

# HEADWAY

IN WAR-TIME

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## EDITORIAL

### PLANNING THE NEW LEAGUE NOW

Casablanca has had so excellent a Press that it would be superfluous for HEADWAY to add its "sum of little" to the stream of felicitous comment. After the Prime Minister's statement we are content, with him, to "await the unfolding of events with sober confidence." The heightened prospects of victory, however, reminds us that, whenever the inexorable defeat of the Axis Powers may come, the time is all too short for the United Nations to complete the necessary spadework for a just and durable peace. Fortunately, there is reason to believe that the urgency of planning for peace is more generally appreciated than was the case two or three years back—the evidence of the written and spoken word is steadily accumulating. President Roosevelt, for example, has just given the world this assurance: "The tragedy of war has sharpened the vision of the leadership and the peoples of all the United Nations, and I can say to you from my own full knowledge that they see the utter necessity of our standing together after the

war to secure a peace based on principles of permanence."

#### **Too Late Last Time**

Now is the time to plan the League of Nations of the future. That is the theme of a notable article by Don Luigi Sturzo, published with strong editorial backing in the January number of *People and Freedom*, and elaborated in the February issue of the *Contemporary Review*. Don Sturzo, who is the author of "*The International Community and the Right of War*" (Allen and Unwin, 10s.), has for many years past been a prominent and active supporter of the League, and has devoted much thought to the international structure of the post-war world.

He quotes Mr. T. W. Soong, the Chinese Foreign Minister, in the view that the League of Nations, last time, was born too late. If it had been set up during the war of 1914-18, the urgencies of the struggle would have been a powerful incentive to overcome obstacles in the way of unity. Similarly, to-day, the



rebirth of the League should be achieved during the war, and not left until the fighting is over.

### Useful Spadework

There is vast experience upon which the United Nations could draw. Not least in importance is the spadework now being done by unofficial agencies both here and in the New World. The League of Nations Union, for example, has a great deal to show for its studies of post-war problems, carried out over the past 3½ years with a solid background of 21 years' experience before that. Its Statement of Policy and series of reports on special questions have had an immense effect upon discussion and opinion in this country and abroad. Closely related to the work of the L.N.U. are the deliberations of the London International Assembly, which have been recorded from time to time in HEADWAY. Valuable studies on the organisation of peace have been published by the Carnegie Endowment and the Wilson Foundation in the United States. The recent reports of the Royal Institute of International Affairs on economic, hygienic and moral reconstruction are as stimulating as they are informative. Truly, as Don Sturzo emphasises, public opinion to-day is "widely stirred by the idea of world reconstruction."

But, he goes on to argue, "what is lacking is a sound political conception." Without this directing influence, many dangers arise, e.g., that of some sort of a "political monopoly" of a few Great Powers, of improvisation concerning "minor" national problems, of compromises with classes or cliques of the various neutral and enemy countries. The new discords thus sown may easily ripen into a Third World War.

### Develop League Machinery

How to achieve that sound political conception is the crucial point. Don Sturzo has no patience with those whose

opposition or apathy contributed to the League's failure, on the political side, who to-day would like to think it dead and buried. The League exists, as witness its centres established in America and elsewhere, or the resounding success of the war-time International Labour Conference of 35 nations in New York. These activities, "on the side," so to speak, should be developed—not only in the economic, technical and industrial spheres but from the political angle as well: Developed to-day and not to-morrow.

At this point varying opinions may arise as to how this desirable aim may best be realised. The Union's considered plans for the creation of an International Authority are clearly set forth in its Statement of Policy. Perhaps Don Sturzo's own proposal for the immediate creation of a Political Commission of the League may be looked upon as an intermediate step in the same direction. This war-time body would be made up of representatives of the United Nations—with Ethiopia, there are now 30 nations in this goodly company. Some neutrals, he thinks, might be willing to join as well. Their first job would be to get down to drafting the constitution of the new League, discussing its working and the improvements to be made in the light of experience. In due course an Assembly of States would be called to approve the text. The League would begin to function and, little by little, would take over those post-war tasks that must be carried out in common by the nations.

This procedure is not necessarily the best way of bringing about the establishment of the International Authority. Alternative proposals there will no doubt be. But at least the idea of setting the new League of Nations to work as speedily as possible is worthy of full inquiry and discussion, and it will be all to the good if certain basic principles can soon be established.

## PITFALLS OF THE PEACE

### AGENDA FOR A POSTWAR WORLD.

By J. B. Condliffe. (Allen and Unwin. 7s. 6d.)

Peace can have her defeats no less than her victories, and their chief cause is usually unpreparedness. That is the burden of Dr. Condliffe's study of the economic issues which will have to be faced at the end of this war. His "agenda" is worthy of the closest study. On the staff of the League of Nations and later at the London School of Economics, a participant in most of the economic conferences of recent years, he was a close spectator of the economic "rake's progress" between two wars. Few can give more practical advice on how to avoid similar mistakes next time.

Dr. Condliffe is not one of those doctrinaires who ascribe all the world's ills to economic causes. Political causes of war, he says plainly, are far more important, although failure to achieve international economic co-operation has opened the way for political factors to operate. Unless there is reasonable assurance of a durable peace and security from aggression, combined in due course with relief from the crushing burden of armament expenditure, it will be impossible for economic planning to help long-term investment and bring about reduction of trade barriers. Regionalism, in the opinion of the author, may cope with specific localised issues, but offers no solution of the ultimate political problem of ensuring world peace. Dr. Condliffe's present residence at the University of California adds point to his contention that the entry of the United States into the war has diminished discussion of federation—there is now more talk of international institutions and limitations of sovereignty in a collective system.

In tackling post-war problems, Dr. Condliffe urges, use should be made of the agencies which are available, primarily the co-operative agencies developed by the United Nations in their joint war effort. At the same time, it must be remembered that many post-war aims will be the reverse of present war objectives. In the transition period, procedures must grow out of, but at the right moment must

make a decisive break with, methods of war-time collaboration. Inevitably the United Nations will have to assume great responsibilities; but, in the long run, no group of nations, however powerful, can maintain a peace of domination. The chief necessity now is to devise machinery for joint deliberation and decision on complexities which will not be easy to solve.

