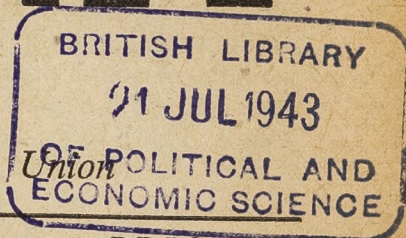


# HEADWAY

IN WAR-TIME

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## EDITORIAL

### PROBLEMS OF PEACE

"No promises but every preparation" was the key-note of Mr. Churchill's broadcast on post-war policy. Before coming on to his main theme of a Four Years Plan for Britain, he devoted some time to discussing the future world organisation necessary to prevent renewed aggression, his idea of which bore many marked resemblances to that of the L.N.U. outlined in "World Settlement After the War"—particularly as regards both the International Authority and the Regional Confederations proposed by the L.N.U.

"One can imagine," said the Prime Minister, "that under a World Institution embodying or representing the United Nations, and some day all nations, there should come into being a Council of Europe and a Council of Asia."

"I hope," continued Mr. Churchill, "we shall not lightly cast aside all the immense work which was accomplished by the creation of the League of Nations. Certainly we must take as our foundation the lofty conception of freedom, law and morality which was the spirit of the League. We must try—I

*am speaking, of course, only for ourselves—to make the Council of Europe (or whatever it may be called) into a really effective League, with all the strongest forces concerned woven into its texture, with a High Court to adjust disputes, and with forces—armed forces, national or international or both—held ready to enforce these decisions and prevent renewed aggression and the preparation of future wars."*

#### League Prospects

One indication of widespread public interest in the various problems of post-war organisation has recently been afforded by some of the questions put to the B.B.C. Brains Trust. "What are the prospects of a League of Nations after the war?" was the set question for the session on March 2—repeated on March 7 in the Forces programme. Dr. Gilbert Murray, whose reply is reproduced on page 9 of this issue, made such an effective case for building on existing foundations that Captain Quintin Hogg, who followed him, likened himself to a cricketer going in to bat after Don Bradman had made a double century.



All who listened in must have been impressed with the extent to which other members of the Brains Trust agreed with Dr. Murray's fundamental argument regarding the inevitability, after the war, of an international organisation along the lines of the League of Nations. Mrs. Mavis Tate, M.P., stressed the prevention of aggression and the rehabilitation of Europe. Mr. Bernard Newman favoured building a big League on the basis of regional federations—a possibility envisaged in the L.N.U.'s Statement of Policy. Sincerity, thought Commander Gould, was the chief thing needed to make the League work. Winding up, Dr. Murray felt able to express agreement with almost everything said, though he gently pointed out one or two misconceptions and factual errors about the League.

#### Mr. Morrison's Plan

"If the United Nations remain united," said Dr. Murray at the outset of his broadcast, "it will be a strong and useful League such as was described or indicated by Mr. Morrison in his excellent speech on February 24." Striking as it did a sane balance between the political and the economic and social implications of world settlement after the war the Home Secretary's Guildhall utterance was truly noteworthy.

On the political side Mr. Morrison traced the successive stages by which an international authority could be created. The first step would be the disarmament of the aggressor nations so as to put it beyond possibility that they could trouble the peace of the world again until they had undergone a genuine and deep change of heart. In the transition period the United Nations—with a special responsibility resting upon Russia, the United States, China and ourselves—would have to constitute themselves the guardians of world peace. But the four Great Powers "must see to it that in course of time they mobilise,

behind the effective power they will wield, the free consent of all the free peoples of the world, including the politically reconstituted nations who have been victims of the Axis. Without that the sword, however mighty its blade and keen its edge, will soften or splinter in their hands."

"This," continued Mr. Morrison, "points towards the creation in due time of a genuinely representative world political association. I do not attempt to give it a name, for names may raise memories or rouse prejudices." If this was a Utopian ideal, then H.M. Government were all Utopians, for through the mouth of the Foreign Secretary in a fine Parliamentary speech last December they had committed themselves to precisely this objective.

The force which the world association would need was not necessarily a large force. Rather did it imply an agency of inspection, supervision and control, with a moderate (but sufficient) military force in the background. After the "cleaning up period" we need not look to the indefinite maintenance of heavy arms burdens—always provided that aggressive nations were not permitted even the beginnings of dangerous re-armament. The other nations must be ready to "jump on" any potential aggressor directly he began to prepare.

A closely reasoned analysis of the economic problem of getting rid of poverty in the midst of plenty then followed. "With all these issues," declared Mr. Morrison, "I believe a practicable answer can be found in terms of international organisation."

