

HEADWAY

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EDITORIAL

POST-WAR BOUNDARIES

What we all hope will prove to be the final year of war in Europe has opened with the limelight concentrated on one of the most thorny boundary problems—that of the future frontier between Soviet Russia and Poland. The League of Nations Union has refrained from discussing any frontier problems, holding, as we do, that such questions should be settled by agreement as part of the general settlement of Europe after the war. As, however, Russian-Polish differences have led to a breach of diplomatic relations between these two countries, and in the interest of Allied unity, it is most important that this breach should be healed, there are grounds for hoping that this particular frontier may be settled by agreement as soon as possible, and without waiting for the end of the war. We say by agreement, because any attempt to settle it by force or in disregard of the wishes of the population in the disputed area would be a violation of both the spirit and letter of the Atlantic Charter which has been accepted by all the United Nations as the basis of their policy. Nothing would do more to undermine international confidence in the possibility of establishing a durable peace than any action which suggested that the Atlantic Charter was an insincere manifesto which could be disregarded in practice.

It is not the function of the League of Nations Union to pronounce any opinion on the merits of any particular frontier line, but it is very much their

function to watch with the utmost vigilance the procedure by which all frontier questions are handled, and to protest, should occasion arise, against any procedure which would violate the spirit of an International Agreement freely and solemnly accepted by all the United Nations. This problem of the Polish frontier therefore raises certain questions of principle of particular interest to our members.

The Polish Government has invited the good offices of the British and American Governments in helping them to settle their difference with the U.S.S.R. Mr. Eden is at this moment engaged in very delicate negotiations, and we are confident that he is using his great abilities and experience to obtain agreement. We do not wish to say anything which may add to his difficulties. But the obligation to refrain from saying anything which might lessen the inclination of either party to accept a reasonable and wise solution rests also upon the parties themselves, and suggestions that either side is not sincerely trying to come to an agreement are a great disservice to the cause of Allied unity.

We have only referred to this question at this stage because of the great interest which our readers are bound to take in it, and because it is an example of the many matters of controversy which must necessarily arise when the settlement of Europe after the war comes to be discussed. The

future peace of the world depends upon the ability of the United Nations to remain united. Our enemies will leave no stone unturned to sow dissension between us. Their ingenuity and lack of scruple have no limits. The task before us is full of danger. Here we have a test case. If this question cannot be settled amicably and on wise lines while our common enemy is yet unbeaten, what chance have we of settling the hundred other controversies which will arise when the fighting ceases? If, on the other hand, while enemy propa-

ganda is still free to make as much mischief as possible, this controversy can be satisfactorily settled by agreement, we may look to the future with increased confidence. All the world is watching this issue, waiting to make use of it either to our advantage or disadvantage. Our members, therefore, must be careful not to take sides prematurely, and to refrain from comments which may stiffen the attitude of either party and increase the difficulty of those who are engaged in a most anxious and responsible arbitration.

“TO-MORROW’S CITIZENS”

Never in its history has the Council for Education in World Citizenship, which carries on the Union’s work in the Schools, undertaken a more successful venture than its latest series of Christmas Holiday Lectures and Discussions. Designed for “To-morrow’s Citizens,” these crowded the Central Hall, Westminster, from January 3 to 6, 1944. Last year 300 boys and girls were expected and 600 came. This year, such was the overwhelming demand for tickets, only the need for keeping the size of the discussion groups within reasonable limits restricted the audience to 2,000. On the last day, when this limit was removed, the audience must have totalled 3,000.

The LORD MAYOR OF LONDON, in welcoming the young people, told them that intelligence and energy, coupled with a sense of moral values, were the bases on which we must build victory in the peace to come. MR. NOEL BAKER, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of War Transport, had some trenchant words to say on the importance of world organisation after the war. The League, he pointed out, had failed not because the Covenant was too ambitious but because it was not used. This time, he thought, our chances were far better than in the past. Governments had given stronger and more comprehensive pledges. Public opinion was more advanced.

The lectures, all given by outstanding experts, and the following discussions covered three main fields. The first,

“Racial Problems,” was introduced by DR. AUDREY RICHARDS. Very amusingly she demolished the Nazi racial theory. It was an amazing sight, at the end of the lecture, to see the young people swarming from their seats and lining up at the side of the platform to bombard the speaker with questions. During the four days that sight became a commonplace.

Tuesday brought a double disappointment. Both Dr. Gilbert Murray, O.M., and Professor E. H. Carr were unable to come owing to illness. But the substitutes proved themselves far from *ersatz* products. PROFESSOR S. BRODETSKY, bringing his scientific mind to bear on the problem of “International Co-operation,” dealt with the relations between the individual, the State and the world. The Moscow Four Power Declaration he hailed as the most important thing which had happened in the war bar the prosecution of the war itself. It was inevitable that, for many years to come, the four Great Powers would carry the responsibility for peace. But how would they use their strength? Their declaration pledged them to “joint action on behalf of the community of nations.” Aggression must be dealt with, not when it had happened, but before it had happened. The International Authority, too, must be ready to initiate peaceful changes in a changeable world.

M. PIERRE COT, of the French Consultative Assembly in Algiers, said that if the roots of Nazism could be eradicated and

the power of the Junkers and the big industrialists suppressed, we might hope after a long period to find that Germany was composed of decent people. It was now evident to each of us—and to all the French people—that national security could not exist without international security. The new International Authority must have the power to enforce peace. While the European States willingly accepted the leadership of the four Great Powers for winning the war and building the new world, that new world must be democratic, safeguarding the rights of small nations.