Wisely, perhaps, in view of the unknown factors, the author touches but lightly upon many controversial long-term questions. His main concern is with the transition from war to peace. Here he draws freely upon League experience. As he points out, last time there was no lack of expert technical knowledge and plans of action (provided, e.g., by the Economic and Financial Section of the League and the I.L.O.). Ways and means could have been found to arrest economic disintegration, but the immediate risks and costs loomed too large. The failure was partly of leadership and partly of public opinion.

Once more, the same danger will arise. The best laid plans of experts will go awry unless they are backed by popular understanding and support.

No summary would do justice to the successive items on Dr. Condliffe's "agenda." The peace that he visualises must be politically hard but economically generous. Piecemeal national measures, as he proves, would be costly and inefficient. He stresses that a reality must be made of Article XIX of the Covenant—"a workable and working mechanism of peaceful change and growth."

Ideas such as those outlined are the vitamins in Dr. Condliffe's book. Solid fare in the form of facts is not lacking when he comes on to practical problems such as the disposal of agricultural surpluses, the need for improved nutrition, debt and demobilisation, repayment and reparation, and international economic development. The attitude of the United States will be of prime importance in determining what degree of international co-operation is possible. Aim high is his concluding note; but be prepared to accept realistic arrangements which fall short of the goal towards which democracy is stumbling.

LESLIE R. ALDOUS.



## WORLD AFFAIRS IN PARLIAMENT

By OWEN A. RATTENBURY

Undoubtedly the outstanding event in World Affairs to record this month has been the Casablanca meeting between President Roosevelt and Mr. Winston Churchill. Its reflection in Britain and America by the speeches of the principals has been heartening in the extreme. Mr. Churchill showed all his most vivid powers of expression as he unfolded the details of his great journey. Perhaps it is best summed up in Mr. Seymour Cocks's witty words. "We all welcome his return from his marvellous and historic Odyssey. . . . At Casablanca, in the shadow of Mount Atlas, and almost in sight of the Pillars of Hercules, he and President Roosevelt emulated the feat of that ancient hero in holding up the canopy of civilisation. Then, like a modern St. Paul, he took the Atlantic Charter to Tarsus, and then finally from the clouds he descended upon sea-grit Cyprus like Venus returning to her native home. And now, after touching at Egypt and Tripoli, and regions adjoining Carthage, our wise old Ulysses has returned home to his faithful Penelope, the Deputy Prime Minister, and her handmaidens in the Cabinet, who, in his absence, I hope with the permission of the Minister of Fuel, have been keeping the home fires burning, and have not, like their originals, been just marking time and unwinding at night the red tape which they have been tangling up in the day."

There is just a shade of implied criticism in those words, but so doughty a fighter as the Premier will not complain of that. In fact the passages at arms between him and his ablest critic, Mr. Shinwell, have reached almost the harmonic tones of a Love Feast.

### North Africa

That there is criticism is healthy. One critic suggested that Mr. Churchill was even more skilful in the omissions than in his speech. He glossed over the French difficulties—in passing he paid what must be a very well-earned tribute to Mr. Harold MacMillan, our representative in North Africa. He claimed silence on the

policy of the new Service appointments—a claim which was conceded without cavil by all. In the subsequent debate, attention was drawn to the prevailing disquiet about the appointments first of all of Darlan, and after his death of Peyrouten. It is not easy to eliminate memories of such pasts. There was a very lively passage between Captain Alan Graham and Mr. S. S. Silverman. Mr. Silverman followed Captain Graham, who had deprecated interference of members of the British Parliament with French affairs. He spoke with some knowledge of French North Africa and its population, and claimed to have been one of General De Gaulle's sponsors. But he begged members not to make matters harder for the French, for General de Gaulle and General Giraud to come to reasonable terms, by butting in. He said that Conservatives in countries under Hitler's control were inclined to believe, by the Left Wing attitude, that a victory of the United Nations would mean in all these countries of Europe a bloody social revolution. Military expediency, he contended, properly utilised would achieve the victory of our highest ideals. Mr. Silverman described this speech in superlative terms as mischievous, and strongly argued against any association with Vichy. Captain Graham intervened no less than ten times during the course of this speech, so that Mr. Eden, in replying, said, "When I listened to the French controversy—which at one time seemed almost to reach the level of the French Chamber of Deputies—I felt thankful that I was not called upon to intervene between the two hon. gentlemen." He added the comforting opinion that "there are encouraging indications that Frenchmen are getting together of their own volition. The most important thing from the point of view of winning the war is that Frenchmen who want to fight the Germans should be united."

### No Secret Commitments

Mr. Eden reassured members who were apprehensive that secret commitments might have been made either by the Prime

Minister or himself, by saying that "no concessions have been granted to anybody."

We have no secret engagements or commitments of any kind to any Power at all." His one aim at the Foreign Office in this war-time had been that we should arrive at the Peace Conference without commitments that would embarrass us and our allies in trying to make the best settlement we could. In the case of North Africa "we did make political plans in connection with military operations, very close co-ordinated ones, and the staffs worked well together. But you make political plans, and then events occur which you have not foreseen. I confess that I did not think of Darlan turning up in that way. That was no doubt very backward of me and the Foreign Office, but I did not think that he would be there at that moment, in that shape and that form." That is a frank statement—the sort of thing the House greatly appreciates.

Mr. Eden said something about shackling. So far as our prisoners are concerned, we have ceased to do it. The German Government have not. They, of course, started it as a reprisal for some breach of one of their fantastic military laws, which the civilised world has since the time of the Franco-Prussian War strangely allowed them to impose on the world. However, there was a gesture in a communication that has been made to the Protecting Power, the details of which he could not mention. Something may mature out of it. Possibly before these words are printed the public may have been told more about it. Mr. Eden implied that he hoped that he would be able to say more very soon.

In connection with the announcement of the new conditions for democratising and co-ordinating the Foreign Office and Diplomatic Services, Mrs. Cazalet Keir asked a question about women in these Services. This question Mr. Eden thought should be reviewed in the light of conditions after the war rather than now. Mrs. Keir's point is that the Services are losing considerably by refusing recruitment from at least half of the possible population for this purpose.

