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EDITORIAL

MR. CHURCHILL AND MR. HULL

Mr. Cordell Hull's impressive Easter broadcast on the United States and world affairs had immediate reactions on both sides of the Atlantic. His survey, covering as it did a vast amount of ground and answering many questions that were in American minds, enjoyed an excellent Press in this country also. Indeed, one of its effects was to arouse the expectation that a more detailed statement than we have yet had from the British Government might soon be forthcoming regarding the nature and extent of the general international organisation promised in the Moscow Declaration. These hopes were in a measure disappointed. Mr. Churchill, in reply to questions in the House of Commons, could only assure the Members that the topic would not suffer at all from thought or well-considered discussion, and that "a common building up of thought" was going on between the United States and Great Britain. But the most usefully reiterated that, so far as the British view was concerned, "*the great body of work achieved by the League of Nations and embodied in the League of Nations ought not to be lost.*"

Although hearty applause greeted the Prime Minister's reference to the League, it led one inveterate opponent of the League (Major Petherick) to ask for an assurance that no attempt would be made to "revivify the defunct League of Nations, which failed of its own volition and its own weight." This the Prime Minister emphatically refused to give. "I

think," he added, "*that if the League of Nations had been properly backed up, things might have been different.*"

A few days later, replying in the debate on Empire Unity on April 21, Mr. Churchill said:—"We have great responsibilities for the part we played—and so have all of us, and so have the Americans—in not making the League of Nations a reality, in not backing its principles with effective armed force."

Mr. Hull's Double Object

So, for the moment, Mr. Cordell Hull's statement remains the latest word said on the subject, and it deserves the closest attention. It should be considered against a double background—that of the American scene and that of the international situation.

Only a few weeks previously the Secretary of State had attempted to summarise American foreign policy in a series of seventeen points. Whatever other countries may have thought of them, they had a cool reception in the United States, where "impeccable generalities," "culling out of past official utterances," and a "sketch providing no policy" were among the milder descriptions applied. Even friendly newspapers had to make apologies by drawing attention to the difficulty of making a more clear-cut pronouncement during an election year.

However, in his later broadcast address Mr. Cordell Hull boldly set out at one and the same time to give greater precision to

his Government's foreign policy and to lift foreign affairs above the arena of party politics. In the latter respect, it was a wise move to take the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations into his confidence, with the object of getting established a group representative of both parties to help in formulating plans for the future international organisation. Throughout, it will be noted, the Secretary of State assumed that the Conally and Fulbright resolutions meant what they said, and that both Congress and the American people this time would be willing to play their part in building up an international organisation to protect the peace.

Every Important Principle

Mr. Hull's definition of the kind of international organisation needed will commend itself to the great mass of informed public opinion on this side of the Atlantic. In addition to being completely in harmony with the views pressed by our friends of the American League of Nations Association, it embraces virtually every important principle insisted upon by our British League of Nations Union.

Although economic and other co-operative arrangements will be necessary, the chief purpose of the international organisation, as Mr. Hull reminds us, will be "to maintain peace and prevent aggression."

"Such an organisation must be based upon firm and binding obligations that the member nations will not use force against each other and against any other nation except in accordance with the arrangements made. It must provide for the maintenance of adequate forces to preserve peace, and it must provide the institutions and procedures for calling this force into action to preserve peace. But it must provide more than this. It must provide for an international court for the development and application of law to the settlement of international controversies which fall within the realm of law; for the development of machinery for adjusting controversies to which the field of law has not yet been extended; and for other institutions for the development of new rules to keep abreast of a changing world with new problems and new interests."

Work upon the form and substance of the organisation, Mr. Hull tells us, is going ahead, but the various matters are in different stages of development. It would be dangerous, in his opinion, to put forward officially a more elaborate set of proposals until it were known that they were acceptable to other nations which must share in the responsibility for their execution.

The L.N.U.'s Task

In the meantime no similar restraint is imposed upon the League of Nations Union, its branches and members. The Draft Pact for the Future International Authority, published by the Executive, puts forward a practical plan for giving life to the international organisation foreshadowed by the Moscow Declaration and now by Mr. Hull. Let us spread enlightenment about this business of an international authority. For what Mr. Hull said of his own country is true of this—the result of all efforts to set up appropriate machinery may be "dangerous" and "misleading" unless a firm backing of public opinion is first assured.

WESTMINSTER BRANCH

A Debate on:

"WAS THE LEAGUE A FAILURE?"

Speakers:

MR. VERNON BARTLETT, M.P.
MR. BEVERLEY BAXTER, M.P.
MAJOR PETHERICK, M.P.
MR. W. ARNOLD FORSTER

Chairman:

THE REV. DR. SANGSTER.

FRIDAY, JUNE 9, 7 p.m.

CENTRAL HALL,
WESTMINSTER, S.W.1.

Admission Free.

AMERICANS AND THE LEAGUE

News has reached us of a remarkable Three-Day Conference held recently in Princeton and New York, under the auspices of the American League of Nations Association. Its object was to determine what contribution the League of Nations could best make to the post-war settlement and what should be the American attitude towards the League.

Those who took part were American citizens who, at one time or another, had been officially associated with various activities of the League. From first to last some 250 Americans have taken part—and often for long periods—in different phases of the League's work. Many are now doing important jobs connected with the war effort, and for that reason could not get along to the Conference. But more than a hundred participated in this valuable pooling of knowledge and experience.

At the opening dinner Dr. Frank G. Boudreau, for twelve years a member of the League's Health Section, presided. The speakers included Mr. Harold Butler, former Director of the I.L.O., Mr. Alexander Loveday, Director of the Economic, Financial and Transit Department, Dr. Frank Aydelotte, Judge Manley Hudson of the Permanent Court of International Justice, and Mr. Arthur Sweetser, for twenty-two years a League official.

As a documentary background, the Conference had to guide it a series of eighteen studies on such questions as security, reduction of armaments, economic and financial problems, drug traffic, mandates, housing, health and general principles of international organisation, each prepared by an expert who had been associated with that phase of the League's work.

The Conference passed a number of resolutions, which fall naturally into four groups.

Support for Moscow Policy

The first group welcomes the Moscow Declaration calling for a "general international organisation" and the subsequent Senate resolution endorsing the Moscow Declaration. The Conference urges the

United States Government, in co-operation with other Governments, to implement these measures as speedily as possible. Approval is expressed of the special United Nations Conferences on Food and Agriculture and on Relief and Rehabilitation, and of the invitations sent to the technical organisations of the League and the I.L.O. to take part in the work.

