

HEADWAY

IN WAR-TIME

The Journal of the League of Nations

BRITISH LIBRARY

21 JUL 1943

UNION POLITICAL AND
ECONOMIC SCIENCE

No. 38

NOVEMBER 1942

PRICE 3d

EDITORIAL

OFFENSIVE FOR VICTORY

The past few weeks, with their remarkable crop of revealing speeches from Allied and Axis leaders, have quickened a general expectancy that crucial decisions, to be followed by decisive happenings, are in the offing. Trenchant words from Mr. Churchill, President Roosevelt and General Smuts have stirred the spirits of the peoples of the United Nations like a fanfare of trumpets. The notes of virile optimism sounded by each of these statesmen are too well harmonised to be merely fortuitous. Contrast has inevitably been made with the uncertain, petulant undertones detected in the most recent statements by Hitler and his lieutenants.

Words may be balanced against words, but one fundamental consideration remains: Our hopes must still be concentrated on our own positive efforts rather than on any decline in the power of the Axis. The temptation to read into each utterance of the enemy those very indications of growing doubt and confusion that we want to find there is so insidious that none of us can be completely proof against the inclination. Granted there is evidence to support the Prime Minister's intuitive judgment when, as in his Edinburgh speech, he hears above the customary boastings and threats of Hitler, Goering and Ribbentrop "the dull, low whining note

of fear." Confirmation is to be found in the steady stream of reports, coming from Germany and the occupied countries, pointing to ever greater stress and tension. But, whatever grim shadow of retribution may be darkening over the Nazis, it would be fatal to assume too eagerly that the Axis is on the verge of cracking either on the home front or in the field. The crack, when it does come, may well come suddenly—but probably not until, in some theatre of war, German arms have sustained a damaging defeat. Meanwhile, the Allied purpose must be to hasten that day of defeat. The *Frankfurter Zeitung* has got near the truth for once in reminding us that a stalemate would, in present circumstances, be the equivalent of a victory for Germany. It would, in fact, be no more than a breathing space in Germany's war of domination.

A sounder appraisal of Allied prospects is therefore to be derived from cumulative evidence that, as General Smuts said on his arrival in this country, "we enter upon a new phase, when the defensive can be replaced by the offensive, and the war can be prevented from dragging on endlessly to the destruction of all the material apparatus of our civilisation."

The Peace to Follow

"With the coming of the offensive stage in our war effort," continued General Smuts, "our thoughts should also begin to turn to the end, and to the conditions which may follow the end, of this greatest tragedy in the history of our race. This is a man-made war, and the peace to follow it should not prove beyond human capacity—beyond the untapped sources of wisdom and planning, foresight and good will, which are still the portion of our race." During his stay in Britain, said General Smuts, he hoped to discuss with our leaders "this most important of all problems before us—the winning of the peace to follow the winning of the war."

"Win the war and win the peace" had already been chosen by Mr. Churchill as the theme of his message to the Central Council of the Conservative Party Organisation on October 1. While nothing must ever be permitted to divert our energies from the urgent war duties that are imposed upon us, "neither, however, must we be taken unawares when victory on the field of battle has at length been won. It is right and desirable that informed forethought should be given to the complex problems of rehabilitation and reconstruction that will await solution when the perils that now threaten us daily are overpast." The need to be prepared to put in hand plans of reconstruction at the right moment had never been absent from the minds of the Government, but this, Mr. Churchill stressed, did not absolve others from pursuing their own surveys with the object of making contributions to the common pool.

President Roosevelt, although his main purpose in his "fireside talk" on October 13 was to talk to a domestic audience on America's mobilisation of war potential and man-power, took the opportunity to emphasise that "It is useless to win a war unless it stays won . . . We are united in seeking the

kind of victory that will guarantee that our grandchildren can grow and, under God, may live their lives free from the constant threat of invasion, destruction, slavery and violent death."

Punishment of War Criminals

HEADWAY'S Parliamentary Correspondent, this month, outlines the recent debate in the House of Lords on "The Punishment of War Criminals." It is appropriate to recall here the important spadework in connection with this problem which for some time the London International Assembly, a representative body of people from all the principal United Nations now resident in London, has been doing. The proposals published in last month's HEADWAY were the result of a detailed study made by a mixed commission of jurists and laymen. They were first presented to the full Assembly by Dr. de Baer, Chief of the Belgian Courts of Justice in Great Britain, at its anniversary meeting held in the Goldsmiths' Hall on September 28, when the principal speakers included Lord Maugham (who opened the House of Lords debate) and Dr. de Moor, President of the Dutch Maritime Courts in this country.

At a further meeting, on October 12, the Assembly expressed its warm appreciation of the action taken by Lord Maugham in raising this matter in the House of Lords and of the speech by Lord Cecil on that occasion. After further consideration of the proposals of its own Commission in the light of the parallel pronouncements made by the Lord Chancellor and President Roosevelt, it unanimously urged a Protocol:—

- (a) defining what acts shall be punishable as "War Crimes" and in accordance with what law they shall be tried;
- (b) setting up, wherever necessary, international machinery for the prosecution and punishment of such "War Crimes" to take effect immediately upon the cessation of hostilities, and providing for the international co-operation required so as to make retribution by the national tribunals effective.

GENERAL SMUTS ON THE POST-WAR WORLD

(Space will not permit of our publishing the whole of General Smuts's historic address to an assembly of members of both Houses of Parliament on October 21. His analysis of the war situation was masterly in the deep insight and knowledge which it revealed. After describing the real issues at stake in "this new Crusade, a new fight to the death for man's rights and liberties," he concluded with the following survey of the post-war world.)

I therefore come to the question: What is the sort of world which we envisage as our objective after the war? What sort of social and international order are we aiming at? These are very important questions, deserving our most careful attention if we mean not only to win the war but also the peace. Our ideas on these matters 22 years ago were much too vague and crude, and, at the same time, much too ambitious, with the result that when they came to be tested by hard experience, they proved wanting, and their failure helped to contribute to the present conflict. With that experience before us, we ought this time to hammer out something more clear, definite and practical.

A great deal of thought is no doubt already being given to these matters, and one may hope that we shall approach the peace much better informed and equipped than we were last time.