### Fascist Laws

Socialist members are very anxious about Fascist laws still in existence in

North Africa, and also about members of the International Brigade of the Spanish War who are still in prison under the French regime there. Mr. George Strauss was assured by Mr. Eden that 903 prisoners of all types had been released in French Morocco, and that the 1,442 still retained were having their cases individually examined by the lawyers appointed to investigate them. Of the 3,965 still retained in Algeria, many were offenders against the ordinary criminal laws. The French were releasing many of these on their own account, and General Giraud had undertaken in public to continue this policy of release. General Giraud's War Council of February 6 confirmed the restoration of Jewish property and the access of Jewish children to primary and secondary schools, and other measures were being studied. On Mr. Strauss asking for an assurance that the principles of the Atlantic Charter should be applied, and that the abrogation of the Fascist laws was not a matter for the French administration only, Mr. Eden again quoted General Giraud to demonstrate that considerable progress had been made.

### The Jewish Situation

On the question of the Jews, Mr. Eden seems anxious to do all in his power to ease the situation. The Colonial Secretary, Mr. Oliver Stanley, also seems to be amenable to the appeals of humanity, within the limits of the quota so far as Palestine is concerned. What rescue possibilities there are it is hard to say, and there are some sides of it that are better kept secret. There can be no doubt of the German Nazi fury, and utter insensibility to any humane consideration. They seem to regard Jews just as cattle to be driven to the slaughter. Can even the ones and twos be saved? Can we make any pressure anywhere so long as we insist on placing restrictions on their entrance to this country—even to pass through it to safety? Here the Home Secretary does not seem to be so amenable to humane considerations as his colleagues. That may be because he does not wear his heart on his sleeve. He also seems apprehensive that the admission of more Jews would create anti-Semitism here. Hackney, of course, has a very bad record. It was the headquarters of Sir Oswald Mosley's



efforts. Mr. Morrison authorised in the six months up to December 31, 1942, 900 visas for refugees to this country. Miss Rathbone spoke of the extreme meagreness of this total, and said that the rigidity of our regulations is a serious impediment to people in Allied and neutral countries to show generosity. This Mr. Morrison considered extremely unfair. This country and the British Empire he said could stand up to distinctly favourable comparison with any other country in the world. He resented the implication that this country had not done a considerable amount. Miss Rathbone pressed an opinion

that is the result of her vision of the horrible things that are happening to Jews.

To get them out of that hell she evidently thinks we should abandon the precautionary measures which the Home Secretary seems to think are necessary. At present there is nothing more to be said except that to the Jews suffering these terrors on the fringes of German occupied countries, and who might possibly be got away, a concentration camp, closely guarded and with every possible precaution taken, would be very heaven in comparison to the prospects if once they are taken East.

## A NEW IDEALISM

By JOHN T. CATTERALL

Mankind was never in greater need than now of a general theory of life and conduct, of some centralising concept of life's meaning. It is universally conceded that the forces and institutions which heretofore served to rationalise endeavour have lost their grip. With a united voice we acknowledge our spiritual bankruptcy and confess our impotence. And, if we were silent, world-shaking events would proclaim the fact: "Day unto day uttereth speech and night unto night showeth knowledge." This is by no means a superficial aspect of the times. It is not an "unbelief born of a greater belief." That we have lost our sense of direction is not due to recent events; but it has become increasingly evident with the rise of Fascism in Italy, Nazism in Germany, and State Absolutism in Japan.

The conversion of this fair world of ours into a gigantic slaughter-house is not the work of a few sinister motivated men. Individuals are only powerful at the present day so far as they are the exponents of the condition and collective aspirations of large bodies of men. The

sad reflection is found in the fact that "the masters of the world" took no effective heed to comprehend the crisis in its incipient and developing stages . . . they appeared oblivious of the approaching storm. The war, by its increasing momentum, made our drift obvious. An event of such magnitude and significance pushes men out of their customary grooves of behaviour and so of feeling and thinking. For a time this may be quite direct and indicative of spontaneity, but inevitably self-consciousness supervenes and then men find themselves in a world of topsyturvydom.

### Crisis and Challenge

This spiritual collapse is the philosopher's opportunity. With every justification he can devote himself to achieving a new ideal. Indeed, he can do no other. In the words of William James, "Those who can insist that the ideal and the real are dynamically continuous are those by whom the world is to be saved." Here is an end to which the idealist must devote his energies and one worthy of his best powers. It can readily be

perceived that the present offers an unusual opportunity for the realisation of a new and better manner of life. If the extraordinary vital energy seeking effective means of expression in the world to-day can be brought up to make common cause with intelligence and goodwill, if impulse and reason can be correlated, the result will be of incalculable benefit to mankind. We have heard much in recent years of a crisis in civilisation. The crisis is real enough and it is this: Will man accept his present spiritual poverty as in the nature of things, or will he recognise it as the opportunity to win for the human race the most promising orientation of life yet known? What calling can be more important or more noble?

### The Meaning of Unity

The elimination of traditional barriers between nations will make for the removal of fear and suspicion and the promotion of mutual confidence. The repudiation of extreme National Sovereignty is inevitable if friendly co-operation is to supersede fratricidal competition. Dissolution is in the very air we breathe. The old forms of competitive rivalry are tottering. Among the thoughtful men of every creed and country there is a note of spiritual wistfulness and optimistic expectancy.

Leaving aside the fanaticism developed by Adolf Hitler and his associates, the leaders of every historical civilisation to-day are convinced that mankind in all its extent and history is a single organism, worshipful in its growing majesty and potentialities, capable of a progress to which none dare set any bounds. Dante proclaimed, "There is not one goal for this civilisation and one for that, but for the civilisation of mankind there is a single goal." This does not mean that all

shall speak a common tongue or worship at a common shrine, or that all shall live under a single government, or that all shall follow an unchanging pattern in customs and manners. The unity of civilisation will not be found in uniformity but in harmony. The faith of the future is in co-operation and not identification, in accommodation to our fellow men and not in imitation of them, in toleration and not absolutism.

