting in different circumstances. The delegates at Dumbarton Oaks had been officials of four nations only, who had met for the first and only time after five years of war when the defeat of the Axis Powers was already assured. They knew that the Allies had power to enforce any measures on which all were in agreement. The members of the London International Assembly were unofficial individuals drawn from twenty-two of the United Nations. The time spent in preparing the pamphlet had extended over three years, a period of great suffering and anxiety. They had no such certain knowledge as Dumbarton Oaks. Their proposals were a measure of faith in the final victory of their cause. The results of Dumbarton Oaks were important because they were official, but

from what he had said it would be seen that the L.I.A. proposals were also important for different reasons.

A difference of objective was the first feature to be noted. The maintenance of international peace and security was the primary purpose of the Dumbarton Oaks plan, and all other considerations were very sketchily dealt with or left over. The L.I.A. wanted to build up an international organisation that could realise and maintain the principles of the Atlantic Charter, with rules that all nations would be expected to observe. In order to give the organisation teeth, Dumbarton Oaks proposed the same teeth as had bitten through the Axis armour. For the rest, they said in effect, let us have the League of Nations, disguised so as not to offend the prejudices of certain States. The L.I.A. would have all States, big and small, subjected to the same law, and started by taking the Atlantic Charter as a code of behaviour to which all the United Nations had subscribed. It would also provide the organisation with a police force. The differences in detail could be appreciated by bearing in mind this difference of approach.

Dumbarton Oaks, it might be said, concentrated on Power, and the L.I.A. on Justice. The L.I.A. was largely drawn from small states who wanted to be safeguarded against the misuse of Power. They did not want to be protected—or bullied—by anybody. They wanted a decision to be reached in accordance with world opinion, and not merely by three or four big powers.

"I don't want you to think," Lord Lytton added, "that the two are irreconcilable." They might be described as respectively a short-term and a long-term policy. He hoped that Dumbarton Oaks would be discussed and supplemented, so that sooner or later something of the London International Assembly ideas would be found in the plan.

Lord Lytton then described the chief differences. As regards membership, the Dumbarton Oaks proposals implied a test, while the L.I.A. proposed that all states should automatically be members of the organisation. In the security provisions, the L.I.A. urged an international police force consisting at first of national contingents and under the orders of an international general staff, with garrisons, air-fields and presumably naval bases. In the

matter of peaceful settlement, there was very little difference, and that obvious from the difference of approach.

In the discussion which followed representatives of smaller states were strongly critical of the power of the Security Council in the Dumbarton Oaks plan. MAJOR LEREUX, of Belgium, described it as dangerous. MR. NAGORSKI, of Poland, said that it did not fulfil the expectations of the smaller nations who were fighting for their freedom. "The more I read the Dumbarton Oaks proposals," commented M. MATHIEU, formerly League Interpreter, "the more I like ours." In his opinion they took too little account of the experience of the League. More moderately, COLONEL VAN DE PLASSCHE (Holland) agreed that there were lots of good points in Dumbarton Oaks. They were practical, but they did not go far enough.

MISS K. D. COURTNEY and MRS. NOEL BAKER (Great Britain) argued that the powers of the Assembly, under Dumbarton Oaks, were greater than was supposed, and MRS. BODINGTON (U.S.A.) added that what came before the Security Council would be a breach of what the Assembly had decided. MRS. SARGANT FLORENCE thought that it was up to us to better Dumbarton Oaks, for there was yet time, and that fact was more hopeful than the actual substance of the proposals.

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## THE TIME FOR DECISION

Unquestionably "THE TIME FOR DECISION," by Mr. Sumner Welles, formerly Under-Secretary of State for the U.S.A., ranks among the best and quite indispensable books on international affairs (Hamish Hamilton, 15s.). Outspoken precision, hard-headed realism, a combination of wide experience and bold vision—you will find them all here. A dozen reviews could be written on this book of enormous scope, each more exciting than the last. It is like first-class roast beef—you simply must come back for more.

There are three chapters—past, present, and future. The first is a review of the years from Versailles to Pearl Harbour. As for the League, Soviet Russia alone seemed to take it seriously. It was not she who deserted the League, but the other Great Powers—Britain, France and the U.S.A. If America's policy had been different, Mr. Welles believes, the present war would never have cursed mankind. In this chapter, too, is an account of Mr. Welles's famous "fact-finding" mission to Europe in 1940, with its unforgettable, penetrating pen-pictures of the chief gangsters, and its unhesitating grasp of the essential evil of their designs.

