

HEADWAY

IN WAR-TIME

The Journal of the League of Nations Union

No. 41.

FEBRUARY 1943

BRITISH LIBRARY

21 JUL 1943

OF POLITICAL AND
ECONOMIC SCIENCE
PRICE 3d

EDITORIAL

CHINA EARNS EQUALITY

An important piece of constructive work towards laying the foundations of the post-war world has been achieved by the twin treaties with China to which the British and the United States Governments simultaneously put their signatures on January 11. All concerned in this happy example of "wiping the slate clean" for the future are to be heartily congratulated—including Mr. Eden and Mr. Winant, whose personal contacts have had so much to do with bringing about identity of aims in this connection between Britain and America.

The renunciation of their extraterritorial rights in China by these two Powers is at one and the same time a gesture for to-day and a guarantee for to-morrow. One of its immediate effects will be to hearten further the whole Chinese nation in their long struggle against Japanese aggression. In a sense it may be looked upon as a diplomatic counterblast to the recent Japanese action in setting up an "East Asiatic Affairs Ministry," which must have made it painfully clear even to the puppets and quislings in the occupied provinces that they could hope for no shadow of freedom or independence in "partnership" with Japan.

This, it can never be too often stressed, is a world-wide war, in which the same ruthless creed of domination by a "Master Race" is being fought in Asia as in Europe. For reasons of high policy the United Nations deem it advisable to concentrate their major effort against Nazi Germany, but they do not underrate the importance of the Far East. For geographical reasons, it is perhaps inevitable that China must make the biggest sacrifices on land. Her friends in this country, as well as in America, have constantly regretted that the difficulties in the way of giving her more active material assistance have been so great. Indeed, the uneasy feeling that, for many years past, China has had to bear more than her fair share of the burden against Japan has undoubtedly been in large measure responsible for the vast response to the United Aid to China Appeal, in which the League of Nations Union has played a not unworthy part. Since in present circumstances we cannot supply China with all the aircraft and heavy equipment which she needs, all the more incumbent upon us is it to give her every stimulus and all the moral backing within our power.

The first step is to treat her, in every respect as an equal. Just recently, nearer home, a vigilant concern has been expressed in many quarters lest anything in the nature of a dictatorship should be imposed by the Great Powers upon the liberated nations of Europe—a suspicion which the Foreign Secretary has hastened to allay. It is indeed unthinkable that any conditions or restrictions incompatible with the Atlantic Charter should be forced upon, say, Poland or Czechoslovakia after the war. But the same broad principles of international relations should equally apply to the East. We cannot have two different sets of moral standards—one for bringing about a settlement in Europe and the other for dealing with the problems of Asia.

And it should be remembered that, although the war and China's position in it have helped to bring to a head this matter of the unequal treaties, there is far more behind the new arrangement than war-time expediency. Present and future considerations have merely accelerated a tendency which was in being before this war or even the last. Extraterritoriality has a history of a hundred years. This is neither the time nor the place to argue the rights and the wrongs of the system. Enough to accept the salient fact that, in the course of a century, conditions have completely changed. Agreements signed with China forty years ago seemed to contemplate the eventual establishment of a mutually more satisfactory basis for her relations with the Western Powers. Later, through an International Commission in 1926, those Powers were able to give China friendly advice on the changes in her legal system which would remove the arguments for continuing extraterritoriality. The manner in which the new China set about the tasks of reform and reconstruction won her fresh admirers. But for the disturbances created by Japan, it is probable that something

like the latest move by Great Britain and America would already have occurred in the normal course of evolution.

Thus, viewed in its historical perspective, the formal recognition of China's place in the modern world has come about by natural momentum—that it should have happened *during* this war is almost an accident. It is none the less timely. In the comradeship of arms in a just cause, past wrongs which China has borne at the hands of the West will be all the more speedily forgotten. Her emerging consciousness of national unity, so wisely fostered by her great leader, will be strengthened. Free China will fight and labour as never before to destroy Japan's "New Order" in the East; the people in the occupied provinces will strive no less ardently to throw off the obnoxious Japanese yoke. And all this is part of our battle. China is associated with us, too, in the world settlement which will follow. Let us then salute China as an equal partner in the war and the peace.

"LET MY PEOPLE GO"

In his pamphlet with the above title (Gollancz, 3d.), Mr. Victor Gollancz presents some practicable proposals for dealing with Hitler's massacre of the Jews. The ideas expressed are not exclusively his own, but include those which have been worked out by individuals and organisations with special knowledge of the subject. Quite rightly the Allied Governments have promised retribution after the war for those responsible for these crimes, but this is not enough to save the victims now. Hence the need for a concerted plan of rescue by the United Nations.

The Executive of the L.N.U. has been glad to be able to send copies of the pamphlet to all Branch Secretaries. The Executive trusts that they will not only read it themselves but bring it to the attention of their committees and members.

EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS

The Council for Education in World Citizenship (established by the League of Nations Union) and its Advisory Conference met at County Hall, London, on January 2nd and 3rd. Representatives of nearly all the great associations of local education authorities and of teachers were present, and were joined, at the Conference sessions, by a number of the Council's "Correspondents." Particularly welcome were some of the many educationists from other countries who have done so much to broaden and enrich the work of the Council during the war.

On the Saturday morning the Conference was welcomed by London's Chief Education Officer, Mr. E. G. Savage, C.B., and by the President, Dr. Gilbert Murray. The rest of the morning was given up to a report on the work of the Council by its Secretary, Mr. C. W. Judd, who recalled that when the last meeting was held—in Oxford in April, 1941—much of the work had been brought to an end by the conditions created by air raids and evacuation. But the Council had determined to "carry on"; a small Management Committee, under the chairmanship of Mr. Nowell Smith, had been appointed to act for it, and now it was possible to record many outstanding achievements.

In January, 1942, the Council had once more been able to arrange a Sixth Forms' Conference—for four days at Leighton Park School, Reading; 150 boys and girls from 58 Public and Secondary Schools had attended. In August 300 boys and girls had been enrolled from 100 schools for a similar conference at Sherborne. Forty-one new School Societies had entered into association with the Council, and competitions for the younger members, lists of books, suggestions for programmes, and speakers on many subjects and from many countries had been arranged or supplied by the office.