### Domination or Commonwealth

There are two ways in which the realisation of the world unity can be achieved—world domination or world commonwealth. The former is impossible as nationalism is standing barrier to its accomplishment. This dream is not realisable without a fight to the finish, and the Axis Powers have neither the means nor the strength to overcome the rest of the world. The Author of the Universe has not made mankind a homogeneous whole. He has made the nations of different races. A method of merging national aims in a higher synthesis, and national endeavour, is being pursued by the Allied Nations, and every people must contribute its quota to the enterprise. National freedom is the indispensable prerequisite of international co-operation. The genius of each people has a right to recognition, and it must be the aim and endeavour of the whole world to grant all nations freedom.

Truly, in the words of James Russell Lowell,

"Mankind are one in spirit, and an instinct bears along,  
Round the earth electric circle, the  
swift flash of right or wrong."

More, than ever, in these days, "Humanity's vast frame, through its ocean Sundered fibres, feels the gush of joy or shame." More than ever do we feel the stirring of "some great cause," when "the choice goes by forever 'twixt that darkness and that light."



# THE I.L.O. AND EDUCATION

By CLIFTON ROBBINS

(General Relations Officer of the London Branch of the International Labour Office)

I trust it will not be thought, whenever a subject takes the middle of the stage in national discussions regarding reconstruction, that, by hook or by crook, I try to show that it is in some way related to the work of the I.L.O. It was pretty obvious that the Beveridge Report would be of direct interest to an international organisation dealing with improved standards of labour conditions. It will be even more obvious that any discussion of plans for "full employment" will have the same direct bearing on the work of the I.L.O. Is it, however, so clear that the I.L.O. should be linked up in one's mind with education?

## A Long Perspective

To my mind there is no doubt of it, not only from the general but from the particular point of view. From the general point of view one might say that the well-worn line "the child is father to the man" has its special application to the worker of the future. If we consider that the aim of "the century of the common man" is to give him a fuller life, then it is impossible to start one's consideration of his problems at the age of eighteen, or even fifteen: the whole picture must be seen in a very long perspective and the education a child receives is part of the pattern. The value of a young person going into industry at fifteen is likely to be greatly diminished, both to himself and to the community, if the years before that have been neglected from the educational point of view. The fixing of the

minimum age of employment by International Labour Conventions at fifteen obviously only gains its true value if it is related to the school leaving age; and the school leaving age is only itself of value if the most satisfactory education is provided up to that time. No apology, therefore, is needed for suggesting that the I.L.O. has this deep interest; but so much is being thought and written about the future of education by men and women with intimate knowledge of future requirements that it is not for me to make any detailed comments.

With regard to the particular side of the subject, the I.L.O. has a direct interest in the education of the young person as a worker. For some years now the decline of the old craftsmanship has been generally deplored. The increased mechanisation of industry has led to more and more specialisation, which not only gives better opportunities to a select number of technically trained workers but also seems to have reduced a large number to uninteresting and unimaginative repetitive work. The process is likely to develop rather than to diminish. Specialisation will increase whether we like the idea or not. Is it possible to avoid a large population of machine slaves and work towards what might be called a new craftsmanship?

So we come back to the possibility of encouraging technical education in the widest possible sense—fitting the young worker to take a suitable and satisfying place in the industrial life of the community.

## Unheeded Events

In the tangled year between Munich and the outbreak of war events moved

at such a speed in the political field that events in other directions during that period are not always realised. The International Labour Conference met in June, 1939, and adopted important Recommendations on Vocational Training and Apprenticeship. The Recommendation on Vocational Training said: "Compulsory education, which should be entirely general in character, should provide for all children a preparation developing an idea of, taste for, and esteem for manual work, these being an indispensable part of a general education and likely to facilitate future vocational guidance. The proposed preparation should aim, in particular, at training the eye and hand of the child by means of practical work, but the importance and character of this work should be consistent with the general purposes of compulsory education. In drawing up the programme of practical work, the nature of the principal industries in the locality or district might be taken into account, but any attempt at vocational training should be avoided. This preparation, which should extend over a period of at least one year, should begin at the latest at the age of thirteen years and continue until the end of the period of compulsory education."

The Recommendation advocated the establishment of a network of schools in each country where technical and vocational instruction should be free, and suggestions were made as to organisation of courses and the facilitation of attendance by the grant of economic assistance. Equal rights should be given to workers of both sexes and appropriate facilities should be provided for occupations in which women and girls are mainly employed, including domestic employment and activities. Regional, national and international exchanges of students, who have completed their training, would be desirable so as to enable them to acquire wider knowledge and experience.

## Another Notable Recommendation

At the same time the Conference adopted a Recommendation suggesting various measures for the national organisation of apprenticeship. It is worthy of note that at an earlier Conference held in 1935, a Recommendation regarding the unemployment of young persons had contained the following clause: "Juveniles over the school leaving age who are unable to find suitable employment should, where the organisation of the schools allows, be required to continue full-time attendance at school until suitable employment is available for them."

Most of this happened a month or so before the outbreak of war, and it is not surprising that little has been heard of it since that time. The Recommendations of the 1939 Conference were discussed in detail by men and women of great experience from the various countries and, as will be seen from what has been said, a great deal of thought and wisdom was put into the framing of the proposals. Thus there exists what might be called an international code for the young worker to which any national education scheme can be related. Solid foundations have been dug on which a permanent structure may be erected in the years after the war.

## L.R.F. BUFFET LUNCH

Mr. P. J. NOEL BAKER, M.P.

(Parliamentary Secretary to Ministry of War Transport)

ON

"WORLD PEACE—  
AND HOW"

March 9, 1943, at 1 p.m.

Y.W.C.A. Lounge, Gt. Russell St., W.C.1



## UP AND DOWN THE COUNTRY

Mr. Clifton Robbins—"still an enthusiast after 24 years with the I.L.O."—succeeded in conveying some of his enthusiasm to the audience at the February Buffet Lunch arranged by the LONDON REGIONAL FEDERATION. "We in the I.L.O.," said the speaker, "are in danger just now of being swamped by the good things said about us"—by Mr. Eden and others. When war came, the I.L.O. did not go entirely on the rocks, although it did have to lower speed in dangerous channels. Since the year before last, however, it had been steadily increasing its tempo. The International Labour Conference in New York had been "a staggering event" in the middle of war. Referring to the Beveridge Report, with its great merit of attempting to *unify* social insurance, Mr. Robbins reminded his hearers that it was during the life of the I.L.O. that social insurance had gone ahead at an extraordinary pace. We could not look at the national picture by itself—a world movement was going on that wasn't always realised. How much better it was if all nations did this sort of thing at the same time! Then, as regards full employment, he defied anybody to find a solution as a national problem.