“Security and Adventure” was SIR WILLIAM BEVERIDGE’S subject on the third day. Security, he said, meant three things—lasting peace, a job while one could work, and an income when one couldn’t work. It was ridiculous to argue that freedom from want was demoralising. An American critic had thrown up Raleigh, Hawkins and Drake in his face; but they had all enjoyed social security from birth and it had not destroyed their spirit of adventure. Security from War, Sir William continued, could *not* be got by any one nation by itself relying on its own arms, by alliances one against another, or by having no force at all; nor so long as each nation claimed to be a law unto itself. The only way was by having justice and a policeman in the background. International justice meant justice for small nations and large; but not everybody was equally capable of being the policeman. What it all came down to was that the strong pacific nations must decide to use their strength not for themselves alone but in the common cause of justice. He urged the young people to “join in the great new adventure of making the world safe for things of the spirit.”

The final day started with PROFESSOR JOHN MARRACK outlining “World Plans for Food and Agriculture.” He showed how, in recent years, students of nutrition had established a very definite standard of what freedom from want in respect of food meant. He spoke of the work of the League in raising food standards throughout the world. A description of what was now being done, particularly through the initiative of the Hot Springs Conference,

followed. All this would need a world organisation. As regards U.N.R.R.A., Professor Marrack foresaw a possible danger in just trying to “patch up” to get Europe going again. It was necessary to bridge the gap between U.N.R.R.A. and Hot Springs. An International Security Organisation, too, was essential, otherwise there could be no prosperity. The showing of the Ministry of Information Film, *World of Plenty*, proved an excellent tail-piece to Professor Marrack’s talk.

At the beginning of the concluding session, Reports summarising the conclusions of the 25 discussion groups on “Racial Problems,” “International Co-operation” and “Social Security” were presented. These, as MR. JUDD remarked, showed a fine sense of responsibility, and also that the young people didn’t mind admitting the things on which they were still undecided.

Then came MR. J. B. PRIESTLEY, whose talk on “The New Citizen” was recorded by the B.B.C. for overseas broadcasting. He made a strong appeal to the new citizen to make sure that his nationalism was in the right place, and then to see that his individualism was in the right place. The central problem of our time was to establish the right relation between the individual and the community. In a world in which we were bewilderingly interdependent there were many things that we had to do together; but, as soon as the work was done, we could indulge our individuality. “Pay your debt to the community,” said Mr. Priestley, “but keep your own flavour for yourself.” There were vast opportunities to make life securer and richer than ever before.

One other short speech was heard—from MR. HAN LIH-WU, a member of the Chinese Goodwill Mission to Great Britain, who conveyed greetings from the youth of China. Thus concluded a really remarkable conference which owed as much perhaps to the hard work and organising ability of Miss Luffman as it did to the enthusiasm and thirst for knowledge of the young people who took part. The Press and the B.B.C. gave it good publicity, and the “Man in the Street” made it his theme in the B.B.C.’s European News.

LESLIE R. ALDOUS.

AN HISTORICAL OPPORTUNITY

By FLYING OFFICER R. P. ODELL

A well-known politician has advocated the teaching of recent history at our schools. This is a point which should not escape the schoolmaster of the future. The teaching of history did not change after the first World War. The peculiarities of the Stuarts, the South Sea Bubble, the matrimonial adventures of Henry VIII, etc., continued to be the unstimulating stand-bys of the classroom. The teacher still lulled his pupils to slumber with the deeds of politicians, soldiers and sailors which should long ago have been relegated to the student's bookshelf.

What was the result of this policy? A generation of young men and women grew up who knew little or nothing of the struggle in which their fathers fought and died. They were unaware of the reasons which plunged Europe into the first of these disastrous wars—the duplicity of German diplomacy, the lust for conquest in the German character, the complacent unpreparedness of this country. They may have been taught the outstanding events. But were they told of the heroism, misery, hardship and demoralisation that such a war entailed? Were they told what this country was fighting for and how and why it failed to achieve it?

Events and Their Meaning

Surely it must be made quite certain that future generations are instructed fully on all aspects of these two world crises? They must be made proud of their heritage by knowledge of the sacrifices and courage of their fathers and grandfathers. At the same time they must know why mankind has twice been plunged into chaos. They must also be made to see that war is not all glamour and medals; that it is a state which must be avoided, not by soft words and wishful thinking, but by a firm and courageous upholding of the best principles of civilisation and progress.

How is this to be achieved? Not by the superficial teaching of outstanding events, which is all the teacher of the past has been able to undertake owing to the vast amount he is compelled to cover for

examination purposes. Less time must be spent on the learning of dates and the uninspiring acts of long-dead politicians, in fact on all events which have no bearing on the present day. "History repeats itself," people will argue. Yes. At all costs must twentieth-century history be prevented from repeating itself.

Teaching the Teacher

The personality of the teacher is going to have the greatest influence. All too often history teaching is influenced by his views, and all too often those views are coloured by an inferiority complex or a particular political or social outlook. He has not sufficient opportunity for acquiring broad-mindedness. Therefore there should be instruction for the teacher before he can be allowed a free hand with the younger generation. This country must be rid of the type of schoolmaster who considers that religion must be suppressed because some wars have been caused by religious disagreements, that everything that Lord X did was wrong because he inherited a title, and conversely the other school who say, "What can you expect of a man who sold newspapers in the streets?"

It must therefore be obvious that it will be impossible to produce a generation of clear-thinking people unless the teachers know how to present their facts, and how to encourage elasticity of mind in their pupils as opposed to an unintelligent dogmatic attitude. The examination question of the future must be differently phrased. Instead of "What were the causes that led to the Second World War?" it could be "What action do you consider could have been taken by this country to prevent the Second World War?" And that question should be marked with as much importance attached to clear and ingenious thinking as to accuracy of fact.

Free Discussions

Debates should be encouraged but they should be debates run on common sense lines. There is no reason why they should

be too formal. Discussions would be a better name. The formal debates organised at some schools reduce the children to a state of incoherent nervousness. Those who have been detailed to speak gabble their carefully prepared sentences and descend on to their chairs with a spine-jolting thud and a fervent prayer that they won't be asked to do it again for at least six months.