Mr. Winant, the American Ambassador, had written an Armistice Day Message to the Schools of Great Britain for distribution through the Council in 1941, and in 1942 a similar Message had been received from the Lord Privy Seal (then Sir Stafford Cripps). No fewer than 18,850

copies of Mr. Winant's message had been printed and distributed to head teachers by 126 local education authorities, and the message from Sir Stafford Cripps had been distributed even more widely. Other papers for the guidance of teachers had been very widely circulated in connection with Empire Day and International Students' Day. The Council had published Study Outlines on the U.S.S.R., China and Japan, and a paper on Education in World Citizenship by Mr. Nowell Smith.

Summer schools on international affairs and on the methods of teaching world citizenship had been held for teachers at Lynmouth in 1941 and at Keswick in 1942, in which year the Council had also held at Lynmouth a remarkable International Conference of Teachers. But the greatest development of all had been the establishment of a Joint Commission with the London International Assembly on The Place of Education, Religion, Science and Learning in Post-War Reconstruction.

The first report of this Joint Commission was considered by the Conference on the Saturday afternoon and, on its unanimous recommendation, was later endorsed by the Council. In a further session the Conference considered reforms that are needed in the education of teachers if they are to be adequately prepared for their responsibilities in connection with world citizenship.

It was very encouraging to learn that the President of the Board of Education—which has its own official Observer on the Council—had most cordially received a deputation from the Council and had congratulated them upon its work and the many new developments, all of which he fully approved.

At a reception arranged by the Abyssinia Association in the Livingstone Hall, to meet the Ethiopian Minister in London, His Excellency Blatta Ayela Gabre accepted a portrait of Haile Selassie, sketched by Mr. W. Arnold-Forster just before the Emperor's return to his own country.

ADULT EDUCATION

By K. M. BUTLER

From the leaders of the nation, to the man in the street, all are agreed upon the importance which adult education must play in relation to technical, artistic and cultural development, and to the training of the average person for the full responsibilities of citizenship.

In the past ignorance has been the cause of much unnecessary misery and suffering, both nationally and internationally, and it is clear that there must be a more enlightened age in the future if a better world is to be built and stand a chance of survival.

We are all determined to win the peace as well as the war, but are we sufficiently awake to the fact that in order to achieve this we must all understand and be willing to accept the full responsibilities of citizenship, and be prepared to spread this doctrine in other countries besides our own?

As this is one, if not the most important, aspect of adult education, it might be interesting to see what the political parties, who must depend upon an educated public opinion, have to say about the subject.

"To develop a strong sense of national obligation in the individual citizen is a primary object of national education," says the Conservative Party Report. "The relation of the future citizen to the State requires more than an acceptance by him of an undefined obligation; it requires a warmly felt understanding of the State's needs."

The Power to Reason

This is but another reminder of the necessity to destroy once and for all the illusion commonly held that citizenship consists in voting at election time and indulging in a certain amount of destructive criticism from time to time, or taking a purely passive part in political affairs.

We must understand, too, that there will be a great number of people in the defeated nations, bewildered, puzzled, and unhappy, who will need leaders to show them the way out of the evil world into which Nazi and Fascist rule has led them. The malign propaganda which has been

spread, particularly amongst the younger generation of these countries, can best be eradicated by a careful psychological treatment, in the form of education which will give them back the power of reason which has been destroyed by their blind acceptance of wrong ideals.

To understand the problems which will confront our own and other nations, we must all learn to think and reason for ourselves; we must not form irresponsible ideas, which can be blown east and west by the force of propaganda.

The Liberal Party Report wisely points out that "Democracy, if it is to work, must have a fair average intelligence. The man who has to vote and to decide upon the character of Parliament, the man who has to ballot in his trade union, and the man who has to handle expensive machinery, must be trained in mind, in hand, and in eye, through a generous education which will open the secrets of history, literature and science to all."

Our Debt to the Young

You cannot, of course, force the adult to study, but that there is a desire and a thirst for knowledge, particularly amongst the younger generation, is borne out by the proven success of lectures, discussion group, and technical training in the Forces and Civil Defence Services.

Mrs. Roosevelt wrote recently that one of the things for which she was most thankful and grateful was "for the chance to try again to build a decent world: for the young people who are so much better educated in world affairs than we were twenty-odd years ago, and who have hopes and visions but who stand four-square and face the realities of life."

We owe a great debt to these young people, and it is clearly our duty to see that there should be better and increased facilities provided for them to continue their mental training when they are released from the Services.

Amongst suggestions for continuing education into adult life comes an appeal from the T.U.C. memorandum to consider the value of the refresher course.

"Much attention is now being paid to the Danish system of High Schools," says the report. "Without suggesting that that system could be transplanted to this country as it stands, it may be accepted that in Denmark it has served a purpose which ought to be served in this country, but which hitherto has not been served. A system of short residential courses widely available would help to build up a social consciousness amongst the young citizens of the country and might well be the means of establishing a permanent interest in adult education amongst a much wider section of the community than is touched by the provision hitherto made. The Government should give a lead to employers to release workers for this kind of short course with an assurance of reinstatement on their return."

The fact that, for a certain period in every year, people, whatever their social status, could get together to pursue their studies, would in itself be a wonderful leveller, and would help to create the broader outlook which is essential.

Imagination Needed

Our educational policy for the future must be imaginative, and it must cater for the social as well as the cultural side of life. It must be dissociated from school if it is to meet with general appeal, and

the atmosphere of the lecture room must be abolished. After a hard day's work a man does not want to be talked at, but he might like to see a cultural film, or hear some good music performed in attractive surroundings; if he wants to talk he will probably want to take part in a debate, where he can air his own views and listen to others.

The Discussion and Study Group is one of the most attractive means of education. A wide variety of subjects can be discussed, and the opinion of experts invited, and it helps the student to use his own reasoning powers. The League of Nations Union has done some excellent work in this direction and will play a leading part in the future. At the present time, men and women all over the country are discussing post-war plans, and the more varied are the points arising the clearer will be the picture in the mind of each individual of the kind of world which they envisage for the future.

Finally, it is important that the *desire* for knowledge should be created, and this can best be done by imparting in each individual the knowledge that education means a freer, fuller and happier life, and as this is one of the principles for which we are willing to fight and to die, surely it is only common sense to break down the barriers of ignorance, which are a betrayal of these ideals.