A "Good Will Labour Charter," based on the I.L. Conventions, which the nations would agree to apply after the war, and the inclusion of social advisers in the post-war commissions visiting the various countries, were steps which Mr. Robbins said he would like to see.

More than 500 people attended the United Service arranged in the HARROW "Coliseum" by our local Branch. The Dean of St. Paul's gave an inspiring address. Singing was led by the choirs of local churches, and accompanied by the combined Kodak and Brotherhood Orchestra. On the platform were the Rural Dean and other local clergy, the Chairman of the Council wearing his chain of office, together with other Councillors and leading citizens. "It was an experiment," writes the Branch Secretary, "and one well worth making."

In addition to outspoken comments on the complex political situation in North Africa, M. François Eyriey (head of the

Broadcasting Section of Fighting French Headquarters) gave the STREATHAM BRANCH a hopeful picture of "The Future of France." France's collapse he attributed to her being bled white from within. Her soldiers found bayonets and strong hearts a poor match for bombers and tanks. But the real spirit of France was being shown by the resistance of the French workers. Touching upon reconstruction, he looked forward to a tremendous pooling of resources among nations.

The report of the International Brains Trust organised by the STREATHAM BRANCH last September brought the *Streatham News* a letter of critical comment from a local man serving with the R.A.F. in Canada. Sir Ralph Wedgwood, one of the members of the Brains Trust, took the opportunity to send a reasoned reply which was published in the newspaper.

Recent L.N.U. meetings up and down the country have shown an amazing variety as regards both subjects and speakers. CHICHESTER felt that the visit of M. Andre Philip (Fighting France) was an outstanding event; and another good meeting there was addressed by Mr. S. K. Chow (China). Major-General J. W. van Oorschot (Holland) spoke for the Union at SHEFFIELD. In the course of a visit to NORTHAMPTON, Mlle. Halphen (Fighting France) addressed the Rotary Club, the Notre-Dame Convent School, and a joint-L.N.U. Branch and Methodist Guild meeting. Here, too, two lectures were arranged for troops. At LAMBETH Mr. Emmanuel Abraham (Ethiopia) gave a talk on "My Country and My People." Mrs. Barclay Carter spoke on "America" at WALLINGTON. Mr. R. Thurneyssen on "War Guilt" at ST. ALBANS, and Dr. A. Gregory on "The Problem of Poland" at WITHINGTON.

BOURNEMOUTH BRANCH heard Mr. J. E. Parry on "Freedom through Planning." SOUTHBOURNE, IFORD and TUCKTON BRANCHES held a joint annual business and social meeting. At BOSCOMBE, Mr. Kenneth Ingram was the speaker.

Mr. Vernon Bartlett, M.P., visited our MONTAGUE BURTON BRANCH at Leeds. Miss Freda White spoke at KINGSTON (Technical College) on "Colonial Settle-

ment," and at LETCHWORTH on "What the League is Doing Now." Mrs. Badcock spoke at HIGHGATE (Study Group) on "China and the Far East." "The Future of the Jews" was Mrs. E. Dugdale's subject at STREATHAM. LEAMINGTON had two meetings with Mr. Jaya Deva and Mrs. Corbett Ashby as the speakers. At RUGBY Mr. Jaya Deva also addressed both the School and the Rotary Club.

A novel feature of the public meeting arranged by the EAST FINCHLEY BRANCH in the Public Library was the reading of a book list on international questions by the speaker, the Editor of HEADWAY, with reasons for his choice. Thanks to the co-operation of the Librarian, many of the books mentioned were on view in the vestibule.

The MORECAMBE BRANCH expects to get new members as a result of the interest aroused locally by its Brains Trust. Questions were answered by Mr. H. Walton Starkey (Lytham), Miss P. Fetherston, and Mr. W. Popplestone (chairman of the Branch), with the Rev. T. Greenaway as question master.

Other Branch meetings were as follows:—Sir Harry Luke at HURTWOOD; Mr. K. Zilliacus at READING; Mr. J. Knox Taylor at TILEHURST; Mr. J. Macdonald at PADDINGTON and ST. JOHN'S WOOD; Miss E. M. Waite at WELWYN GARDEN CITY; Miss C. Lodge at REDDITCH; and Mr. John T. Catterall on "The Present Work of the League" at BARNET.

The following ROTARY CLUBS were among those which had L.N.U. speakers during February: HACKNEY, Mrs. Corbett Ashby on "Four Weeks in Neutral Sweden"; MITCHAM, Major-General van Oorschot; ST. PANCRAS, Captain Briasgaard (Norway); KINGSTON, Mrs. E. Dugdale on "The Problem of the Jews"; COLCHESTER, Mr. C. W. Litvinne (Yugoslavia), Dr. Gustav Stern ("Central Europe") and Mr. L. R. Aldous ("Peace and Social Justice"); GUILDFORD and SLOUGH, Mr. C. W. Litvinne; ST. ALBANS, Mr. S. L. Hourmiouziou (Greece); MAIDENHEAD, Mrs. Riley (Fighting France); CARSHALTON and TWICKENHAM, Mr. John T. Catterall; and EDMONTON and STREATHAM, Mr. Jaya Deva on the Far East.

A fine, enthusiastic meeting of the WOLVERHAMPTON PEOPLE'S FORUM heard

Mr. John T. Catterall. At the NORTHAMPTON MEN'S OWN BROTHERHOOD, M. François Eyriey spoke on "The Evolution of French Resistance."

WOMEN'S INSTITUTES which had L.N.U. speakers during February included STANSTEAD ABBOT (Mr. Jaya Deva); BOURNE END (Dr. Hella Lambridi, Greece); OLD FELIXSTOWE (Miss Hebe Spaul on Russia), and CLAINES (Miss Olive Lodge).