Chapter two deals in detail with many key political problems—the Good Neighbour Policy, Japan, Soviet Russia, the German menace and so on. Although primarily from the angle of American foreign policy, this is, of course, of immense interest to us all.

The biggest problem of all is Soviet Russia, whose people, however much you call them cogs in a vast wheel, are themselves satisfied that their Government is devoted to their interests. Mr. Welles draws a striking parallel between the present Russian policy and that which directed their interests prior to 1918. Soviet Russia can become the greatest menace the world has seen. But, equally, she can become the greatest force for peace and orderly world development. Much depends on how far we and the U.S.A. convince Russia that her interests lie in co-operating with us both.

And Germany? Mr. Welles is for partition—he discusses the for and against ad-

mirably. But its object must be to eradicate one main thing—the militarist menace. Germany's economic well-being must be provided for through the broad economic agreements for Europe as a whole, with the aim of building out of Germany a safe, co-operative member of world society. Like Lord Vansittart, Mr. Welles has no doubt that the real villain of the piece is the German General Staff. That body or rather system has always been the real master of the German race. Perhaps the most arresting pages in the book are those outlining the steps by which the General Staff has *already begun to prepare* for the Third World War. It is all based on "indirect complicity," the Germano-scientific use of unconscious accomplices in key positions in the politics, industry, finance and labour of all countries in the way of German domination.

Chapter three should have a review to itself. It outlines a new Organisation (profitably to be compared with the League and the Dumbarton Oaks Charter), based on regional schemes under an Executive Council of the United Nations, with the possibilities of the League system and its lessons, and of international trusteeship for colonial areas, duly kept in mind. Its aim would be threefold—security for individual liberty, and no overlordship; principles of conduct which mankind—that 90 per cent. which hates war—has learned are decent; and the promise that peace will be enforced as the first duty of all nations.

Mr. Welles ends with an impassioned appeal to Americans for a determined policy of co-operation. "Ability of peoples to obtain freedom from fear and want is contingent on their ability to *want it enough.*"

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Our Address:

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11, Maiden Lane, London, W.C.2.

Telephone

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## IN PARIS UNDER GERMAN OCCUPATION

By F. L. WHELEN

Formerly Senior Staff Speaker of the L.N.U.

At midday, on June 10, 1940, I was in a car outside the Paris office of "Air France," about to start for Le Bourget en route for Croydon. Five minutes past midday came the news that all civil Channel crossings were cancelled, and "Air France" promptly closed down.

Four years and four months later that journey was resumed—this time from the British Embassy to Le Bourget, and then by a Dakota plane to Croydon. So the journey started in 1940, just before the occupation of Paris by the Germans, and was completed in 1944, shortly after the liberation of Paris by the French Resistance Movement, helped by the Allied armies.

During those fifty-one months I had seen the Germans enter and leave Paris, had lived in three Paris hotels and in Neuilly-sur-Seine, and had also passed several months as an internee behind barbed wire in the Fort of Romainville, the concentration camp of Drancy, and the Caserne of St. Denis.

### My First Prison

My first experience of imprisonment was an early morning arrest in December, 1940, by a French policeman. From many districts in Paris British men and women were being rounded up in the name of "Reprisals." Most of the men of my district were sent to Besançon, as were all the women; two of the men, myself and one other, to the Fort of Romainville. Here we found some hundreds of British subjects—retired civilians, officials, jockeys, stable lads and others—of many races and colours, but all holders of British passports. For some hours after our arrival, evidently an unexpected one, the Fort was without light or heat. It was almost completely devoid of ordinary sanitation. The lack of lighting and heating was gradually remedied, but the exceptional cold of the 1940 winter prevented the erection of any

sanitary buildings during the four weeks we were at the Fort. I was among the more fortunate, and was placed in a room with only six companions—five of these were Palestinians, who spoke to each other in Yiddish, and the other a stoker from Malta, who spoke only Maltese!

### Concentration Camp

At the end of the year we were all transferred to the notorious Drancy concentration camp. Here I spent eight months. We were over 2,000 in number, all with British passports, of whom the majority could not speak more than a pseudo-English. We were of all types, classes, colour and nationality: many Indians, West Africans, Palestinians, Cypriots and Mauritians. We included a large number of jockeys and stable lads, mainly from Chantilly and Maison-Lafitte, over 150 Canadian priests from the Province of Quebec, and for a few weeks about 200 torpedoed seamen, among them Norwegians, Danes, Dutch and others.