Points of Importance

Certain points of great importance have already emerged. Thus we have accepted the name of "the United Nations." This is a new conception much in advance of the old concept of a League of Nations. We do not want a mere League, but something more definite and organic, even if to begin with more limited and less ambitious than the League. "The United Nations" is itself a fruitful conception, and on the basis of that conception practical machinery for the functioning of an international order could be explored.

Then, again, we have the Atlantic Charter, in which certain large principles of international policy in the social and economic sphere have been accepted. That, too, marks a great step forward, which only requires more careful definition and elaboration to become a real Magna Carta of the nations.

Again, we have agreed upon certain

large principles of social policy, involving social security for the citizen in matters which have lain at the roots of much social unrest and suffering in the past. We cannot hope to establish a new Heaven and a new earth in the bleak world which will follow after this most destructive conflict of history. But certain patent social and economic evils could be tackled on modest practical lines on an international scale almost at once.

Then, again, we have accepted the principle of international help underlying the Mutual Aid Agreement. The helping hand in international life is thus already a matter of practical politics, and could be suitably extended after the war. This, too, is a far-reaching innovation, pointing the way to fruitful developments in future.

Value of the League

All these are already indications of considerable advances to a better world and a richer life for mankind. To these we may add much of the social and economic work of the League of Nations which remains of permanent value. Much of the League organisation could thus continue to function for the future well-being of mankind. In sober resolution, in modest hope, and strong faith, we move forward to the unknown future.

There is no reason why we should not hopefully and sincerely attempt to carry out for the world the task which now confronts us as never before in the history of our race. An American statesman has called this the century of the plain man, the common people. I feel that in this vast suffering through which our race is passing we are being carried to a deeper sense of social realities. We are passing beyond the ordinary politics and political shibboleths. It is no longer a case of Socialism or Communism, or any

(Continued on page 4)

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY AT L.R.F. SERVICE

This year's International United Service, held on Saturday, October 17, at St. Martin-in-the-Fields, was a momentous occasion for the London Regional Federation of the L.N.U. His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury honoured the Union by his presence and, before a congregation containing many nationalities and representatives of most religious organisations, delivered an eloquent and inspiring address.

Denying that the idea behind the conception of the League of Nations had been discredited by the war, the Archbishop said that this aspiration could never be set aside. In one form or another it must find embodiment if any of our hopes for the world which would follow the end of hostilities were to be fulfilled. Two points he particularly wished to stress. First, we must be clear and definite with regard to the use or the renunciation of force in the maintenance of international order. Secondly, if there was to be an International Authority regulating the relations of the different States with one another, it must cover every sphere of their rela-

The Archbishop's address will shortly be published in the L.N.U.'s Church Magazine Inset, CHURCH AND WORLD.

GENERAL SMUTS

(Continued from page 3)

of the other isms of the market place; but of achieving common justice and fair play for all. May it be our privilege to see that, this suffering, this travail and search of man's spirit shall this time not be in vain.

Some Opportunities

Without feeding on illusions, without pursuing the impossible, there is yet much in the common life of the people which can be remedied, much unnecessary inequality and privilege to be levelled away, much commonsense opportunity to be created as the common birthright and public atmosphere for all to enjoy as of right.

Health, housing, education, decent

tionships—economic no less than, perhaps even more than, political.

"We are called," continued the Archbishop, "to seek some means by which all material resources—including armed force, if it be not renounced—are brought under the obedience of the Law of God, which is first Justice because Justice is the first expression of Love."

The great ideal of bringing the nations of the world together in the harmony of one great family—the family of God—could not be realised except by nations whose citizens were filled with the spirit of dedication to service of that Cause. "The thing we have to make is peace; and it can only be made by those who are ready for real sacrifice, personal and national, in the cause of the justice which can alone supply a fresh foundation for peace."

The Rev. Eric S. Loveday (Vicar of St. Martin's), Dr. P. W. Kuo (China), Dr. Ivan P. Georgievsky (Russian Orthodox Church) and the Rev. Marcus Spencer (U.S.A.) took part in the Service, which was preceded by an organ recital by Mr. S. Drummond Wolff.

social amenities, provision against avoidable insecurities—all these simple goods and much more can be provided for all, and thus a common higher level of life be achieved for all. As between the nations, a new spirit of human solidarity can be cultivated, and economic conditions can be built up which will strike at the root causes of war, and thus lay deeper foundations for world peace. With honesty and sincerity on our part, it is possible to make basic reforms both for national and international life, which will give mankind a new chance of survival and of progress.

Let this programme, by no means too ambitious, be our task, and let us now already, even in the midst of war, begin to prepare for it. And may Heaven's blessing rest on our work in war and in peace!

A UNITED DECLARATION

(The following Declaration should be read in conjunction with the article, "Looking Ahead," in last month's "Headway." We reproduce the sections which there was no space for Mr. Judd to quote in his article.)

This International Conference of Professors and Teachers from Belgium, China, Czechoslovakia, Fighting France, Greece, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland and the U.S.S.R.; from Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Australia, Canada and South Africa; with refugee and anti-fascist teachers from Austria, Germany, Hungary and Spain; convened by the Council for Education in World Citizenship at Badminton School, Lynmouth, from August 13 to 20, 1942

Firmly persuaded

(a) that, only through a system of "Government of the people, by the people, for the people" in national and international affairs, may these aims be fully achieved,

(b) that the survival and progress of the human race depends ultimately upon man's power to use the resources of the earth and the discoveries of science for the common weal, upon a sense of world citizenship, knowledge and understanding of international affairs and a desire to act upon the principles of freedom, justice and mercy, co-operation and good faith,

Declares that all young people should

(i) be taught these principles as the foundation of the good society in home and school and in the world community, (ii) be led to understand something of the nature of the inheritance of religion, culture and science, to which each race and nation has contributed and of which they are trustees, and should so come to seek their country's greatness in the measure of its service to mankind, and (iii) learn something of the political and economic interdependence of all men everywhere, of the institutions that are created for the government of local, national and international affairs, and of the responsibilities of citizenship towards them.

Post-War Planning

The Conference warmly approves the work that is now being carried out by the Council for Education in World Citizenship, in collaboration with the London International Assembly, to study and prepare proposals

(a) for those urgent problems of educational reconstruction in the occupied countries, which must be one of the chief responsibilities of the United Nations after the war,

(b) for the re-education of the people of Germany and its partners in the present war, and

(c) for the advancement of education generally, and especially of education for world citizenship.

