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EDITORIAL

THE L.N.U. GENERAL COUNCIL

It is difficult to resist the temptation to write in superlatives about the meeting of the General Council of the League of Nations Union which met in the Livingstone Hall, Westminster, on December 9 and 10, 1943. A remarkably high standard had been set at previous war-time Council meetings, but by general consent this was the best of all. Full stimulus was drawn from the recent Moscow Conference and other indications that the United Nations are at last in the mood for seriously tackling the problems of post-war organisation and reconstruction. Some capital, constructive speeches were heard both from the platform and from the floor of the hall—vigorous, realistic and challenging in tone, but all good spirited. On the main issues before the Council, general agreement was reached with a minimum of futile controversy. It was a good tempered, businesslike and optimistic Council.

That the L.N.U. and all that it stands for is again coming on the map seemed also to be the view of the Press, which displayed a livelier interest in the proceedings than for a long while past. One Fleet Street reporter, who had attended a number of our Council meetings, passed a note up to the platform. Why, he asked, is the average age of the audience twenty years younger this time? New blood among the representation of the Branches certainly helped to create a fresh and active atmosphere; but the circumstances of the time, too, combined to make the Council forward-looking in spirit.

The scope of the Council's work can be seen from the resolutions adopted, which are published in full on pp. 3-5 of this number. Among domestic items, chief interest was aroused by the proposals for a National Memorial to Major Freshwater. The Memorial Fund is to be launched without delay and a special account opened at Headquarters. It is now up to the Branches and the members. Each Branch, of course, must decide the most propitious moment for making its own appeal, but speed will be one of the elements of success. It was stressed, during the Council discussions, that Branch funds must not be used for this purpose—that would not be permitted under the Union's Royal Charter.

Lord Cecil devoted his Presidential Address to an explanation of the Draft Pact for the Future International Authority which had been prepared by the Policy Sub-Committee and adopted by the Executive. Warmly welcoming the Moscow Four-Power Declaration, he said that our Pact was illustrative of how that policy might be carried out. But it could only be made effective with the active support of the rank and file of our movement throughout the country. Another feature of the Council was a fine speech from Mr. Noel Baker, M.P., with his eloquent tribute to Lord Cecil. Miss K. D. Courtney roused the Council to enthusiasm with her stirring appeal for the whole Union to get on with the job.

THE LEAGUE AT WORK

One of HEADWAY'S aims in war-time has been to keep readers in touch with current activities of the League of Nations. From time to time articles and news paragraphs have shown what is being done by the League to serve the present and future needs of the world, in the wide range of constructive work that is being maintained from centres in both the Old World and the New. If, some months, nothing fresh can be reported, that does not mean that the work has been halted. Much of it, though intensely valuable, is by its very nature continuous and un spectacular. As with the conduct of the war, you can't have an offensive every day. Since very few League committees can be got together under war-time conditions, in the main it is left to the various sections of the Secretariat to get on with the job in the light of their vast knowledge and experience. At intervals, when the time is ripe, they issue reports. Even so, owing to difficulties of communications, there is often a time-lag before the information is available in this country.

Just at present, it so happens, evidence of League vitality has suddenly broadened from an occasional trickle into a stream. December has seen two meetings of important bodies. Mr. Ernest Bevin,

Minister of Labour and National Service, welcomed the Governing Body of the International Labour Office when it opened its session in London on December 16. Previous to this the King received Mr. Carter Goodrich, the Chairman, and the members of the Governing Body in audience at Buckingham Palace. A week or two earlier the League's Economic and Financial Committees met at Princeton, New Jersey, with Sir Frederick Leith-Ross attending as the principal British member. Following up the Atlantic City Conference resolution providing for close co-operation between U.N.R.R.A. and the League's technical services, it was agreed that League help should be placed at the disposal of the U.N.R.R.A. interim commission on food and agriculture and such other inter-governmental agencies as might be created.

Some new League publications, of especial interest and value from the point of view of post-war conditions, have also just arrived. Attention is drawn to the I.L.O. report on *The Health of Children in Occupied Europe*, the *Chronicle* of the League's Health Organisation, and Sir Herbert Emerson's report on *International Assistance to Refugees*, summaries of which will be found in this number.

THREE-FAITH DECLARATION

From the United States the text has reached us of a significant THREE-FAITH DECLARATION ON WORLD PEACE, issued on October 7, 1943, by recognised and representative religious leaders of the country. After Protestant, Catholic and Jewish Preambles, to provide for the expression of three characteristic angles of approach to the organisation of a just peace, there follows the joint Declaration based upon seven principles. These may be summarised thus: (1) The moral law must govern world order; (2) The rights of the individual must be assured; (3) The rights of oppressed, weak or colonial peoples must be protected; (4) The rights of minorities must be secured; (5) International institutions to maintain peace

with justice must be organised; (6) International economic co-operation must be developed; (7) A just social order within each State must be achieved.

The fifth of these points declares that "An enduring peace requires the organisation of international institutions which will (a) develop a body of international law, (b) guarantee the faithful fulfilment of international obligations, and revise them when necessary, (c) assure collective security by drastic limitation and continuing control of armaments, compulsory arbitration and adjudication of controversies, and the use when necessary of adequate sanctions to enforce the law."

One purpose of the Declaration is to dispel confusion in the public mind.

GENERAL COUNCIL DECISIONS

Budget for 1944

The General Council authorises the Executive Committee to continue expenditure at the present rate of some £12,000 a year for so long as it finds desirable or possible, and to make such alterations in the rate of expenditure as it may think necessary.

National Memorial to Major Freshwater

The General Council of the League of Nations Union,

Deeply moved by the loss of Major A. J. C. Freshwater, M.C., T.D., Deputy Secretary of the Union from 1922 to 1938, and Secretary from 1938 until his sudden death in July, 1943, in the service of our country and our cause;

Inspired by his example to make greater efforts to increase the membership and influence of the Union and its Branches;

And desiring to do honour to his name,
Resolves

- (1) That a Freshwater Memorial Fund be established.
- (2) That subscriptions be publicly invited to this Fund and that all Branches of the Union be asked to make the Fund known to their members.
- (3) That the Fund be used to provide each year Freshwater Travelling Fellowships and Bursaries and a Freshwater Memorial Shield, the last two to be awarded to the Branches most deserving of recognition for their membership and work, special consideration being given to such factors as:
 - (a) Increase in membership;
 - (b) Paid-up membership on a basis of percentage of population, taking also into account the number of Foundation and other members;
 - (c) Branch activities, such as public meetings and the provision of speakers for other organisations, debates and study circles, Sunday services, distribution of literature, the organised collection of membership subscriptions, and work with youth and in the schools, etc., etc.
- (4) That a Freshwater Memorial Committee be appointed to administer the Fund.
- (5) That, so far as may be practicable, the Committee shall award each year
 - (a) A Travelling Fellowship of the value of, say, £75 in order to enable one (or more) members to visit the annual Assembly of the International Authority, or to visit, say,

the United States of America or Soviet Russia, or to undertake some other form of international travel;

- (b) A Freshwater Memorial Shield to be held for one year by the winning Branch;
- (c) As Regional Prizes, a Bursary of the value of, say, £7 10s. to the Branch most deserving of recognition in each region (other than the Branch winning the National Prize) in order to enable one (or more) of its members to attend a League of Nations Union Summer School;
- (d) Such further Regional Prizes (e.g., for Youth) as the Committee may decide, having regard to the funds at its disposal;

but that it be left to the Committee to determine each year the number and value of the awards to be made, and that they be empowered either to invest the whole of the Fund in order to provide in perpetuity an annual income for such awards or to use a part of the Fund each year as they may think best, having regard to the sum of money subscribed. For the purpose of awarding Bursaries the Branches shall be grouped by the Committee into twelve or such other number of Regions as may be from time to time determined.