Support for League Agencies

There follows another series of resolutions in which the U.S. Government is urged to give full recognition and support of League agencies continuing to function during the war, especially those functioning on American soil. Another definite proposal is for adherence to the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, as recommended by every President and Secretary of State since the Court's creation in 1922.

International Organisation

The necessity of developing an effective system of collective security is the theme of the next two groups of resolutions.

First, as regards international organisation and administration, it is shown that the nations of the world have reached a stage where a co-operative organisation is not only desirable but essential for a host of activities which have reached the international stage. This organisation, in the opinion of the Conference, should be universal in character and built round one central authority. Nevertheless there may well be affiliated agencies on either a regional basis or a subject basis. However autonomous the affiliated agencies may be within their particular fields, they should operate within the co-operative framework of the central organisation; for independent or uncorrelated agencies tend to build up a separatist attitude. Closely co-ordinated agencies, on the other hand, can often pool their experience or facilities to the greatest advantage.

Collective Security

That brings us on to problems of security and prevention of aggression. They have an urgency and com-

pulsion which put them in a category by themselves. The primary responsibility rests on the Great Powers and their willingness to take a positive position. Unless all the principal military Powers agree on concerted measures, any really effective action in a major crisis is extremely difficult, if not impossible.

Nevertheless the smaller Powers have their own importance, either as areas of conflict or as support for the principle of collective security.

Going back to the experience of the League, the Conference asserts that the existence of a common agency of disinterested mediation can appreciably improve the chances of peaceful settlement, as demonstrated in the Aaland Islands, Greek-Bulgar, Peru-Colombia and Paraguay-Bolivia conflicts. The clash between Greece and Bulgaria, too, showed that such an agency could act very quickly. Even the cases of Japan and Italy proved that it is definitely possible, and indeed far easier than thought, to get a large number of nations to pass a verdict of guilty on the aggressor State. Further,

it is technically possible, and even not too difficult, to organise economic sanctions on a world-wide scale, as in the Italo-Ethiopian conflict.

Whether or not agreement in principle will be reached is primarily a question of the Great Powers, as was demonstrated negatively in the Sino-Japanese affair. If sanctions are initiated, they must be initiated in direct relation to the probable course of military events and become effective before the military goal is achieved, as was not the case in the Italo-Ethiopian conflict.

The Conference stresses that the lack of an effective system of collective security is the greatest single element underlying other causes of disunity between nations, notably heavy armaments and uneconomic tariff barriers. Reduction of armaments should be sought primarily through the removal of their causes rather than on a gun-for-gun mathematical basis. Once all-round disarmament is agreed to, adequate measures of supervision and control can be set up to prevent abuse or violation of agreement.

A BETTER WORLD FOR OUR CHILDREN

By HARRY G. FIELD

There have been many speeches made, many talks given, and many theories expounded for a better understanding between the peoples of the world, with the ultimate object of eliminating wars and strife between nations. Now here is a soldier's view—the thoughts of a soldier who has for four years been living in a foreign country, a country rich in ancient history, but whose people and their customs are very hard for the average stranger to understand.

Wrong Impressions

I am writing with the country of Egypt mostly in mind, although all the countries of the Middle East have similar customs and ways of living. As is well known, Allied troops are stationed in every corner of the Middle East and are forced into

contact with natives of these varied countries, however much they may dislike this contact. But a point that I wish to stress here is that the average serviceman really only has dealings or contacts with the city or town dweller, and it is a well-known fact that the baser elements of a country are usually to be found in the centres and places mostly frequented by troops. As a result, the ordinary thinking serviceman is apt to judge the country as a whole from this short-sighted angle.

To take a case in point, most servicemen stationed in Egypt sooner or later spend some period of leave in Cairo, where they very quickly become annoyed with the pestering attentions of street pedlars and beggars, cheapjack traders and sneak thieves, who are out to make the most of their opportunities; consequently, the victim becomes very loud in his denuncia-

tion of everything Egyptian. This same serviceman sees all around him evidence of poverty and mismanagement in general; he reads in the newspapers of the squabbles over the management of the country, and he judges the whole scene by the standard of his own country, his own upbringing. But if he were to go out into the country districts and talk with the villagers and set himself out to make friends with them, to give them a smile and a kindly greeting instead of a scowl and a curse; if, even were he to keep to the cities and towns, but while there to look for the better and brighter side of life, he would find that the latter atmosphere far outweighs the other. Above all, he would realise that the country is run for the Egyptians themselves, and not for us servicemen; we are really only guests of the country, and as such we should adapt ourselves to their ways.

The True Atmosphere

The parallel could be extended right throughout the Middle East. I remember when I first visited Palestine and Syria and Lebanon on leave I spent some time in the towns first, and did not feel happy for a moment. Everything, it seemed to me, was artificial. The town had put on a mask especially for the benefit of visitors, and it was not until I went out into the villages and settlements, into the mountains and valleys, that I began to feel the true atmosphere of the countries. By living with and among the peasant class one had the chance to absorb to the full the customs and the habits and the ways of living of these peoples. These were the real inhabitants, unspoiled by the lust and greed of making fortunes quickly, unspoiled by not having too great a contact with the worst elements of the outer world. These are the people we should look to when we attempt to judge a country. It is these people that cherish and pass on to their descendants the culture and manners and arts of their forefathers.

I have used the countries of the Middle East as the main theme so far, but similar experiences apply throughout the world—the more so in the present period of war when men of all nations are living in some of the more obscure parts of the earth, in less-known places such as New Guinea,

the Solomon Islands, Burma, and other Far Eastern areas. We, the men who, by force of circumstances, are thrown into these varied channels, these different forms of living, have a duty to cultivate a broader outlook on life and thereby gain an understanding of these peoples and an insight into their arts and culture. Later, when peace does come, by using our gathered knowledge and spreading it amongst our friends who have not had these opportunities, we can help to cement a bond of common friendship.

Passing on Understanding

As we are in the throes of war, one's thoughts are naturally centred on what is happening now, and numerous people will possibly be thinking on the lines I have mentioned during the present conflict. But I do wish to stress that, although much can be done now, it is after hostilities cease that the bulk of the work can be done. Something in the form of Adult School Groups could be started, where men who have had the experience of living in other countries and studying their habits and culture, could pass on this knowledge in a manner far better than these subjects are usually put forward through the medium of dry text books.