The internees were of all ages, the youngest 17 and the oldest 84. There were many fathers and sons. There was one case of a grandfather, son and grandson. The camp was organised as a self-governing community under German overlordship. On the whole we got on well together. There was much human kindness, of course some malice and uncharitableness, but the former prevailed, and I can recall my stay in the camp with interest and toleration.

### Not Forgotten

All the time we who were actually British had the sensation that we were not forgotten by our people at home. There were the frequent Red Cross parcels. It is impossible to exaggerate what these meant to us. Not only were they invaluable in adding to the lack of adequate food, but they were good for the soul. Then the British authorities at home arranged that internees

had some pocket-money, generally 300 francs a month, to spend at the canteen, where we could buy extra food, cigarettes, stationery, and occasionally wine and beer. With the exchange at 250 to the £1 this was not a large amount, but it made a very great alleviation to the discomforts of captivity.

There was a library in the camp. There were occasional lectures and organised games, chief among them football, baseball and basket-ball. There was boxing, an occasional cinema show, concerts, walking races, and even on one occasion a mock Derby with well-known jockeys and bookies and a race crowd, apparently of both sexes.

In many ways the camp was like a public school. I hope to retain some of the friends I made there, men whose friendships I could not have made in less leisured circumstances. I think notably of a jockey and a clown.

In the late autumn of 1941 the British were transferred from Drancy to the Caserne of St. Denis. Their place was taken by Jewish victims of the anti-Semitic persecution. Six thousand Jews replaced 2,000 British!

### Free—But Captive Still

Towards the end of the year I was suddenly released from St. Denis—nominally on the ground of health, actually (I think) on the ground of age. In the small hours of the morning after my liberation I was visited, whilst still in bed, by three police officials, and had to sign a paper pledging myself to use neither a telephone, nor a car, nor a bicycle, not to listen to a foreign wireless station, not to leave the Seine *arrondissement*, and not to fish in the Seine. In addition, I had to report and sign my name daily at the local police-office. All this I faithfully carried out, with one exception: almost daily I succeeded in hearing "London Calling Europe" from our splendid B.B.C.

### Liberation

All these restrictions ended abruptly. There came a time in August when on two successive days I found the doors of the police-station locked. The police were on strike! The liberation of Paris was near.

During the exciting days of the liberation I was in the streets at the Battle of Paris and at the Battle of Neuilly. At

Neuilly I again had the sensation of barbed wire when the German headquarters of the west of Paris, the American Hospital, and a group of houses, in one of which I was living, became the centre of an attack by the young men of the Resistance movement, who tried to seize the *Kommandatur* (the headquarters), which was defended by blockhouses, cannon, a small tank and soldiers of the *Wehrmacht*.

### Home Again

I received great kindness in Paris, and left for home last month with mingled feelings—sadness at leaving many friends, joy at the prospect of returning to my own country and to my own people, and dread of what I might find.

I am overjoyed to discover that my country has still the same brave and enduring people as during the last war; that it is more, and not less, civilised than during those sombre days; that it has more and better music, more and better theatres, greater crowds in its bookshops, more critical and better literature, and most evidently more thought and preparation for the peace that must follow the war than was the case in 1918. By comparison with the German attempts at mental domination in Paris, three weeks in London make me realise vividly how the Nazi system tries to impose ignorance on its victims and subjects. *Ecrasez l'Infâme!*

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## UP AND DOWN THE COUNTRY

November is customarily a busy month for the L.N.U., and this year again our speakers, including members of the Executive, found plenty of useful work to do. None worked harder than Miss K. D. Courtney, the Vice-Chairman, whose engagements included visits to NELSON, HARROW, MALDON, HORSHAM, SKIPTON and KINGSTON. Mostly there was eagerness to hear her first-hand views on America and its part in the world organisation of the future.

At LEAMINGTON the Dean of Chichester spoke on "The Future of Germany." When Mrs. Corbett Ashby visited HAMPSTEAD to give a talk on "National Sovereignty and/or International Co-operation," her chairman was Mr. Ernest Raymond. Mr. James Macdonald addressed another meeting at Hampstead on "The Economic and Social Foundations of Peace."

Although held at an unusual day and time (a Sunday afternoon), a crowded meeting eagerly awaited Dr. Gooch, the international historian, when he spoke to the JORDANS BRANCH. After some valuable comments on the results of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, he proceeded to give a masterly survey under the title "Europe after the War." An added interest arose from the fact that the chairman was a Czech, who joined in the subsequent discussion.