- (6) That the winning Branch be asked to nominate from among its members candidates for the receipt of the Travelling Fellowship and that it be left to the Committee to make the final award.
- (7) That the Freshwater Memorial Committee shall, in the first instance, consist of the following six representatives of the Executive Committee: Lord Lytton, Miss Courtney, Mr. Burris, Lady Hall, Mr. Howe and Mr. Syrett; and the following six representatives of the Branches: Mr. Hawkins (Hon. Secretary, East of Scotland District Council), the Secretary of the Welsh National Council, Councillor Beevers (Chairman, Montague Burton's Works Branch), Mr. Leonard Behrens (Hon. Secretary, Manchester District Council), Mr. Hall Todd (Organising Secretary, Northamptonshire Federal Council) and Mr. Prior (Organising Secretary, Essex Federal Council).
- (8) That Trustees for the Fund be appointed by the Freshwater Memorial Committee.

Draft Pact for the Future International Authority

The General Council warmly welcomes the Four-Power Agreement signed at Moscow and

approves of the publication in the name of the Executive Committee of the Draft Pact prepared by the Policy Sub-Committee and adopted by the Executive, as being consistent with the Moscow Policy.

In view of the high importance of the subject, the Council recommends to Branches an earnest study of this Draft Pact, together with any other documents they may think relevant to the subject.

The Council further urges the Executive Committee to take all possible steps to popularise and support the Moscow Policy and for that purpose to make such use of the Draft Pact as they shall think right.

(Note.—The Council were assured that the Executive Committee would give further consideration to the wording of the Draft Pact in the light of the Council's discussion, and that the Minority Report would be included among the documents to be made available to Branches.)

Foundation of an International Authority

The General Council of the League of Nations Union,

Anxious to make effective the desire of the Union for the establishment of an effective International Authority, and

Realising that such an Authority will have a greater chance of success if it arises out of practical international co-operation than if it is founded merely on a paper constitution;

Welcomes the outcome of the Moscow Conference as a first step in this direction;

Urges that the co-operative machinery devised by the United Nations during the war should be maintained and co-ordinated as part of the basis of the new International Authority; and

Hopes that full use will be made of the existing Organisations of the League of Nations and of the International Labour Office.

Preparation of the Public Mind for World Peace

Realising that the only permanent basis for assured world peace is that of just and equitable dealing between nations,

The General Council of the League of Nations Union recommends

(1) That the task of training the young in the duties and privileges of world citizenship should be greatly extended and should include additional teaching dealing with the far-reaching and important humanitarian work of the League;

(2) That much rudimentary preparatory work should be carried through without delay with a view to building up as extensively as possible an informed public

opinion as to what constitutes just and equitable dealing in human affairs;

(3) That, as a first step to building informed public opinion, a one-page leaflet or card be prepared, addressed to the man-in-the-street, giving three reasons why peace cannot exist without world organisation as well as national government.

(Note.—The above motion, when submitted to the General Council by the Edinburgh Branch, included the following paragraph, which was subsequently withdrawn on the understanding that the Executive Committee would consider the matter and draft a resolution on the subject for consideration by the Council at its next meeting:

"That from the best legal and ethical minds of all lands should be commissioned a panel to work out a minimum code of international law as a basis for informed discussion and from which an adequate system of international law, capable of being administered by an international court, might reasonably be expected to evolve.")

The Trial and Punishment of War Criminals

1 (a) Punishment of War Criminals.

The General Council of the League of Nations Union recognises that war cannot be made humane. But acts of violence permissible to a belligerent are strictly defined and limited by rules of International Law.

The charge against the Germans and their associates is that, in defiance of these rules, they have carried out a system of terrorism by slaughter, outrage and torture, not to speak of robbery and destruction, unjustified by any military necessity and aimed at men, women and children of all ages and in certain cases dictated by racial or religious prejudice as in the wholesale massacre of Jews.

In order to re-establish the principles of Law, to satisfy the legitimate indignation caused by these horrors, and to prevent retaliatory massacres, the Executive Committee believes that it is essential that those individuals, whoever they may be, who are accused of having ordered or carried out such crimes should be brought before courts of justice which shall, after open and rigorously fair trial, pass sentence on any persons convicted of the offences charged against them.

The Council welcomes the Moscow Declaration by the Governments of the U.S.A., the U.K., and the U.S.S.R., on this subject, and hopes that, if possible, the Courts before which the War Criminals are brought will be given an international character.

THE MOSCOW CONFERENCE

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THE FOUR POWER DECLARATION

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Among the decisions of the Moscow Conference, one is of supreme importance as a contribution to the building of the future peace. The British, American, Russian and Chinese Governments jointly asserted "the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organisation ...for the maintenance of peace and security."

Note first what was the problem which the statesmen at Moscow had to face, and then consider the answer that they gave.

THE PROBLEM

The demand for Peace

Mr. Eden, Mr. Hull, M. Molotov, and the Chinese Ambassador must have started with the assumption that all their peoples, and the very great majority of all the people in the world, want peace—not simply a holiday from wars but a peace system in which mankind can be free for constructive work and healthy leisure. That aim has already been defined for all the 34 United Nations in the Atlantic Charter's call for "a system of general security".

The demand for Nationhood

Those statesmen knew, too, that, besides the passionate desire for peace, there is a not less strong desire for all that is valuable in nationhood. Manifestly, the desire for freedom to choose and create national forms of government, the desire to recover the responsibilities of self-government, has inspired the unconquerable resistance to the Axis invaders; and the desire to assume these responsibilities burns now with a new heat in India, in Korea, the Philippines, the Arab world and in Jewry, in the West Indies and elsewhere. As the Atlantic Charter recognised, and as Marshal Stalin emphasised just after the Moscow Conference, a peace which ran counter to this desire for nationhood, self-determination, and self-government would be a peace on rotten foundations.