I visualise Adult Groups meeting in congenial surroundings, having full discussions on all these subjects, where everyone can put forward their views frankly and openly to the benefit of all nations. I feel we shall never have complete understanding of the world in general until something like this comes into being.

There were in America, before the war, some Groups similar to this. They were not just "Study" Groups, but were, in fact, real "National Bond of Fellowship" or "Know the World and its Peoples" groups. They put their hearts and souls into the quest of learning about their fellow beings, and of discussing the possibilities of joining these peoples with themselves in a happy bond of friendship and understanding.

In my opinion, it is with these aims in mind, and these only, that we shall bring about a lasting peace, a peace which the world has been waiting for, and which we must have in a world closely knit by ideas no less than by scientific discoveries and inventions.

WORLD AFFAIRS IN PARLIAMENT

By OWEN RATTENBURY

A debate in the House of Lords on the Atlantic Charter looked likely, at one time, to provide the main news from Parliament for this month's article. If it had taken place, it would have furnished interesting comment on the challenging views put forward in the April HEADWAY by a member of the L.N.U. Executive. Lord Noel-Buxton got so far as to put a motion down, but was requested by Lord Cranborne to agree to a postponement of the discussion, largely because of the coming conference of Dominion Prime Ministers. In the circumstances, the Government's wishes had to be respected.

Many Members of Parliament in both Houses have been puzzled about the present position of the Atlantic Charter, and question and answer have not clarified the issue. A strong suspicion lurks in many minds that its import seems to have been narrowed considerably since Mr. Attlee, in reply to a question outside the House as to its application, stated comprehensively that it was meant to apply to everyone.

However, for a variety of reasons, the matter has not been discussed to any great extent in the House of Commons. There is, nevertheless, a good chance that, in the next few weeks, it may be more fully considered. Mr. Eden has said that he wishes to comply with the request that Foreign Affairs, as distinct from the immediate issues of the war, should be debated for, at any rate, one day. Such a debate could hardly fail to include an attempt to clarify the issue on the Atlantic Charter.

In a month which was broken into by Easter, in which certain important domestic questions were in the limelight, and in which, moreover, there was a general feeling of waiting for big events, world affairs did not figure very prominently in Parliament. Nevertheless, some of the minor topics which did crop up were not without interest.

British Foreign Policy, 1919-1939

An announcement was made by Mr. Eden, in response to a question, on the decision of the Government to publish the

most important documents in the Foreign Office archives relating to British foreign policy between 1919 and 1939 in a series of volumes, to be issued one by one, as and when they are ready. They will be a continuous chronological series; but, so as to make available as soon as possible documents dealing with events most relevant to the outbreak of this war, the work will be divided into two parts—one beginning at 1919 and the other at 1930. The preparation of the two parts will take place simultaneously.

Anti-Semitism

On the adjournment for the short Easter recess Mr. Driberg raised the subject of the Jewish soldiers who wished to transfer from the Polish army to the British army, some of whom had deserted with that object in view and were expected to be tried by court martial for the offence. He had some circumstantial evidence, backed by other members, of anti-Semitism by Polish soldiers against Jews in their regiments. Some of the threats, if they had been remarks made by Cockneys in a British regiment, might have been thought simply jocular; but, considering past history, it is perhaps natural that these Jews should treat them as sinister. During the debate one of the speakers contended that a large number of the present Polish army consists of men who were taken prisoner in North Africa, having been conscripts in the German army. That, of course, does not necessarily mean that they would have the Nazi outlook, with its vicious anti-Semitism. Be that as it may, Mr. Richard Law deprecated the Foreign Office intervening more in this matter than it had done already. Some of the Jews mentioned, he added, were men in key positions, and their removal from the Polish army would upset the balance in face of events that were imminent. It must be said that Miss Rathbone, whose attitude to the Jewish question is beyond doubt, also rather regretted the raising of this matter at all, after Mr. Eden had given his assurance that the Polish Government were making a full inquiry and were determined to stop any anti-Semitism that they might find.

Persecution

Miss Rathbone specially asked that another statement made by Mr. Eden in reply to Mr. Silverman should be widely circulated. It was as follows:—

Evidence continues to reach H.M. Government and Allied Governments that the Nazi policy of extermination has not been halted. The persecution of Jews in particular has been of unexampled horror and intensity. On this H.M. Government in common with their allies, now that the hour of Germany's defeat grows ever nearer and more certain, can only repeat their detestation of Germany's crimes, and their determination that all those guilty of them shall be brought to justice. But apart from direct guilt there is still indirect participation in crime. Satellite Governments who expel citizens to destinations named by Berlin must know that such actions are tantamount to assisting in inhuman persecution or slaughter. This will also not be forgotten when the inevitable defeat of the arch-enemy of Europe comes about.

Happily there are individuals and even official authorities among the satellites who

have resisted the evil German example and have shown tolerance and mercy. These things are known to the allies and, in the hope of encouraging such good deeds and increasing their number, H.M. Government are concerned to make it clear that those who have followed the right path will not be forgotten in the day of reckoning. The time of respite is short, but there is still opportunity for the merciful to multiply their acts of humanity, for the guilty to try to make amends for their deeds of shame by releasing their victims and making, so far as is possible, restitution to them.

H.M. Government are confident that they are expressing the sentiment of all the Allied Governments in calling upon the countries allied with or subject to Germany to join in preventing further persecution and co-operate in protecting and saving the innocent. H.M. Government, for their part, are fully resolved to continue, in co-operation with all Governments and private authorities concerned, to rescue and maintain so far as lies in their power all those menaced by the Nazi terror.

(For Mr. Churchill on the League, see Editorial.)