Our GERRARD'S CROSS AND CHALFONT ST. PETER BRANCH deserves congratulations on the result of its "Aid to China" effort. A public meeting was organised with a talk on "China" by Sir Meyrick Hewlett, K.C.M.G. The collection enabled £49 2s. 6d. to be sent to the United Aid to China Fund.

## PERSONAL

HEADWAY, on behalf of all readers and all members of the L.N.U., wishes to extend to Mr. H. S. SYRETT, the Union's Hon. Treasurer, deepest sympathy in his recent tragic bereavement. Mrs. Syrett, who was also a good friend to the Union, died suddenly after an operation.

We also regret to record the death of MRS. M. E. DOWNER, for many years one of the L.N.U.'s staff speakers.

We often receive enquiries about the welfare of Mr. F. L. WHELEN, formerly our senior staff speaker, who was unable to escape from France at the time of the German occupation. A member of the Executive has just received the following letter from Mr. Whelen in Paris, dated October 14, 1942:—

"Delighted receive message. Cordial greetings to your household. Greatly look forward to our next meeting. Chief activities here remembering friends and reading."

## BRAINS TRUSTS

The Branch Workers' Conference, which met during the General Council last November, recommended that Branches should be advised on the desirability of using the "Brains Trust" method at meetings. In accordance with this recommendation, hints on the conduct of Brains Trusts and sample questions have been prepared, and may be had on application to Headquarters.



## BOOKS OF THE MONTH

**THE BRITISH WAY.** Pamphlets Nos. 1 to 5, various authors. (Craig and Wilson, Glasgow. 1s. each.)

This admirable new series of pamphlets may be likened to a satisfying five-course meal attractively served. The tasteful coloured covers entice the reader to sample the contents, and it is speedily revealed that a strong team of authors has done a good job of work. All start from the broad assumption that the British outlook and way of life hold something of enduring value at this moment of history—not in any narrowly nationalistic sense, but because our right to survive is conditional on the contribution which we can make to the building of the post-war world.

In *A COMMENT ON BRITISH DEMOCRACY*, Sir Hector Hetherington shows how it is a merit of democracy to raise co-operation to the highest point and contrasts this with the irresponsibility of dictatorship. It makes possible a fair adjustment between professional planning and lay experience. The chief fault is that democracy tends to be too slow, hence in war its normal procedures have to be modified.

Discussing *THE TEMPER OF BRITISH IDEALS*, Professor John Laird argues that what we have won in the democratic way is none the worse because it does not pretend to be final. Liberties such as freedom of speech are of little worth unless coupled with opportunities for equipping one's mind to say something knowledgeable. In such matters as Education, Law, tolerance in religion, and colonial methods, our broad record is creditable in the past and hopeful for the future; but we must be prepared to adapt ourselves to great and sudden changes.

Mr. A. K. White, in *THE BRITISH METHOD OF GOVERNMENT*, makes out a strong case for discussion, debate and conference as the best method of government—certainly a superior method to the alternatives of government by force or that refinement of force, mass suggestion. But there is need for instruction in discussion, and the conduct of modern affairs demands intelligence and co-operation.

This leads on naturally to Professor Andrew Browning's analysis of *BRITISH POLITICAL INSTRUCTIONS*. With its flexibility and experience, the structure is at

least as well designed as any other, and the capacity for adjusting itself to changing ideas and circumstances is greater. Our political life has inevitably suffered as a result of the long period lived in the shadow of war. The vital need is to combine efficiency and dispatch with the popular control required by British democratic outlook.

Lastly, Mr. A. L. Macfie, in *THE BRITISH WAY IN WORLD TRADE*, provides a rapid survey of the development of trade and its collapse into anarchy. He shows that, in the armed peace between two wars, the creative type of world investment could not and did not proceed, for the tendency was to keep funds as liquid as possible. Trouble was brewing when the U.S.A. "turned off the tap," and Germany systematically set about using economic power for the purpose of political domination. The necessary foundation of political security did not exist. International organs of permanent control and power will be essential after the war to maintain economic stability, and the fatal attraction of short cuts must be avoided. Britain and the U.S.A. will necessarily occupy key positions. Leadership from them will help to ensure the provision of the necessary machinery. Whether or not the world again becomes a breeding ground for new Hitlers and Mussolinis will depend largely upon their strong and clear determination.

**FRANCE'S UNCENSORED PRESS.** (*Volontaire*, 108, Gloucester Place, W.1. 9d.)

The clandestine newspapers of France—the true voice of the French people—are not easy to come by in this country, but copies are smuggled over to the Fighting French in London. They are written, printed and distributed at the risk of French people's liberty and life. Here, in an English translation, and as near as possible in the original lay-out, you can read what some of these papers—*Liberation*, *Combat*, *Le Populaire* and *La Voix du Nord*—have been telling their readers.

**CHILDREN IN BONDAGE.** (Longmans, Green and Co. 3s. 6d.)

The Save the Children Fund, in common with other voluntary organisations

with international affiliations, has set up a special Committee to consider the problems of post-war reconstruction in Europe. This survey of child life in the occupied countries and in Finland is an extremely moving human document. Conditions vary greatly in the various countries, as this mass of evidence shows. Everywhere, however, material hardships are bringing in their train serious moral dangers for Europe's citizens of to-morrow. It is pointed out that, terrible as are the conditions now revealed, they must become more dire as the resources of each country are further depleted by the ruthless exploitation of the German Government.

**MANUAL OF SOVIET ENTERPRISE.** By J. T. Murphy. (John Crowther, Ltd. 1s. 6d.)

Mr. Murphy, who has written for *HEADWAY*, is War Office Official Lecturer to H.M. Forces on Russian Affairs, and in the past year has delivered more than 300 lectures to troops. Here he answers the chief questions about our Soviet Ally which have been hurled at him; for "what the armed forces want to know about Russia the civilians want to know." They range from "What and where is the U.S.S.R.?" to "Will the Anglo-Soviet Treaty of Alliance be maintained when the fighting has ceased?"

**BASIC FOR SCIENCE.** By C. K. Ogden. (Kegan Paul. 2s. 6d.)

Those who have been interested by the controversy on "Words for All Nations" in our correspondence columns may be glad to know of this little volume prepared by the Director of the Orthological Institute. He explains how, in connection with Basic English, special word lists have been drawn up to serve the needs of international science. Examples of writings on scientific subjects, some the work of noted writers put into Basic and others written directly in Basic, comprise most of the book.