The need for Relief and Reconstruction

The Conference recognised "the necessity of ensuring a rapid and orderly transit from war to peace"; for after the prolonged hunger, the destruction of towns, paralysis of transport, ruthless plundering by the enemy, expatriation of over 20 million people in Europe, spread of disease, lack of raw materials and general crippling of production, and the ruin of Europe's monetary systems, a huge co-operative work of relief and reconstruction will be required. A short-term programme of relief, such as was undertaken in 1919, will not suffice; unless there is also a long-term programme of "rehabilitation", sufficient to restart agricultural and industrial production, we shall all suffer. It was to meet these needs that, after long preparation, U.N.R.R.A.—the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration—was launched a few days after the Moscow Conference.

Disarmament of the Axis Powers

The Conference assumed, as did the Atlantic Charter, that one of the conditions of an armistice with Germany would be her disarmament. The Charter says in effect that the peace-making should be in two stages, a first stage during

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which the Axis Powers will be one-sidedly disarmed, and a second stage when a "system of general security" can be established on a footing of full equality of rights for all the participating nations.

The Lesson of the League

The four statesmen had witnessed the failure of the League of Nations to prevent this war. What was wrong—the broad idea or its carrying out?

The League was based on the idea that there must be an organised community of nations for two main purposes—to promote collaboration in making an acceptable peace, to provide peaceful means for settling international disputes, and to provide collective security against aggression. Was that idea wrong: or had governments and peoples, especially in countries which could command great power, shirked their fair share of the responsibility for protecting the laws of peace?

Remembering the experience of their countries, the four men could only conclude that the broad idea was right. Peace will be insecure, weak nations will be at the mercy of the strong, unless there is "a general international organisation", with laws of peaceful behaviour, and unless these laws are protected by preponderant power, certainly available and impartially applied.

Power and Responsibility

Recognising this, the statesmen had to ask themselves—where is this preponderant power to come from? They could only answer that it must come primarily from their own countries. For there are very few communities now which command resources sufficient for sustaining total war, and those few certainly include the two giant Federations, the United States and the Soviet Union. They include Britain, small and islanded as she is, if she is morally alert, skilful in reconciling order with new liberty and equality, quick in political leadership and economic enterprise; if vital sea communications are kept open; and if the cohesion of the scattered British Commonwealth is maintained. They are coming to include China, with her vast potential strength.

The other nations, of course, will have an indispensable contribution to bring; France, not least, and Germany, too, when the power of the Nazis and their accomplices has been grubbed out by the roots. The pattern of power that we see in 1944 will not stay fixed.

But the fact remains that those Four Powers represented at Moscow command a very great proportion of the world's coercive power, and that if these Powers will accept a responsibility commensurate with their strength, they can together furnish an invincible guard for the laws of peace.

If their power is pooled, it is adequate to prevent or defeat aggression anywhere; and if they stand together, leaving no doubt as to their will and readiness to afford their guardianship, then the risk involved should not prove an intolerable heavy burden.

So the momentous question was—would these four statesmen at Moscow give any assurance that their countries will, in a general international organisation, pool their power for the community's defence?

THE FOUR POWER DECLARATION

Here is the answer which the Four Powers gave. The Governments of Britain, the United States, the Soviet Union and China recognised:—

"the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a *general international organisation* based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving States and open to membership by all such States, large or small, for the maintenance of international peace and security."

They also declared that

"for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security pending the re-establishment of law and order and the inauguration of a system of general security, they will consult with each other, and, as occasion requires, with other members of the United Nations, with a view to *joint action on behalf of the community of nations.*"

They pledged themselves to continue their united action after the war "for the organisation and maintenance of peace and security".

And they emphasised the need for a general limitation of armaments as part of the system of general security.

Here, surely, is something to be thankful for. For here is the clearest possible assurance of the community of purpose of the Governments of these four mighty Powers. Here is a pledge of "united action" in the peace-making as well as in the war. Here is an assurance that, during Europe's convalescence, the power of the four partners shall be used jointly "on behalf of the community of nations". And here—most important of all—is a call for action to establish in due course "a general international organisation . . . for the maintenance of international peace and security".

Our task as citizens is to respond to that lead. In particular, we should do our utmost to ensure that there is no wavering of effort to achieve that "*general international organisation*", and to ensure that its laws of peace are *protected by preponderant power, certainly available and impartially applied.*

THE DECLARATION OF MOSCOW *

The Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, the U.S.S.R., and China: United in their determination, in accordance with the declaration by the United Nations of January 1, 1942, and subsequent declarations, to continue hostilities against those Axis Powers with which they respectively are at war until such Powers have laid down their arms on the basis of unconditional surrender; conscious of their responsibility to secure the liberation of themselves and the people allied to them from the menace of aggression; recognising the necessity of ensuring rapid and orderly transit from war to peace and establishing and maintaining international peace and security with the least diversion of this world's human and economic resources for armaments; jointly declare:

1. That their united action, pledged for the prosecution of the war against their respective enemies, will be continued for the organisation and maintenance of peace and security;
2. That those of them at war with a common enemy will act together in all matters relating to the surrender and disarmament of that enemy;
3. That they will take all measures deemed by them to be necessary to provide against any violation of the terms imposed on the enemy;
4. That they recognise the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organisation, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving States, and open to membership by all such States, large or small, for the maintenance of international peace and security;
5. That for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security pending the re-establishment of law and order and the inauguration of a system of general security they will consult with each other, and, as occasion requires, with other members of the United Nations, with a view to joint action on behalf of the community of nations;
6. That after the termination of hostilities they will not employ their military forces within the territories of other States except for the purposes envisaged in this declaration and after joint consultation; and
7. That they will confer and co-operate with one another and with other members of the United Nations to bring about a practicable general agreement with respect to the regulation of armaments in the post-war period.

*Text of the Four Power Declaration adopted at the Moscow Conference, October 19 to 30, 1943. Three Power Declarations (by the U.S.A., United Kingdom and U.S.S.R. were adopted on Italy, Austria and War Criminals.)

The Council welcomes the assurances by the Government that they are taking preparatory steps in the direction indicated and it trusts that, as and when enemy-occupied territory comes under United Nations control, they will secure all known accused persons there. It also hopes that it may be possible to prevent such persons escaping from justice into neutral territory and that, if they do so escape, the United Nations will require their surrender.

(b) Prevention, where possible, of further War Crimes.

The General Council considers that it is of the utmost importance that all possible steps should be taken by the United Nations to rescue persons criminally threatened with violence in the countries occupied by Axis forces. In particular, as territories are in process of liberation, the strongest pressure should be put on those still in control of them to abstain from any violence against the inhabitants, to remove all discriminative measures, especially those against the Jews, and to rescue as many as possible who might still be in danger of attack.

2. The General Council of the League of Nations Union is of opinion that no person figuring on a list of wanted war criminals of any of the United Nations should, on grounds of military expediency or for any other reason, be entrusted with any post of confidence.

International Labour Organisation

The General Council welcomes the meeting of the Governing Body of the International Labour Organisation in London on December 16th. It considers this meeting to be of the greatest importance, and hopes that it may decide to call a conference of the International Labour Organisation in 1944.