"Whether we approach the whole matter from the side of politics or from the side of economics and social affairs, we are led irresistibly to the same conclusion. We cannot make progress except in organised association. We cannot—none of the United Nations can—get on satisfactorily with our own affairs

except by taking thought for the affairs of the rest."

In his concluding appraisal of Britain's role in contributing "a fund of moral authority, leadership and wisdom to the post-war councils of nations," Mr. Morrison referred to our past reluctance as a nation to assume the full responsibilities of world citizenship. "I hope," he added, "that future generations will be able to look back upon that phase as just a tragically mistaken interlude and that we shall, from now on, set our feet again upon a course of international policy which will range Great Britain as a powerful friend on the side of expansion, peace and progress in the world."

The L.N.U. Executive wrote to Mr. Morrison congratulating him on his speech and received a cordial reply.

#### The Moral Basis

Mr. Henry Wallace, Vice-President of the United States, who last year proclaimed "the century of the common man" as an essential outcome of this war, dealt in two complementary speeches at Ohio on March 8 and 9 with the moral basis of peace. As a Christian he affirmed that all the great religions and philosophies of the world had a common conception of world brotherhood and unity beneath their outer forms. Mr. Wallace's outspoken remarks on the need for friendship with Russia received greatest publicity. Most important of all, however, was perhaps his reasoned reminder that now or the very near future would determine whether or not we planted the seeds of World War No. 3. "A spineless policy of drift" might "once more lead us straight for the falls." Truly as he said, "even in the midst of war and the nerve-racking job of producing necessary food and munitions to win it, these are questions to be faced. The choices we make, both now and later, will go far to determine what the next ten years, and perhaps the next hundred years, will bring."

Mr. R. K. Law, British Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, in commenting at Croydon on Mr. Wallace's speech, did well to emphasise that, if we tried to

shuffle out of our world responsibilities and shortsightedly limit our commitments, then there would be no life whatever in the ideal of an international structure.

#### Refugees

Twenty million refugees, who would be in need of relief and settlement by the end of the war, was President Roosevelt's estimate at the beginning of hostilities. Already, unfortunately, the number is five times as large. Even allowing for the large proportion in China and elsewhere, the total from countries overrun by Germany has far exceeded all expectations. Therefore, the British Government's proposals for the international handling of this problem, which the United States Government has accepted in principle, have not come a moment too soon. Speed in hammering out practical measures must now be the essence of whatever can be done. Already more than three months have passed since Mr. Eden announced that it was hoped to initiate international consultations. Every week is precious when the plight of refugees is so heartrending. Quick action is necessary; but in the meantime such steps as are already being taken to help refugees, inadequate as they are, must not be neglected or abandoned.

In framing a far-sighted and comprehensive policy, with machinery to carry it out effectively, full use should be made of the vast experience of the League of Nations. At the moment there are two international organisations tackling refugee questions—the League, which is still responsible for the welfare of many different categories of refugees; and the Inter-Governmental Committee set up by the Evian Conference in 1938 to look after Jewish refugees from Nazi oppression. Sir Herbert Emerson, the League High Commissioner, is also Director of the latter body. He himself has publicly urged the creation of an International Refugee Authority with a stronger mandate and greater powers than either of the existing organisations now possess. Important as is temporary relief, this Authority would have the bigger aim of working towards a final solution of the whole refugee problem.

(Continued on page 14)



# "EDUCATION AND THE UNITED NATIONS"

By C. W. JUDD

In every country that the Axis armies have invaded those who were or might become the spiritual or intellectual leaders of the people, were marked out for death or persecution. Among them professors in the universities, teachers and students in the colleges and schools have been among the first to be attacked, and this paper tells in part the imperishable story of their brave resistance. It is the First Report of a Joint Commission appointed by the London International Assembly and the Council for Education in World Citizenship to consider *The Place of Education, Science and Learning in Post-War Reconstruction*. As the League of Nations Union took so large a part in founding both the Assembly and the C.E.W.C., this Report of their Joint Commission will be of special interest to HEADWAY readers.

The document carries great weight for, as Dr. Gilbert Murray says in his foreword, the Commission is "in many ways a very remarkable body; indeed, at any other time or place it would scarcely have been possible for such a group to meet together throughout a whole year." It includes members of several of the allied governments, principal officers of the Ministries of Education which some of those governments have established in London, university professors, representatives of the arts and science, and teachers from schools of many kinds in Belgium, China, Czechoslovakia, Fighting France, Great Britain, Greece, India, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, the United States of America and Yugoslavia. The Board of Education and the British Council are represented by official observers. Co-operation has been secured with such other bodies as the Committee on Post-War University Education formed by the British Association for the Advancement of Science. But this First Report bears the name of the chairman alone—Dr. Gilbert Murray—for many of the members still have their families in the occupied countries and for their sakes it

was thought to be wiser that their names should be omitted.