Another crowded meeting was the welcome experience of the WEST HARTLEPOOL BRANCH, who found the room much too small for the audience which gathered to hear Miss Nancy Stewart Parnell speak on "The Problem of Germany." There were good questions and discussion.

Our GERRARDS CROSS AND CHALFONT ST. PETER BRANCH was fortunate in having Sir Stanley Reed, M.P. for Mid-Bucks, to address a meeting called as part of its campaign to extend membership and discuss questions bearing upon the organisation of peace. Introduced by Sir John Stewart-Wallace, the speaker gave a most illuminating talk on the new Security Council proposed at Dumbarton Oaks. Force, he urged, was absolutely necessary to maintain the great moral principles which govern civilised States. If we had the will

to peace, we must have the force to make that will respected.

A particularly well-attended and interesting meeting at CAMBRIDGE gathered to hear an address from the Countess Karolyi, wife of the last democratic Prime Minister of Hungary. Her speech, in her unavoidable absence through influenza, was ably read by Miss Harding, and questions were answered by Dr. George Mikes, press officer to the Hungarian Council in Britain. The strides being made towards a "New Democratic Hungary" were impressed on all present.

KINGSTON'S autumn activities started with addresses at the Zeeta Café by "Mr. John Hangland" on "Norway," Mrs. Noel Baker on "The League—or What?" and Miss Courtney on UNRRA. A meeting for all the Churches was also run with the Bishop of Southwark speaking.

The BATH BRANCH is making steady progress. A monthly discussion group at the Bernina Café is being well supported. At the November meeting the Rev. J. R. Presland gave a Review of 1944. The Branch has lost a much esteemed worker and past President through the death of Mr. John Allen, G.W.R. Stationmaster, a City Councillor and a man of wide interests. Among the tributes paid to his memory in the Press was: "Perhaps the cause dearest to his heart was that of the League of Nations and its supporting organisation, the League of Nations Union—for he loved his fellow-men and hated war."

ABERYSTWYTH BRANCH has made such strides with the collection of subscriptions that 1,232 have so far been got in compared with 844 for the whole of 1943. More than a thousand subscriptions have been personally collected by Mr. A. T. Grindley, the Branch Secretary.

We learn from the Secretary of the GREATER DONCASTER BRANCH that their International Relations Class is going well. Thirty members (all in administrative positions) have enrolled on a three-year course and, adds the Secretary, "I am looking forward to the harvest."

BURY BRANCH (Lancs), with great enterprise, arranged a novel public meeting which reproduced the working of the

American House of Representatives. The debate thus staged was on the Fulbright resolution. Bury's Director of Education, Mr. Maurice Tomlinson, took the rôle of the Speaker, and Miss B. H. Roberts (Branch Secretary) produced the session with Miss Dobson as "script writer." Bury Branch would be glad to lend the script to other Branches.

At LEYSIAN MISSION a Lantern Lecture by Mr. J. Barry was followed by an International Brains Trust composed of Great Britain (Mr. H. H. Walker), U.S.A. (Rev. Marcus Spencer), Free Italy (Dr. R. M. Luzzatto), and Poland (Marian Hemar).

Speaking to the ST. JOHN'S WOOD AND PADDINGTON BRANCHES on "UNRRA and the Reconstruction of Europe," Dr. Leonard Marsh said that such work had no parallel at the end of the last war.

In ROMFORD district Mr. J. T. Catterall addressed the Rotary Club, an enthusiastic public meeting, two secondary schools and all six senior schools. He speaks in the highest terms of the admirable arrangements which helped to make his tour an unqualified success.

A meeting to revive the FOLESHILL BRANCH had a Brains Trust before the business.

### LONDON CALLING

## MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER ON DUMBARTON "ACORN"

"Yes, Dumbarton *Acorn*," said Mr. W. Arnold-Forster at the beginning of his talk at the London Regional Federation's November Buffet Luncheon. "I wonder whether it will grow into a tree!" Then he proceeded to outline his doubts and his hopes for the benefit of an audience which listened, fascinated, to a masterly exposition.

The Union, he reminded his hearers, had been quick to welcome the Moscow Declaration a year ago as the fulfilment of the first instalment of our hopes. The statesmen had not been free to draw up a blueprint of a perfect world order for the year 2,000. Though they might have a long-term objective, they had immediately to decide on the first steps.