WORLD AFFAIRS IN PARLIAMENT

By OWEN A. RATTENBURY

Parliament, at the time of going to press, has only just assembled again, and it will therefore be convenient to deal this month with one or two important matters that were raised just prior to the Recess but that were crowded out last time by the issues raised in the Debate on the Address.

Outstanding among these was Mr. Eden's statement on the German persecution of the Jews, which was briefly alluded to last month in the editorial notes. The attention of the Allied Governments, said Mr. Eden, had been called to the fact that the German authorities, not content with denying to persons

of Jewish race in all the territories over which their barbarous rule had extended the most elementary human rights, were now carrying into effect Hitler's oft-declared intention to exterminate the Jewish people in Europe. From all the occupied countries Jews were being transported, in conditions of appalling horror and brutality, to Eastern Europe. In Poland, which had been the principal Nazi slaughterhouse, the ghettos established by the German invaders were being systematically emptied of all Jews except a few highly skilled workers required for war industries. None of those taken away were ever heard of again. The able-bodied

were slowly worked to death in labour camps. The infirm were left to die of exposure and starvation, or were deliberately massacred in mass executions. The number of victims of these bloody cruelties was reckoned in many hundreds of thousands of entirely innocent men, women and children.

The Governments concerned, Mr. Eden told the House, declared that such events could only strengthen the resolve of all freedom-loving peoples to overthrow the barbarous Hitler tyranny. They reaffirmed their solemn resolution to ensure that those responsible for these crimes should not escape retribution, and to press on with the necessary practical measures to this end.

Mr. Silverman (Labour—Nelson and Colne), a Jewish lawyer, asked for two other points to be cleared up. First, what did the phrase "those responsible" mean? Was it to include, besides those who gave the orders, anybody actively associated with carrying them out? Secondly, was there anything constructive that was immediately practicable to relieve the victims?

On the first question, Mr. Eden explained that it was the intention that all persons who could properly be held responsible for these crimes, whether ring-leaders or perpetrators of the outrages, should be treated alike and brought to book. With regard to the second, he spoke of the difficulties of doing anything really effective, but said that the Hon. Member could rely upon the Governments concerned doing all that they could to alleviate these horrors. At this stage, however, he feared that it must inevitably be slight.

Mr. Sorensen (Labour—West Leyton) asked about the possibility of co-operation with non-belligerent and neutral Governments to secure the migration of Jews, say to Sweden or some other neutral country. Mr. Eden replied that he would be only too glad if anything along those lines could be done.

Then came a most impressive contribution to the debate from Mr. de Rothschild (Liberal—Ely), who spoke of the gratitude of the Jewish race to the British people. Many Jewish subjects of His Majesty had been in this country only for a generation or so. They could not but feel that, but

for the grace of God, they themselves might be among the victims of Hitler's tyranny—in ghettos, concentration camps, slaughter houses. They would have many relations whom they mourned, and would be grateful for this declaration. He trusted that it would percolate throughout the German-infested countries, giving some faint hope and courage to the unfortunate victims of insult and torment and degradation.

Everybody in the House was profoundly moved. Mr. Lipson (Independent—Cheltenham) associated himself with what Mr. de Rothschild had said, and then asked whether it could be made clear in broadcasting to the German people that this was not war but murder and that they must in some measure be held responsible if they allowed the German Government to commit these horrible deeds. Mr. Eden replied that such was the intention of the Government. Harking back to the positive side, Mr. Silverman asked that, in the broadcast, attention should be drawn to the appreciation which we all felt for the numerous acts of courage all over Europe by people who took such enormous risks to render what help they could to those who were suffering, and to promise such individuals that what they thus did would not be forgotten but would redound to their credit and benefit when the time came.

Miss Rathbone (Ind.—Combined English Universities) suggested the possibility of addressing this declaration also to the Governments and peoples of Hitler's unwilling Allies and other Axis countries who might be able to secure the rescue of these victims. That, said Mr. Eden, had already been arranged for. Finally, on the suggestion of Mr. Cluse (Labour, S. Islington), the whole House rose spontaneously and stood in silence to register their protest against this disgusting barbarism.

North Africa

Affairs in North Africa roused a good deal of concern, which was reflected to some extent by questions. That, of course, was before a bullet had disposed of Admiral Darlan. It was not easy for the Foreign Secretary to give direct answers to some of the questions asked—partly because of the delicacy of the situation,

but also probably because he had not the full information at that time.

Three Members asked about the members of the International Brigade who had fought against Franco in Spain and were interned in the Sahara, and about persons who were still in prison in French North Africa because they supported General de Gaulle's movement. Mr. Eden was able to state that orders had been given for the release and return to British colonies of all British and United Nations internees. Asked for a guarantee that none of the internees would be sent back to Spain, Mr. Eden said that he thought that he could quite certainly give it.

In reply to Mr. Mander (Liberal—E. Wolverhampton), Mr. Eden assured the

House that there was no question of an Austrian military unit being formed in this country under Habsburg patronage.

Mr. Leslie (Labour—Sedgefield) asked whether the United Nations were preparing a common programme of post-war economic co-operation, so as to carry into effect the objects of the Atlantic Charter, the Lease-Lend Agreements and the Anglo-Russian Agreement. Mr. Eden replied that, although no negotiations were at present in progress, H.M. Government had every intention of working to a common programme with the other United Nations. He associated himself with Mr. Leslie's proposition that the sooner it was done the better—if only to enhearten the peoples now under German domination.

DURING THE CHRISTMAS HOLIDAYS

On January 4th, 5th and 6th there met in London the largest gathering of boys and girls ever brought together by the Council for Education in World Citizenship, or even by its predecessor, the Education Committee of the League of Nations Union. Over 600 boys and girls from the upper forms of public and secondary schools attended this three-day course of lectures and discussions. The number from each school was limited to ten, but even so very many applicants had unfortunately to be turned down. The enthusiasm which exists for courses of this kind is a good indication of the interest young people are taking in the world in which they live and their determination to see that this time we do not fail to achieve that "better world for which we all fight."

The opening address, at which the Head Master of Harrow presided, was given by Mr. E. G. Savage, Chief Education Officer of the London County Council, who spoke on "Mobilisation for the Next War"—the war on poverty and ignorance. Dr. Gilbert Murray, O.M., who followed him, spoke on "Education under Fascism" and dealt also with the more general issues of war and peace.