The General Council, recognising the interdependence of social reform and economic reconstruction, trusts that H.M. Government will emphasise the urgency of securing the whole-hearted collaboration of the International Labour Organisation in all international discussions on economic and social reconstruction.

The General Council desires to record its appreciation that the co-operation of the International Labour Organisation has now been sought, both on the Interim Food Committee and on the Standing Committee of U.N.R.R.A.

(Note.—Dr. Murray was asked, on behalf of the Council, to send a message of greeting to the Governing Body of the I.L.O. on

the occasion of its meeting in London, and to enclose in his letter a copy of the above resolution.)

Defeated Nations and the International Authority

The General Council of the League of Nations Union is of the opinion that, after this war, the defeated nations on attaining stable governments representative of the people which have given definite evidence of their determination to renounce aggression and to play their part in maintaining world peace, should be invited to join any federal or international body such as the League of Nations

Long Distance Civil Air Services

The General Council of the League of Nations Union reaffirms its belief that the ultimate control of long-distance air services by an international governing body is essential to avoid international rivalry potentially dangerous to peace.

Inter-Allied Bureau for Educational Reconstruction

The General Council

Records its high appreciation of the action of the President of the Board of Education in setting up a Conference of Ministers of Education of Allied Governments:

Warmly welcomes the decision of that Conference to establish an Inter-Allied Bureau for Educational Reconstruction; and

Trusts that H.M. Government will make every effort to ensure:

(a) That the governing body of the Bureau is fully representative of all the United Nations;

(b) That a properly qualified United Nations' Secretariat directly responsible to the governing body of the Bureau is appointed at the earliest possible date; and

(c) That the Bureau is adequately financed.

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THE I.L.O. IN LONDON

(FROM OUR INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT)

"If—and this is a big if—the I.L.O. organisation did not exist, we should find it necessary to try to create it now, because it is only a tripartite organisation like this, which represents Governments, employers and workers, that can help us to give effect to this social objective which I have described."

With these striking words, Mr. Eden, the Foreign Secretary, announced the British Government's attitude towards the post-war role of the International Labour Office. He was speaking at the meeting of the Governing Body of the I.L.O. in London on December 20. Earlier in his speech, he had recalled his statement in the House of Commons: "I should like to see the I.L.O. become the main international instrument to give effect to Article 5 of the Atlantic Charter—improved labour standards, economic adjustments and social security. Here, in eight words, it seems to me, we epitomise the social objective of the United Nations."

The I.L.O., continued Mr. Eden, was now actively preparing to play its part in rebuilding a shattered world. In it, they had a tried instrument ready to hand through which, by consultation with Governments, managements and operatives, a comprehensive programme of labour and industrial reconstruction could be worked out. It had unrivalled expert experience and knowledge. What was still required was the good will of Governments and a determination to make co-operation with the I.L.O. a reality. "Without waiting for the end of the war, we have now begun to establish machinery through which international co-operation can achieve that aim."

"A Human Budget"

Mr. Eden's visit was the climax to a historic meeting. On the first day, Mr. Bevin, the Minister of Labour, had welcomed the members of the Governing Body. Better preparation was being made for peace, he said, than in the last war. The transition from war to peace was going on while the actual battles were being fought. The International Labour Office was performing

a great service in preparing to assist the liberated peoples to return to their democratic way of life. Victory, when it came, would be a victory won by all the people, and peace when it came must be a peace of the peoples.

"I believe," added Mr. Bevin, "that the essential need for the future is not a financial budget but a human one."

One piece of good news that he had was that the British Government had decided to ratify the Maritime Convention relating to sickness insurance. He assured the Governing Body that the Government had more than given effect to the Geneva decisions of 1936.

This Year's Conference

The chief business of the Governing Body was to make arrangements for the holding of an International Labour Conference in the spring of 1944. This will be a much more ambitious and even more representative Conference than that held in New York just over two years ago. It will, it is hoped, restore the I.L.O. to its full stature. Quite definitely the Organisation will stake out a claim to play a full part in making a reality of the social and economic clauses of the Atlantic Charter.

There was at one time a serious possibility that the Governing Body might decide to hold the Conference in London—especially as the world conference called by the Trades Union Congress would be meeting over here. However, for a number of reasons of convenience and practicability, the place finally chosen was Philadelphia. Here the Conference is to meet in April.

A most comprehensive agenda has been framed by the Governing Body. First, the future policy, programme and status of the I.L.O. will be determined. Secondly, recommendations on present and post-war policy will be drafted for the consideration of the United Nations. Then the Conference will consider the organisation of employment in the transition from war to peace, social security with special

(Continued on page 7.)

EDUCATION THE KEY

By MAURICE FANSHAWE

THE WORLD WE MEAN TO MAKE AND THE PART OF EDUCATION IN MAKING IT. By Maxwell Garnett. (Faber and Faber. 10s. 6d.)

Dr. Garnett's new book is most opportune and should be welcomed by all serious students, by educationalists and—dare we hope?—by statesmen. Much of the subject matter will be found to supplement and expand Sir Richard Livingstone's *Education for a World Adrift*. The first part of the book handles the political background of the past 20 years, with a penetrating analysis of the great experiment of the League of Nations. This first experiment, Dr. Garnett concludes, failed because we and other members of the League never really understood, never learned, that the master keys to peace consist in collective security and facing up to the economic consequences of the war. In other words, *the problem was one of lack of education*. The L.N.U., in spite of inadequate finance and lack of support in important quarters, put up a great fight to educate people in international affairs. But the education needed was on a larger, international scale; it was not forthcoming.

Next time we must do better. There is the existing experience of the League—much of it highly successful. The United Nations are collaborating in war, and are determined to collaborate in peace. The declarations at the Moscow Conference,

(Continued from page 6.)

reference to the problems arising out of the war, and minimum standards of social policy in dependent territories. An interesting sign of the I.L.O.'s determination is the examination of reports on the application of Conventions—even in war-time what has been achieved in the past is not to become a dead letter! Lastly Mr. Phelan's Report as Director will record what the I.L.O. is doing now.

and in the American Senate, leave no doubt about the point. There must be international organisation after the war and—this is a central principle in Dr. Garnett's book—this international organisation (which he calls "The Commonwealth") will depend for its success on the extent to which it concerns itself with Education. It must contain an *International Education Organisation*, representative of the teachers', parents' and students' associations, of education authorities and of Governments of the United Nations. For "The Commonwealth" can only, in fact, succeed if its citizens are educated to be loyal to its principles.

Dr. Garnett proceeds to analyse the qualities of the good citizen and then apply this to the general principles of education. There follows an intensive review of English Education and its future, in which there is only space here to call attention to wise and stimulating discussions on the teaching of religion, on young people's Colleges after perhaps the Danish People's High Schools model, which has been so successful, on the need of some common language (the author prefers Basic English) to serve as a bridge for a common understanding between peoples of broad international problems, and on recognition of the high calling and the right education of Teachers themselves.