If sovereignty was unqualified, there would be no prospects for the new organisation. What we had in fact was a contract to co-operate, without yet passing on to the later stage of actual transfer of power to a supra-national authority. Dumbarton Oaks, he thought, was an essay in advance of the Covenant. All States who signed this Charter would do so in full freedom, but in doing so they would definitely restrict their freedom to behave in an anti-social manner.

Discussing various dangers and ambiguities, the speaker pointed out that no text could be fool-proof. On the whole he

thought that most of the principles were well drafted, e.g., the formulation of the renunciation of the right of war. The doctrine of non-neutrality, too, was embodied in the Dumbarton Oaks formula.

With regard to the chief features of the machinery, the L.N.U. could, if it wished, say, "We told you so." The Security Council, for example, was a close approximation to the Union's scheme for more effective control of power by the Council through a Defence Committee. "We did a little, directly or indirectly, to pave the way to this part of the Dumbarton Oaks plan."

The question of voting, which was not yet settled, raised the big problem—not who was to make the stick but who was to hold it? If one Great Power refused to renounce the right of veto, would the smaller Powers be willing to accept them as trustees for the nascent Commonwealth? In the development of the system, there must be an element of assent and trust as well as an element of power.

Dumbarton Oaks could provide the foundations on which patient hands could build the structure of a better League. Granted that there were defects and dangers, it would be our task to help those who had planted this acorn and nurture it until it could become the tree beneath which all nations could find shelter.

## WORLD AFFAIRS IN PARLIAMENT

By OWEN RATTENBURY

The assassination of Lord Moyne is regarded with horror by everybody—not least by the Jews in the House of Commons. The immediate identification of the perpetrators with "Jews" seemed to be very hasty. Were they representative of the race? To ask the question is to answer it. One was, therefore, glad to hear Mr. Eden identify the assassins with the Stern gang, and to have this followed by the question by Mr. McGovern:

Is it not the case that this terrorist organisation is a small organisation that has waged war even on the Jewish organisations in Palestine which speak for the Jewish people; that the crime itself is of a revolting character and that every intelligent person throughout the world will condemn the introduction of such methods into the political field?

With some relief, I thought, Mr. Eden answered:

Yes, sir, I am in entire agreement with the hon. gentleman.

Without this additional statement the previous questions and answers and the fierce applause of one statement of Mr. Eden's had a very disquietening effect. Mr. Shinwell—who is a Jew, and has been very critical of the Government, but chiefly because at one time he thought they had not carried sufficient energy into the conduct of the war—asked a leading question that had considerable force in it. (By the way, it should be said that Mr. Churchill himself showed his appreciation of Mr. Shinwell's patriotism recently when he remarked that the hon. gentleman had been very critical, but that he could not conceal his delight when the Government's war efforts were crowned with success, "as they sometimes are.") Said Mr. Shinwell:

May I ask whether the Government have considered making representations to the Jewish Agency in Palestine to take upon themselves the primary responsibility of routing out this gang of terrorists?

Mr. Eden replied that this could not be, as the primary responsibility must be on the governing authority of Palestine; but the Colonial Secretary had already called for their co-operation in this work.

### The Stern Gang

Mr. Markham asked if steps had been

taken to arrest leaders of the Stern group pending investigation, to which Mr. Eden replied that they were a secret organisation. When asked if full collaboration had been given by the Jewish Agency, Mr. Eden carefully answered that it had been promised. Then came Miss Rathbone's question asking for full publicity to the fact that not only the Jewish Agency but all responsible Zionists and Jewish bodies throughout the world deplore deeply these terrorist activities of the Stern group. Mr. Eden said he had no doubt that the statement made by these organisations will be fully published, "but I think I ought to add that what we hope for from these organisations, and from all who have such sentiments at heart, is not only statements but active co-operation."

At this there was such a fierce outburst of cheering from the benches behind him that for one I was abashed. First of all, what did Mr. Eden mean? I think his subsequent acceptance of Mr. McGovern's statement absolves him of having intended his words as an attack on the Jewish organisations or even as a hint that they were insincere in their utterances. But that fierce cheering—the fiercest I have yet heard in the House—did seem to suggest some anti-Jewish sentiment. I hope I misunderstood it. It seems incredible that all those who so fiercely cheered were actuated by anti-Semitism. Probably some of the cheers simply represented approval of the principle of the addition of practical support to the expressions of indignation without any intention to imply that such support was likely to be withheld.