The afternoon session, for which Lord Cecil took the chair, was addressed by M. Henri Rolin, Member of the Belgian Senate and Professor at the University of Brussels, whose subject was "The People's Resistance in Occupied Europe." M. Rolin was in Belgium during the early days of the Nazi occupation and his family are still there, so he had much first-hand information of great interest to tell his audience.

For the second day and the morning of the

last day the boys and girls were divided into two parties, one meeting at the Regent Street Polytechnic and the other at the Royal Hotel, Woburn Place. Each of these two groups had its own lectures on "Racial Problems," "The Peoples of the Soviet Union," "The Jewish Question." On these subjects the boys and girls had the great privilege of hearing Professor M. Ginsberg, Canon G. W. Bloomfield, Dr. S. F. Osiakowski, Sir Wyndham Deedes and Professor Brodetsky. Eighteen small discussion groups, which formed one of the most valuable parts of the three-day course, met to consider such problems as "What is Nationalism?" "Youth and Anti-Fascism," "Coloured Peoples in the Empire," "Mandates," etc. A very lively group led by the Rev. Jeff Campbell, an American of Negro-white origin, discussed "America and her Racial Problems," and Mr. Kingsley Martin, just back from America, led another group on the same subject. Dr. Minna Specht, formerly a teacher in Germany, talked to a group which was considering "Vansittartism."

In the gatherings and conferences of this kind which we have held during the past year there has been much to exhilarate and encourage those of us at headquarters who are responsible for their organisation. But we do appreciate that even more important is the day-to-day work which goes on in the schools and in the school societies concerned with international affairs. Already since this course of lectures, new societies have been formed in the schools and have become associated with the Council for Education in World Citizenship and we hope that many more will join us during the term.

M. L.

THESE UNITED NATIONS

By LEONARD F. BEHRENS

Whatever differences there may be among members of the Union, there is general agreement that the prime requisite for the establishment of a civilised world is an international authority strong enough to keep the peace, and willing to promote international co-operation for mutual help, but sufficiently under control to avoid any undue restriction of the freedom of nations which keep the peace and observe the law. This being agreed, it is less important to discuss the exact form and constitution of the new authority than the means whereby it can be established. There appear to be two alternatives: either we can wait until the end of the war is in sight and then endeavour to draw up a formal constitution of the new body, in other words a new Covenant, and then bend our energies to getting our own and other peoples to accept it as the new League; or we can begin now to use such organisation as exists, to improve and strengthen it, so that it will be ready to assume its new responsibilities at the right moment. There can be little doubt (and General Smuts has given a very definite hint to this effect) that the latter is the more hopeful plan.

When Danger Passes

What, then, are our raw materials? We have an idea which goes by the name of the United Nations; but this is an idea rather than a fact, for the United Nations are united at the moment only by certain declarations of principle which have been made in their name and by the vivid consciousness of the danger which threatens all of them. Once this danger is removed the prime motive which unites them will be gone. This is a possibility which is not sufficiently apprehended.

At the same time, there are certain

elements on which we can build. There is a United Nations Conference which is understood to meet from time to time under the Chairmanship of the British Foreign Secretary. Little is heard or known of this Conference, and it would be statesmanlike and prudent to give more publicity to its activities. Apart from this Conference there are various committees dealing with war supplies, with plans for rehabilitation after the war, with war criminals and with other matters. These committees are independent bits and pieces without any apparent co-ordination of their efforts and apparently responsible to no one. Sir Stafford Cripps has referred to them as a "medley of war devices"; but surely the great enterprise upon which we are engaged merits something more than a medley.

One Organic Whole

The great and urgent need is to weld these unrelated activities into one organic whole, so that they will be directed to a common purpose for the common good. This is not to suggest the creation of an organisation merely for the sake of establishing an organisation. There are tasks in plenty: there is war work such as the development of political strategy, common propaganda (there is, for example, no broadcasting by the United Nations as a whole), and the vital and necessary interchange of information and views between the Governments of the Allied Nations, for which there is at present no channel except the usual diplomatic communications. Preparations for the urgent work of rehabilitation after the war and for economic co-operation could be more effectively done than at present, and if at any moment one of the minor enemies decided that the time had come to break its grievous bonds with the

Axis, there would be a body representative of the United Nations as a whole which could authoritatively lay down the conditions of surrender. Above all, an organisation of the United Nations would be a visible sign not only of their present unity but of their determination to remain united when the war is over.

Objections and Answers

There are objections to this proposal. It might be said that the power of those States which are sustaining the major burden of the war would be diluted and rendered less efficient by the introduction of the smaller Powers. No one in a responsible position likes interference. But it may be asked whether the co-operation between these great Powers is sufficiently close at the present time and whether an organised body would not make that co-operation closer and more effective. It may also be asked, as we are fighting against Hitler and not for him, whether it would not be proper that the other nations associated with us in our struggle should have the right and the opportunity of presenting their points of view and of making their opinions felt in matters which obviously concern them as closely as they concern us.

Another objection is that the time is not yet ripe, that there are too many

matters in dispute and too many problems unsolved to make it possible for such an organisation to be established with any prospects of success. Surely such an organisation would be a good means of composing differences and of deciding questions, and it can hardly be thought that we have reached the end of our difficulties. This objection is one which will persist to the end of the war and afterwards, but afterwards the inspiration of common danger and the consequent impulse to co-operation will be lacking.

An International Authority

But for members of the Union the great attraction of this proposal is that the international authority of their dreams would already be set up and would be in existence as a living reality when the guns ceased fire. There is no doubt which would be more likely to survive, a paper scheme perfect in its details or a going concern doing the work of an international authority and recognised as an international authority by all the people of the free countries. To such a body the admission of the Neutral States, and eventually of the enemies under new and more civilised Governments, should present little difficulty.

REFUGEES

The following resolution has been sent by the Executive to the Foreign Secretary:

"The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union congratulates His Majesty's Government on overcoming the diplomatic difficulties that were keeping refugees in French North Africa under hardships involving much loss of life;

"Welcomes the appointment of an International Commission of Enquiry with a view to their release;

"And urges His Majesty's Government to save the lives and secure the ser-

vices of other veteran soldiers still in Axis-occupied France by seeking the co-operation of the Spanish Government and the authorities in French North Africa in assisting all refugees escaping or evacuated from France over the southern frontier to reach French North Africa;

"Lastly, it requests His Majesty's Government to announce that all women and children who can escape from European territory occupied by the Axis will be given a temporary asylum in territory under British control."