One history lesson a week could with advantage be devoted to a free discussion on the work covered that week. The master in charge should guide rather than instruct, point out where arguments were based on a fallacy, but never allow his own views to assume too great an importance. He must encourage his pupils to

argue against his statements as easily as they argue against each other's.

Here again comes the point as to how many teachers have the necessary qualifications and personality for such methods. Surely that is one of the reforms that is most urgently needed. No man should be allowed to teach the young until he has become fully qualified to take up work which must now be realised is of paramount importance to the nation.

The events of the last thirty years must be taught in detail, and taught intelligently so that future generations grow up with a full awareness of past mistakes and an equally full determination that, by no weakness of theirs, shall such a state of affairs arise again.

FROM HEADWAY'S POST-BAG

Moscow Declaration

SIR,—Is there not some wishful thinking in the penultimate paragraph on the third inside page of the folder which branches are urged to use in canvassing for new members?

The second extract in the folder from the Moscow Four-Power Declaration says that "they will consult with each other . . . with a view to joint action. . . ." This is interpreted as an assurance that the power of the four partners will be used jointly. Surely this is reading too much into the declaration. It is something that agreement has been reached to consider joint action but surely wishful thinking to say that such a commitment has actually been entered into.

Would it not be better to let prospective members see plainly the end to be aimed at and enlist their help in striving to ensure its attainment? Support for aims has greater appeal than approval of "faits accomplis," especially when disillusionment follows, as is so frequently the case.

L. R. HOGGE (Lieut.-Colonel),

Norwich.

The League's Name

SIR,—I am glad to see that Sir Norman Angell thinks the name "League of Nations" can be improved upon.

Words have a definite atmosphere of their own, and "League" is too much connected with fighting of all sorts to be used for any organisation which aims at promoting peace among the nations.

"Council," with its implication of wisdom

and tolerance, would be much better than "League."

OLIVE MURPHY.

Golders Green, N.W.11.

"Thus Spake Germany"

SIR,—In his foreword to this painful collection of extracts from the works of German writers and thinkers ("Thus Spake Germany," edited by Coole and Potter) Lord Vansittart allows that there may be 25 per cent. of the German people who do not accept the views expressed in this book. Twenty-five per cent., then, honour other ideals. Lord Vansittart considers their existence as a proof of the complete failure of the principles of their faith and outlook. He goes so far as to hope that some person or persons will undertake the task of compiling a similar volume to include principles enunciated by Germans but entirely repugnant to every Nazi. Let us hope that this collection is being made for, surely, the existence of this 25 per cent. is our great hope. Here is the leaven that may reform the rest. The voice of a Germany which speaks a language which we can understand is most likely to awaken the 75 per cent. of Nazidom from their hateful nightmare.

A Germany who believes in the rights of man and of righteous dealing between nations would be fit to enter into the organisation of the world. How can we best serve to promote the mental revolution necessary to the 75 per cent. of Nazi Germany? This is, perhaps, a fruitful line of enquiry.

MARGARET DARNLEY NAYLOR.

Bristol.

OUR GREETINGS TO CHINA

At the invitation of the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union, the Council for Education in World Citizenship and the London International Assembly, a reception was held in the Livingstone Hall on January 6 to meet Mr. HAN LIH-WU, a member of the Chinese Goodwill Mission to Great Britain. The guest of honour, as a member of the Executive of the Chinese League of Nations Union, conveyed a message from the President, Dr. Chu Chia-Hua, which was read to those present by LORD CECIL.

MISS CHARLESWORTH, speaking first on behalf of the C.E.W.C., deplored that until recently there had been so little real knowledge and understanding of China and the Chinese people in this country. She concluded with a tribute to "the first lady in the world."

LORD LYTON said that the League of Nations Union could meet their visitor with a clear conscience. The first shot in this war had been fired in China, and the war could only end in China. As a result of leaving China alone, our nation for a long time had to stand alone. We had had to pay the penalty for our false idea of the great meaning of peace. Now we were all in it together. He asked Mr.

Han Lih-Wu to tell the Chinese people from us that we would remain in it until not only Germany but Japan had ceased to be a menace to the world.

MR. HAN LIH-WU stressed that he was speaking not only as a member of the Goodwill Mission but of the Chinese L.N.U. There were active branches in the Universities and a monthly publication. The Chinese were deeply interested in what we were planning over here, and we should find in China an ardent force for world peace. China was convinced that an International Organisation was necessary but, to be effective, it must be backed by a police force. Force, however, was not the sole basis of peace—a more solid foundation was the will to peace. The speaker remarked that, while immensely impressed with our confidence in winning the war, he had not been able to discover the same articulate confidence in the winning of peace. After their disillusionment last time, the people were cautious and realistic, but just as keen on lasting peace. They said little but were planning a great deal. The world, concluded Mr. Han Lih-Wu, was looking to our people to play a leading role. The eyes of all peace-loving countries were anxiously waiting to see our next contribution.

PRINCESS TSAHAI

By kind permission of the Dean of Westminster, a service will be held on behalf of the Princess Tshai Memorial Hospital Fund, in Westminster Abbey, on Thursday, March 16, at 3 p.m. The Bishop of London has consented to preach. The collection, after expenses have been met, will be devoted to the Princess Tshai Memorial Hospital Fund. Tickets may be obtained from the Hon. Secretary of the Fund, 3, Charteris Road, Woodford Green, Essex.

The object of the Fund is to establish a Memorial Hospital in Ethiopia, which will also be a teaching school to prepare Princess Tshai's compatriots to follow her example of service.

THE I.L.O.

Mr. Clifton Robbins, Head of the London Office of the I.L.O., attended the Union's Executive to report on the recent meeting of the Governing Body in London. The I.L.O., he said, had never encouraged the belief that it was the *only* part of the League that was functioning. However, from the London meeting it was clear that the League principle was starting again. The main work had been to get the machinery in going order. The I.L.O. Conference arranged for April would be the first full meeting since the outbreak of war. He specially commended the British Government's interesting proposal for setting up individual committees to deal with conditions for individual industries from the international point of view. This showed flexibility.