A few days later the Prime Minister returned to this subject. Speaking of the effect of this shameful crime on those who, like himself, had been consistent friends of the Jews, and the danger of dreams of Zionism ending in the smoke of assassins' pistols, he declared: "If there is to be any hope of a peaceful and successful future for Zionism, these wicked activities must cease and those responsible for them must be destroyed root and branch."

I wonder whether the possibility has been explored that these Jewish gangsters

have been produced by the enemy propaganda process, just as we know the Arab gangsters of the Grand Mufti era were.

At any rate Dr. Weizmann's letter, quoted by Mr. Churchill, would seem to give the assurance that Palestine Jewry will go to the utmost limit of its power to cut this evil from its midst.

### War Criminals: "Free For All"

Later in the week Mr. George Strauss, on the adjournment, made a plea for the treatment as war criminals of Nazis who perpetrated atrocities against their own nationals in their own country. The contention was that the killing and ill-using of German anti-Nazis for listening to British broadcasts or for refusing to co-operate in brutalities such as the anti-Semitic measures, or even for actively opposing such brutality, was as much an act of war criminality as if the same thing was done on invaded territory. That was the proposition for which Mr. Strauss had obtained the adjournment. It was answered by Mr. Geo. Hall, Parliamentary Secretary to the Foreign Office, by a repetition of the *non possumus* answer given in the first place. But, as Mr. Hall said, it had been a free-for-all discussion, for Lord Winter-ton first and afterwards Major Petherick and Mr. Walter Elliott had taken it right away from that topic. Mr. Dugdale, also, in answering something said by a Conservative speaker, had taken the same line on his way to supporting Mr. Strauss's contention.

Briefly, the discussion was taken on to the broader question of the methods to be used in dealing with Germany after the war. It can be summarised by the words "Treat 'em rough. Never let them get up again once they are down. If we had gone on to Berlin at the end of the last war and dictated peace in the German capital, this second war would not have come." There was unanimity on the "treat 'em rough" proposition, but the differences occurred on the reading of history. Each side was as dogmatic as the other, except that I thought Mr. Austin Hopkinson was

even more dogmatic than usual on his rather doubtful reading of history.

I do not think Mr. Hall's answer could have got us much farther, but he did not get to that. Capt. Cunningham-Reid, who had been counted out on the adjournment on the previous day, had made two previous attempts to get his own back during this day (a Friday). On the adjournment, after Mr. Hall had made his reply to the proposition for which he had been given notice, Capt. Cunningham-Reid called the attention of the Deputy Speaker to the fact that, in spite of the great importance of the subject, very few members were present to hear the Minister's reply. A count, therefore, was necessary. Sufficient members did not rally, and the House automatically adjourned. Cunningham-Reid got his revenge, and we shall never know what Mr. Hall would have said in reply.

### FACT AND FICTION IN JAPANESE IMPERIALISM. By A. H. McDonald. (Royal Institute of International Affairs, St. James's Square, S.W.1. 35 pp., 6d.)

An Australian view on the problem of Japanese Imperialism is well worth studying. Chatham House has therefore published an English edition of a pamphlet originally written by Dr. McDonald for its Australian counterpart. Here we find balanced historical treatment, with no suspicion of the hysteria which threatened to sweep over Australian opinion when Japanese invasion seemed imminent.

We are shown how, in Japan, the military, financial, industrial and bureaucratic elements impose their will on the nation through the Emperor. The weakness of "civilian liberalism" is also depicted. The author issues a warning that, owing to the mystical faith in the divine Emperor, we have no right to expect any cracking of Japanese morale. Still, it would be possible for serious military reverses to bring about far-reaching changes in Japan even before final defeat. There might be moves for a compromise peace, with the ulterior object of giving the militarists time. The closing sections of the pamphlet make it clear that "what to do with Japan" is as serious and difficult a problem as "what to do with Germany."

L.N.U. GENERAL COUNCIL: Full Report in Next Issue

## LORD CECIL AND F.P.A.

VISCOUNT CECIL spoke on Dumbarton Oaks at a luncheon at the Savoy Hotel given in his honour by the Foreign Press Association in London. MR. ANDREW ROTHSTEIN, as Chairman, referred to Lord Cecil's Cabinet memorandum twenty-eight years ago on the use of sanctions against all treaty breakers and also to his impressive contribution to the 13th Assembly debates on the necessity for a free and untainted Press in dealing with the war problems.