MEMORIAL LEAFLET

A Memorial Leaflet to Madame Plamin-kova—the first woman member of the Czechoslovak delegation to the League of Nations—contains tributes from Dr. Benes, Mrs. Corbett Ashby and others to one of the Gestapo's victims. Copies may be obtained free from Miss Gonsava, Council of Czechoslovak Women in Great Britain, 155, High Street, Notting Hill Gate, W.11.

A LOOK AT THE INTERNATIONAL HORIZON—VI.

By HUGH VIVIAN

We have reached the sixth and final article of this series. In the first three articles we discussed what form of international machinery would best serve the social, economic and political aims which have been summarised in the Atlantic Charter; and what contribution we, in Great Britain and in the British Commonwealth of Nations, could make to this machinery. We decided that an organisation on the lines of the League of Nations was needed, whether it be called by its old name or by some new one like World Commonwealth or World Confederation or United Nations; and that we must play our full part in its provision as a united and contented Empire. The next step was to consider in slightly more detail the educational and economic issues which were raised by our decision. It is now appropriate to conclude by reviewing the political problems with which our organisation will be confronted.

Now the political aspect of international affairs is, as we have seen, largely dependent on the educational and economic aspects. It may also be described as the purely negative part of the subject. No one would deny its importance, but it is almost entirely concerned with the prevention of another war, whereas education and economics are concerned with the construction of a better peace. It is, however, in this field that we have the most lessons to learn from the failure of the old League, since it was here that the most glaring mistakes were made.

The New League

Study of these lessons shows that the new League will need to have three indispensable features which were sadly lacking in the old one. Firstly, it must be fully representative of the Powers that mean to keep the peace. Secondly, its members must have the unity and determination to arrive at agreed and positive decisions. Thirdly, and most essentially of all, it must have the force behind it to give effect to its decisions.

To say that the new League must be fully representative of the Powers that mean to keep the peace does not, of course, mean that it must be universal. The essential requirements are, rather, that it should be more powerful than any potential aggressors, and that it should contain all those nations which are inspired by the principles for which it stands. In particular, it should contain those nations which control the raw materials essential to war.

Thus, in addition to the British Commonwealth, it should contain the United States, Soviet Russia and China. Indeed, the decision of the United States to remain aloof, and the failure to include Russia in the earlier years, were two of the prime causes for the failure of the old League.

The new League should also include all the smaller peace-loving States, either as members of federations or individually. We must, however, beware of taking away national sovereignty and demanding national sacrifices by compulsion rather than by consent. Most nations—not least the smaller ones—will have a fervent desire for independence, and it is unlikely that many will be willing to hand over absolute and immediate control of foreign policy, defence or finance to an outside authority. We should, rather, seek to build an association of free nations, bound together by voluntary agreement and mutual interest but not by arbitrary dictation.

On the other hand, Germany and Japan and their accomplices should not be members until they have proved, by deed as well as word, that they are animated by the principles of freedom and justice and not by a crude lust for domination. If the political object of the international organisation is to prevent war, it would be folly to admit States which do not believe in observing international agreement. We may hope that the time will come when education will produce a change of heart in those countries, but until then they must be rigorously excluded from influ-

encing the world political order, though they must, as we have already seen, be allowed to partake of the benefits of the world economic order.

The Will to Co-operate

To say that the members of the new League must have the unity to arrive at agreed and positive decisions is another way of saying that they must have the will to co-operate. We have seen that this can be largely maintained by re-education, but there will also be a need for extensive political machinery.

Apart from systems of co-operation within the British Commonwealth and among the Great Powers, there may well be a need for a Council for Europe and a Council for Asia. The various systems of co-operation would really constitute sub-committees of the League, and they would enable individual members to undertake particular responsibilities for maintaining peace in those areas where their interests are paramount.

At the same time, there must be provision for members to consult together at the earliest moment on any development in the international situation which may lead to a breach of the peace. Though Article 11 of the Covenant of the old League did make such a provision, it was not always effective in practice. Possibly the situation could best be improved by giving the chief permanent and international official of the new League the duty of bringing before the members, on his own initiative, any potentially dangerous development, before the aggressor has time to re-arm.

Force Behind the Law

To say that the new League must have the force behind it to give effect to its decisions is to speak in the cause of true pacifism. Almost the only realist pacifist leader in this country before the war was Winston Churchill, because he almost alone demanded the force necessary to ensure peace. Few would heed his warnings and many have witnessed the result. Let us never make that mistake again!

The new League must possess an overwhelmingly strong armed force as the

final security for law and order. The fact must be faced that it was here above all that the old League failed, and that other schemes for keeping the peace, like economic sanctions without military backing, are only pin-pricks to spur an aggressor to increased violence.

Future Hopes

We may hope that, in years to come, it will be possible to build an international police force, and to bring under international control such potentially warlike industries as armament manufacture and civil aviation. Such a state of affairs would come about gradually, and the international authority would probably take over control from national governments according to a long-term plan. When this process is complete and there is no potential opposition to the force of the League, we may also hope for a considerable reduction of armaments.

But, in the many years which will undoubtedly intervene, every member of the new League will have to make its contribution in national forces to the defence of international security. Every nation, great or small, will have to show itself ready to put all its resources into the common pool and to fulfil the obligations which it will have voluntarily undertaken. Such contributions may be expensive, but they will be far cheaper than war. Moreover, sincere co-operation, efficient organisation and disarmament of the Axis Powers under Point 8 of the Atlantic Charter, will result in greater economy, so that individual contributions will be a great deal less than would be needed in the absence of a system of collective security.

Only by learning such lessons as have been outlined in this series of articles, and by supporting our Government in the light of this knowledge, can we play our part in building the Better World. Only so can we hope to hand down to our children a heritage of peace and prosperity such as many of us have ourselves never known. Let us go to it!

UP AND DOWN THE COUNTRY

During a visit to LEICESTER Miss K. D. Courtney spoke at the Newark Girls' School and at the Alderman Newton Boys' and Girls' Schools.

Allied speakers were again in great demand during December. Outstanding Branch meetings were those addressed by Mr. S. F. Hourmouzios (Greece) in the City Council Chamber at CHICHESTER, by Professor Arthur Newell (U.S.A.) at the Lawrence Sheriff School, RUGBY, by Mr. S. K. Chow on "China's Part in World Peace" at STREATHAM, by Mr. H. S. L. Polak on "America, Britain and India" at NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE, and by Dr. A. Kunosi (Czechoslovakia) on "Food Production and Agriculture" at a combined meeting of the PADDINGTON and ST. JOHN'S WOOD BRANCHES. "An American Visitor" at PRINCES RISBOROUGH gave an interesting talk on "The League through American Eyes."

There are distinct signs of an L.N.U. revival at BATH. Many meetings are in prospect. At the latest Dr. W. T. Taylor gave an address on "Education and the United Nations."