## Destruction and Reconstruction

From information placed at the disposal of the Commission by many of the allied governments, and from other sources, the report first shows the magnitude of the task of restoring the educational and cultural life of the devastated lands. In Poland, for example, it is estimated that not less than 50,000 members of the educational services have been killed by the Germans. It will be necessary to print not less than 1,000,000 books in order to provide each class with only two copies of its text-books. In Greece hundreds, probably thousands, of children are now orphans and wander homeless in the streets. Many die of starvation. For those who remain it will be necessary to provide homes as well as schools. In China about 90 universities and technical colleges, 1,000 secondary and 100,000 primary schools will need to be repaired very extensively. About 10 per cent. will need to be rebuilt entirely; and yet the need for text-books and scientific equipment will be even more acute. Without elaboration the report attempts to show quite briefly what has happened in every country occupied.

Here are problems beyond the means of all private charity. The task of restoration must be accepted as the collective responsibility of all the United Nations which should contribute to it in proportion to their wealth and opportunity. The Commission recommends the immediate establishment of a United Nations Bureau for Educational Reconstruction to prepare plans now, and eventually to carry them through, with full governmental support.

## Re-Education in the Enemy Countries

One chapter likely to arouse considerable discussion deals with the re-education of Germany, which the Commission

has considered in great detail, intending later to examine its proposals in relation also to the other Axis States. It is emphatic that, fundamentally, what is needed is nothing less than the moral and spiritual regeneration of the German people, and that this is of no less importance than their physical disarmament which the Allied Governments have pledged themselves to secure. But it sees clearly that such a change of spirit cannot be dictated by conquering powers, and must come from within the German people themselves. Working on the assumption that for a period after the war Germany will be directly administered by Occupying Powers, the Commission urges that they should appoint a High Commissioner for Education, to be assisted by a body of commissioners, whose special task it would be to ensure that the Nazi control of education is smashed and that Nazi and militarist influences are exterminated, and then to do everything that may be possible to inspire, assist and supervise measures by the German people themselves for their own re-education.

The general functions of a High Commissioner with regard to the selection of teachers and the inspection of their work, of text-books and of other teaching material, are considered in detail, as are his relations with the universities, youth movements and adult education, including the moulding of character and opinion through books and newspapers, and the films as well as adult education classes.

The part that might be played by voluntary organisations in helping eventually to win the people of Germany, and, more especially, the teachers and young people as willing and loyal partners in a peaceful world is very carefully examined, but the Commission utters a timely warning against a too sentimental approach to work of this kind.

## Education as a Foundation for the Post-War System

In its final recommendations concerning the advancement of education generally and, in particular, of education for world citizenship—in all countries—the Commission submits

(a) that the social objectives of the Atlantic Charter can only be

achieved if there is a general raising of educational standards;

(b) that such an educational advance must be a matter of international agreement, and will require financial assistance for some of the poorer states;

(c) that only in so far as the rising generation can be educated for world citizenship will it be possible to maintain the solidarity of the United Nations and to ensure peace;

(d) that for these reasons it is urgently necessary that the United Nations should agree to establish as soon as may be practicable an international Organisation for Education and should forthwith undertake the necessary preparations for that act.

In the view of the Commission such an organisation should be one of the principal parts of any new international authority, and should be able to draw upon the wisdom and experience of Governments, Education Authorities, Teachers', Parents' and Students' Associations, each of which should be represented upon it, so as to combine with the authority of the Governments the active participation of those upon whom would chiefly fall the task of carrying out decisions.

It is suggested that, among its other tasks, the I.O.E. should prepare international agreements upon minimum educational standards and the teaching of world citizenship, and advise, inspect and report upon the carrying out of such agreements; make financial grants in aid of educational expansion to states requiring such assistance, and provide a bureau of research and information on educational organisation and methods.

## Fifty-Four Pages

The report contains much else besides: an account of, for example, the work that the Council for Education in World Citizenship is doing, with the help of the Joint Commission, to promote the teaching of world citizenship in this country during the war; the story of the resistance of the Norwegian schools, and the text of the Norwegian Teachers' Declaration, the principal resolutions of the International Conference of Teachers



held at Lynmouth last summer, much sound advice for teachers on the *methods* of education for world citizenship, some consideration of the responsibility of teachers' associations and of individual teachers in this matter, and of the improvements needed in the status of the teacher and in the general organisation of education. Above all, there is a plea for agreement with America and Russia,

and our other allies on the aims to be attempted and the methods to be pursued, for this report of fifty-four closely packed pages is published as a contribution to the study of these issues and makes no claim to say the final word on any of them.

Copies of the report, price 1s. (1s. 3d., post free), may be obtained from 11, Maiden Lane, London, W.C.2.