FRESHWATER MEMORIAL FUND

We publish below a *third list* of donations to the Freshwater Memorial Fund, received at Head Office up to April 20, 1944. As in previous lists, they are arranged according to Branches—the names of individuals will not be published:—

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Aberystwyth	10	0		Colchester	5	0	
Barton Hill	1	1	0	Coventry	13	8	0
Bathgate	5	0	0	Crieff	2	2	0
Beckenham	1	0	0	Cromer	16	6	
Bedford	4	6		Cross Hills	1	5	0
Belfast	1	5	0	Desford	16	0	
Birmingham	1	0	0	Dorking	1	0	0
Blackpool (S. Stephens)	3	13	0	Eastbourne	5	0	
Blairgowrie	1	1	0	Edinburgh	5	0	
Buckhurst Hill	10	0		Epping	5	5	0
Burslem	1	5	0	Frome	10	6	
Bury	5	0		Goole	10	0	
Camberwell Green				Guildford	5	3	9
W.C.G.	5	0		Hampstead Garden			
Charlbury	2	5	0	Harrow	1	6	0
Cheadle				Hereford	2	0	
Hulme	1	0	0	Highgate	1	1	0
Clevedon	2	2	0	Hindhead	3	3	0
Clifton	2	12	6	Horsham	1	1	0
				Huddersfield	2	3	10

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Jordans	4	0	0	Reading	5	0	
Kendal	1	11	0	Reigate	7	8	8
Keswick	12	8	9	Rhos-on-Sea	2	3	6
Kirkby Stephen	1	0	0	Romford	3	5	6
Knebworth	1	10	0	Rottingdean	2	6	
Lancing	10	0		St. Andrews	2	0	0
Letchworth	3	18	0	Saltburn	2	0	0
Lingfield	10	6		Shanklin	1	1	0
Lynemouth	7	10	0	Sheffield	1	0	0
Luton (Youth Group)	2	0		Sheffield (Firth Pk.)	5	2	6
Maldon	3	0	0	Silverdale	1	1	0
Manchester	1	16	0	Southampton	5	0	
Monmouth Town	5	0		Southend	2	6	
Nelson	2	3	7	Southport	2	7	0
Northampton	6	0		Stevenage	5	0	
North Staffs D.C.	3	3	0	Streatham	1	2	6
Norwich (Chapel Field Rd. Methodist Ch.)	10	0		Taunton	2	6	
Orpington	15	0		Welsh National Council	15	15	0
Ossett	1	1	0	West Hartlepool	1	0	0
Oxford	5	0		Westminster	3	11	0
Paisley	10	0	0	Weybridge	1	5	0
Perth	2	4	6	Widnes	1	1	0
Petersfield	5	0	0	Wigan	2	2	0
Plymouth	1	0	0	Wimbledon	1	2	6
				Winton	1	1	0
				Wishaw	5	0	0
				Wood Green	10	0	
				Unattached	14	19	0

Stop press: Total (April 24): £824 17s. 7d.

THE I.L.O.'S FUTURE

(FROM OUR INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT)

Nothing down for discussion at the International Labour Conference, now in session at Philadelphia, is of more importance than the *Future Policy, Programme and Status of the International Labour Organisation*. The Report on this subject, which the International Labour Office has prepared for the Conference, is an absorbing document. Its picture of the immense responsibilities that will confront the post-war world combines hard-headed realism and respect for facts with vision and imagination.

The emergence of the "social objective" during this war was early perceived by the I.L.O. The New York Conference of 35 nations in 1941 endorsed the social and economic principles of the Atlantic Charter, three of the eight clauses of which defined a common approach to international social and economic problems. Owing to the changing fortunes of war it was not possible for the I.L.O. to go ahead so rapidly as had been expected. Yet, in the intervening years, there has been progress in preparing the groundwork for action. The chief *raison-d'être* of the present Conference is to give more precise content to general principles and to equip the Organisation to implement these principles on bolder lines.

Proposed Declaration

As a first step it is proposed that a re-statement of the aims and purposes of the I.L.O. in a solemn declaration by the Conference would be appropriate. This is essentially a pledge to pursue certain policies and a recognition of the part to be played by the I.L.O. in their application. It stresses the interdependence between the I.L.O.'s objectives and the policies of its members. It indicates the matters—the maintenance of full employment and the like—to which the Conference attaches special importance.

Relations With Other Bodies

This declaration clears the ground for tackling severely practical matters. First, the functional approach to the problem of world order now being followed by the

Governments of the United Nations makes it essential to clarify the relations between the I.L.O. and other international bodies. Fortunately this is no new problem for the I.L.O. Its pre-war relations with the League proved that constant co-operation was calculated to give greater effectiveness to the work of both of them. There was close liaison between the I.L.O. and the International Institute of Agriculture. During the war, working relationships have been developed with new bodies as created, especially with U.N.R.R.A.

On this useful basis some interesting possibilities for the future are being explored by the Conference. Much could be gained, mutually, by reciprocity in such things as representation at meetings and exchange of documents. The end in view is that the I.L.O., along with the other bodies, should fit into the general pattern of international organisation after the war.

Tasks for the I.L.O.

Mr. Ernest Bevin, at the recent Governing Body meeting in London, urged that the I.L.O. should define its programme in the field where it is primarily responsible. Certain items appear on the Conference agenda. *The Organisation of Employment* is at present being dealt with mainly from the point of view of transition from war to peace, a task of immediate urgency. But the Conference has in mind that, at an early date, fuller consideration may be given to the long-term as well as to the transitional aspects. The *Social Security* proposals before the Conference have a longer ranged character. However, it is still not too early to attempt to enumerate some of the special problems which will soon be demanding attention.

Those interested in implementing the Atlantic Charter will have observed that the I.L.O. has a plan for social policy in the Axis territories as they come under United Nations control. The idea of a Labour Commissioner, ready to get to work in each territory with the help of an expert staff, including experienced trade unionists, strikes one as being eminently

practical. The details have clearly been thought out with the double object of steering a way through immediate chaos and of building a firm foundation for future reconstruction.

Already overdue measures for the protection of seamen, provisions for the crews of commercial aircraft, pensions schemes for miners and family allowances are among the suggestions in the Report to the Conference. It may be necessary for the I.L.O. to take up the whole question of wages in relation to changes in the cost of living. Another group of questions would include freedom of association, collective bargaining, settlement of industrial disputes, labour management co-operation for improvement of production, and so on—all of primary importance during the rebuilding of the structure of society in many countries following the collapse of the dictatorships. At least four aspects of housing policy—minimum standards for post-war construction, organisation and financing of housing for low income groups, relation of housing to level of economic activity and employment, and relation of housing to town planning and industrial location—are the direct concern of the I.L.O. As regards the rebuilding of factories, the I.L.O. is brought in by international health and safety standards. There will be scope for model safety codes. Add provisions for women's work, maritime work, agricultural work and professional workers, and the list would not be exhausted.