WALLINGTON BRANCH held another Brains Trust, with the following strong team: Miss Freda White (Great Britain), Dr. Luzzatto (Free Italy) and Mr. Jaya Deva (Far East). The Branch President (Mr. A. M. Robertson) was the Question Master.

Mr. J. T. Catterall's engagements during the month included Branch meetings at CROMER ("After Moscow"), WALTHAMSTOW ("Post-War Reconstruction"), HOLT Literary Institute ("The League and the Future"), WEYBRIDGE ("The League and its Future"), and HAMMERSMITH ("The Moscow Conference and After").

Mr. W. Arnold-Forster was "splendid" at the meeting which he addressed for our LETCHWORTH BRANCH. Although the audience was smaller than had been hoped, some new members were recruited from among those present.

OUR WATERLOO, CROSBY, SEAFORTH AND LITHERLAND BRANCH, which is now in its 24th year, again held its Annual League Service. Mr. Arthur Armitage (Branch Secretary for 18 years) conducted the Service and preached on the subject, "A City

of Habitation." He stressed the need for Vision, Action and Faith to carry us through the years of war to the future when better days would be governed by international authority with the good will of all people.

Wishing to understand the present crisis in Italy, the HASTINGS AND ST. LEONARDS BRANCH secured as a speaker Mr. Teofani Gardini from the Free Italy Movement. The result was one of the best meetings which the Branch has ever had, and Mr. Gardini has promised to come again to speak on the League of Nations.

ROTARY CLUBS which had speakers provided by the L.N.U. in December included: ASHFORD (Dr. Vladimir Slavik on "Czechoslovakia"), ENFIELD (Mr. Leslie Aldous on "Hot Springs and After"), LIVERPOOL (Mr. Jaya Deva), NORTHAMPTON (Mr. Edward Hambro on "Norway"), NORWICH (Mr. J. T. Catterall on "Man v. the State"), MAIDENHEAD (Mr. Werner Koelman on "Belgium"), MORDEN (Mr. Jaya Deva on "India"), ST. ALBANS (Mr. J. T. Catterall on "Post-War Reconstruction"), and SLOUGH (Mr. Gustav Stern on "Czechoslovakia").

LAMBETH BRANCH continued to arrange for L.N.U. speakers to address other organisations in the area. Mrs. Riley (Fighting France), who has become a popular speaker in the neighbourhood, visited Fentiman Road Methodist Church, St. Paul's (Brixton) Women's Meeting, and Oakley Place Methodist Mission. Miss Hebe Spaul spoke at the Brixton R.A.C.S., and Mr. Catterall at the Christ Church Women's Meeting.

Paying a return visit to the Essex Church Women's Meeting, KENSINGTON, Mr. Aldous gave a talk on "The World's Health." By invitation of the CROYDON BRANCH OF FEDERAL UNION, he opened a discussion on "A League and Federation." Mr. Catterall addressed a NORTH CHINGFORD Women's Meeting on "World War—Why Not World Peace?"

"The subs are coming in well," writes the Rev. G. A. Payne, Acting Secretary of the BANBURY BRANCH. But he is not content with that—he is sending a reminder to all who have not yet paid.

L.R.F. SERVICE

On Saturday, 30 October, the third international service arranged since the war by the London Regional Federation of the League of Nations Union was held at St. Martin-in-the-Fields.

The impressiveness of this memorable occasion was deepened by the presence of people drawn together from all corners of the earth. They had come to take part in a united act of Thanksgiving for continued deliverance from the enemy, and of Re-dedication to the cause of world peace.

Dr. Leslie F. Church during his address reminded us that spiritual values are not only being saved by the courage and fortitude of ordinary men and women, but are assuming a new importance. The battlefields themselves are proving to us that the life that we have been living is not good enough. Men are disturbed and discontented with themselves as well as with one another. They are determined that the age of injustice must go. Our discontent with second-rate living is a proof of our unity in spiritual ideals. Dr. Church declared, "We are not only fighting for our lives; we are fighting for life in every man in all the world. But the task is not complete; indeed, it is only in its beginning. If the world is to know an enduring peace, it must achieve an enduring fellowship of free peoples. We believe that the basis of such fellowship is spiritual." Together with such spiritual dedication, the Prime Minister had reminded us that we should need more vigorous world institutions to preserve peace, and to forestall the causes of future wars. Privilege implies moral responsibility, and this new fellowship must be based on sympathy and understanding as well as acceptance of mutual responsibility and the principle of mutual aid.

This conception of the world as a "family" was further brought home to those present by the fact that sharing in the conduct of the service with Dr. Leslie Church and the Very Rev. Porter Goff were Pasteur Frank Christol (France), Rev. Dr. F. M. Hnik (Czechoslovakia), and Miss Una Marson (West Indies).

When later we knelt to make our common vows, the sense of fellowship acquired new meaning as we repeated together the prayer of the family of our Lord "every man in the tongue wherein he was born," and were reminded of the universality of God's love.

The service, which was recorded by the B.B.C., was later transmitted to North America.

LORD CECIL ON MOSCOW POLICY

THE LONDON REGIONAL FEDERATION ended the year 1943 on a high note when, at its December Buffet Luncheon, it had the distinction of hearing an address by LORD CECIL. A record crowd gave him an "upstanding" welcome.

Speaking on the Moscow Declaration, Lord Cecil said it constituted a milestone in international history. The four Great Powers had decided that the only way to obtain peace and security was by the establishment of an International Authority, and it was a great step forward that the United States of America had declared her intention of playing her part in the effort to establish international order. It would be for Great Britain, U.S. America, Russia and China to assume primary responsibility for repressing aggression. As time went on, other nations would doubtless come in to increase this number.

The real cause of the breakdown in the League had been the unwillingness on the part of the Great Powers to take any action that might involve the use of force when a crisis developed.

The duty of the Union was to educate the public in the principles of the Moscow Policy and, through a new International Authority, to press on towards our objectives of world unity and world peace.

In moving a vote of thanks, M. Zaleski spoke of his many associations with Lord Cecil, dating back to the last war, when he had come to this country to plead the case of Poland.

M. G. S.

L.N.U.
DIARY FOR 1944
 COMPLETELY
 SOLD OUT
 No Further Orders Can
 Be Taken

WORLD AFFAIRS IN PARLIAMENT

By OWEN RATTENBURY

When Mr. Eden returned from the Conferences at Cairo and Teheran and left the Prime Minister behind him, it could hardly be expected that he would be able to tell Parliament much more about what had happened than they already knew. The official communiques issued to the Press seemed to have said all that could be told at the moment. But, if Mr. Eden could only underline what we already knew, what he could do was to add valuable atmosphere. He impressed us with the cordial spirit of these great occasions. When he told us definitely that the end of the war had been hastened by them, that may have been speculation, but it was speculation with more inside knowledge than in the nature of things the House of Commons could possibly have.