## WORLD AFFAIRS IN PARLIAMENT

By OWEN A. RATTENBURY

Again, this month, a debate in the House of Lords claims prior attention. It is a fact that, during the party truce, and with the absorption of most of the time of the House of Commons on Government business, freedom to initiate discussion has in large measure passed from the Commons to the Lords. The Bishop of Chichester (Dr. Bell), who opened this debate on March 10, took a strange text—strange not for its ideals, but because of its originator. The theme which the Bishop took was that speech by Premier Stalin which many have regarded as the most "Christian" statement made during the war, and made by a man who does not profess to have anything to do with Christianity. In it Stalin had declared:

"We have no such aim as to destroy Germany, for it is impossible to destroy Germany, just as it is impossible to destroy Russia; but the Hitlerite State can and should be destroyed, and our first task is, in fact, to destroy the Hitlerite State and its inspirers. . . It is very likely that the war for liberation of our Soviet land will result in the ousting or destruction of Hitler's clique. We would welcome such an outcome, but it would be ridiculous to identify Hitler's clique with the German people and the German State. The experience of history shows that Hitlers come and go, and the German State remains."

Dr. Bell asked the Government whether they made the same distinction between

the Hitlerite State and the German people in their prosecution of the war, and in their view of war aims. He asked from the Government a public announcement in emphatic and unhesitating terms. Before the start of the Western offensive it was of urgent importance that those resisting in Germany and occupied countries should know with whom the Allies would collaborate. A mere anti-German slogan was not enough. There must be a positive conception of the principles for the future of Europe, uniting free men in Europe with free men of America, the Dominions and China against Nazi and Fascist tyranny.

From what he himself had seen in Berlin at the outset of the Hitler regime, Dr. Bell contended that vast numbers of the German people refused to bow the knee to Baal. He honoured the Jews and non-Aryan Christians for their resistance, but many others—so-called Aryan Germans—suffered because of their revolt. The most effective resistance was from the Christian Church—Catholic and Protestant. He then went on to speak of resistance during the war. In his opinion we should declare in unequivocal terms that a Germany which overthrew Hitler and all he stood for, that repudiated desire for military domination and renounced Hitler's crimes, would be welcomed into the family of nations. Our banner was the banner of liberty, democracy and Christian civilisation against slavery, tyranny and barbarism. Our choice must be between Hitler's Europe as a "prison of nations" and a Europe with freedom and food for everybody; and we must

make that crystal clear, or else we might win the war in a military sense and lose the war of faith.

Lord Vansittart belied recent suggestions that he was not a Vansittartist. He too took a historical survey, but read the signs of the times in a different way. This time, he trusted, no one would be deceived when any Germans, good, bad or indifferent, started crying out because they had failed again. The reverend Prelate had occupied a weak position, and tried to fortify it with Russian earthworks. It might, he feared, hamper Russian propaganda, and that should be left to Russian intellectual mobility. There was no illusion in Soviet Russia regarding Germany. The Russians did not suffer *Germanofools* gladly, nor did they understand the Anglo-American caste, the *Unteachables*. If the Government left to Germany one shred of wherewithal to put the youth of the world for the third time through this hell and shambles, he would hope for a revolt which he would be the first to join.

### Lord Cecil's Opinion

After Lord Lang had given general support to the Bishop of Chichester, Lord Cecil made his contribution to the discussion. He propounded two questions. First, were there any non-Nazi Germans, and, secondly, what should our policy be with regard to them? He had no doubt that the answer to the first question was in the affirmative. Unlike Lord Vansittart, he thought that the docility of the Germans was a terrible danger to the rest of Europe. In his opinion, the continued occupation of Germany for years after the war would be madness. Napoleon had tried it with great thoroughness, and had only succeeded in doing more to unite Germany in hostility towards foreigners than anything else in history. For that reason he hoped that the Government were not going to imitate the German conception that you must send all who did not obey to a concentration camp, and shoot them if necessary. Germany must be disarmed, but any suggestion of denying her economic prosperity meant reducing her to slavery. We must do justice, and refrain from enforcing claims that we did not believe to be right.

### The Government Reply

The Lord Chancellor (Lord Simon) answered for the Government. They, he said, welcomed Premier Stalin's speech, which had been quoted, as a notable contribution to inter-Allied understanding. Among other things, it provided the best possible demonstration of the utter hollowness of Goebbels's propaganda. The Government agreed with Premier Stalin, first that the Hitlerite State should be destroyed, and second that the whole German people was not thereby doomed to destruction. He quoted Mr. Churchill's statement on November 10, 1941; that the Government would enter into no negotiations with Hitler or with any party in Germany representing the Nazi regime. He further quoted Mr. Eden that, if we were to have peace in our lifetime, the German people must unlearn all they had learned from Hitler and his predecessors of the past hundred years, and from so many of their philosophers and teachers, the disciples of blood and iron. Mr. Henry Wallace had said that a new war in the future was certain if we allowed Germany to rearm materially or psychologically. Britain would never take revenge by mass reprisals against the German people. Our method would be the methods of justice. By punishment of the guilty the Government meant not only highly placed people who inspired and directed the monstrous crimes, but those who organised with cold-blooded ferocity and took a definite part in carrying them out. Referring to Article 4 of the Atlantic Charter:

"They will endeavour, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity."