GREETINGS FROM CHINA

By DR. CHU CHIA-HUA
(President of Chinese League of Nations Union)

Chungking.

On behalf of the League of Nations Union in China, I would like to take the opportunity of the present visit of the Chinese Mission to England to send you my friendly greetings.

I was glad to read your recent leaflet "The World After the War," a copy of which you so kindly sent us. I assure you that all the members of this Union in China enthusiastically share and support your ideal of "a new and stronger League of Nations" after the present global war.

China is one of the most ardent and faithful members of the League of Nations. But she is also the earliest victim of aggression, which the League was unable to halt because of the very fact you mentioned in your recent leaflet, that "the Covenant was not implemented. The failure to use the machinery effectively has landed the world in another war." I

also fully agree with the statement in it that "this failure has made it clear to all that without some effective international authority the peace on which the progress of civilisation depends can never be secure."

Our Union in China is being continuously strengthened, and a new membership campaign is now under way. A national convention of this Union in China will be held here as soon as the present membership campaign is successfully concluded. Thus in spite of the failure of the League of Nations to achieve its ideals in the past, our faith in the principles of a League of Nations has never faded. Let us all hope that in the wake of the unconditional surrender of the Axis partners in both East and West, a new and stronger League of Nations will be born, and peace be effectively maintained forever.

CHU CHIA-HUA.

THE BELLS OF MALINES

Last autumn the Belgian authorities in this country, and the British Council, ran a Social Welfare course for Belgian nationals, to equip them for service to their country when it is liberated. Among the speakers in this Course was Mr. Arnold-Forster. At the end of the last session, just before Christmas, having to say some words of farewell to this Belgian gathering, Mr. Arnold-Forster referred to the day not far distant when Belgians, now in exile, would see again their familiar towns—Bruges, Ghent, Malines, Antwerp and the rest. "Some of you," he said, "are thinking now of the belfry town of Malines. I know that the Grand Master of the Carillon of Malines is dead. I dare say that the bells themselves have been stolen by the Germans, melted down for war. But it will not be long, I believe, before Belgians manage to make bells ring again in St. Rombaut's tower at Malines.

May I suggest that on that day arrangements should be made in Belgium for broadcasting the Carillon of Malines to us in England. I tell you: we shall understand—for then, too, we shall be free!"

A few days later the Belgians held a party, with speeches to celebrate the completion of the course, and a Belgian speaker referred to this suggestion. Then the Belgian Minister of the Interior, M. de Schrijver, took it up; he told his countrymen, and Mr. Arnold-Forster, that he would see to it that the bells of Malines should sound in England, as soon as "conditions permit."

May it not be long before this happy idea is realised, with the collaboration of the B.B.C.! The sound of those bells will be a moving symbol of liberation won.

"We shall understand."

A RECORD OF ACHIEVEMENT

By LESLIE R. ALDOUS

A chapter of accidents—not least the loss of the photostats while in transit from Geneva to this country—has delayed the publication of the English edition of Mr. Sean Lester's Annual Report as Acting Secretary-General of the League of Nations. The French edition, however, gives promise of a mine of factual information and stimulating ideas for British readers when, in the near future, its counterpart is ready over here.*

Before passing on to a detailed account of the various League activities which have been maintained in war-time, Mr. Lester devotes most of his Introduction to assessing the present position of the League and its future prospects. Not only, he points out, is the League surviving but it is rendering the world definite services in numerous fields. Forty-five Governments are still in the League. Many, despite their serious economic and political preoccupations, continue to give practical proof of their faith in the value of the three international organisations comprising the League system. Several States outside the League contribute financially towards its technical activities, as well as towards the Permanent Court and the International Labour Organisation.

Increased Activity

Since the last Report the activities, far from diminishing, have increased. The 1943 budget—11,388,376 Swiss francs or rather more than £500,000—was some 15 per cent. higher than in 1942, though still some 64 per cent. below the last peacetime budget (1939). In one wing of the League buildings at Geneva some 100 officials maintain a centre dealing with such international questions as economics, finance, social questions, international hygiene, the drug traffic, and so on. They work in close collaboration with the League missions oversea—the Economic,

*RAPPORT SUR LES TRAVAUX DE LA SOCIÉTÉ 1942-43. (League of Nations, Geneva. 2 Swiss francs). The English edition will shortly be published by Messrs. Allen and Unwin. Price 2s.

Financial and Transit Department at Princeton, the Treasurer's department in London, and the Drug Traffic section in Washington. The League Library, continually enlarged and kept up to date, is a unique centre of study and reference.

Fitting Into the Future

How is all this to fit into the future organisation for peace? Mr. Lester touches upon the almost universal desire to put an end to war and destruction, so that the only battles of the future shall be peaceful battles for human progress. This is the problem with which, as the war in Europe approaches its climax, the statesmen of the United Nations are grappling. Mr. Lester quotes outstanding statements by President Roosevelt, Mr. Churchill, Mr. Herbert Morrison and others to show that, if the precise form of the post-war international organisation is yet undecided, the fundamental ideas are very similar to those of the principles of the League Covenant. Only when the nations, profiting from experience, begin to reconstruct international institutions, the future organisation must be universal in character, must be upheld by military force, and must have a loyal and sincere backing: otherwise all efforts to achieve prosperity, justice and peace will again be threatened with failure.

The danger will come, not perhaps in the near future while nations are war-weary after the present conflict, but in possibly twenty years. Unless, in the interval, an ordered world can be built, fresh catastrophe will be inevitable before the youth of to-day are greybeards.

Generally speaking, says Mr. Lester, the evolution of ideas during the past twelve months has been such as to encourage those countries which have not lost faith in the principles of the League. More and more it has been recognised that the peace and prosperity of all countries, even the greatest, are bound up with the organisation of international co-operation in the economic, social and political fields. That

is the fundamental principle of the League.