The L.N.U. BOOK SHOP has in stock a limited number of copies of two of the earlier books by Mr. K. Zilliacus ("Roth Williams"). These can be supplied at half-price—"The League of Nations Today" (1923) at 3s. and "The League, the Protocol and the Empire" (1925) at 2s. 6d.

## LEAGUE PUBLICATIONS

**THE NETWORK OF WORLD TRADE.** (Allen and Unwin, League of Nations Publications. 10s.)

So great was the initial demand for this timely volume that, within a week or two, the League's agents in this country exhausted all supplies; but fresh stocks are on their way. In a previous survey of *EUROPE'S TRADE*, published last year, the League's Economic Intelligence Service showed the extent to which Europe was normally dependent upon external markets, just as external markets were dependent upon her. Now this further analysis of seventeen geographical regions and eight political groups of countries underlines the essential unity of world trade, as an inevitable consequence of the complexity of the trade of each area. Failure to understand the functioning of the system helped to bring about the depression of the '30s. Undoubtedly the war will modify the pattern of world trade. Yet the success or failure of commercial policies in the post-war period will largely depend upon an understanding of the inescapably multilateral nature of international trade.

**WARTIME RATIONING AND CONSUMPTION.** (Allen and Unwin, League of Nations Publications 3s. 6d.)

In an extremely compact form, the Economic and Intelligence Service has reviewed all types of rationing and the experience of a very large number of countries. The material collected from Europe is especially illuminating, showing as it does the real meaning of Hitler's "New Order." By the manipulation of foodstocks at the expense of other countries, Nazi Germany has to some extent protected herself for the time being. Although deficient in animal proteins, fats, minerals and vitamins, the shortage of calories has apparently not yet become critical. But the other nations, including so-called friends and "partners" in the New Order, have to pay. In Italy and in Spain, as well as in all occupied countries with the possible exception of Denmark, the food situation is very bad. Not only are legal rations much lower than in Germany, but these rations are more often than not unobtainable in the shops. Prices, too, have risen out of all proportion.



## FROM HEADWAY'S POST-BAG

### A New Zealand Critic

Sir,—If I understand aright the accounts recently appearing in HEADWAY, there is a demand for the punishment of "war criminals." It is a pity that the arguments for and against are not given more fully, for those who would like to be interested.

If I am not greatly mistaken, Britain's greatest successes internationally have come from a combination of justice and mercy. I do not mean to infer that Hitler or his henchmen are entitled to, or would even understand, mercy. My concern is about the German people who, whilst no doubt responsible for enduring as their leader an arch criminal, are yet in some sense the victims of their present despots. After all, Hitler is the leader of the German people, however bad a leader he may be. Will it help matters if we make a peace which conditions the execution of Hitler and other war criminals? Will it tend to bridge or to widen the gap impeding our reconciliation with the German nation? We surely do not despair of the hope that the German people will some day become decent citizens internationally.

Further, if we round up and consign to the gallows all the enemy war lords, we might—in the eyes of the German people—make an army of martyrs out of a pack of criminals. Fears of punishment do not weigh so much with the criminal as whether he can carry off the prize. And, if it comes to war guilt, have our own statesmen or we ourselves been wholly innocent in the matter of our defences against war, or in the study of those social and economic conditions which render war possible?

Would it have made the reconciliation of Britain and France easier or more difficult if Napoleon had been executed instead of held prisoner?

"DOUBTFUL."

Paihia, Bay of Islands, New Zealand.

[Our correspondent, we gather, has a lurking idea that it is proposed to round up war criminals and execute them summarily. Their trial by proper legal methods and appropriate punishment—not necessarily execution—is a different proposition. "Justice must be done upon the wicked and the guilty," as Mr. Churchill has reminded us. Further, that is the only hope of averting indiscriminate vengeance and massacre. As regards the responsibility of ourselves and our own statesmen, there is a world of difference between these sins of omission and the inhuman atrocities bound up with the Nazi régime.—ED.]

### Russian Foreign Policy

Sir,—Substituting brevity for prolixity may I reply to C. L. Berry's criticism of my letter?

(1) The U.S.S.R. has already given the assurance demanded, and Finland (who would not have achieved independence but for the Revolution) need have no fears. The U.S.S.R. blundered politically in invading Finland for strategic reasons. But did we ask Iceland's permission to go there?

(2) Poland. Polish militarists, by force, went east of the Curzon line. Let the peoples concerned decide, including those of E. Prussia also; for I have, since writing last, heard a Polish officer-lecturer demand its incorporation. Perhaps Stalin and Sikorski can agree amicably to a plebiscite in all doubtful areas, under disinterested surveillance. (In passing, the languages of White Russia and W. Ukraine are almost Russian, and very different from Polish).

(3) Baltic provinces, Bessarabia, etc. Let the peoples decide in a secret ballot.

(4) The U.S.S.R. is justified, in view of the past, to insist in any settlement on effective guarantees that her smaller neighbours will not again become rallying and jumping-off grounds for anti-Soviet forces. The best guarantee would, of course, be genuine democratic "good-neighbour" governments in those countries.

(5) To criticise Poland's wild men, past and present, is not to criticise Poland of unhappy history. Why, her greatest son, Paderewski, pianist and President, became so disgusted with the militarists that he gave up office and went abroad to live.

London, W.1.

A. HENRY.

### "Appeasement"

Sir,—It is much to be deplored that when the urgent need is for co-operation both now and for the post-war period, your correspondent, Mr. B. Lingwood, should endeavour to pervert the columns of HEADWAY to the uses of purely party propaganda. In the light of what we know to-day it is easy enough to denounce the exponents of appeasement, but which of us, whatever his politics, outside the L. of N.U. or indeed inside, was willing to face up to and pay the full price of the opposite policy of physical, and not merely moral, rearmament. What backing had Mr. Churchill in all those precious years while there was yet time? We were ready enough to "kill Kruger with our mouths," but that was about as far as it went.