Then Mr. Eden came to the end beyond victory—a peace that would last. The recurrent threat of war could only be met if there were an international order firmer in strength and unity than any enemy could seek to challenge.

"Six months ago," said Mr. Eden impressively, "I could not have given any certain answer to the question whether there was any possibility of creating such an order, and whether the foundations existed. To-day, I can give the answer. It is an emphatic 'Yes.' The foundations do exist, and I am confident that there is more than a possibility, a desire among the three Powers for continued co-operation, not only during the war, but when the armistice comes, in maintaining in the world orderly progress and continuing peace. The foundations of that understanding were laid by us in Moscow. They have been strengthened and confirmed in Teheran."

Our Other Allies

The Foreign Secretary took the opportunity to clarify our relations with France and with the partisans in Yugoslavia and Greece. Rightly or wrongly a passage in a recent speech of Field-Marshal Smuts about the future of France had gravely disturbed Frenchmen. Mr. Eden made it perfectly clear that the Government do not

contemplate a Europe without a strong France. "We believe," he said, "that this great people, 40,000,000 strong, enriched by the moral and intellectual qualities which have been theirs throughout history, will find the spirit to lift them up again from the heavy blows which have been dealt them during the last four years. We believe that in the Colonial and French Forces in Tunisia and in Libya, of which I have heard from our own officers who served with them, and in the heroic and ever-increasing resistance movement in France, some of whose representatives I have met within the last few days—we believe that in these people we have the real soul of France."

This applied also, he added, to the other occupied nations. He assured the House that we were sending help on as large a scale as possible to Tito in Yugoslavia, and expressed sympathy with the young king. His words on Greece certainly did not commit the Government to support of the King of the Hellenes, though they showed some sympathy with his position.

Co-operation the Key

Mr. Arthur Greenwood pinned down the published statement to "the firm assurance that now the great Allies are united in spirit and in action, and that there is a master plan to be put into operation." The major troubles, he thought, were going to be "the creaking, the growing pains between us, the United States and the U.S.S.R." It would not be easy to sweep away generations of misunderstanding. But each of the Allies needed the other two. In the past, Anglo-Russian relations had poisoned political developments in Europe. Ideologies stood in the way of economic and political realities. Marshal Stalin he described as the greatest realist in the world to-day, ungoverned by ideologies.

Captain Duncan struck a more jarring note. Quoting Field-Marshal Smuts as saying that the Peace Conference at Versailles tended to get away from the balance of power, he argued that the experience of the League of Nations had proved that,

however much we tried to get away from it, we never could. We must keep to the practical instead of the ideal and not be "led away into the mistake of setting up a League of Nations."

Fortunately Mr. Vernon Bartlett followed with an emphatic declaration that he was an idealist, and that idealists were really the greatest realists. Those who had supported the League in the past were the realists and all those people who had done their best to corrode the machinery were the perverted ideologists. No Government not inspired by a decent ideal could possibly arouse the enthusiasm of the people.

The debate was so full of first class speaking that one is tempted to deal with every speech. That is impossible. There was one cogent contribution by Mr. Harold Nicolson who, upholding the Government's announced policy of supporting France, stressed that France after the war would not be Vichy. He also had some outspoken things to say on the "lack of delicacy" on the Lebanese question. Miss

Eleanor Rathbone made a striking speech on the cruelties practised by the Nazis on innumerable Jewish victims, on no other ground than their race. She appealed for large scale hospitality for all who could escape from these terrors. Apart from neutral States, two of the countries which could do something were the British Commonwealth and the United States.

In a historical survey, Mr. Hore-Belisha deplored that, in treaty making, the men who acted were obsessed with out-of-date ideas. This had happened successively at the Congress of Vienna and at Versailles. In the latter case, our chief failure had been to make our arrangements with a view to the economic position after the last war.

Mr. Eden, in his reply, took up a number of points made by other speakers. He assured Miss Rathbone that the Government would take all practical measures to ease the situation with regard to the Jews. One reply that gave special satisfaction to many members was that we regarded China in all respects equal to the other Great Powers with whom we deal.

THE WORLD'S HEALTH

Some day, we may hope, the full story will be written of the way in which the constructive activities of the League of Nations have been carried on in war-time. At the moment the people who are doing the work are generally far too busy to talk about it.

A case in point is the League's Health Organisation. It used to publish a regular *Chronicle* of its work, but publication was suspended in May, 1940. Now, fortunately, a Special Number of the *Chronicle of the Health Organisation* has been produced in Geneva (Allen & Unwin, 6d.), very briefly outlining the chief activities on which the Health Section has recently been engaged.

The two major problems are the present food scarcity, with malnutrition in Europe, and the danger of epidemic outbreaks in Europe. In regard to the first, the object has been to provide the authorities controlling post-war food relief with accurate, impartial and objective data. Certain studies have been undertaken at the express request of the British authorities. One

eminent League expert on nutrition in Europe has worked with the Technical and Advisory Committee on Medical Supplies and Services and the sub-committees of the Allied Post-war Requirements Organisation in London. More recently, at the request of the State Department of the United States, he has been acting in an advisory capacity to the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations and its Health Committee in Washington. He has also acted as adviser on food and drug relief to the Lend-Lease Organisation.

In keeping constant watch on the epidemic situation, the Health Section has aimed at helping national health administrations to concentrate on diseases which constitute the most real and most immediate menace to public health.

Geneva is still widely used as a Health Information Service. Of 89 recent requests for information, 27 came from national health administrations and ministries, 21 from scientific institutions, 14 from international organisations such as the International Red Cross.

BOOKS AND LEAGUE REPORTS

SUFFER LITTLE CHILDREN

THE HEALTH OF CHILDREN IN OCCUPIED EUROPE: (International Labour Office. 1s.)

The latest publication of the I.L.O. is a most moving account of the deterioration in health, mental and moral stamina of more than 40 million children of ages up to 15 (excluding those in occupied Russia, whose lot, it is feared, is even worse) as the result of Germany's deliberate policy in occupied Europe. Everywhere is evidence of malnutrition, caused by inadequate legal rations, the increasing difficulty in obtaining even these, and the growing poverty of the peoples. There is general deficiency in calories and basic food elements such as fats, animal proteins, minerals and vitamins. Basic items of pre-war diet like fish have completely vanished in many countries.

Most people know something of the serious malnutrition position in Poland. But it is quite as disastrous in many other areas. And in Greece, after German occupation, it was catastrophic: a whole people was threatened with extinction. Recently relief measures have done something here; milk and dehydrated vegetables have been issued to children. But the only solid food available in Greece is bread: there are no proteins, so the condition of children is most precarious.

At the same time, the quality of what food there is deteriorates. Flour, for example, is mixed with cereals of poor nutritive or digestive value, such as maize, or substitutes like chestnut meal and hydrolysed straw. Vitamin deficiency is the serious and inevitable result. In Norway cod liver oil, meat and bacon have vanished.