Rapidly Mr. Lester sketches the reasons for, and the lessons of, the failure of the first experiment. When war came it was tacitly agreed that the body of the League should be preserved for a fresh attempt. From many points of view he thinks that it would even be an advantage to keep the name of the League. A new name might lead people to expect results that could only be obtained by loyalty, good will and ceaseless effort.

Current Activities

The rest of the Report is given over to actual League activities which, in the circumstances of war, make an impressive record. Pride of place is accorded to the Economic, Financial and Transit Department. At the London and Princeton meetings of the responsible Committees last year, a programme of studies concerning post-war problems was mapped out. It is still not generally realised how much the League contributed to the success of the United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture at Hot Springs. The material on Nutrition supplied by the League at the request of the Executive Committee of the Conference—according to Mr. Carl Hambro, President of the Norwegian *Storting*—“proved to be the documentary backbone of the Conference.” At the request of the Latin-American States, the League organised a conference on international fiscal problems (held in Mexico last July), which adopted three conventions as models for bilateral negotiations between States. Some of the outstanding Reports produced by the Economic Intelligence Service have recently been noticed in HEADWAY.

The Health Organisation has been busy, for the simple reason that it is the only international centre for the collection and co-ordination of information urgently needed by Governments, health administrations and voluntary organisations. Its studies of the trend of morbidity and mortality in their relation to food shortage are related to plans for post-war food relief. Indeed, certain detailed research and statistical comparisons have been undertaken at the express request of the British authorities.

Forward-Looking Outlook

Other sections of the Report show the forward-looking outlook of the League in all departments of its work: the plans of the Opium Committee to re-establish pre-war control in the confused situation which must inevitably arise after the war; the efforts of the High Commissioner for Refugees (Sir Herbert Emerson) not only to get a square deal for refugees now but to induce the United Nations to pay attention to the long-term problems of Stateless persons; the way in which a nucleus of the Permanent Court of International Justice is being kept in being so that it may quickly function when the time is propitious.

All this, in sum, constitutes a notable contribution to the spadework for tomorrow's task of organising peace and prosperity.

BATTLE HYMN OF CHINA. By Agnes Smedley. (Gollancz. 7s. 6d.)

This unusual “close-up” of the Chinese scene from 1928 onwards is to be recommended with certain cautions. The author, who was intimately associated with the left wing elements in China's struggle for unity and independence, writes about it all with first-hand knowledge, a lively pen and a vivid eye for detail. But her impulses are frequently stronger than her reason, with the result that her political judgments are apt to be coloured by feeling and prejudice. Her activities brought her into conflict not only with foreign interests in China but with the unprogressive elements in the country. Herculean labours were needed to raise the Chinese people from a veritable bog of corruption, ignorance and apathy. The book does bring out the magnitude of what has been achieved, but also the danger of a relapse when the unifying influence of Japanese aggression has gone. One of thousands of interesting people whom Miss Smedley met was Dr. Borcic, health adviser from the League of Nations to the Chinese Government. She tells of a historic conference in Dr. Borcic's room, at which foundations of socialised medicine in China were laid.

UP AND DOWN THE COUNTRY

During January an excellent start for the New Year was made in L.N.U. activity up and down the country. Many Branches, with the Moscow Declaration to encourage them, plunged into vigorous programmes. The demand for L.N.U. speakers from other organisations did not slacken.

The Cosmos Society in OXFORD, carrying on the work of the old British Universities League of Nations Society, began 1941 with a visit from Miss K. D. Courtney, whose address as always gave the members plenty to think about.

HAMPSTEAD BRANCH heard a talk from Major-General J. W. van Oorschot, of Holland.

It seemed strange for the STREATHAM BRANCH to hold a meeting without Mrs. Gladys Stevens—the first which she had missed for at least ten years. Deep sympathy was expressed on the death of her father, Mr. W. A. Barron, vice-chairman of the Branch. Professor Arthur Newell, Director of the Institute of British-American Understanding, spoke on America and World Affairs. Great forces, he said, were at work, and the nations were finding that everything which was coming out of the war was what the League of Nations stood for.

WITHINGTON was another Branch which had an American speaker—Mr. A. Collon, of New York, who dealt with Anglo-American relations. Dr. Jabubowski, of Poland, addressed a meeting of the NEW SOUTHGATE AND FRIERN BARNET BRANCH.

LEAMINGTON BRANCH held two more of its discussion meetings in the Pump Room, with at one an American speaker and at the other Mr. Gustav Stern (Czechoslovakia) talking on "The Future of Central Europe."

Mr. C. W. Judd, Secretary of the Union, was delighted with the keenness and enthusiasm shown by the HIGHGATE BRANCH at its discussion meeting which he addressed on "The League's Post-War Policy." It was everything that such a meeting should be.

As a first step towards the revival of the STANMORE BRANCH, a group of interested people met in the Rectory with the

Rev. W. A. Hewett in the chair. Mr. R. M. Baldwin conveyed a welcome from the HARROW BRANCH, and Mr. Leslie Aldous outlined the present opportunities for a big L.N.U. drive. It was unanimously agreed to go ahead with arrangements for a public meeting, to be held probably in early March.

After the annual business of the WEST HAMPSTEAD BRANCH Mr. Aldous gave a talk on *Headway* and its use in getting support for the Union. At a drawing-room meeting at WONERSH, arranged by Miss Grace Butler, he spoke on the Hot Springs Conference.

Four countries were represented at CROUCH END'S United Nations Brains Trust—Czechoslovakia by Mr. Beckmanova, the U.S.A. by the Rev. Marcus Spencer, Russia by Dr. S. F. Osiakowski, and Great Britain by Miss K. D. Courtney. The Rev. W. F. P. Chadwick served admirably as Question Master.