Machinery

It is most important that the I.L.O. machine should be geared up to meet all these demands. One requisite seems to be more regular meetings than has been possible in war-time. It is likely that, after this Conference, the Governing Body, instead of meeting occasionally, will get back to its normal four sessions a year. The Conference itself may resume its statutory annual sessions, not including special sessions for particular questions (e.g., maritime). Adjustments foreshadowed to meet future needs are more adequate machinery for considering employment questions, probably by the establishment of an Employment Committee; and the creation of Industrial Committees for the main world industries, as was suggested by

the British Government during the Governing Body meeting in London last December.

The development of regional activities is another matter to which the Conference is giving careful consideration. A pointer is to be found in the highly successful conferences of American States organised by the I.L.O. in 1936 and 1939. The desirability of an Asiatic conference has already been canvassed, and this is put in a new perspective by the impact of war on the East. In both China and India the war has quickened the pace of industrial and social organisation.

It seems clear that, to meet all these pressing demands, the long-term rebuilding of the International Labour Office will have to be vigorously pursued. The human resources will have to be adequate for the accomplishment of the momentous tasks ahead.

Finance

Various questions of constitutional practice, which are fully discussed in the Office's Report to the Conference, need not here be entered upon in detail. But a word must be said, in conclusion, about the future financing of the I.L.O. Conditions have changed since, a quarter of a century ago, the I.L.O.'s budget was linked up with that of the League. It was then expected that the membership of the two organisations would be virtually identical. In course of time, the I.L.O. has developed a bigger membership than the League. At the present moment there are nine States Members of the I.L.O. which are not members of the League. In the 1944 budget they are responsible for the payment of 196 out of some 420 units. The problem is whether, in present circumstances, it would not make for greater efficiency if the I.L.O. were to collect direct from League members as it already does from non-League members. It is emphasised, however, that the closest relations between the League and the I.L.O. would still be essential. The I.L.O. has always fully recognised that it is part of the League system; and it has no wish to be other than part of the International Authority of to-morrow.

UP AND DOWN THE COUNTRY

Annual Meetings and Annual Reports, which account for a good deal of the current Branch News, testify to increased interest in the Union's work up and down the country.

LEITCHWORTH BRANCH is one which has been able to record a substantial increase in membership—a net gain of 50 in the course of the past year. Proposals for keeping serving members posted with L.N.U. news and for increased activity among young people were keenly debated at the Annual Meeting. Mr. A. Fuller, who agreed to continue as Chairman despite heavy calls made upon his time by lecturing to H.M. Forces, made a strong appeal for support for the Freshwater Memorial Fund.

DUNDEE BRANCH, in the report submitted to the recent Annual Meeting, speaks of the work in 1943 as being "an outstanding success." In addition to a full programme of meetings and other activities, a special campaign was initiated for the re-enrolment of lapsed members. This succeeded so well that 50 former members again joined the Branch's ranks.

PAISLEY BRANCH reports a very successful season, with the members keenly interested in all L.N.U. activities. One of the most popular evenings was carried through with the co-operation of the Glasgow International Students' Club. Representatives of six different countries, having introduced themselves in their respective languages, spoke in English on the problems of their own lands. They subsequently had to answer many questions.

BATHGATE is a small but active Branch which was formed in 1939, shortly before the outbreak of war. Recently it ran a Brains Trust at which there was an attendance of 300 persons, and a special collection raised £4 10s. for the Freshwater Memorial Fund. The slight increase of eight in membership, shown in the Annual Report, is regarded as an earnest of more to come, for a marked improvement in public interest has been reflected in the attendance at open meetings recently.

A welcome increase in the number of paid-up members was reported at the Annual Meeting of the HUDDERSFIELD BRANCH—335 against 301 last year. Never-

theless it is estimated that the "live" membership could be increased by at least another 200 if more collectors would come forward. There have been no resignations. Mr. H. Foster Anderson, the guest speaker at the Annual Meeting, who had lived for many years in the Baltic States, Russia, Germany and Poland, spoke on "The Eastern Frontier of Europe".

BURY BRANCH is able to report a rise in the amount of subscriptions collected, though there would be more renewals if there were more collectors. At the Annual Meeting Mr. P. M. Oliver, ex-M.P. for the Blackley Division of Manchester, gave a most comprehensive explanation of the Union's Draft Pact for the Future International Authority.

WEST HARTLEPOOL'S Annual Meeting was presided over by Alderman E. Bloom, who stated that he had been a member of the Branch since its inception and had never wavered in his faith. Mr. Catterall's address on "The Shape of Things to Come" had a tonic effect and four new members were enrolled.

EASTBOURNE'S Annual Meeting was the biggest meeting the Branch has held for some time—indeed, probably the biggest meeting of any local society held recently. Further, the audience was most receptive. The effect was enhanced by long and admirable reports in three local newspapers.

An International Brains Trust attracted a most satisfactory audience to the Annual Meeting of the REIGATE AND REDHILL BRANCH. The questions, which ranged over Germany, China, Japan, America, Britain, Russia and Poland, were so numerous that the Question Master had to impose a time limit. "There can be no doubt", writes Mr. H. T. Holmes, Branch Chairman, "that a meeting of this kind proves more attractive than the ordinary single-speaker meeting".

GODALMING, too, included an International Brains Trust in the programme of its Annual General Meeting, with such success that all present expressed a wish that the experiment would soon be repeated.

WEYBRIDGE BRANCH enjoyed its best

war-time Annual General Meeting, with a larger attendance, more interest and an admirable address from the new Rector, the Rev. C. E. Spencer. There is a feeling in the Branch that the time has come for bolder and more aggressive campaigning.

Speaking on "Organising Peace", at the Annual Public Meeting of the OXTED AND LIMPSFIELD BRANCH, Miss K. D. Courtney stressed the importance of the Moscow Declaration with its promise of an international organisation after the war to prevent aggression.

A feature of the 24th Annual Meeting of the WATERLOO BRANCH was a League Scrap Book, "Leaves From Time," arranged by Arthur Armitage (Branch Secretary), with acknowledgments to Miss Pat Fetherstone (Morecambe Branch).

At the Annual Meeting of the BEDDINGTON, CARSHALTON AND WALLINGTON BRANCH, Mrs. E. A. Paddon of the China Campaign Committee gave an address on China.

Mr. L. F. Behrens addressed the Annual Meeting of the KESWICK BRANCH.