Lord Simon said that was not mere generosity, it was prudence and good statesmanship. But the German nation could be saved only by the German people. Their only hope was the abandonment once for all of their monstrous *Herrenvolk* claim.

This statement satisfied the Lord Bishop, and he withdrew his motion.



## OUR PLANS FOR THE FUTURE

MISS COURTNEY TELLS AMERICA

Representatives of private organisations from thirty countries recently met in New York at the First Conference of the World Confederation of International Groupments. Distinguished speakers of many nationalities contributed to a series of useful discussions on post-war problems.

The climax of the Conference was a dinner presided over by Mrs. Roosevelt. Here Miss K. D. Courtney, Vice-Chairman of the L.N.U., and Chairman of the General Purposes Committee of the London International Assembly, spoke on Britain's plans for the future.

Miss Courtney began by stressing that, if Americans are to understand what we in Britain are thinking and planning for the future, they must consider the facts against the background of life as it is lived in our country to-day. Not until her visit to America had she realised the full extent to which Britain was a beleaguered fortress. People there could not live through those years 1939 to 1942 without becoming perhaps a little grim. She spoke of the things which made life different and difficult—from the fact that nearly everybody was engaged upon some work of national importance to the blackout, which was a blackout and not a dimout as in New York.

"But," continued Miss Courtney, "do not suppose that because of these facts and because we do it in a different way, we are not thinking and planning. We began the very moment the war broke out, and people asked themselves why the existing international organisation, the League of Nations, had not succeeded in preventing war. They have gone on asking that question; they have gone on thinking, discussing, planning. There are small meetings—perhaps not spectacular, since they must take place as best they can in villages and towns, with people giving what time they can—and there are study groups. The studies which are published are, I think, pretty fundamental and very good.

"But the thinking, as I say, is not spectacular, because it cannot be. I think—and I speak doubtfully because one

can never be sure about how a whole nation is thinking, even one's own nation; no whole nation ever thinks all the same at the same time—but I would say that in general in regard to the post-war world, we are thinking in terms of a worldwide organisation which will assure defence against aggression.

### Security First

"We put security first, and I think I may say that all the nations of Europe, the nations of the occupied and invaded countries, put security first. They want to build a better world, and they know they cannot build unless they can build it behind a rampart of security. We are determined to see things as they are. That, I think, is one of the results of the stripping from us of many of the trimmings and trappings of life. It makes one realise things as they are.

"We try to—we do, I think—live in a rather real world, and look to the future with some sense of realism. We do not believe that we can spring from the chaos and anarchy which must follow this war straight to a perfect world organisation. We know we shall have to build from the bottom. We believe that we shall find a great deal to guide us in what we learned during the years in which the League of Nations existed, but that we must have an organisation which offers better security. In addition to that, we want to see a new and better economic system

"But there is one point on which I think that most of us feel rather strongly, and that is this: You are not going to get your new world merely out of a new economic system. That will not prevent war. You have got to get a respect for international law, a real respect for law, a real belief in law, and a determination to uphold it. Unless every nation in this world, unless every man and woman, every citizen worthy of the name, is determined to defend not only the law in his own country (as we do defend the law in our own countries), but also that law which shall preserve the smallest and the weakest

from aggression, why, then, we must give up hopes of security or of a better world.

"General Smuts, speaking the other day in England, reminded us that an American statesman had said, 'This is the century of the common man.' And the General added, 'Let it be our privilege, the privilege of this generation, to see to it that that searching of soul by the intoler-

able sufferings that this generation has brought about, this terrific ordeal, shall not this time be in vain.' That is the message, if I may call it a message, that I bring from my country to your great country. Let us, together with our great Allies—with China and with Russia—see to it that this awful period of suffering shall this time not be in vain."

## THE LEAGUE'S PROSPECTS

By DR. GILBERT MURRAY, O.M.

(Replying in the B.B.C.'s Brains Trust to the question: "What are the prospects for a League of Nations after the war?")

I think that a League of Nations, or an international organisation on the lines of the League of Nations, is absolutely inevitable. If the United Nations remain united it will be a strong and useful League such as was described or indicated by Mr. Morrison in his excellent speech on February 24. If they fail to remain united it will be a weak and struggling League, and may fail as it did last time. Last time we did not stay united: that was the fundamental cause of the League's weakness and failures. But we have great advantages now. Last time we had to create the League of Nations out of nothing; this time the foundations are there.