As for Munich, it is no disparagement to our heroic Ally to point out that Russia's non-aggression pact of 1939 was appeasement on as grand a scale as is her resistance to Fascism to-day; and I do not suppose that Mr. Lingwood would call Stalin's a "reactionary régime." The plain truth is that all of us,

right, left, and centre, were united in our horror and detestation of war, and were willing to go to extreme, and, as we realise now, unjustifiable lengths to avoid it.

Charlbury, Oxon. J. DE G. DELMEGE.

Sir,—Referring to W. Ramsay Sibbald's letter in HEADWAY for January, 1943, I can certify as an A.R.P. Warden at the time in an important borough in London that Mr. Chamberlain, by his action at Munich, gained valuable time as against "gas attacks."

New Malden. E. G. S. TROTTER  
(Lieut-Col.).

Sir,—I should like to enter a very strong protest against Mr. Ramsay Sibbald's virulent attack against the late Mr. Chamberlain. Admittedly Mr. Chamberlain made mistakes—the chief one, I suppose, being that of imagining other people to be as sincere and well-meaning as himself. But, even if the accusations made against him were true (which is a matter of opinion), that does not justify a cowardly and un-English attack on one who is not here to defend himself.

Milford-on-Sea. (Miss) E. MANDERS.

(This correspondence must now close.—ED.)

### Social Security

Sir,—Members of the L.N.U. have always, I think, realised that Social Security must play a big part in the building of a Secure World Order, and that insecurity and poverty are not conducive to a happy and contented people.

It is therefore with regret that I see little reference to the Beveridge Report in the recent issues of HEADWAY. I feel, as many others, that the Report is a great social advance and believe that we, as an organisation, should let our approval of this Report be known.

Already there are indications that President Roosevelt is pressing for a similar scheme and it is to be hoped that other countries may in time follow the lead that the Beveridge Report has given.

It is to be hoped that members of the L.N.U. will give the Beveridge Report all the support it deserves against the "vested interests" which will certainly oppose the scheme in due course.

York.

NORMAN R. KEEDWELL.

[The Beveridge Report is a highly important document; but we must keep it in perspective. Social insurance is but one part of the larger problem of Social Security; and moreover the L.N.U.'s primary concern is with its international aspects. Also, as cannot be too often emphasised, no country can enjoy social security until the menace of war is removed.

Readers may not be generally aware of the extent to which the I.L.O. helped in the pre-

paration of the Beveridge Report. We quote paragraph 36 of Part I:—

"The main problems of social security are common to all nations. In order to be sure that, in making their survey, the Committee had the benefit of the experience of other nations, so far as it could be made available in the abnormal circumstances of the time, they sought the help of the International Labour Office, which arranged for Dr. Oswald Stein, Head of the Social Insurance Section, and one of his chief assistants, Mr. Maurice Stack, to visit Britain for the purpose of conferring with the Committee. This visit was stimulating and informing in the highest degree. It is appropriate that the Committee should express in warm terms their gratitude for the help thus afforded by the International Labour Office. Some comparisons between the present British schemes, the proposals of this Report and the practice of other nations are given in Appendix F."—ED.]

### Words for All Nations

Sir,—Your correspondent, Mr. Sidney Dark, pleads that something may be done straight away about "a Universal language" on the ground that "the need for something of the kind is imperative." He will, I think, be pleased to learn that, since this correspondence began in HEADWAY, the British Association's Committee on Post-war University Education has produced an interim report recommending, *inter alia*, that "Apart altogether from the academic study of language and literature, every university should require its students to be able to make themselves understood, by speech and writing, in some one auxiliary means of international communication." This interim report was published last November. It refers to an earlier report in which another British Association Committee reached the following conclusions:

- (i) Latin is too difficult to serve as an international auxiliary language.
- (ii) The adoption of any modern national language would confer undue advantages and excite jealousy.
- (iii) Therefore an invented language is best. Esperanto and Ido are suitable but the Committee is not prepared to decide between them.

That was in 1921. The new interim report of November, 1942, says that, in the changed conditions after the second world war, "any auxiliary means of communication will have to be closely related to the English language and to be such that the learning of it is a direct step towards learning English." In view of the claim that the learning of Basic English provides the most rapid and effective approach to



the study of ordinary English (of which Basic forms a self-contained part), the Committee on Post-war University Education is now consulting a number of bodies and persons on the question whether Basic English is the most suitable auxiliary means of international communication now available for universal use by university students and others; and, if not, which alternative is to be preferred.

MAXWELL GARNETT.

Park Town, Oxford.

### By Airgraph

Sir,—Dr. Maxwell Garnett points to a golden opportunity which will never recur. Of the thirty United Nations no less than six are English-speaking, i.e., in their homes the people speak the language of the Atlantic Charter for which all are fighting. The others certainly are making great sacrifices, but they stand to gain most so far—their very homes in most cases—and what chance would even Russia have without the English-speaking peoples' lend-lease aid? All are now loyally enthusiastic behind us, and should welcome the proposal to give the small amount of time asked of them to learn Basic English.

If we let slip this chance, who knows what may not happen after the war when the vast millions of China, Russia, India, and other places are free to develop their kinds of civilisation and culture. Absorbed as they will be in their own development, and outnumbering us so greatly, there is a real danger that unless we establish *now* this link of Basic

English, the other nations may tend to forget what they owe to English, the language of the free, and may even adopt something like Esperanto, which would give to all English-speaking people no more than equality with Czechs, Frenchmen and Chinese. In that event, could we be sure of being able to maintain our position of leadership, of getting our way in the peace? Yet where would the world be to-day without English-speaking leadership? Surely it is our bounden duty to others to maintain that leadership, and Basic English looks like a valuable ally to that end.

True, as Dr. Garnett says, Basic English is not to be looked on as a language. But, maybe it is good enough for communications with foreigners; and, moreover, it may tend to limit our direct contacts with them to those who have degrees.

c/o G.P.O., London.

C. M. CATHER.

## TO CORRESPONDENTS

HEADWAY'S post-bag becomes heavier and heavier. We regret that space will not permit of our publishing more than a selection of letters received. That selection we try to make as representative as possible. Certain letters, held over from the present issue, will be published next month. Once again, however, we appeal to readers to make their letters short and to the point.—EDITOR.

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