Salvador de Madariaga was the magnet which drew so large a gathering to the April Buffet Lunch arranged by the LONDON REGIONAL FEDERATION, and those who heard his brilliant and thought-provoking address will long remember it. The kind of future which faced Europe—and indeed the world—depended primarily (he said) upon the spirit which animated the Great Powers towards the problems of reconstruction and the future International Authority. It was not the small nations who had been the villains of the last peace. The speaker also uttered the warning that it would be impossible to protect the world against another war unless civil aviation were reorganised and internationalised.

A Brains Trust on "The World of To-morrow", at Cheltenham College, was attended by more than 400 people. The members of the Trust were the Headmaster of Cheltenham College, the Rev. Canon J. B. Goodliffe, the Rev. H. Clarkson, Mr. D. L. Lipson, M.P., and Miss E. Picton-Turbervill, O.B.E., with Mr. Arthur G. Dye (Branch Secretary) as Question Master. In addition to reviving interest in the Branch and the League, over £16 was raised for the Freshwater Memorial Fund.

The WESTMINSTER BRANCH is organising a debate, "Was the League a Failure?" to be held at Central Hall on Friday, June 9, at 7 p.m. The speakers will be Mr. Vernon Bartlett, M.P., Mr. Beverley Baxter, M.P., Major Petherick, M.P., and Mr. W. Arnold-Forster, with the Rev. Dr. Sangster in the chair. Admission free. London members please book the date.

We regret to announce the death of the Rev. V. D. Davis. Although more than 80 years old, he was one of the pillars of the Beaconsfield Branch and recently published in a pamphlet a strong appeal for local support.

L.R.F. PRESIDENT

At the Annual General Meeting of the London Regional Federation Mr. Geoffrey le M. Mander, M.P., was elected President in succession to Lord Perth.

Mr. Mander, in his Presidential Address, said that members of the Union would have vital work to do at the next General Election. On the next House of Commons would depend the shaping of the foreign policy of this country and the destiny of the world. This was not a party matter, as in all parties there were people keen and devoted to our cause. He hoped that, as in the United States, efforts would be made to lift foreign policy above party.

The new policy based on the Moscow Declaration, continued Mr. Mander, was one which the whole world would have to work on in future, otherwise there would inevitably be another war. For some time to come the power would have to come from the Big Three, with China potentially a fourth. The most important thing was to see that force was in the right hands and not in the hands of gangsters.

The speaker took an optimistic view of future relations with Russia and the United States. He stressed that the personal relations of the Prime Minister with Stalin had been enormously important. Although, when this war was over, we should not be the biggest or richest country, that was no reason at all why we should not be leaders of the world.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

WEAPON FOR VICTORY—AND PEACE

LEND-LEASE. WEAPON FOR VICTORY.

By E. R. Stettinius, Jr. (Macmillan, St. Martin's Street, W.C.2. 18s.)

Mr. Stettinius has put every Englishman and most citizens of the United Nations under one simple, immediate obligation—that of reading his authentic story of Lend-lease, that unique combination of weapon for Victory and prophetic promise for Peace. His book is a plain history of the embodiment in action of the principle of *mutual aid in mutual self-interest*. Fascinated, we watch step by step the growth of Lend-Lease out of the tortuous nuances of Neutrality, through the unstable compromises of Cash and Carry days, into the more open exchange of U.S.A. destroyers for vital Allied air bases; on, at ever-increasing tempo, by expansion of U.S. co-operation with the Allies, until the adoption of the first actual Lend-Lease principles in March, 1941; then the swelling waves of Lend-Lease application in the face of Germany's attack on Soviet Russia in June, to the hour of final fruition at and after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour on December 7, 1941—the last of that long and ominous sequence of events which started in 1931.

There is plenty of financial and economic detail lying about, but not for a moment can the reader's attention flag. The story grips. And both principles and details are at the same time flashed from the eye to the brain not only by photographs but in a series of beguiling pictograms and colour maps. We get just that "brains trust" answer to the sort of questions we want to ask. What is the difference between Lend-Lease and the loans of the last war built up on such shifting sands? Why did Great Britain have to stop buying war goods in the United States? Who gets Lend-Lease goods? How far is Lend-Lease a highly successful two-way traffic? What proportion of material and food produced in the U.S. goes to their own forces and civilians, and what to Lend-Lease?

What, when all is said and done, is Lend-Lease? Let us ask President Roosevelt himself, "Suppose my neighbor's house catches fire and I have a length of garden

hose four or five hundred feet away. If he can take my garden hose and connect it up with his hydrant, I may help him to put out the fire. Now what do I do? I don't say to him before that operation, 'Neighbor, my garden hose cost me 15 dollars; you have to pay me 15 dollars for using it.'—What is the transaction that goes on? I don't want 15 dollars—I want my garden hose back after the fire is over." The President was telling a simple, ordinary story to his weekly Press conference, the story of a man helping to put out a fire in his neighbour's house, loaning his hose and at the same time helping himself, for the fire next door menaced his own house as well. That is Lend-Lease as it began.

After Pearl Harbour the story of the garden hose must be taken on a step. The fire which started in the neighbour's house spread until it had a conflagration throughout the whole town. In this crisis, the citizens of the town united to fight it together, pooling their strength and equipment, because they knew this was the only hope of saving anything for any of them. And the man who loaned his hose in the beginning found, now that the fire had spread to his own house, that his neighbours were in turn giving him all the help they could.

Lend-Lease to-day means the *total effort of each of the United Nations in the common cause*. In Lend-Lease we have learnt to collaborate in war. If this lesson has properly been learnt we can surely do the same in peace. Of course, there will be clashes of interests, but that is no new thing, nor a thing to be cravenly afraid of. We have got our "marker" flares, such as the Atlantic Charter, that charter of unlimited opportunity, and the key Article VII. of all Master Lend-Lease Agreements, which provides that no settlement of Lend-Lease account shall shut the door on new opportunity, but that it will open it wider. The principle of mutual aid in mutual self-interest, bedded in the heart of Lend-Lease, must live on. There is more unity of purpose and action among freedom-loving peoples than ever before. In that shall we find the strength and conscience to build a peaceful world where freedom and opportunity will be secure for all.

GORDON DROMORE.

THE MIRROR OF THE PAST. By K. Zilliacus. (Gollancz, Henrietta Street, W.C.2. 7s. 6d.)

Although there is little in this book which cannot be obtained by diligent research of other volumes, the reader will thank Mr. Zilliacus for saving him a vast amount of time and trouble. Moreover, some strongly individualistic opinions are thrown in as makeweight—the author might be pardoned for considering them the only justification for so lavishly burning the midnight oil. They are certain to evoke either enthusiasm or indignant controversy—according to whether or not the reader shares Mr. Zilliacus's lively political outlook.