In contrast to the lot of children in occupied Europe, children in Germany are in a far more favourable position. Growing boys and girls receive larger rations than the normal consumer, especially in meat and fats: children of six to 14 years have adequate milk every week. In Germany rationed food is distributed on the basis of actual requirement: in the occupied countries, which Germany deliber-

ately robs, there is always a shortage. It may be noted that the scale in Germany specially favours the rising generation. Every effort is made to maintain an optimum standard for the young—at the expense of the lives of children in the occupied countries.

Further, general living conditions grow worse continually. There is little or no coal. Shoes and woollen goods are practically unobtainable: in winter many children cannot attend school at all, owing to the cold. Soap grows scarcer week by week, and more wretched in quality.

As a result of Germany's penalisation of most of Europe, children show serious loss of weight. Rickets and anæmia are rampant. Consumption and tuberculosis symptoms show marked increase. Typhus, as in the last war, is spreading in Poland. Everywhere, in fact, mortality rates have risen—though in Germany they remained practically stationary during the first three years of the war.

It is extraordinarily difficult for us in Great Britain to realise the full meaning, and the psychological and social effect, of all this destruction of civilised life for children. Children suffer from loss of memory and power to concentrate. The harassing details of everyday life absorb a dangerous expenditure of energy. Hunger, physical misery and poverty become a kind of obsession, distorting children's moral values, and make most standards of behaviour almost unmeaning.

Such is the child situation in most of Europe. It grows worse every day. It is a direct threat to the future of Europe. One of the primary tasks of the United Nations must be to bring immediate relief to all these underfed and devitalised children. Estimates for what will be needed have already been carefully worked out. What is imperative now is that the planning of the actual supplies should be ready, for any call. Let there be no doubt about this. The physical, moral and mental development of the rising generation of workers, technicians, scientists, artists, administrations—the very framework of democracy

in Europe—is going largely to depend on the extent to which the deficiencies of diet and most of the conditions of life in Europe under German occupation, are promptly remedied by international collaboration. We dare not fall down on this assignment.

GORDON DROMORE.

CHRISTIAN COUNTER-ATTACK. By Hugh Martin, Douglas Newton, H. M. Waddams and R. R. Williams. (Student Christian Movement Press. 6s.)

Country by country, this book tells the story of the ceaseless struggle being waged by Europe's Churches against Nazism. "Part of the story" would perhaps be more correct: much more could be written but for the danger that publicity would bring to brave men and women in Germany and the occupied countries. However, the available evidence, here gathered together in compact form, deserves to be studied and understood.

The authors write quietly and without heat, letting the facts speak for themselves. Theirs is not a narrative of outrages and brutalities committed by the Nazis in their cunning and calculated attack on all things Christian, but one of courage and perseverance in resistance. Certain things stand out. The resistance is on spiritual and not on political grounds. Everywhere the Church survives in spite of attempts at its destruction. And, behind the great figures like Pastor Niemöller, there are hosts of humble and obscure heroes and martyrs.

The practical effects of resistance vary from country to country. In some the Churches can and do maintain a united front. But in others like Poland, that "charnel-house surrounded by a wall of censorship," there is nothing that Christians can do for their faith but die for it. In their epilogue the authors ask a number of questions about the future significance of these events, leaving readers to guess the answers which they themselves would give.

SOVIET ASIA. By R. A. Davies and A. J. Steiger. (Gollancz. 7s. 6d.)

Two American authors, after extensive travels across Soviet Asia, describe within

the compass of 200 pages the new world which has been born in recent years beyond the Urals. It is a new world which owes its existence to the aeroplane and the radio. The general picture is one of stupendous achievements in face of natural obstacles as well as the inexperience of human material. Of course, mistakes were made and the cost was terrific. Thousands of tractors were smashed before peasants acquired any sort of a mechanical sense. To-day, however, not only have arid wastes been made productive and great industries been established, but also Russia has millions of men who understand mechanical things and can fight.

The simple explanation of Russian policy towards Japan is that the Soviets have wanted to avoid a break in order to build up their country. Further, while heavily engaged in Europe they have not invited trouble in the East. Nevertheless, they harbour no illusions about Japanese intentions. Barring a crushing defeat elsewhere, the time will come when Japan will launch an all-out offensive against the Soviets in Asia.

The authors make a strong plea for post-war co-operation between the United Nations, fully embracing the Soviet Union, who, they point out, is geographically a next-door neighbour of Canada and the U.S.A.

HISTORY TEACHING

Since the publication of the Joint Report of the L.I.A. and the C.E.W.C on *Education and the United Nations*, our attention has been drawn to *THE STORY OF THE WORLD FOR YOUNG PEOPLE*, by Mabel Cleverley Paine, a history specially written for children between the ages of nine and fifteen to show the gradual growth of internationalism. The author, who has for many years been an active worker for the L.N.U., has set out to write a clear account of how our own and other nations have helped to make the world we know to-day. The publishers are Frederick Muller, Ltd. Volume I. (Ancient and Medieval History) is out of print; but Volume II. (Modern History from 1500) and Volume III. (The Story of the People Who Lived After 1815) are still available, price 5s. each.

**THE DISPLACEMENT OF POPULATION
IN EUROPE** (International Labour Office
Report, 4s.)

This Report throws a flood of light on immediate problems concerning refugees which will face the United Nations when war ends. More than 30 million men, women and children have been torn from their homes in Europe. This does not include millions of Europeans who, without having left their native countries, are not living at home because they are conscripted for war work or are evacuated from war zones: if these were counted in, "the result would certainly be a grand total of over 40 million." *Forty million Europeans uprooted.* The study stresses the magnitude of the job of resettlement, which will require the greatest amount of international organisation and collaboration. In some cases *repatriation* will be the best thing; most people will ask no better and their help will be wanted for rebuilding their countries. But international organisation will be required to overcome the tremendous difficulties, which repatriation on this scale will meet in transport-shattered Europe. But *labour requirements* in post-war Europe may not necessarily correspond to pre-war distribution of population. Some redistribution of labour between countries may be necessary. This too calls for international action; something, in fact, in the way of organising an *international employment service*. Finally the need for *resumption*

of migration outside Europe is stressed—which, as has already been experienced, cannot be met except by international organisation.

**INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE TO
REFUGEES.** Report by Sir Herbert
Emerson. (League of Nations Publications,
Allen and Unwin. 9d.)

This is a broad survey of the main developments in the refugee problem during the past year. The League High Commissioner devoted much attention to the plight of refugees on the European continent, and the story of persecutions in Vichy France makes dramatic reading. Useful help came from the Swiss Government, with whom the High Commissioner maintained close contact. After the allied landing in French North Africa, living conditions among thousands of refugees improved considerably.

Accounts are included of the refugee policies of the United Kingdom, Australia and Canada.

The High Commissioner devoted much time to the study of post-war refugee problems, and the report contains an account of events leading to the calling of the Anglo-American Conference in Bermuda which resulted subsequently in the reorganisation of the Intergovernmental Committee (Evian).

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