UP AND DOWN THE COUNTRY

For its Brains Trust in the Town Hall, our OXFORD BRANCH secured a talented team to answer questions on "After the War." The members included two who had taken part in B.B.C. Brains Trusts—Dr. Gilbert Murray, O.M., and Miss Jennie Lee—as well as Mr. A. J. P. Taylor (well known in Oxford and district for his war commentaries for the Ministry of Information), Mr. Gordon Mackay (of Trinity College, Cambridge), and the Question Master, Mr. R. B. McCallum (Pembroke College).

Last term three lectures were held in Oxford, continuing the series "Looking Forward." These were on the respective relations between the British Commonwealth and (1) the Far East (Mr. S. K. Chow); (2) the U.S.A. (Mr. Milton Waldman); and (3) the U.S.S.R. (Mr. C. Honig).

A cheering report of recent progress comes from Mr. John Southall, the energetic secretary of our LEYSIAN MISSION BRANCH. During 1941, largely as a result of difficulties imposed by the blitz, only 273 subscriptions were collected, but 48 people in arrear subsequently paid. By the end of 1942 the paid-up membership had risen to 339—topping the 1940 total of 335. Further, some 60 members had paid in advance for 1943, so Mr. Southall is hopeful of doing even better this year. He has started to tackle some of those who had fallen out since the war began, and seven or eight have already rejoined.

STAVELEY BRANCH'S paid-up membership for 1942 was the highest in its history. For every member who left the district or failed to renew, two new members were obtained.

The following ROTARY CLUBS were among those which had L.N.U. speakers during January: CLAPHAM, ST. ALBANS, SLOUGH, COLCHESTER, MITCHAM and SOUTHBEND-ON-SEA, Mr. John T. Catterall; WIMBLEDON and WEST HAM, Mrs. Riley (Fighting France); AYLESBURY, Dr. Adamkiewicz on "Polish-Soviet Relations"; CAMBERWELL, Major-General J. W. van Oorschot (Holland); EDMONTON, Mr. Posthumus Meyjes (Holland); and MAIDENHEAD, Mr. L. R. Aldous on "Social and Economic Reconstruction."

Visiting the Women's Institutes at PRESTON, MEADVALE and STIFFORD, Councillor C. H. Burden, Mr. Aldous and Mr. Catterall spoke on the present work of the League and the Union. At a TOOTING meeting of relatives of prisoners of war, and also at the WIMBLEDON W.V.S., Mrs. Riley gave talks on Fighting France. Major-General van Oorschot addressed the BATTERSEA PARLIAMENTARY SOCIETY.

There is more news of our Branches' efforts to help the UNITED AID TO CHINA FUND. From Mrs. J. R. Jones (FERNDALE, Glam.) Head Office has received a welcome cheque for £77 12s. 10d. Thanks to the manager and staff of the local Ministry of Labour, who organised a dance, a great start was given with the proceeds amounting to £25 3s. 9d. Most of the money was raised in comparatively small sums, personally collected from a large number of people who showed "wonderful goodness of heart and sympathy."

OSSETT BRANCH, in co-operation with the Mayor, raised £50. HUNGERFORD, by means of a flag day, a whist drive and a collection in church, realised £45 13s. Other sums received are £7 14s. 6d. from CROYDON, £6 18s. 11d. from BLETCHLEY, and £5 from Lieut. S. G. Hum, formerly one of our most zealous workers in Ilford. Members of our EDINBURGH Executive are actively associated with local enterprises, which include a public meeting to be addressed by Sir Stafford Cripps, a flag day and a series of film shows.

We regret to record the death of the Rev. George T. Dickin, for many years one of the pillars of our FINCHLEY Branches. After doing valuable work as chairman of the CHURCH END BRANCH, he took over the secretaryship on his retirement from the pulpit of the Congregational Church. Just before and during the war he played an active part in the resuscitation of the EAST FINCHLEY BRANCH.

As we go to press, we are also sorry to learn of the death of Mr. R. M. J. Burke, for 15 years hon. treasurer of the WESTMINSTER BRANCH.

"THE TRUE BASIS OF SECURITY"

LORD LYTTON AT L.R.F.

No more auspicious start for the 1943 season of L.R.F. Buffet Lunches could have been wished for than Lord Lytton's visit on January 13. A record audience gathered in the Y.W.C.A. Lounge, and all present were deeply impressed by the burning sincerity as well as by the unanswerable logic of Lord Lytton's analysis of "The True Basis of Security."

Opening with a reference to Mr. Vernon Bartlett's New Year Message to the London Regional Federation, Lord Lytton said that he proposed to follow the advice of the Federation's President on the subject of reviewing the past and making fresh resolutions for the future. No country could enjoy social security unless it were freed from the menace of war. And, in considering the foundations of the security which we all wanted to obtain, the substitution of principle for expediency must be the basis. Human welfare must be put in place of national self-interest.

Lord Lytton next surveyed British foreign policy in that "feverish interval of unrefreshing repose" between two wars. The Government had repeatedly told us that the nation would fight only for itself. The case was arguable and well founded in tradition. But if the Government were right in that respect, they were obviously wrong in signing the League Covenant and the Pact of Paris. They reminded him of a circus rider—an elegant lady cantering round the ring poised on two large and well-behaved horses. That was only possible as long as the two horses were going in the same direction and at a regulated pace. The moment they diverged the rider fell between.

Nurse Cavell had been wiser than all the statesmen when she said that patriotism was not enough. "My country first" was as out-of-date in international politics as "myself first" or "my business first" in national politics.

The wars of the 19th century had established the independence of nations. Those of the 20th century were proving their interdependence. Maybe those who were fighting could not see it all clearly,

beyond that they were fighting for something precious—it had to be left to the historian to interpret their sacrifices. The ideal was never realised because it was always being pushed further forward; but better progress was made by those who could recognise the tendencies rather than by those who were unconscious agents.

It was absolutely necessary that nations should begin to have some altruistic purpose. Had we, asked Lord Lytton, learned the right lessons? Were we prepared to abandon national interests, to modify to some extent the idea of national sovereignty, to use armed forces for the vindication of some moral principle? If not, we should go on making just the same mistakes and paying the same price—only each time the price would be heavier.