"The Soviet Union and World Affairs" was a particularly topical subject for the L.R.F. Buffet Lunch in the Y.W.C.A. Lounge on February 19, and no more able exponent of Russian policy could have been secured than Mr. Reg Bishop, Editor of *Russia To-day*. He devoted the earlier part of his talk to proving that Soviet policy, far from showing "an erratic zigzag line," had been remarkably consistent throughout. So-called inconsistencies had been merely adaptations to meet changes in the relations of forces in Europe. Russia's sole objects had been, and were, the maintenance of peace, the building of Socialism in her own territory, and the protection of the frontiers of the Soviet State. On the dispute with Poland, Mr. Bishop argued that Russia was perfectly justified in insisting upon the Curzon line as the basis of the future frontier.

At the next L.R.F. Lunch, on Monday, February 14, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, M.P., will speak on "The Problem of Refugees" in Great Britain.

During the month Mr. John T. Catterall addressed Branch meetings, Rotary Clubs and other organisations. At BOURNVILLE the Village Branch and the Brotherhood joined forces to provide a good audience.

ROTARY CLUBS which had speakers provided by the L.N.U. during January included:—ASHFORD, Mr. Robert Tortue on "Belgium"; BASINGSTOKE, Mr. Catterall (who also spoke at the Military Hospital); KINGSTON, Mr. Aldous on "The Moscow Declaration"; MATLOCK, Mr. F. W. Weaver; NORTHAMPTON, Dr. Jansa (who also addressed a Brotherhood meeting and an evening meeting); ST. ALBANS, Mr. James Macdonald on "The Moscow Declaration"; SLOUGH, Captain Sverre Farstad, of Norway; WALSALL, Mr. Catterall; and WEST NORWOOD, Major-General J. W. van Oorschot on "Holland's Contribution to International Fellowship."

LAMBETH BRANCH has found that the policy of sending L.N.U. speakers to as many local organisations as possible—so energetically pursued by the Secretary, Mr. J. Barry—has not only had a valuable educational influence, but has materially strengthened the Branch. The membership at the end of last year was 190—an increase of 46 on 1942. In two years, after its bad time in the blitz, the Branch has nearly doubled its membership. Altogether there were 60 meetings addressed by Union speakers during 1943, the size of the audiences varying from about 20 to about 80.

During January meetings in the LAMBETH area were held at Christ Church, Oakley Place Methodist Mission, Westow Hill Methodist Church, All Saints, Studley Road Church, the R.A.C.S. Women's Guild, Kenyon Road Baptist Church, the Moffatt Institute and Springfield Hall.

Mr. Catterall's engagements for the month included addresses at WESTMINSTER Y.M.C.A., CHELSFIELD W. I., WATFORD, MITCHAM Women's Fellowship, and CARSHALTON Married Women's Association. The subjects most in demand were "Moscow—Teheran—What Now?", "The Atlantic Charter" and "The League of Nations and the Future."

Mr. R. A. White spoke on "The Shape of Things to Come" at the Dragon Parade Methodist Church, HARROGATE. HOCKLEY W.I. had a talk from Mrs. Astu Kenney on "Norway."

WEST MERSEA BRANCH reports:—"The collection of members' subscriptions has gone very well indeed, and it is perfectly true to say that the response has again

been 100 per cent. complete, while quite a few, including those living many miles from here, have voluntarily increased theirs."

From South Africa

Mrs. Robertson, Secretary of the JOHANNESBURG BRANCH of the SOUTH AFRICAN LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION, writes:—

"We find a definite growing interest in international peace affairs, and I am again being asked to address Societies on Peace. Apart from General Smuts, whose speeches are reported in the British Press, we do not have many of our politicians speaking on world affairs. The utterances of United States and British statesmen are, however, fully reported here, so we are kept well informed. There is a new interest in welding together the different countries in Africa and we hear a good deal about that."

STATISTICAL YEAR-BOOK 1941-1942.
(League of Nations Publications. Allen and Unwin. 10s. paper, 12s. 6d. bound.)

An invaluable compendium of the most important and most recent demographic, social, economic and financial statistics of all the countries of the world. The tables are especially useful in showing the changes which have occurred since the beginning of the war.

PEACE AND RECONSTRUCTION YEAR BOOK FOR 1944. (National Peace Council, 144, Southampton Row, London, W.C.1. 1s. 7½d. post free.)

This Year Book, which appears again in a shorter war-time form, contains directories of organisations concerned with problems of post-war settlement and reconstruction, classified bibliographies on international affairs and other information of value to the student of post-war questions.

Our Address:

HEADWAY

**11, MAIDEN LANE,
LONDON, W.C.2.**

Telephone:

TEMple Bar 6140

BRITAIN'S ROLE IN WORLD ECONOMY

By RICHARD V. JENNER

One of the most refreshing facts which have emerged from the now considerable number of international Conferences, Agreements and Plans for a Better World after the War is the great measure of agreement among the leaders of all the major political parties in Great Britain as to our future role in the New Economic Order. It would yet be premature for Ministers to enter into detailed speculations as to the future political set-up of the world; nor is it easy for anyone to visualise the exact political situation in this country after the war. But it is possible to make very comprehensive plans in the economic sphere, which should do much to prepare the ground for lasting political agreement when the time comes to effect an international settlement, and which was so largely overlooked in the Treaty of Versailles.

The fact that British Leaders of otherwise divergent views should have reached such agreement in this sphere is extremely hopeful for two reasons. In the first place, it indicates that, whatever support we may receive from our Allies, Great Britain is determined to present a united front in ensuring peace and prosperity throughout the world. Secondly, however the political pendulum may swing in post-war politics at home, we shall have grounds for hope that a sound and consistent economic policy will be pursued abroad.

Let us examine some of our Leaders' declarations.