The Conference would welcome the appointment by the United Nations of a Bureau for Educational Reconstruction, the appointment now of High Commissioners for Education to facilitate, provoke and supervise re-education in the enemy countries so soon as victory has been won, and the preparation of plans for the setting up of an International Office of Education in which representatives of Governments, Education Authorities and Teachers' Associations would work together for the promotion of education after the war.

LANGUAGE STUDY THIS WINTER.—*Headway Language Group* offers Russian, German, French, Italian, etc., by correspondence. Apply Darnley Naylor, 158, Henleaze Road, Bristol.

"PEACE AIMS DOCUMENTS" is the general title of a new series of pamphlets, from the National Peace Council. "*Allied Peace Terms*" (No. 1, price 6d.) brings together the complete texts of the Atlantic Charter, the Anglo-Soviet Pact, the Mutual Aid Agreement, the United Nations Pact, and other treaties and agreements. In "*Britain's Peace Aims*" (No. 2, price 9d.), authoritative pronouncements by Mr. Anthony Eden, Lord Halifax, Sir Stafford Cripps, Mr. Ernest Bevin, Mr. Oliver Lyttelton, Lord Cranborne, and others are collected. "*America's Peace Aims*" (No. 3, price 9d.) includes speeches by President Roosevelt, Mr. Cordell Hull, Mr. Sumner Welles, Mr. Henry Wallace, Mr. Milo Perkins, Mr. John G. Winant and others.

WORLD AFFAIRS IN PARLIAMENT

By OWEN A. RATTENBURY

Though the past month's proceedings in the House of Commons have embraced much of importance, this month's space must be devoted to the debate on "Punishment of War Criminals" in the House of Lords on October 7. Viscount Maugham, who has taken an active part in the discussions of the London International Assembly on the same subject, raised the issue in the Upper Chamber—a task for which the former Lord Chancellor's great eminence in the legal world peculiarly fitted him.

Lord Maugham's Proposals

In his closely reasoned speech, Lord Maugham's eminently practical outlook resulted in his careful elimination of the purely rhetorical but impracticable suggestions for the punishment of war criminals which have been put forward from time to time. By way of introduction, he gave an epitome of the history of the abortive attempts to punish war criminals after the last war, similar in substance to statements on the subject heard at the last General Council Meeting of the L.N.U. It was a good picture of "how not to do it," with a real warning against that kind of weariness of such matters felt by people three years after the last war was over. We must beware of carrying to extremes that innate sportsmanship which wishes to forgive and forget as soon as we have won. After all, it is not British security alone which is in question, but that of nations which up to the present have suffered immensely more than we have.

The Articles which then governed the situation Lord Maugham described as ill-considered and impracticable. Military tribunals were bound to decide according to law. But who was to appoint them? Who was to arrest prisoners and provide gaols? And what law? There was no British military law for trying murder in Germany. Other nations had laws, but they differed considerably *inter se*.

In this war the crimes committed by Germany have been more numerous, horrible and widespread than in the last

war, especially against Poles and Russians, Greeks and Czechs. Italians also have done terrible things in the countries they have occupied. The cry for punishment is universal. The United Nations must provide the Courts to try the perpetrators and the necessary machinery for doing so. We must make up our minds whether they are to be military or civil courts, and whether the courts are to be of the respective nationalities of the victims or international.

Appropriate Courts

On the whole Lord Maugham preferred that the criminals should be tried in our High Courts rather than Military Courts, and with experienced judges. Eastern Europe had suffered most, and he thought it more just that the nations concerned should set up a Court of their own; and the Western nations, including Holland, Belgium and Norway, should be served by a separate international tribunal. He recognised the language difficulty in a trial by an international court—though later Lord Cecil and Lord Simon both felt that language was not the main difficulty. However, Lord Maugham did in fact point out that the primary difficulty would be to obtain the surrender of the culprits, the most eminent of whom would have fled to neutral countries. New understandings or conventions with those countries would be necessary and should be arranged without delay.

Care should also be taken to confine the crimes to acts which have been treated as criminal in all civilised countries for hundreds of years—such as murders, killing hostages, bodily injury and torture, rape, piracy on the high seas. He doubted if any civilised country would wish to give asylum to any of the culprits of such crimes. In this country we had, by our present laws, no right to try an alien for crimes committed even on our countrymen outside our own country. A German who had committed murder on one or more Englishmen in a German prison camp, or otherwise in Germany, might come here after the war, live in luxury in

a Mayfair hotel, disporting himself in the Metropolis without anyone having the right to touch him. That should not be allowed to continue. The Germans could not object to our Courts possessing jurisdiction in such cases, because their Courts had the corresponding jurisdiction. The national courts should try cases of that sort—for instance, a German who had murdered a Pole in Poland or Germany should be tried by a Polish Court according to Polish law.

Some offences, however, could not be tried before national Courts. Crimes against persons, particularly Jews, who had no nationality; mass murder in consequence of an order, resulting in such things as widespread starvation or death by exposure; orders for removal of young women for purposes of prostitution; cases where two or more Allied Courts had jurisdiction, or where it was uncertain which of two Courts had jurisdiction; cases where political unrest in the country would prevent the holding of a trial. In such cases it would be desirable to have an International Court, which, however, should not impinge upon the national Courts.

Finally, Lord Maugham touched upon the restoration of property stolen by Germany, stressing that the Restitution Commission must be empowered to take equivalents and hand them over to the nations despoiled.

Preventing Mass Murder

Viscount Cecil, in his valuable contribution to the debate, said that, of course, the matter of dealing with Quislings was one for the nations concerned. In every country there was natural indignation against the Germans for their abominable cruelties. The only way to prevent that from degenerating into mass murder of Germans or sympathisers with Germans was to convince the people of the aggrieved nations that the arch-criminals would be fairly tried and punished if guilty. One of the most serious results of the Nazi creed and action had been the destruction of what, previously had been the universal respect for law and justice. That principle must be re-erected as far as we could re-erect it.

There must be rapidity and impartiality in the trials, urged Lord Cecil. This time,

a more clear and definite idea of what was needed must be prepared in advance.