The International Labour Office is working hard at post-war problems; it is regularly consulted by governments. Even the League itself, in its non-political work, is carrying on and doing a surprising amount of work considering the difficulties. I was looking at the Report of the Opium Commission; it is really doing something. Looking at the Report of the Health Commission, I find that 17 governments have consulted it during the war and got presumably useful advice from it. Epidemics, you know, don't distinguish between friend and foe, or between Nazi and anti-Nazi.

Then there is the International Court. It was very difficult and delicate work to establish it; and I don't believe the world, having once had that enormous convenience, will be able to get along without it.

In the second place, there are immense new international organisations being formed constantly during the war. Think what is involved, for instance, in the stores of food to be collected on the other side of the Atlantic for the relief of European famine the moment the war is over, and all the organisation which is already there for that work. Think of the international controls that are being formed for shipping, purchases, lease-lend, common ports and bases, and all the planning work done by the Leith-Ross Committee. Have we noticed properly that Mr. Roosevelt is now arranging a conference for the permanent organisation of the food supply of the world? What an amazing thing! All the staples of foods are to have the supply regulated so as to correspond with the demand, so that never again shall we have wheat burned in one country while in another millions of people starve for lack of bread.

Of course, it all depends on whether we have learned our lesson, whether the unspeakable misery caused by this war shows that war has grown more and more intolerable and incompatible with civilisation. If we want to live as good neighbours, if we want to maintain all this economic security we hear so much about, we must stand together to maintain the law. As the Prime Minister used to say again and again in the old days: There is no security except collective security.

(By the courtesy of Dr. Murray and the B.B.C.)



## UP AND DOWN THE COUNTRY

In the field of meetings, March was the busiest month which the League of Nations Union has experienced since the outbreak of war. Our own branches were particularly active, and the demand for speakers from them and from other organisations would have been overwhelming but for the many good friends of all nationalities who are always ready to help the L.N.U. with their services. One striking feature of the month was the number of tours which it was possible to arrange in different parts of the country.

Major-General J. W. van Oorschot, head of the Dutch Military Mission in Great Britain, carried through one of these tours in the West Country. His strenuous programme embraced TAUNTON, SIDMOUTH, OTTERY ST. MARY, TORQUAY, PAIGNTON, and PLYMOUTH, and included Rotary Clubs as well as public meetings.

Miss Olive Lodge, an authority on Yugoslavia, undertook two tours for the Union. On the first she visited WOMEN'S INSTITUTES at ASTWOODBANK, WATER ORTON and FECKENHAM, as well as a gathering of Civil Defence Workers at BIRMINGHAM and the KNIGHTON-ON-TEME WOMEN'S SOCIAL CLUB. Later in the month she addressed a series of meetings at CLEVEDON, BISHOPSTON, CLIFTON, BRISLINGTON, WESTON - SUPER - MARE, PORTISHEAD and WINSCOMBE (W.I.).

Mr. John T. Catterall had a tour in the NELSON, RAWTENSTALL and BLACKBURN area during the second week of March. Later he went to BRIGG, SCUNTHORPE, GRIMSBY, LINCOLN, BURY, OSSETT, THORNBY and MIDDLETON, some of the meetings overlapping into April. Schools and Rotary Clubs were addressed as well as public meetings.

Outstanding successes were "International Brains Trusts," arranged by certain branches. That at STREATHAM was in the nature of an encore—a "repeat performance" was almost inevitable after the success of the previous Brains

Trust last September. This time the members of the Trust were Miss Freda White (Great Britain), Mr. Robert Kull (U.S.A.), Mr. C. Y. Hsieh (China), and Mr. Charles Ashleigh (Russia).

PADDINGTON and ST. JOHN'S WOOD BRANCHES had as the members of their Brains Trust Sir Ralph Wedgwood (Great Britain), Mr. B. Hasvoll (Norway), Mlle. F. Halphen (Fighting France), and Mr. S. L. Hourmouzios (Greece).

At ST. ALBANS, in addition to a British representative, the Brains Trust consisted of the Rev. Marcus Spencer (U.S.A.), Mr. Jaya Deva (China), and Miss Hebe Spaul (Russia).

In a very fine and moving address at a meeting arranged by our STREATHAM BRANCH, Mrs. Edgar Dugdale spoke of the inhuman treatment of the Jews in Nazi-occupied Europe, and plans for their resettlement after the war. Mr. David Robertson, M.P. for Streatham, moved a resolution calling upon the Government to do all that they could to help the persecuted Jews in Europe. Not content with this, he followed up the L.N.U. meeting by putting questions on the subject to the Foreign Secretary in the House of Commons.