The Prime Minister, Leader of the Conservative Party (and President of the League of Nations Union), Mr. Churchill, has expressed many hopes for the future of International Collaboration and of the new League of Nations. In one of his most interesting addresses, given at Harvard University on September 6, 1943, he assured his audience that various schemes of achieving world security while yet preserving national rights, traditions and customs are being studied and proved. We had all the fine work that was done a

quarter of a century ago by those who devised the League of Nations after the last war. We had learnt from hard experience that stronger, more efficient, more rigorous world institutions must be created to preserve peace and to forestall the causes of future wars. In this task, the strongest victorious nations must be combined, as well as those who had suffered under the flail of adversity.

The Secretary of State for Air and Leader of the Liberal Party, Sir Archibald Sinclair, stressed the interdependence of international security and social security to the Liberal Party Conference in London on July 17, 1943. He expressed his hopes for the future World Economic Order, declaring that the best contrived structure of international order and peace would inevitably collapse if its economic foundations were unsound, and if masses of men and women in many countries were condemned to unemployment and falling standards of life. Hence, there was the impossibility of achieving our social and economic aspirations at home without laying the foundations of a just and free political and economic order abroad.

The Foreign Secretary, another Conservative Leader, Mr. Eden, stated the objective of the United Nations in the course of a speech to the Governing Body of the International Labour Office at its concluding session in London on December 20, 1943. He said that our objective might be simply stated. It was that the world should be so organised that there should be employment for all; that it should be so developed in the interests of the many and not for the few; and that, on that basis, the nations would join together to pursue peace and to rid future generations of the dread that had shadowed our time. He would like to see the I.L.O. organisation become the main international instrument to give effect to Article 5 of the Atlantic Charter—improved labour standards, economic adjustments and social security.

The Home Secretary, a Leader of the Labour Party, Mr. Herbert Morrison, gave his view of the British Commonwealth's contribution to International Collaboration, in an address at Newcastle-on-Tyne on January 11, 1944. He said that he wanted the British Commonwealth to last, not because it was British, but because it was good and would be better yet. Without it, the world would lose a great factor of stability and progress, just when those things would be most needed. After the war the whole British Commonwealth—self-governing Dominions and dependent Colonies—would need to, and would want to, adopt as a condition of its own survival enlightened policies of international co-operation. One of the strongest claims of the British system on the confidence of other nations, great and small, was that the long-term interests of our Empire were wholly in accord with the long-term interests of the international society of nations as a whole.

The Lord Chancellor, a Leader of the National Liberal Party, Lord Simon, gave the great object of the British Government's Financial Policy, in the House of Lords on July 22, 1942. He declared that the whole object of our post-war financial policy must be to do all that is possible to give practical and lasting effect to the admittedly general language of the Atlantic Charter. We should at all times be ready to join with our Allies in following a course which might be as far as past experience went comparatively uncharted, if it was going to lead us to the greater welfare of all the people whom the Atlantic Charter sought to serve.

The President of the Board of Trade, another Leader of the Labour Party, Dr. Dalton, expressed his desire for an Expansive Economy, in the House of Commons on July 27, 1943. He affirmed that our hope and our aim was to join with other nations and Governments in creating after the war what was commonly called an expansive world economy. The expansive economy which we should like to see was one in which standards of life expanded as living standards improved, and in which regular employment and better wages accompanied expanding production. There would be room for all, if we made our arrangements aright for a world-wide

prosperity which would exploit the hitherto undreamed of possibilities both in production and in consumption, in backward lands as well as in more civilised countries.

The Dominions Secretary, another Leader of the Conservative Party, Lord Cranborne, dealt with the important question of Post-War Relief, in the House of Lords on December 9, 1942. He pointed out that the organisation of relief on an adequate scale was a vast undertaking. The war and the enemy occupation had ravaged some of the most densely populated and prosperous areas of the globe. If those countries were to be restored to prosperity within any reasonable period, steps must be taken beforehand to avert the risk of famine and the even greater risk of pestilences which are bred of malnutrition, and to provide the immediate measures of assistance needed to secure the rebuilding of social and economic life. Action after the war for this purpose was not to be defended merely on humanitarian grounds. None of us could restore our own prosperity if our neighbours were going to be ruined.

Here, surely, are peace aims which can really point the way to a New Order, and which can lead and inspire other nations along the road to peace and prosperity. We must see that this time they are implemented!

AMERICAN LIBRARY

The Office of War Information of the United States Government extends to members of the League of Nations Union a cordial invitation to use the American Library which it has established over here as a special war reference library. An increasingly valuable collection of basic printed data is being got together, and every effort is being made to secure the rapid transmittal of a wide range of American periodicals, books and documents.

The Reading Room is on the ground floor (Room 21) of the American Embassy, 1, Grosvenor Square, London. It is open from Monday to Saturday, 9 a.m. to 6 p.m. (Telephone: Grosvenor 3422, extensions 5308 and 5311.)

WORLD AFFAIRS IN PARLIAMENT

By OWEN RATTENBURY

As Parliament did not meet until the latter part of January, there are, on the foreign affairs side, only a few questions and answers that I can deal with this time.

Europe's Food

On the first sitting day the question of food conditions in Greece, Belgium and France was raised by Mr. T. Edmund Harvey, and in reply Mr. Dingle Foot (Economic Warfare) stated the present conditions. In France, he said, an improved wheat crop has increased the bread ration by 6 oz. per head per week. There is also a slight improvement in the sugar allowance to children under three. Bread ration is regularly available, but full and punctual distribution of meat and fats is not everywhere maintained. German demands for French agricultural products are again high.

In Belgium, following the harvest, there have been two increases in the bread ration, the weekly allowance per consumer being now 74 oz. as compared with 55 oz. in April last. Fats and cheese were increased by $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. in September, with a reduction of $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. in meat ration. These are regularly available, and children continue to receive their priority ration of milk.

In Greece there appears to be no rationing of domestic produce. One Relief Commission distributes a regular bread ration in the principal towns and flour in many country areas. In addition it distributes pulses, supplementary flour, sugar and sometimes olive oil and dried fruits, especially near the capital. It also supplies supplementary allowances of bread and other foods, including milk to children. Conditions in smaller towns vary considerably, according to availability of local supplies, which frequently depends upon local military activity. Supplies of cereals in the Greek islands are seriously inadequate, but the Commission is endeavouring to extend relief to islands it has not previously touched. Conditions are better in the rural food

producing areas than in the cities and towns.