United Nations Commission

The Lord Chancellor, after suggesting that possibly the victorious armies in the field might provide effective and prompt tribunals for dealing with many of the horrible cases, agreed with the suggestion that national tribunals would in general be preferable to the international.

The Allied Governments, continued Lord Simon, proposed to set up with the least possible delay a United Nations Commission for the Investigation of War Crimes. Atrocities committed in Occupied France would be included. The investigations would cover war crimes by offenders irrespective of rank, and depositions and other documents would be collected and stored. The President of the U.S.A. was making a corresponding statement in America the same afternoon.

The object was not to undertake or encourage mass executions, but to fix these horrible crimes on the persons really responsible. In order to make sure of getting hold of the right people, it was proposed that named criminals should be caught and handed over as a condition of the armistice. Finally quoting the code of Grotius, which the Germans had thrown overboard, Lord Simon said that the nations which respected that code could bring Europe, and in fact the world, back to sanity only by insisting on its re-institution in international affairs.

KENSINGTON BRANCH

Mrs. CORBETT ASHBY

on

"EMPIRE, REPUBLICS and SOVIET"

At Essex Church Hall,
Palace Gardens Terrace, W.8.

Wednesday, November 4, at 5.30 p.m.

Collection for the United Aid to China
Fund, whose President, Lady Cripps,
will be on the platform.

HOW EUROPE'S GUERRILLAS REALLY FIGHT

By MICHAEL D. JACOBSEN

(Mr. Jacobsen has been in close touch with guerrillas and guerrilla-leaders all over Europe for a considerable time, and was the first English journalist to discover the identity of the then-unknown Yugoslav war-leader, Colonel—now General—Mihailovitch. He is on the staff of a well-known Sunday newspaper and is widely known as a feature writer throughout South America. He has also broadcast from time to time.)

A great deal of nonsense has been talked and written about Europe's guerrillas and their methods of warfare.

They have been popularly pictured as lean, tough men, with unkempt curly hair, flashing eyes, and hawk noses. Their fighting is supposed to be wild and largely undisciplined.

Almost without exception, however, I have found both descriptions to be entirely inaccurate.

Introducing "Mr. Smith"

The average guerrilla is the "Mr. Smith" of his own country—the normal little man, not the freak.

When he left his valley home for the hills of partisan territory he had many things to learn. As the weeks passed he had to force himself to be fierce and totally unmerciful (no easy task, even though he was no stranger to bitterness). He underwent strict military training. He was rigorously "weeded-out" in successive hardening operations. Above all, he learned the value of restraint.

At one partisan centre a number of recruits were due to be "passed out" after completing their training. Their final test was to attack a slung sandbag with a knife.

The first one to take the test was a great bruiser of a man, 6 ft. 4 in., and built in strong proportion. He rushed up to the sandbag, yelling the most unutterable oaths, stabbed at it, kicked it, did pretty well everything to it, in fact, except eat it!

The next candidate was a slim, rather nervous young man aged about twenty or so. A little white about the gills, he went up to the sandbag quietly, slit it from end to end in one movement, and turned away without a word.

He passed the course with flying colours.

The "bruiser" was sent back for another try. . . .

To-day such men are probably as efficient, in their way, as the toughest British Guardsman.

Perfect Organisation

The dictionary definition of a guerrilla is "one engaged in irregular warfare, generally in small independent bodies."

In only a few countries where the guerrillas are fighting, however, does the word "independent" still apply.

Organisation and communication between partisan units is so good that they can come to each other's aid at a moment's notice. Where a Nazi punitive expedition expects to find five opponents, it will meet fifty. And for every ten men actively fighting, there are a hundred more to help behind the scenes.

Europe's guerrillas merit the title in nothing but the nature of terrain and the manner in which they fight. Desolate hill and forest country is most suited to their kind of warfare. But whenever they have fought on open ground, or even in large villages and towns, they have shown themselves to be first-class soldiers. (The Chetniks of Yugoslavia, who became the "Yugoslav Army," are a good example of this.)

Guerrilla Schools

Much of their success is due to the special Military Academies they have set up for themselves in areas they have won from the enemy.

As soon as they consolidate their gains, the partisans organise schools where their children can learn freely things "forbid-

den" in the Axis-run schools of occupied territory.

The schools are much the same little one-floor brick buildings that we know in our own villages. Some of the rooms, though, have been given over to the guerrillas themselves.

There Regular Army Officers and men, who form the nucleus of most partisan bands, instruct their less-experienced comrades.

It is a miniature Sandhurst, in which doctors jostle shoulders with cow-herds, judges share a bench with bandits, tradesmen take orders from men who used to be their errand boys.

In one class the only lesson taught is Death—for the invader.

In the next, the lessons mean Life—for the future.

Yet the two are completely interdependent, and most of the children's teachers, including the women, are guerrillas as well.

It is no uncommon thing to see a former University professor, after giving a class of eight-year-olds a history lesson, change rooms himself in order to learn the correct way to mine a highway.

As one wizened old guerrilla leader, Voyvoyda (leader of Chetniks) K., once told me: "If we did not know that the young generation was being taught all these precious Axis-forbidden things, that are the only means of appreciating and securing future liberty, we should lose all heart in our present struggle for it."

Into Battle

Unless it is inevitable, the guerrillas never join battle that is not of their own choosing. If they are caught, they work on the principle: "Twenty of them for me!"

One peasant lad I knew was seriously wounded while helping to harass Axis supply lines.

Knowing that he could not walk, and that his presence would only hinder his companions, who were returning to their cave hiding-place, the boy turned to his leader:

"Kill me," he said. "Shoot me, and then burn my body so they will not recognise it!"

The boy's wish was granted, not because he deserved a hero's death, but be-

cause the manner of his going had been the accepted tradition among his guerrilla-comrades for centuries.

Such killing may seem brutal, even criminally wasteful.

But the enemy, as Europe's partisans to-day have all too good reason to know, are more skilled in the art of diabolical torture than were the Spanish inquisitors, and there is a limit to human endurance and the grim guerrilla-vow to tell nothing when captured. . . .

Happily, however, such sacrifice is most rare nowadays, and many wounded partisans, after treatment in their own hospitals, are now back in the fighting line.

Many guerrillas have, moreover, told me that well-prepared attack and defence positions can ensure sufficient time to clear to safety casualties, ammunition, food stocks, and anything valuable to an advancing enemy force.