"Ought we not, even now," asked Lord Lytton, "to lay the foundations of the world which we hope to evolve?" We were told that we had that rare opportunity of a second chance. This time we would have one thing in our favour. The League of Nations came into existence with no preparation at all. The wonder was, not that it narrowly failed, but that it lasted so long and achieved so much. We must be sure that the new organisation was built on the experience of the last. The first step had been the drafting of the Atlantic Charter. This was an excellent statement of general principles, but it was vague and capable of diverse interpretations. At least we in the Union could make this resolve—to do our best to make sure that our country never did anything inconsistent with the Eight Points.

One of the functions of our Union was to be ever vigilant—to see that there were no backslidings. As examples of how easy it was to depart from moral standards, Lord Lytton instanced the chaining of prisoners of war as an act of reprisals and the Darlan incident. "It is," he said, "a mighty dangerous doctrine to argue that you can do wrong if it has a military advantage."

Finally, discussing the conception of the United Nations, Lord Lytton recalled that,

the last time he had addressed the L.R.F. at the beginning of the war, he had said: "I believe that this war will end with an alliance of so many nations that, if it had existed at the beginning, the war would have been impossible." Already that had come true. But, if the United Nations were to become the nucleus of the new International Authority, they must be united in something more than the wish to destroy Axis power. "Don't they need some machinery?" asked Lord Lytton. "It is impossible to get united action and policy without machinery."

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

"FIGHTING FOR WHAT." By Sir John Orr. (Macmillan 2s. 6d.)

In this essay on Reconstruction—we can hardly hope for a better—attention is directed to the minimum needs of people—food, housing, work. The author claims that the fulfilment of these practical short term aims is fundamental to the establishment of permanent peace. "We have no hope of this complete victory unless the free nations co-operate . . . to bring the necessities of life, on a health standard, within the reach of all mankind."

The failure of the League, as Sir John sees it, came about because "the old economic system was merely patched up on the old model." Given an economic structure which could bring prosperity and economic security to men and nations, "there would be little difficulty in devising the political superstructure."

Planning, says the author, should be well under way now. The longer the delay, the stronger will be opposition from vested interests. He has no fears that reaction may undo all that has been done. He cites the U.S.S.R. to show that "a change, which benefits the majority of the people may be extensive and sudden and still survive."

Sections of the book outline roughly, but with sufficient clarity to give confidence, plans for feeding, clothing, housing and employing the whole population. Potential opposition is investigated and suggestions are made for reconciling or dealing with it. The whole is an example of the scientific method of tackling post-war problems.

W. R. S.

"Never again!" had been our resolution at the end of the last war. This time it must be the same two words but with a different meaning—never again a *peace* like the last. Perhaps, as in the past, the moulding of events would not be wholly in our power. "But," concluded Lord Lytton, "if we can influence public opinion, through that public opinion we shall have the making of our own Government. Let us resolve to make our Union so strong that never again will we have a Government that will ride two horses at the same time."

AMERICA. THE STORY OF A FREE PEOPLE. By Allan Nevins and H. S. Commager. (Clarendon Press 7s. 6d.)

Here is a unique chance for all to realise the background and outlook of the American troops in our midst. Two of America's most brilliant young historians have written in unhackneyed fashion and with conspicuous fairness the epic of a free people, of America. There are vivid pictures of the men who mattered—of Jackson, Washington and Wilson, Lincoln and Lee; and the right, solid meat of economic movement, of inventions which minted vast changes for millions. The nation's inveterate buoyancy, love of freedom and growing unity now all but achieved by the blinding revelation of actual aggression, light up the pages. The book is a contribution, high, wide and handsome, to mutual understanding between two great peoples who believe in a common cause.

PORTRAIT OF ENGLAND. AN ANTHOLOGY. By Christian Mawson. (Penguin 9d.)

This is our own story—about our own country and its people: their love of freedom, their grit and heroism in adversity, the plain facts about *Pax Britannica*. Each will find his own favourites—some loveliness or illumination, some vital principle flowering in a single phrase—that stand for England. One reader boldly offers these: "The working people of England have always been cheerful, gay and hilarious" (St. John Ervine); "The worst difficulties come from the mood of unwarrantable self-

abasement into which we have been cast by a powerful section of our intellectuals" (Mr. Churchill); "We do not study the art of fishing in troubled waters" (Lord Haldane); "You do not want to standardise the nations of the British Empire, you want to develop them towards greater, fuller nationality" (General Smuts). The world has too often asked, "Why do they never tell?" Here is a ringing reply.

THE RIGHTS OF NATIONS. By Czeslaw Poznanski. (Routledge 5s.)

The author presents an ardent yet reasoned defence of the right of nations—notably the smaller ones who were the victims of lusty Ahab's before and after Versailles—to self-determination. The right, however, is not unqualified, for the post-war order is to be based on "co-ordination of individual national States." This kind of protest needs to be made. It puts a case against the over-easy assumption of the invalidity and obsolescence of the right of self-determination made, for example, by Messrs. Carr and Cole, who underrate the vitality and inspiration of the national ideal: above all, against the kind of imputation of natural wickedness to small nations on the grounds that their economic weakness must be a permanent temptation to predatory wolves. National rights, declares M. Poznanski, are part of the rights of man and of human values. But there is no convincing reason why they should be incompatible with the voluntary co-operation of groups for defined and common ends.

THE SOCIAL FRAMEWORK. AN INTRODUCTION TO ECONOMICS. By J. R. Hicks. (Clarendon Press 7s. 6d.)

This is a first-rate, easily understandable analysis and explanation of many of those basic, economic statistics which seem to mystify readers, but yet are of vital importance if they expect to get down to the Beveridge Report, or the essentials of our foreign trade or the financial job of the Treasury and such matters. Something like this book has been long needed, and it can be definitely recommended.

AN EXPLANATORY ATLAS OF THE FAR EAST. By G. F. Hudson and Marthe Rajchman, with an introduction by Sir Arthur Salter. (Faber and Faber 8s. 6d.) Here we have a summary, illustrated by maps, of the demographic, historic,

economic and political conditions of a vast area. Much interesting light is thrown on important questions such as the influence of Japanese big business in the shape of "family finance" on a policy of aggressive Imperialism, the key-part played in the past (and in the future) by Manchurian railways, and the role of Siam, the "Asiatic Hungary." Though no definite forecast is attempted, the maps prove to the eye that there can be no simple return to the *status quo ante*. Any real, new Asiatic Order will provide a test of the practical value of democratic ideals coupled with a minimum of international co-operation and control.