"A very solid and serious contribution to the subject—something that you can get your teeth into," was Lord Cecil's description of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. No such official or semi-official intimation to the world that this question of the maintenance of peace was regarded as vital to the preservation of civilisation had been given at the end of the last war. The many resemblances to the League of Nations he regarded as official recognition that the parts of that international organisation which had worked with success must be continued. Some of the most valuable proposals in the report were those giving additional power to the Secretary-General. The great novelty would be the Security Council, which was different in function from the League Council in that it was

created for one purpose and one purpose only, the suppression of aggression. "If that works," said Lord Cecil, "you have created a formidable barrier against war."

There was still one thing that you could not provide for with machinery—the motive force to guide any international body that you might create. It was quite right that the Assembly, which represented public opinion, should be given very extensive powers and, in fact, under Dumbarton Oaks, it could take action on any question affecting international relations. While responsibilities must vary, rights must be equal and the same.

Lord Cecil added that he would have liked to see more about publicity in the Dumbarton Oaks report. It was important that meetings should be held in public. Further, to create an active, vigorous and courageous public opinion, there must be societies in every nation with the whole purpose of supporting and popularising the idea of the international organisation. Governments, too, with their immense powers of publicity, should use them in a similar way. The Press, he was certain, were fully conscious of their great powers and responsibilities. We were beginning once again a great chapter in the crusade for peace.

## LEAGUE REPORTS

**INTERNATIONAL CURRENCY EXPERIENCE.** (Allen and Unwin, League of Nations Publications, 40, Museum Street, W.C.1. 250 pp. Paper, 12s. 6d. Cloth, 15s.)

Once more the League's Economic, Financial and Transit Department has produced a first-class piece of research at its war-time home Princeton University. This expert analysis of international monetary relations during the inter-war period brings out conclusions which should prove of enormous value in the task of post-war reconstruction. No period could be found richer in evidence concerning every conceivable type of currency mechanism. For anybody who wants to know why exactly the gold standard mechanism broke down here are all the data on which to form a reasonable conclusion. In clear perspective we see the whole picture of devaluations

and fluctuating exchanges, the emergence of currency groups, the trend of central banking policies, and the rise of exchange control and clearing agreements. All this evidence helps to bring out the basic conditions required for a system of stable exchanges in the future, which are summarised at the end of the report. Quite definitely the object is to assist in the formulation of post-war policy.

**PREVENTION OF PROSTITUTION.** (Allen and Unwin, League of Nations Publications. 182 pp. 6s.)

Prepared by the League's Advisory Committee on Social Questions, this study of measures adopted or under consideration follows on the previous inquiry into the rehabilitation of adult prostitutes and is concerned chiefly with minors. The report is made all the more complete by the collaboration of outside experts who assisted the Committee.

## FROM HEADWAY'S POST-BAG

### Dumbarton Oaks

Sir,—Lord Cecil's guidance is of the utmost value to the L.N.U. as it faces the problem of the post-war League. The Union, and all the world, will do well to follow his lead and support the tentative proposals from Dumbarton Oaks or any modification of them "that is honest and reasonably effective."

In one particular Lord Cecil's article in the November HEADWAY seems to me to do less than justice to the Dumbarton Oaks plan. By seeking to mend the post-war peace rather than let it break, that plan improves upon the Covenant and, as I venture to think, upon the L.N.U.'s scheme of a few months back. Instead of relegating peaceful change to such ineffective machinery as was provided in Article 19 of the Covenant, Chapter VIII A (1) of the Dumbarton Oaks plan puts peaceful change at the top of the Security Council's agenda. The Council is to investigate, and has power to amend, "any situation which . . . is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security." Thus, in the interests of security if not of justice, the Security Council may deal with any political international question such as Mandates, Minorities, Disarmament and others. But, as Lord Cecil insists, "no international system will work unless the nations mean to work it," and that is where the Union must come in.

MAXWELL GARNETT.

Oxford.

### "Essentials in Peacemaking"

Sir,—I regret to see in the November number of HEADWAY a criticism of the petition organised by the National Peace Council in support of a Constructive Peace.

You state that no mention is made of the necessity of a central international organisation. I would urge that paragraph (g) in the petition calls attention to this and, I maintain, should have met your objection.

Also, for one peace society to criticise the policy of another is, I think, a great mistake.

EMILY JONES.

Brighton.

(Paragraph (g), referred to by our correspondent, mentions only "the setting up of the international organisations necessary to the fulfilment of these tasks," i.e., the various works of relief and reconstruction enumerated earlier in the petition. Our point regarding security and the larger International Authority remains unanswered.—Ed.)