In Russia last winter 20 guerrillas, divided into pairs, and skilfully placed with machine-guns, held up a whole German regiment, which thought it was surrounded by a superior force. By the time the German commander was preparing surrender, believing his plight hopeless, regular Russian units had arrived on the scene, and were able to take charge.

Another illustration of skilful guerrilla-warfare was borne out by a recent German report, which spoke of 1,000 partisans attacking an ammunition convoy passing through Czechoslovakia on its way to the Eastern Front.

In actual fact, exactly 17 men were responsible for that particular exploit.

Austerity Methods

We have been hearing a great deal about Austerity these days, but the guerrillas of Europe have been practising it for years.

They do not drink, they do not speak to women. As far as possible, they avoid family responsibilities.

If a lone partisan band wants anything, it is the leader only who approaches a village to request facilities, politely and without threat.—Though, of course, they are not very polite if the village is enemy-occupied!

If a guerrilla were caught looting any property other than the enemy's, how-

(Continued on page 10)

UP AND DOWN THE COUNTRY

Dr. Gilbert Murray, speaking at a meeting at Northfield Institute held under the auspices of the NORTHFIELD AND KINGS NORTON and BOURNVILLE WORKS BRANCHES of the L.N.U., drew a comparison between the conditions after the end of the last war and those likely to be prevailing when the present conflict ends. He saw hope for the future in the Atlantic Charter, in a strong union of the British Commonwealth, Russia, the U.S.A. and China, and in a revival of the League, though the parties to it would have to be bound by more definite treaties and to have behind them the force necessary to prevent aggression against any one of them. Mr. Laurence Cadbury presided, there was a fully representative platform, and the hall was filled to its capacity. According to reports from the spot, the meeting was one of the most successful and harmonious ever held in the district.

The "Brains Trust" organised by the ILKLEY BRANCH, to discuss questions relating to the League and the lines along which permanent peace should be established after the war, attracted a very large attendance to the Wells Road Assembly Hall. Mr. H. Eagle, of Ben Rhydding, was Question Master, and the members of the Brains Trust were Mr. John T. Catterall (L.N.U. Headquarters), Mr. George S. Green (Chairman of the Skipton Branch), and Mr. Douglas Crockatt (Ilkley). The large number of questions

EUROPE'S GUERRILLAS

(Continued from page 9)

ever, he would be instantly shot by his comrades.

Such consideration is repaid by the villagers with their complete co-operation. Children go "blackberrying" whenever a Nazi force is near—and before long the local partisans surround the enemy and annihilate them. . . . Cheeses, apparently, dropped from a farmer's cart, roll down mountain sides with vital messages inside them. . . .

Wherever he turns, the Nazi is surrounded and threatened. Though he cannot see it, he knows it, and is afraid.

received in advance, together with those handed up in the course of the proceedings, kept the platform fully occupied for an hour and a-half.

The LONDON REGIONAL FEDERATION added another success in October to its series of Luncheon Talks in Central London when Professor S. Brodetsky spoke on "The Jewish Problem." Anti-semitism was not confined to Germany, he declared; it was prevalent throughout Europe. Let a "home" be established in Palestine, where Jews could develop on their own lines.

On-Tuesday, November 10, General J. W. van Oorshot, Head of the Dutch Military Mission in London, will address the next luncheon gathering at the Y.W.C.A. on "A Dutch General Speaks of His Country."

PETWORTH BRANCH held an open meeting in the Youth Group Centre, which was filled to capacity to hear Mr. Vernon Bartlett, M.P. The continuance of some such organisation as the League of Nations, whether called by the same name or not, he considered of the utmost importance. In the past many acts of aggression had been checked by concerted action, but in general the members had not gone far enough or held together sufficiently. He regarded the war-time common action and pooling of resources among the Allies as of great value, and urged that when the war was over the nations of the world should continue to practise this good neighbourliness.

The local Press made special mention of the effective setting of the L.N.U. garden party at LETCHWORTH. Dr. Wolfram Gottlieb gave a fluent exposition of Russian foreign policy since the days of the Czar.

The large audience at a recent meeting of the WHITTINGTON BRANCH stood in memory of Miss Edith Wilson, for many years the devoted Secretary of the Branch. A vivid talk on "India" was then given by Miss E. G. Mellor, an A.T.S. Welfare Officer and Chaplain's Assistant, who had spent 20 years in that country. The second half of the evening consisted of a topical film show with a commentary by Mr. F. Matthews.

Although the weather was almost as bad as it could be for Mr. John T. Catterall's visit to MORECAMBE, our local Branch had reason to be pleased both with the attendance and with the speaker. Mr. Catterall spoke on "Japan's Feet of Clay." The local newspaper, previously hostile to the L.N.U., gave a long report. "I think," writes the Morecambe Secretary, "that more notice will be taken of the L.N.U."

We learn from the Secretary of the LEYSIAN MISSION BRANCH that Mr. Catterall "gripped his audience there in a remarkable way." The meeting was most useful in spreading up-to-date information, but in addition seven of the small number of non-members included in the audience joined on the spot.

"My Hopes for My Country's Future" is the subject of a series of meetings now being held by the BECKENHAM BRANCH. In October, when Mr. M. T. Koo, of China, spoke, a collection was taken on behalf of the United Aid to China Fund. Miss Sophie Titchfield will give the Polish point of view at the Christ Church Hall, Beckenham High Street, on Saturday, November 21, at 3.30 p.m. At the Bevington Hall, Bevington Road, on December 5, at 3.30 p.m., Mr. L. E. Genissieux, of France, will be the speaker.

The MINISTRY OF INFORMATION Study Circle at NOTTING HILL heard Mr. Leslie Aldous speak on "World Settlement."

One useful result of the meeting arranged by the EALING AND DISTRICT BRANCH was to enlist the help of a newspaperman who was present. In addition to offering to write up the Branch's activities, he agreed to give a brief talk on "Public Opinion" at the next meeting on November 20, when the Atlantic Charter and a number of other subjects will be discussed.