AS WE SAW IT IN PRAGUE. By Dr. O. Lechner. (Allen and Unwin. 7s. 6d.)

This book is a record of conversations and discussions which took place between three public men in Prague—a Civil Servant, a bank manager and the manager of the foreign department of the same bank—between 1933 and 1939. Carefully noted down as they were at the time, they form an interesting commentary on the slow betrayal of Czechoslovakia. Especially good is the explanation which emerges of the German "economic miracles" so cunningly foisted on the rest of the world by the financial jugglery of Schacht. The reader, too, cannot help being impressed by the clear-sighted policy which, as is shown in these pages, Dr. Benes consistently pursued in spite of all discouragements.

SOVIET RUSSIA IN MAPS. Edited by G. Goodall, M.A. (George Philip and Son, 2s. 6d.) Thirty-two maps showing the origins and development of the U.S.S.R.

"TIME AND TIDE" MAP OF THE ATLANTIC CHARTER. Drawn by Macdonald Gill, F.R.I.B.A. (George Philip and Son, 5s.) No better pictorial illustration of the Atlantic Charter could be imagined. The Eight Points are tastefully displayed at the head of the map, with facsimile signatures of President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill.

GREAT BRITAIN IN THE POST-WAR WORLD. By G. D. H. Cole. (Gollancz, 6s.) Although primarily concerned with Great Britain's internal problems of reconstruction, this book touches slightly upon questions which will arise with other nations.

FROM "HEADWAY'S" POST-BAG

Armaments

Sir,—It is to be hoped that we shall not be led astray by the well-meant intentions of those who wish to see immediate disarmament all round after the war, for it is all too easy to come a fearful cropper by aiming too high.

The first aim of post-war planning is a negative one—that of preventing the recurrence of another war by making it impossible for Germany to start one. This presupposes not only the disarmament of Germany, but also the establishment of a rigid system of inspection, so that it will be impossible for arms to be manufactured under the cover provided by Glider Clubs and Civil Aviation, etc.

When this "police patrol" has been established it should then be possible to tackle the constructive side of a Peace settlement: that of ensuring a reasonable economic life for all nations of good will.

The guiding principle with regard to Germany should be this: no compromise on the question of making her militarily helpless, but on other aspects of her national life negotiation and reasonable compromise should be employed, so that on these grounds she should have as favourable a treatment as is consonant with the just demands of other nations.

Kettering.

W. A. PAYNE.

Russian Foreign Policy

Sir,—In the exercise of her freedom—and we are fighting for freedom—Finland refused to "lease certain strategic bases." We should have done the same. Subsequent events fully justified her fears. It was Russia, and not Germany, which attacked her. Finland, too, had as much right to construct the Mannerheim Line against the enemy she feared as France had to construct the Maginot Line. Mr. Henry says that Russia's demands on Finland, if accepted, "would probably have been withdrawn when the danger passed." He does not give any authority for this statement, the significant word in which is "probably." If, however, it is true, should not the same apply to the Baltic States and to Poland? We shall not win the war in order to restore the territory and sovereignty of *all* conquered nations *except* Poland. What would explain and even excuse Russia's "getting in first" in 1940, however, could not excuse, much less justify, her occupation of Polish territory after the war.

We entered the war to fulfil our pledge to defend Poland against aggression by any European Power. We pledged our help even against any economic action which might threaten or attempt to undermine "the independence of Poland." Obviously by "Poland" the two Governments meant Poland as it was

on the date of the agreement, viz., 25th August, 1939. Since then we have repeated the pledge to restore the independence of that country and not merely of such portion of Poland as Russia might not want to add to her own territory.

Broadcasting on the Russo-Polish Agreement of July, 1941, General Sikorski said:—

"In 1795, in the Treaty of the Third Partition, Germany and Russia vowed that Poland and the Polish name were to disappear for ever. A similar agreement for the annihilation of Poland 'for ever' was concluded in September, 1939. That first treaty was cancelled by the judgment of history. This new treaty did not outlast a couple of years. Such documents are only scraps of paper in face of the vitality and dynamism of our nation. Poland is immortal. Now that this act has been wiped out, we stand on the threshold of a new era in Polish-Russian relations. The present agreement only provisionally regulates disputes which have mutually divided us for centuries. But it does not permit even of the suggestion that the 1939 frontiers of the Polish State could ever be in question. It does not allow of any idea that Poland has resigned anything."

Mr. Henry asks "had Poland any right to White Russia and the Western Ukraine?" The territory of the Polish Republic all formed part—though only a part—of the ancient Kingdom of Poland. Russia has no right or just claim to one inch of that territory. Some of it was once the stolen property of Czarist Russia—but only some. Western Ukraine was in Austrian and not Russian occupation after the Partitions. Does Mr. Henry seriously suggest that that part of Poland, known prior to 1918 as Austrian Galicia, should again be taken from her because Soviet Russia occupied it for a brief period and for the first time by agreement with Nazi Germany? This territory includes the very heart of Poland, and Krakov, her ancient capital.

The Baltic States had to be occupied and overpowered by Soviet forces before their peoples "decided to enter the U.S.S.R." Bessarabia, as Mr. Henry says, seems to have been forgotten. So, too, has the history of Czarist Russia's annexation and its ethnology. The Bessarabians themselves should be allowed to decide whether they wish to be under Romanian or Russian rule or whether they wish to be independent.

Two irreconcilable arguments are advanced. Russia invaded prostrate Poland and divided her with Nazi Germany, annexed the three Baltic States and forced an undeclared and unprovoked war on Finland,

(1) not in enmity against those peoples, but

solely in order to protect Russia and "forestall a Nazi occupation," or alternatively

(2) because she had some undeclared "right" or "claim" to these territories.

According to No. 1, the U.S.S.R. would "probably" have withdrawn "when the danger passed." According to No. 2, Russia had no intention of allowing Poland or the Baltic States to rise again. Which argument represents the true policy of U.S.S.R.? The second is a revival of Czarist imperialism. The U.S.S.R. has a "right" to whatever territory was at any time annexed from its neighbours by the Empire of the Czars. Is this Soviet policy or not? I believe it is not, and that its advocates do a grave disservice to the cause of Russo-British understanding. The U.S.S.R. has emphatically and in a most practical way declared that it is a new State and has no continuity with the former Russian Empire. For this reason the Soviet Government has repudiated, and still repudiates, the international obligations of the former Imperial Government. If the U.S.S.R. is, after a quarter of a century, suddenly to claim former Czarist territories, it must also honour former Czarist debts!