We are at least on common ground at the start—the international anarchy which was tamely accepted, until the development of world markets made peace the greatest common interest of all civilised nations. Gradually the objects for which States had formed rival alliances and outarmed one another became more and more trivial in relation to the real interests of their populations. Mr. Zilliacus sets out to show where the philosophical radicals went wrong and how this country's foreign policy figured in the power-politics that ended in the first world war. The chief flaw in the Government's policy was that, while exhausting the resources of conciliation, they failed to make clear what they would do if conciliation broke down. Failing any clear or emphatic pronouncement of where Britain stood, this ambiguity was bound to play into the hands of those who pushed Europe over the edge.

At the end of the first world war people everywhere were sick of the Balance of Power which had produced aggression and selfishness and war. In showing how the League was conceived, Mr. Zilliacus argues that the die-hard elements consented because they feared revolution. They were at that time fighting a rearguard action. During the years of appeasement, they were resuming the offensive—and the League was an early victim.

Although he holds that the Covenant was too loose, the author believes that the fact that the League was intended as an attempt at world government was more important than its relative success or failure. Drastic social change, in his opinion, is visibly becoming the only possible basis for an effective system of world government.

Failure to preserve wartime control organisations for at least the reconstruction period is one of the previous mistakes which we must avoid this time. He also shows that, after the last war, when France and Great Britain agreed the League worked; when they disagreed it was paralysed. Here is another warning to-day for the Great Powers.

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION IN CONTINENTAL EUROPE DURING THE 1914-18 WAR AND THE RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD. (League of Nations Publications. Allen and Unwin, 40, Museum Street, W.C.1. Cloth, 10s.; paper, 7s. 6d.)

Mr. Loveday, Director of the League's Economic, Financial and Transit Department, describes this volume as "historical in form and practical in purpose." After the last war a speedy recovery of European agriculture was confidently anticipated. It would be enough, many thought, to bridge the gap between two harvests. In fact, it took seven years for Europe to restore its food production to pre-war level. The practical aim of this historical survey is to point out the reasons for that slowness in recovery, so that this time the world may profit from past experience. Similar factors—labour shortage, shortage of fertilisers and feeding stuffs, of implements and draught animals, and finally soil exhaustion—are at work to-day. The League experts reach their own important conclusions, but chiefly their aim is to enable others to reach *their* own conclusions. Especially valuable is the series of maps showing changes in area, production and yield for cereals and in livestock population for the various regions of Europe. One striking fact which clearly emerges is that soil exhaustion, lack of labour and lack of capital retarded recovery more than did the entrenchment of armies and the havoc wrought by war. Owing to the still weaker position now, the need for initial relief will be greater and more urgent. Failing truly reconstructive assistance, agricultural recovery will be even slower and more painful than it was last time.

FROM HEADWAY'S POST-BAG

Atlantic Charter

SIR,—The article of a member of the Executive about the Atlantic Charter fills me with amazement, and indeed alarm. The author is distressed by the apparent exclusion of the enemy, Germany, from the advantages to the Atlantic Charter, but sees no objection to excluding our ally, Poland, from those benefits. He finds excuses for a fifth partition of Poland. He says: if Poland in 1920 acquired more territory than was justifiable on a population basis, then that population ought to "revert" to Russia. But what we have to do with is the territory fixed in 1921 in the Treaty of Riga, a treaty freely negotiated between Poles and Russians, in which Poles refused to accept all the territory the Russians then offered them. The Treaty of Riga was recognised by a Government in which Lord Curzon was Foreign Minister, and has been part of the statute of Europe until the fourth partition of Poland by Prussia and Russia in 1939. It is not what Russia has the power to do,

WINGS FOR PEACE. Labour's Post-War Policy for Civil Flying. (Labour Publications Dept., Smith Square, S.W.1. 4d. post free.)

Here is a new pamphlet of the utmost importance, with a profound bearing upon problems which the L.N.U. now has under discussion. Although in the past forty years the great opportunity afforded by the conquest of the air has been lamentably ill-used, it is no good saying "Scrap the lot"—man will not now discard his wings. As part of the policy of world settlement a supreme constructive effort is called for. President Roosevelt, in his "Kitty Hawk" anniversary message last December, put the matter in a nutshell. "It is our duty," he wrote, "to keep these air highways free and open in order that all peoples of the world may more and more become good neighbours—better neighbours—and that the instrument of flying shall serve to keep the peace once it has again been achieved."

This pamphlet deliberately links the future of civil flying with the major aim of building up a general international organisation; the theme is worked out as powerfully and as logically as the development of a Beethoven symphony. The international authority must acquire effective

or what would be convenient to us, that matters, but what the people of Eastern Poland want. Do they prefer to be governed by Moscow or Warsaw? The author seems to think that the Atlantic Charter is in danger under Mr. Churchill's leadership. This kind of defence of the Atlantic Charter will seem to many members even more harmful to the possibilities of a future peace founded on truth and justice. What about the Baltic States? Are they, not being enemies, to be excluded also?

The Deanery, A. S. DUNCAN-JONES.
Chichester.

SIR,—In the very excellent article by a member of the L.N.U. Executive on the abandonment of the Atlantic Charter by Mr. Churchill, the writer tries to make a distinction between the right of Poland to annex with the approval of Messrs. Stalin and Churchill, a slice of German-populated territory, and Russia's "strategical" claim to the Karelian Isthmus and the port of Hangö.

(Continued on page 15)

control of preponderant power, especially air power. The compelling aim is the abolition of all national air forces and the creation of a supra-national air force.

From the facts which are marshalled in significant array it is indisputable that the growth of civil flying has been retarded, not only because flying was a young invention, but by a doctrine of aerial sovereignty which has grotesquely distorted the whole growth of air communications. The result has been economically absurd and politically dangerous.

Air transport is one of the "keys of power" which the nations must entrust to international control. In pressing that the international control of civil aviation shall be treated as an indispensable part of collective security the Labour Party plumps for a "whole hog" solution centred round a World Air Authority with wide powers. (Read the detailed plan for yourself.) This authority should be subordinate only to the General International Organisation.

As a second-best interim policy, should a World Airways system prove impracticable at this stage, a system of Regional Air Unions is advocated. The full internationalisation of air transport in Europe—"Europa Airways"—cannot well be deferred.