WILMSLOW AND DISTRICT BRANCH opened the Winter Session with a public meeting, at which Mrs. Eileen Bigland, the authoress, gave an extremely interesting talk on her experiences when travelling along the Burma Road just before the outbreak of war in Europe. The Chairman, Dr. Ruth Massey, had been a medical missionary in China. An appeal for the United Aid to China Fund realised £31 12s. 9d

MALDON (ESSEX) BRANCH, although unable to carry out its intended programme

for Aid to China, held an interesting afternoon on October 10 with an exhibition of beautiful Chinese handicraft. The collection amounted to £15.

Some 500 people attended ROMFORD BRANCH'S "Aid to China" meeting, which was addressed by Dr. Yeh, who had only recently arrived in this country. As a result of the collection, £9 was sent to the United Aid to China Fund. The day after this meeting, one of the local clergy asked the Branch Secretary to address his Mothers' Union and also his Young People's Fellowship—an invitation which she promptly accepted.

At KIRKBY STEPHEN, a Harvest Thanksgiving Service was held in the Council School. The produce brought from the school garden and from the children's home gardens was auctioned, and the £6 10s. 0d. thus raised was presented to Mr. K. C. Hsu for the United Aid to China Fund, when he came to speak at a concert (October 17) and a united service (October 18).

Although LAMBETH BRANCH, owing to evacuations, cannot get large meetings these days, its effort to help the United Aid to China Fund was useful. The Rev. A. M. Chirgwin, General Secretary of the London Missionary Society, spoke on "Storm over China," and the collection realised £6 10s.

At WINSCOMBE (SOMERSET) a "China Week" was organised under the auspices of the Christian Fellowship, almost all the members of which are L.N.U. members. Another charming enterprise to raise money for the Fund was an exhibition of pictures by a local artist, with music and tea.

Federation

FEDERAL UNION announce an interesting week-end school on "The Problems of Federation," to be held at the Alliance Hall, Palmer Street, S.W. 1, on November 28 and 29. Patrick Ransome will speak on "The Character of Federal Government," Professor Catlin on "America and Federation," Wenzel Jaksch on "Federation and Europe," and Professor Norman Bentwich on "Federation and the Colonial Problem." The fee for the whole course is 3s., and application for tickets should be made to Howard Fox, 24, Pyecombe Corner, Woodside Park, N. 12.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

PUNDITS AND ELEPHANTS. By the Earl of Lytton. (Peter Davies. 15s.)

Lord Lytton has written a fascinating record of his experiences as Governor of Bengal with an intimacy and candour which would have been out of the question even a few years back. The Indians had a better friend in Lord Lytton than perhaps many of them knew. He went to Bengal, sacrificing personal conveniences to his rigid sense of duty, for the express purpose of enabling Indians to secure political freedom, and to develop self-governing institutions. Those whom he went to help made his task uncommonly difficult. The irresponsible opposition and "the fumes of insincerity, intrigue and selfishness of Bengal politics" convinced him that no country can confer freedom on another if the conditions necessary for its maintenance do not exist. His biggest disappointment was the lack of faith which he found both among the British and the Indians. His chief complaint of the British was that they had done so little to cultivate the defective sense of responsibility among the Indians.

This book is far from being solely a chronicle of administration. Lord Lytton's impressions of India, outside the field of politics, are described with an eye for colour and a real feeling for the spirit of the East. His descriptive power is as vivid in conjuring up scenes from the past as in painting the red or golden glory of the present.

The Pundits of the title are those "selfless and unconventional scholars" whom Lord Lytton so deeply admired. They and the Elephants, with their antiquity, their calm dignity, their deliberation, and their immense reserve of strength, seemed to him the embodiment of the true civilisation of India. In making the India of tomorrow, it is infinitely preferable to look for and build upon the indigenous and admirable features than upon second-hand imitations of British institutions. Do not miss the concluding chapters, "Retrospect" and "Postscript," with their wise reflections on future possibilities in the light of the past.

A SHORT HISTORY OF CHINESE CIVILISATION. By Tsui Chi. (Gollancz. 12s. 6d.)

At a time when most of us are discovering how little we know about China, this popular descriptive history should be assured of an eager reading public. Its Chinese author writes with a warm fervour and insight which probably no Englishman could have attained. That does not mean that the book is either slight or superficial. On the contrary, its 330 odd pages are crammed with facts and information. But the writer's pleasant and attractive handling of the English language prevents this wealth of knowledge from becoming a surfeit. Every page, almost, is leavened with human touches which never degenerate into mere irrelevancy, just because they reveal so much of the Chinese character. We learn in passing that the name Confucius really means "a certain gentleman Con"; why and how the "Long Wall of Ten Thousand Miles" was built; that Post Offices were known to the Chinese many years before Christ, and that travellers could find lodging there as well as at inns; that the first Republican flag with its five coloured bars symbolised the five main races of the Chinese. Passing out of the mists of legend and antiquity through long centuries of recorded history to more modern events, the author's moderation is studious though scarcely dispassionate. What he says about the effects of Munich on Japanese policy is revealing. His concluding note is of a young China, full of energy and hope, and with unshakable faith in the future—a China which has no logical need for Communism though it has every reason for remaining on good terms with Soviet Russia, a China which has already emphatically rejected Fascist despotism.

WHAT THE GERMAN NEEDS. By E. O. Lorimer. (Allen and Unwin. 5s.)

However fully the United Nations may win the war, victory will be only a prelude to World War No. 3—*unless* we succeed in the difficult but honourable task of educating a new generation of Germans to see the faith of their fathers as the hideous thing it is. That is the conviction in which Mrs. Lorimer has written her sequel to "What Hitler Wants." She does not mince words in describing the obstacles

to be overcome. Backed by the Prussian tradition which he has inherited, Hitler has won the co-operation of the big majority of the German people. In the fact that there are some who have had the fortitude to endure concentration camps lies one hope for the future. But even the fundamentally decent folk in Germany have been submitted to an hourly barrage of Nazi lies, uncorrected by outside influences. The author works out in some detail what she thinks should be done, after victory, to put over the long-hidden or distorted truth. Much as he needs truth, the German will not enjoy facing it. It must be shown that the creed of terror does not pay. Punishment of war criminals must be combined with fair play to Germany in the work of reconstruction. In the re-education of Germany, the author foresees not so much a "book-burning" as a well-planned paper salvage drive. Lastly, she hopes that the Allies will have the wisdom and vision to devise a world-wide international system which will bring prosperity as well as peace.

CONSCIENCE AND SOCIETY. By Ranyard West. (Methuen. 15s.)