A declaration by the Government of the U.S.S.R. that, like her allies of the United Nations, she claims no more territory than was hers before the war would re-establish "the good will of many sincere friends" of a great and heroic ally.

Wakefield.

C. L. BERRY.

"Appeasement"

Sir,—Like Mr. W. R. Sibbald I find it disconcerting that members of the L.N.U. should be found trying to justify "Chamberlainism." One can only assume that they have never realised how foul a thing "appeasement" really was. In its nakedness it was meant to pacify the hunger for raw materials of the industrial "have not" nations with the possessions of the smaller and weaker nations, and to make this possible, collective security had to be sabotaged. Mr. Sibbald might have gone further back with instances of Chamberlain's stupidity to the time when he, the power behind Baldwin's throne, was boasting of the Ottawa agreements, during the economic blizzard, that they fulfilled his father's dreams and that in future the "have nots" would have to pay tribute to the British Empire. The revelation that this had placed the Nationalist extremists in power in the "have not" countries, and that they did not intend to starve quietly like gentlemen induced panic in Baldwin, Chamberlain and Co., and they were only too ready to provide excuses for Japan's Manchurian aggression that even the Japanese could not think of. When Baldwin made excuses, Chamberlain frankly described any attempt to make collective security work

as "midsummer madness." Even after the occupation of Prague, when Litvinoff made a last attempt to establish collective security with a conference of the threatened nations at Bucharest, Chamberlain's mouthpiece Halifax rejected this last hope as "premature." What further proof did Hitler need that the British Government would be as accommodating to his eastward drive as it had been to Japan's westward? Of what use was Chamberlain's guarantee to Poland after this? Naturally the Nazis thought it a sop to the mob to be withdrawn like sanctions on Italy and the Munich guarantees when it became awkward. And yet this crowning stupidity of Chamberlain's saved Russia and the world, for finding that he was forced to declare war, if not to wage it, the Nazis halted their "*Drang nach Osten*" while they secured their rear, and the two years of grace gave Russia the bare minimum of time in which to organise sufficiently to halt the Nazis for it appears plain that if Hitler had felt able to disregard the French and British threat to his rear in 1939 he would have reached the Urals and the Caucasus, after which France and Britain would have been easy meat. The lesson which, above all, the British and American people must learn, is that if they want ideals like collective security to become practical realities, they must maintain administrations that really believe in them and not leave them to the mercies of reactionary regimes like those of Harding, Baldwin and Chamberlain.

Brandon, Suffolk. BERNARD LINGWOOD.

Sir,—When Mr. Churchill replaced Mr. Chamberlain as Premier he asked for "No Recriminations." That was indeed a hard and bitter trial for those of us who had always opposed Mr. Chamberlain and his supporters and all other opponents or lip-server of the League, whether outside the L.N.U. or, like Mr. Chamberlain himself, inside it. Nevertheless we exercised the required self-control in obedience to Mr. Churchill's appeal and in the interests of national unity. The vindication of our belief and the abject collapse of the policies which ended in Appeasement and war are now being called in question by a movement which has for its ostensible object the justification of Mr. Chamberlain and his policies and the real object of whitewashing those who supported them and him. It is being carried on in total disregard of Mr. Churchill's appeal for "No Recriminations," of the objection to introducing Party Politics into League affairs, of the need for national unity and, incidentally, of the excellent example set by us "Leaguers." Altogether that is trying us too high; it asks too much of us.

However, the damage from the resulting controversy, which we have so far and so

loyally avoided, will be far less than the harm done by the dissemination of falsehood—the falsehood that it is possible to justify the policies of Mr. Chamberlain and his colleagues. I trust that this ill-advised and wholly unworthy campaign will lapse and that “Chamberlainites” will refrain from provoking “Leaguers” into violating the “No Recriminations” armistice; but if they persist the damage they will do to national unity must be laid at their door.

FRED GILES.

Church End, Finchley, N.3.

Words for All Nations

Sir,—Before the controversy on a Universal Language quite dies away, may I put in a very earnest plea that something be done in the matter straightaway? Many of us were very disappointed that the League did not recommend such a language after the last war. I believe that both Esperanto and Ido, as well as other alternatives, were discussed by a committee, which could not come to an agreement, and, therefore, made no recommendation. Perhaps you, Mr. Editor, would be kind enough to tell us exactly what happened. If the difficulties are still likely to be insuperable, could not the L.N.U. appoint a small committee of experts to produce an entirely new language that would meet the case, so that, as soon as the new “League” gets to work “Words for All Nations” will be ready for use?

Basic English may, in free competition, establish itself, in time, as an almost universal tongue; but the arguments of your correspondents against trying to force it on those already prejudiced against it are unanswerable. On the other hand, the need for something of the kind is imperative. The language

barriers form one of the most fruitful sources of disagreement among the peoples. Few realise that even here in Great Britain the attempt on the part of English officials a hundred years ago to stamp out the Welsh language has left a legacy of bad feeling that the recent Act of Parliament has done little to remove. What the Welsh people want is not the free interpreter, but the right to argue their own case in their own language. If there were a compulsory “second language” for every nation, and a new language could be constructed on scientific lines simple enough for anyone—including Eastern peoples and “natives” everywhere—to learn, it could ultimately be made compulsory in all the world’s police and law courts, and everyone there would meet on more or less equal terms. It would simplify educational problems enormously, and the all-round advantages are so great and obvious that an attempt to get it launched while enthusiasm for Peace and its “Brave New World” is at white heat, would be worth a very great effort.

Capel Bangor.

SIDNEY T. E. DARK.

[As our correspondent suggests, the discussions on Esperanto at Geneva during the earlier years of the League were inconclusive. After inquiries by the Secretariat and debates in the Assembly, the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation (to which the matter was referred in 1923) decided that it could not see its way to recommend an artificial language. But, as the resolution in this sense was withdrawn and was not voted on by the Assembly, it cannot be said that the League has turned down Esperanto.—ED.]

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