(Continued from page 14)

The latter claim, he thinks, is unanswerable, while, on the other hand, the Polish claim to East Prussia, Silesia and part of Pomerania is void of all justice.

In point of fact, the morality, or lack of it, of this claim is the direct consequence of the acceptance of the principle of the other case. Once you admit that a Great Power has the right to annex part of a neighbour's territory for "strategical" reasons (and because that Power is an ally of ours), you at once open the way for all sorts of other annexations at the expense of the principles for which we are supposed to be fighting.

I would remind the writer that, while we must sorrowfully recognise the fact that Finland is now the ally of the Axis, and Finnish guns have menaced Leningrad since 1941, yet this was not so until after Russia had made her "strategical" claim and enforced it by war on her neighbour. But for that colossal folly, which British opinion has now mostly been apparently converted to believe the height of wisdom, Finland might have been fighting by Russia's side against the common foe, instead of falling a victim to Nazi wiles and temptations of revenge. If Russia could but see it, a federation of her smaller neighbours would be her best security, not a menace, if only she would return to the "good neighbour" and law-abiding policies for which Litvinov stood when he made those treaties with Finland, Poland, and the Baltic States, which, under the influence of the Nazi-Soviet Pact, were thrown over in favour of ruthless power-politics. If you accept the principles of power-politics for Russia, it will be difficult to deny it to other Powers, large or small, with territorial ambitions. The only security for Russia and the world is to return to the principles enunciated by M. Litvinov when he said in 1934:—

"The Soviet State . . . perceives its State duties to lie not in conquest, not in expansion of territory; it considers that the honour of the nation demands that it should be educated not in the spirit of militarism and a thirst for blood, but in the fulfilment of the ideal for which the Soviet State was brought into existence, and in which it perceives the whole meaning of its existence, namely, the building of a Socialist society. . . ."

It is impossible for me, as a Socialist, to regard Russia's present attitude to territorial problems affecting herself and her neighbours as being consistent with the principles laid down by Litvinov in that speech, or, as an Internationalist, to do other than mourn her refusal to submit even her claim to the territory east of the Curzon Line, just as it may well prove to be, to the arbitration of

an international tribunal, and abide by the rules she expects others to obey.

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

SIR,—The statement in the April issue by a member of the Executive is of considerable interest, and its protest against any plan to offer the Poles compensation for the loss of the Russian territory at the expense of Germany deserves strong support.

Nevertheless, I think that the question of this application of the Atlantic Charter cannot be considered without reference to the Polish Corridor, the maintenance of which seems to be implied in the article under discussion, although it is not specifically mentioned.

The existence of the Corridor has long been recognised as a danger spot in European politics, and it seems to me that it cannot be removed by territorial changes made in accord with the freely expressed wishes of *all* the peoples concerned.

If that view is correct, it may in the long run be for the benefit of all if we recognise here and now that some modification of the Atlantic Charter may be necessary rather than to insist on its strict interpretation in every circumstance.

I have in mind that the Corridor might be eliminated by transfer of populations, possibly with exchange of territory, and I feel that this aspect of the matter merits consideration. Certain exchanges of population made after the last war appear to have been beneficial, and the method might well be applied again in an endeavour to deal with an outstanding problem which is always likely to be a danger to the peace of the world so long as it remains unsolved.

Penketh, W. L. KENT.
Warrington.

During the Easter holidays the Council for Education in World Citizenship organised conferences in Edinburgh, Birmingham, Sheffield and London, each attended by some hundreds of boys and girls.

Home wanted with friendly people in quiet area three months, Journalist (58) recovering from long illness. Terms and particulars: David Peat, Borrers Platt, Ditchling, Sussex.—(ADVT.)

DRUG TRAFFIC

Evidence of the way in which the League system of international control of the drug traffic is being maintained in wartime is to be found in a new Report submitted by the Permanent Central Opium Board to the League Council. The great majority of Governments are continuing their co-operation. Sixty-six countries and ninety-nine colonies are covered by the Drug Conventions. Despite all the difficulties created by the war, the Board has received returns in respect of 1942 from as many as fifty-two countries and fifty-one other authorities. Since many delays have been caused by the hazards of war, it is expected that these numbers will be substantially increased in the next few months. Already it is clear that the information will be more complete than for any previous war year.

This record is regarded by the Board as "remarkable," especially as some Governments have felt bound to suspend the despatch of all returns on grounds of military expediency.

But there are gaps to which the Board rightly gives publicity. Spain's omission to send annual statistics is all the more serious in view of the fact that her imports of opium and crude cocaine in the last two years are known, from the Board's system of cross-checking, to have reached an abnormally high level.

On the other hand, a big improvement has been noted in Central and South America. From this part of the world no less than 189 returns out of 200 due under

the Conventions have been received. As an instance of the way in which the Board works, may be cited the case of Peru, which has become a large producer and exporter of crude cocaine. Comparison of statistics showed that between 1939 and 1942 Peru's exports of cocaine had increased from 1,194 to 2,825 kilogrammes. There were substantial shipments to the Argentine in excess of that country's estimates. The Board took action, and received an assurance from the Government of Peru that in future no request for the export of crude cocaine would be sanctioned until the Statement of Estimated World Requirements, drawn up by the Board for each importing country, had been consulted.

One point stressed by the Board is the need for instituting control over the drug traffic in the enemy and enemy-occupied countries as soon as they come under the control of the United Nations. Otherwise there will be (as after the last war) a grave danger of a recrudescence of illicit traffic, especially among the multitudes who are suffering mentally or physically from the results of the war.

Further, large supplies of drugs will be required by the medical relief organisations in the devastated countries. Their control and distribution will obviously be a matter of first importance. The Permanent Central Opium Board offers to place its knowledge and experience at the disposal of the competent authorities.

L. R. A.

MAIN CONTENTS

	PAGE
Editorial. Mr. Churchill and Mr. Hull - - - - -	1
Americans and the League - - - - -	3
A Better World for Our Children. <i>By Harry G. Field</i> - - - - -	4
World Affairs in Parliament. <i>By Owen Rattenbury</i> - - - - -	6
Freshwater Memorial Fund - - - - -	7
The I.L.O.'s Future. <i>From Our Industrial Correspondent</i> - - - - -	8
Up and Down the Country - - - - -	10
Books of the Month - - - - -	12
From "Headway's" Post-Bag: Atlantic Charter - - - - -	14