Dr. Gilbert Murray, O.M., was the speaker at a Union meeting arranged at Solihull. Lieut.-Col. Victor Cazalet, M.C., M.P., spoke at the MONTAGUE BURTON BRANCH (Leeds), and also at HORSHAM, on "The War Outside Britain." The Dean of Chichester addressed meetings at RUGBY and HURTWOOD. Dr. Maxwell Garnett spoke in the White Rock Pavilion, HASTINGS. Among other meetings were the following:—Mrs. Corbett Ashby at SOUTH HARROW, Dr. de Baer (Belgium) at RUGBY, Dr. L. Ambrosova (Czechoslovakia) at COVENTRY, and Miss E. A. Waite at WANDSWORTH. GUILDFORD and PETWORTH BRANCHES held their Annual General Meetings, with Mr. Leslie Aldous as the speaker. At the HIGHGATE Study Group, Mr. Reg. Bishop opened a discussion on "Russia."

WALLINGTON BRANCH, believing in the

stimulating value of controversy, allowed Mr. S. F. Sheridan to read a paper on "Federal Union Without a League." His thesis was challenged by Mr. Aldous, who argued that it was not only bad F.U. doctrine, but also hopelessly impracticable.

The Secretary of our STEBBING BRANCH could not find adjectives to describe the stimulating effect of Mr. Catterall's recent visit to the village discussion circle. Members of the Forces joined in the debate, and time alone stopped the flow of questions.

ROTARY CLUBS, as in the past, drew freely upon the L.N.U. for speakers at their luncheon meetings. The list for March included, in addition to those addressed by speakers on tour:—ST. PANCRAS and SLOUGH (Mr. Hourmouzios, Greece); LETCHWORTH, Major-General van Oorschot (Holland); WEST HAM, Mr. T. Filipowicz (Poland); MITCHAM, Mrs. Riley (Fighting French); WEMBLEY, Mr. Norman Mackintosh (Canada); BURY ST. EDMUNDS and WESTON-SUPER-MARE, Mr. Catterall; ST. ALBANS, MAIDENHEAD and BARKING, Mr. Aldous.

WIMBLEDON "INNER WHEEL" had a talk from Mme. Tony Mayer (Fighting France).

WOMEN'S INSTITUTES visited by L.N.U. speakers included:—LEMSFORD, HAMMERWOOD AND HOLTYE (Miss Barclay Carter); ST. CATHERINE'S, GUILDFORD (Mr. Catterall). The WOMEN'S CO-OPERATIVE GUILD at BURY ST. EDMUNDS also heard Mr. Catterall. Organisations visited by the Editor of HEADWAY included TOC H, MARK I (the anti-narcotic activities of the League), A.R.P. Post Study Circle at CHURCH END, FINCHLEY ("The New League of Nations"), and the SOUTHGATE FORUM ("The Post-war International Situation").

The Secretary of our HARROW BRANCH recently sent to the United Aid to China Fund a first donation of £100, raised through the local appeal initiated by the Branch. A China Week is now being organised with the help of another local organisation.

A meeting arranged by our WESTBOURNE AND PARKSTONE BRANCH, in support of the Bournemouth Aid to China Fund, was addressed by Mrs. Bigland, who gave a graphic account of her travels in China and a moving description of the suffer-

ings of the Chinese people. The audience responded to the appeal by giving £22 to the Fund. To add to this total, the Branch is taking over a shop for a week and literature on China will be sold.

## PRINCESS TSAHAI

All friends of Ethiopia among readers of HEADWAY will be interested to know that a PRINCESS TSAHAI MEMORIAL HOSPITAL FUND has been set up, to assist in the rehabilitation of the first country to be liberated by the Allied armies from Axis aggression.

The Princess, after devoting five years of her exile to training as a nurse in British hospitals so as to qualify herself to play an important part in restoring the health services of her country, died most tragically on the threshold of her great endeavour. The Memorial Fund will continue the work which she so signally began.

Ethiopia will benefit; but so will other countries, for Ethiopia offers a valuable field for the study of tropical diseases and it is hoped to afford facilities for international interchanges of personnel in the best League tradition.

The Treasurer of the Fund—which is supported by Lord Cecil, Lady Layton, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Mr. W. Arnold-Forster and a long list of eminent people—is Miss Isabel Fry, Church Farm, Buckland, near Aylesbury, Bucks.

## L.N.U. AND F.U.

Believing that these two organisations, though advocating different means of action, have in common the promotion of peace and the neighbourly relations of the nations of the world, the Kensington Branch of the L.N.U. and the neighbouring Branch of the F.U., have held two joint meetings at the Essex Chapel in Kensington to expound to one another their respective methods of attaining the same object. At the first meeting, on January 30, Sir George Young (Kensington L.N.U.) and Professor Catlin expounded their respective methods of action, and the discussion was continued at a subsequent meeting in the same room.