This is a very closely reasoned study of the psychological prerequisites of law and order. After outlining the views on human nature set forth by such political philosophers as Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau, and showing their influence respectively on the practical politician, the lawyer and the social idealist, Dr. Ranyard West shows their relation to more modern psychological theories as exemplified in both child and adult behaviour. Against this background, which occupies the bulk of the book, the psychological requirements of a New World Order are argued. In the opinion of the author, neither "Professor Carr's supreme *laissez-faire*" nor "Professor Briery's future development of international law from custom" is adequate for the solution of this problem. The absence of loyalties to the larger community has been the curse of international relations. The first Covenant did not provide requisite machinery for utilising the loyalty of League members by taking the execution of their promises out of their own hands. When we place world force behind world justice, we shall create

the loyalty of a world community. Nevertheless, loyalty "is an emotion particularly susceptible to discipline and leadership." To secure it, the International Authority will have to offer security and strength and "rightness." Curiously enough, the author more than once seems to imply that Lord Cecil built his hopes of the League on the maintained force of public opinion, i.e., moral force, alone. That is only a half-truth. Undoubtedly Lord Cecil, when the League was founded, thought that moral force would be a powerful weapon in its hands—as it was on numerous occasions in the League's earlier history. Equally, however, Lord Cecil has consistently preached that material force must be placed behind the law. In this, he does not differ from Dr. Ranyard West.

L. R. A.

INTRODUCING GREATER BRITAIN. By W. E. Simnett. (American and British Commonwealth Association, A.B.C. Series No. 2, 3d.)

It is not easy to live up to a first-rate first number. Major Simnett most certainly has done so with this sequel to "Introducing America." Here are all the vitamins of fact needed for a plain, healthy understanding of what has been and is a unique experiment in the art of government—the British Commonwealth and Empire. Two features of this "League of Nations" will bulk large in any brave post-war settlement. They are the *direction* in which it has moved towards the complete independence of members, and the measure of *co-operation* of members, actual and potential, but free and without formal ties, for common ends. A good little bibliography is included; but it surprisingly omits Lord Hailey's "African Survey," a classic.

EFFECTIVE COLLECTIVE SECURITY. By Wayfarer. (Andress Printing Company, Croydon. 6d.)

The March of Time has put portions of these five essays out of date, but the central theme that you cannot get peace unless you plainly put an international force behind law still stands as a beacon of light for the future. For this reason the pamphlet repays reading.

M. F.

ONE VIEW OF POST-WAR POLICY

By K. M. BUTLER

The principles of the Atlantic Charter, which have been enthusiastically received by the Allied Nations, have seldom been implemented in such a concise and courageous manner as in the Resolution upon International Affairs which was adopted by the Liberal Party Assembly at its annual meeting in September.

The Resolution states that the Assembly, whilst realising the urgent necessity for attacking and defeating the enemy without delay, yet remains deeply conscious of the fact that the winning of the war is only the *first* step in securing the elimination of armed aggression, and an opportunity to build a World Order, founded upon the four freedoms of the Atlantic Charter.

Further, the Assembly urges that H.M. Government should step boldly along the path of Anglo-American co-operation for world peace and prosperity without regard to vested interests or outworn political and economic dogmas, and considers that any effective post-war policy must principally depend upon the closest co-operation between the Allied nations. Plans should be organised by these nations which would be ready for immediate application with the coming of victory.

First among these plans should be the preservation of peace and the guarantee of security. This security must be guaranteed by an armed international organisation, which must be sufficiently strong to coerce a great Power and enforce the settlement of international differences promptly.

This organisation of international justice must be made effective and all-embracing. The judicature must be assured of the unvarying support of the international armed forces in enforcing its findings.

In order to increase the effectiveness of the international political organisation, it must be protected against the unbearable strains and stresses of international economic anarchy. There must therefore be created a further independent

international organisation, which shall be charged with two main duties:

- (a) Securing such an adjustment of rates of exchange as will create conditions of international trade equilibrium, and
- (b) Adjusting the rate of investment so as to maintain employment at a high level.

An Amendment was moved by Lord Davies which stressed the need for the supervision and control of all aviation and the establishment of an International Police Force at the conclusion of the war; also, that the manufacture and distribution of armaments of all kinds should be subject to complete state control.

This Amendment was carried and received an enthusiastic reception from the delegates, who felt that it gave additional strength to the Resolution. The idea of federation, introduced by a Devizes delegate, was sympathetically received, but the general opinion of the meeting was that the time for such proposals was not yet ripe.

In the discussion which followed, the younger generation particularly showed that they wanted a proposal which gave teeth to the International organisation, and the amended Resolution satisfied that desire. Youth showed itself to be utterly dissatisfied with vague references to the New World Order, and disgusted with the people who stated that the primary object was to win the war and leave the peace proposals until then.

Here, at this Conference, delegates of all ages put forth their views, each guided by the same principle. Their remarks were the fruit of mature deliberation, and their enthusiasm was contagious because it was born of sincerity and a deep-rooted conviction that after this war we must have an International Authority which will not fail, and that this time we must not wait until the seeds of future wars are sown before making our plans complete, but must build our peace machinery upon foundations of such strength that it will weather any storm and emerge triumphant.

Lord Cecil's heart would surely have rejoiced at this display of the determina-

(Continued on page 15)

FROM "HEADWAY'S" POST-BAG

Russian Foreign Policy

Sir,—No one to-day wishes to say any harm about Russia, whose heroic stand against Germany has the admiration of the world. Mr. Bishop may be quite right in describing Mr. Stalin's speech of March, 1939, as "crystal clear"; but a few months later Russia was *not* "supporting nations which were the victims of aggression," but was herself an aggressor against Poland and Finland and other Baltic States.

I don't blame Russia or any other country that would not ally itself with a country ruled by Chamberlain, who (in spite of Mr. Farrow's advocacy) could only be relied on to desert our Allies when in difficulties, and I think our treatment of Russia was outrageous and silly. But no country can be justified in unprovoked aggression however "crystal clear" its statements of its pacific principles may be.

We are thoroughly ashamed of our own folly and wickedness in the last ten years, but it is absurd to claim that Russia has been perfect.

Nailsworth.

GEORGE CLISSOLD.