Metals for Germany

A question about Germany's metal imports produced the reply that she had been getting 20 per cent. of her iron from Sweden, but this will be substantially lower in 1944. Of her wolfram supplies 50 per cent. came from Portugal and 40 per cent. from Spain. On this reply Mr. George Strauss asked: "Does it not follow that 90 per cent. of Germany's wolfram to-day comes from the Iberian peninsula and that, if it were cut off, Germany's war industries would be entirely crippled?" On Mr. Foot replying, "Yes, Sir," Mr. Shinwell asked whether it was not time that we informed Portugal and Spain, particularly Portugal, our old ally, that we were not going to stand for this much longer. There was no reply.

Foreign Office Matters

On the next day Mr. Eden was interrogated. First of all Mr. Hannah wanted to know what New World countries were willing to receive immigrants if large numbers wanted to leave Europe after the war. The Foreign Secretary knew of none who had expressed their willingness to do so in that hypothetical case. Mr. Hannah persisted. Was it not certain that large numbers would want to go? It was difficult to estimate, replied Mr. Eden. He would rather hope that we might have a better Europe which people would not wish to leave.

With regard to the Spanish troops on the Russian front, Mr. Eden told the House that he had informed the Spanish Government through their Ambassador of the serious effect which this continuing unneutral assistance to our enemies against our allies must have on Anglo-Spanish relations now and in future. Further, Sir Samuel Hoare had made our attitude clear in Madrid. Mr. Shinwell asked whether these representations in Spain

had ever had any effect, and was not stronger action demanded? Mr. Eden said that, if he would examine the records, he would find where these representations had had effect sometimes.

On the question of Russia and Poland Mr. Eden, deprecating discussion in question and answer of such delicate matters, said they were of course absorbing the attention of the Government who were in closest touch with both their allies; and their prevailing desire was to bring about a friendly settlement.

On the Greek guerillas he reiterated his statement that it was the Government's policy to support all who were prepared to fight the Germans. Plans, however, could not have full effect until a settlement between the guerillas had been finally concluded. They therefore hoped that the rival bands would be reconciled to present a united front, and that this unity would be maintained during the war and after the liberation of the country.

Regarding Lebanon, Mr. Eden reported that General Catroux had made the agreement by which the *intérêts communs* (common to Syria and Lebanon) were transferred to those States by the French from January 1. General Catroux was remaining in the Levant for further negotiations.

Mr. Pickthorn asked for the whereabouts of the Free Yugoslavian Radio Station, but Mr. Eden could not give this information. When Mr. Pickthorn pressed to know whether it was in fact in Yugoslavia at all, the Foreign Secretary replied that he had to decide two things: was his information accurate, and was it his responsibility to give information about the location of a station being operated by those whom we were helping in the fight? On Captain Plugge asking if the station in question was not using the Zagreb transmitter, Mr. Eden suggested that he should exchange his information with the original questioner.

L.N.U. LIBRARY BACK AGAIN

THE L.N.U. LIBRARY, after four years in Bristol where it was removed for safety at the beginning of the war, has been moved back to London.

It is hoped that an even more efficient and speedy service will now be possible.

Members are invited to visit the Library at 11, Maiden Lane, W.C.2. They may borrow books, and also make use of the many works of reference on international affairs of which the library has an excellent collection.

The Library includes the most recent books on post-war reconstruction, the latest publications of the League of Nations and the International Labour Office, and the most up-to-date books on the countries of our Allies and Germany (especially her position in post-war Europe) as well as on many other questions of the day.

N.B.—The Library is free to all members of the Union.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

DARKNESS OVER GERMANY. By E. Amy Buller. (Longmans. 10s. 6d.)

There is much talk of the "re-education" of Germany after the war. If, as many people argue, the case is pathological, what is the disease that must be cured? Can any help be expected from the patient? Miss Buller, who knew Germany intimately between the two wars, here sets down the stories of some Germans who did not leave their country but stayed to fight the Nazis. Her book is the fruit of discussions with groups of students on fire-guard duty. One point that emerges is that, in the confused situation which was Germany's damnation, skill and strategy as well as courage were needed by all who dared to resist Nazi teaching. Hitler was a symbolic representation of many elements in the German nation at a crucial time in history, and gained power by identifying himself not only with evil and sick types but with the needs and yearnings of numbers of normal Germans. More and more, as he gained power with the help of groups that gave him partial allegiance, he became synonymous with the evil elements. The vast and impressive background of organised pageantry, against which the Nazi movement was organised, hypnotised not only Germans but hosts of deeply impressed but quite uncritical visitors as well. Diplomats like Sir Nevile Henderson, too, completely failed to realise what was going on behind the scenes.

It is clear from this book that some Germans opposed the Nazi regime from its inception and that others later became nauseated with its excesses. Inevitably it can give no picture of the situation in war-time Germany.

WHAT TO DO WITH ITALY. By Gaetano Salvemini and George La Piana. (Gollancz. 6s.)

This is one of the books originally written for the American public, which the firm of Gollancz has been issuing in English jackets. Although in a sense events, as a result of the time lag, have overtaken the authors, their arguments remain substantially valid. Perhaps they spend too much time at the beginning in lining up the scapegoats of the past—not only Italians but British and American. Their argument is that the moral and political responsibility for the present situation in Italy is not confined to the Italian people, but is shared by the leaders and people of other countries. The problem, as put by the two Professors, is whether we intend to let the Italians choose their own political system, or try to thrust a reactionary government on them by back-stage intrigue. Many readers will find most food for thought in the concluding chapters, in which the authors discuss some of the main problems of reorganisation which will confront Italy after the war.

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