### "Psychological Disarmament for Germany"

Sir,—I rather think much psychological disarmament and much resolution of psycho-

logical complexes will be needed everywhere. Italy endured Fascism for twenty-one years, and a less terrific apparatus than the Gestapo sufficed to keep Italians docile; yet the enormous needs of "conversion" are not dinned into our ears in the case of the Italians. We are asked to consider the fact that the Germans have not overthrown the Nazi regime as a proof of essential sin. But have the Austrians overthrown it either?

One general fact of to-day is too appalling to be willingly envisaged. It is that once a dictator is in power the modern weapons at his command make a mass revolt wholly impossible. The annual increase in the numbers and authority of the Gestapo—of which I had personal experience—was sufficient proof of the existence of a German opposition. Anti-Nazis were pursued more ruthlessly than were Jews. "You are lucky," they said to their Jewish fellow-prisoners, "for you there is some chance of release, for us there is none." Hence the small percentage of non-Jewish refugees. Yet the concentration and prison camps and the daily executions did not stop the opposition. The French resistance movement said to Frenchmen in Germany: "Deportees, act in solidarity with the German workers."

There is less wrong than is supposed with the "psychology" of Germans, though of course the young were got hold of—as also in Italy and elsewhere. But they too have had their martyrs, and I have personally known very fierce disillusionment among propaganda- and frustration-made young Nazis. That is, in my experience, what Josef Geta's proposed Goebbels methods lead to. Already the world founders in an unfathomable slough of scepticism; only a quite simple and sincere approach can now slowly win a sincere response.

May it not be best to ask ourselves in future: "In their circumstances, how should we ourselves react to this measure or that?" It is a safer method than the naive assumption of a psyche totally different from and inferior to our own. I have known this assumption made about the French, the Irish, the Boers, the Indians, the Jews, the negroes, the Germans, the Russians, the Japanese. In the end we ourselves are left in lonely majesty as *Herrenvolk*—the common *reductio ad absurdum* of the nationalist outlook.

HAROLD PICTON.

Letchworth.

### Colonies

Sir,—It is difficult to see that your correspondent, Mr. J. A. Watson, refutes in any way the statement of the German Professor Banse that England, France and America own a very large proportion of the earth's surface. Mr. Watson quotes the figures of the area of



the colonies only, whereas the Professor no doubt has in his mind the full extent of the empires under the respective flags.

Whatever Germany's reasons for desiring colonies may be, it is certain she feels she has a grievance, and my contention was that she, and every other nation, should be able to state their case before a Court of Equity, composed of international experts, whose decisions must be final, and firmly enforced. In this way justice can not only be done, but what is equally important, it can be seen to be done.

It is true, as your correspondent says, that we have the highest authority for saying that the meek will ultimately inherit the earth, but the first step in that direction is the total abolition of power politics.

C. A. LITTLER,  
Hon. Treas., Warrington L.N.U.

## FRESHWATER MEMORIAL FUND

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

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Barnet ..	1	1	0	Iron Bridge			
Cambridge	5	0	0	& Madeley	3	7	6
Edgbaston	10	0	0	Paddington	10		6
Elie .....	10	0		Plymouth	10		0
Folkestone	10	0		St. Albans	3	1	0
Leaming-				S'thbourne	3	19	5
ton ..	25	0	0				
<b>Grand Total (to Nov. 20) ..</b>	<b>£1,601</b>	<b>12s.</b>	<b>8d.</b>				

## DIARY OF EVENTS

Oct.

25. *Rout of Japanese Navy.*
26. *Death of Archbishop of Canterbury.*
27. *Prime Minister Reports on Moscow Talks.*

Nov.

1. *International Civil Aviation Conference Opens. Chicago.*
3. *Liberation of Belgium Completed.*
4. *Greece Free of German Troops. Soviet Rejects Swiss Request to Resume Relations.*
5. *Red Army on Outskirts of Budapest.*
6. *Marshal Stalin's Speech to Supreme Soviet in Moscow. Lord Moyne Assassinated in Cairo.*
7. *President Roosevelt's Victory in U.S. Elections.*
11. *Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden Visit Paris. France Invited to Join European Advisory Commission.*
12. *Himmler Reads Proclamation in Name of Hitler. "Tirpitz" Sunk by R.A.F.*
14. *Mr. Eden Reports to Parliament on Paris Visit.*
16. *Seven Allied Armies Attack in West along 400-mile Front. Mr. Herbert Lehman, Director - General of U.N.R.R.A., in London. Relief Mission to Poland Announced.*

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