Sir,—I always read HEADWAY with the greatest interest and admiration—you get so much into your condensed space—but for once I feel we need more information. Regarding the article this month on "Soviet Foreign Policy" and its insistence on its non-aggressive line, nothing whatever is said of the war with Finland and the invasion of Poland. I feel that the article should be amplified either by a continuation or a letter. Everyone must wonder what was the reasons for these actions. Unless they are stated frankly, it throws suspicion on all the other statements.

I have long felt that the partisan Press has never given us a fair picture of Russia, either pro or con; but nothing is gained by ignoring facts.

I am certain many members would be glad of further information from a well-informed source.

East Harrington. CECILEY G. WILCOX.

POST-WAR POLICY

(Continued from page 14)

tion of the people to put settled international relations before any other consideration, for it was he who reminded us that: "Unless the people and their Governments really put the enforcement of the law and the maintenance of the peace as the first and greatest of national interests, no Confederation or Federation can compel them to do so."

Munich

Sir,—I think A. G. Farrow forgets Czechoslovakia. The shame of Munich consists not in the desire for peace—that everyone shared—but in the sacrifice of Czechoslovakia. "A country of which we know nothing," Mr. Chamberlain declared. He should have said a country of which *he* knew nothing. That country with its ancient history, with Prague, whose University was the oldest in Europe (I believe), with all its culture! What rights had Mr. Chamberlain over it? This is our undying shame.

Clifton, Bristol.

A. L. ALEXANDER.

Sir,—I should have thought Mr. Chamberlain's reputation could by now have been decently buried, but apparently some people need reminding that the man who in April, 1938 boasted "we are almost terrifyingly strong," in September, 1938, pleaded unpreparedness; that Mr. Chamberlain was a party to settling Czechoslovakia's fate without one single representative of that country being present; that the man who as Prime Minister had the greatest opportunity and the greatest duty to know the danger-spots of Europe, talked contemptuously of "this people of whom we know nothing . . ." And that Mr. Chamberlain's opponents have proved wise *before* the event.

BM/REDA.

(Monomark used for Service reasons.)

Words for All Nations

Sir,—Having read Dr. Maxwell Garnett's article on (and in) "Basic English," it is rather surprising to find a man with such an international outlook advocating the predominance of English—in whatever form—for world affairs. I suppose any of us with any taste for literature love our own English language best. To others with a talent for foreign tongues it is given to enjoy other literatures. But the busy man or woman, who has no time to develop such gifts, must seek an easier medium.

Seeing what an immense advantage the accepted use even of Basic English would give our Commonwealth and the U.S.A. over all others, one can foresee the bitter jealousies that would arise.

The international auxiliary language Esperanto has been in growing use for 60 years, and avoids these jealousies for the reason that it is the greatest common measure of European tongues, given a simple and regular grammatical construction. It is very flexible, and is capable of expansion by international consent.

No language can be static, and Basic Eng-

lish will not long confine itself to 850 words. Can one imagine a British delegate to some conference who waxes eloquent in his enthusiasm, not overstepping the limitations of this small vocabulary, and so confounding his audience? It would be a feat of memory to most of us to know when we were "out of bounds."

Unlike Basic English, Esperanto is phonetic, and has no irregular verbs or plurals. Hundreds of books have already been translated from various countries, and it has a growing original literature of its own. It is in constant use for all kinds of purposes, but it belongs to no one group or nation. The fact of its suppression in countries overrun by the Nazis, proves that they fear its pacific influences—for Esperantists are very friendly people, ready and eager to help foreigners.

The learning of Esperanto gives one's mind a new flexibility in the use of words in one's own tongue, and is a real stepping-stone for the learning of other languages. If it were taught in all schools, the rising generation would be ready prepared when they come to take their share in world movements. Those of the present generation who are in any way likely to take part in international affairs could join classes at once, so that they, too, will be ready for the first opportunity, thus reducing one of the greatest barriers between the peoples of the earth. They would find a few shillings spent on the learning of Esperanto one of the best investments they ever made.

(Miss) ELFRIDA G. STACY.

Buckhurst Hill.

Sir,—It is a pity that Dr. Garnett spoils his noble plea for greater international mutual understanding as "a great step forward in the growth of a united family of nations" by his failure to emerge from the nationalist rut

that causes him to espouse the cause of Basic English.

The League of Nations' Report on "Esperanto as an International Auxiliary Language" was unanimously adopted by the Third Assembly of the League twenty years ago, Lord Robert Cecil himself being in favour of Esperanto.

Basic English is condemned on every count. Its spelling is chaotic. It is English and clearly unacceptable to all other nations. The French, Germans, Spanish, Italians, Russians, Chinese, Portuguese, Japanese, Scandinavians, and Slavs would never accept English. Dr. Garnett's article in Basic English luckily did not require a reference to a "grave" or he would have had to write "hole for body"; for "nest" he would write "place where birds put eggs," and so on and so on. A language which has names for four fruits, nine animals, three insects, one bird and no fish, flowers or trees cannot be very satisfying!

An international language, to be successful, must be easy to learn, it must be neutral (free from awkward sounds like the English "th," the French nasals, the German, Spanish or Russian gutturals), it must be phonetic, exact and without exceptions, and it must have stood the rigorous test of practice. In none of these respects does Basic meet requirements; in every one Esperanto fulfils them.

It is a great thought that, thanks to Dr. Zamenhof's efforts half a century ago, if, when peace comes, the main countries in the world were to agree to teach each child Esperanto as a second language (the native language coming first), in a few years—in many cases in less than a year—the bulk of the world's youth would be able to converse easily and on equal terms about any subject and without any ridiculous restriction to 850 words.

Airdrie.

A. H. MIDDLEMAST.

MAIN CONTENTS

	PAGE
Editorial: Offensive for Victory - - - - -	1
General Smuts on the Post-war World - - - - -	3
Archbishop of Canterbury at L.R.F. Service - - - - -	4
World Affairs in Parliament. <i>By Owen A. Rattenbury</i> - - - - -	6
How Europe's Guerillas Really Fight. <i>By Michael D. Jacobsen</i> - - - - -	8
Up and Down the Country - - - - -	10
Books of the Month - - - - -	12
One View of Post-war Policy. <i>By K. M. Butler</i> - - - - -	14
From "Headway's" Post-Bag - - - - -	15