The first meeting was well attended, especially by members of the L.N.U. (Kensington).



## BOOKS OF THE MONTH

**CHINA AFTER FIVE YEARS OF WAR.**  
With a Preface by Dr. Wellington Koo.  
(Gollancz. 6s.)

Prepared under the auspices of the Chinese Ministry of Information, this utilitarian volume bears all the marks of having been written amidst the storm and stress of China's great struggle for freedom and progress. Terse, businesslike prose, devoid of the elegance and polish traditionally associated with Chinese thought and speech, is made the vehicle for conveying a mine of information on every aspect of Chinese life under fire. Facts tumble over one another in such stark profusion that this is not an easy book to digest. It is certainly not for the hurried reader. But the composite picture which it builds up is at once grim, heroic and splendid.

Here is a closely documented elaboration of what Dr. Wellington Koo points out in his Preface—that, after the outbreak of war with Japan, China deliberately went on building her political, economic and social institutions. While the soldiers fought on at the front, the people toiled and sweated in the rear. This dual programme of resistance and reconstruction means that in China something unique is happening, and the past five years are crowded with epic achievement.

The movement towards constitutional government which has gone on in spite of war, the training of China's army, the amazing growth of the Chinese Industrial Co-operatives which guarantee that Chinese industrial development will have an entirely different aspect after the war is over, the keeping open of communications in spite of the Japanese hold upon the ports and railways, the problem of fifty million refugees including a million South Sea Chinese, the position of students—these are a few of the angles covered comprehensively in separate chapters. But culture, too, is brilliantly alive in wartime China. There are festivals and exhibitions; and bombed Chungking (like London) supports three permanent symphony orchestras—whose repertoire ranges from the works of Tchaikovsky to those of native composers like Mr. Ma.

The Chinese people, says Dr. Wellington Koo, are prepared to face the winning

of the peace, which may prove a more difficult task than the winning of the war.

**UNDERSTANDING CHINA.** By Harold B. Rattenbury. (Frederick Muller. Paper covers, 2s. 6d.; cloth boards, 4s.)

During a lifetime spent as a Methodist missionary in China, in the course of which he was something more than a passive spectator of two big revolutions and innumerable little wars, Mr. Rattenbury got to know and love the Chinese people. His picture of the growth of modern China, set against the background of his own experiences, radiates understanding and sympathy. He writes a warm human story. From the terrible Boxer year, up to the First Revolution of 1911 and through a period of political morass to the Second Revolution of 1926, a great nation's strivings for unity were not always easily perceptible amidst confusion and conflict. Yet, when the smoke of battle had cleared, the able Nationalist leaders set about reconstruction in earnest, with the help of the League of Nations; and many highly skilled and devoted men of all nations brought their gifts and talents to be used in the building of a new China.

In their subsequent fighting with the Japanese, the Chinese have been stiffened by the knowledge that they are fighting in a righteous cause. Of those who have been won over or coerced by the enemy, Wang Ching Wei is "the only puppet who matters, and he does matter somewhat." A long tour of "occupied" or rather "penetrated" China, and of "free China," with its optimism and resiliency, convinced Mr. Rattenbury that Japan had made enemies everywhere, and that, when the day of her defeat arrived, none would rejoice more than the puppets.

The book includes excellent appreciations of Dr. Sun Yat Sen, of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek ("an epitome of Sun Yat Sen but wrought in steel") and of Madame Chiang. Of all the revolutions which he witnessed, the author considers that the most revolutionary was the transformation of the Chinese language so that common knowledge could be placed before the common man. Looking back to the beginning of the century, he finds everything

the same, and yet everything different. The new China is the old China, full of a new life urge and will to act.

**"CAN GERMANY BE CURED?"** By Edwyn Bevan. (Edinburgh House Press, World Issues Series No. 15. 3d.)

While admitting the immensity of the problem of re-educating Germany, Dr. Bevan denies that the task is impossible. Taking one by one the factors which in the past have led to German corruption, he shows how they could be tackled. He thinks that it would help if the enormity of the crimes committed by the Nazis could be brought home to the German people and, in any case, we should be adamant in not letting Germany re-arm.

**"MAN AND HIS WORLD."** By James Mainwaring. (George Philip and Sons. Book I 4s., Book II 6s.)

Dr. Mainwaring here applies to the joint study of history and geography his pronounced ideas about relating teaching first to everyday events, and, secondly, to the experience and interests of those taught. An enthralling account of the evolution of the old world, in the earlier volume, is followed in Book II by an equally fascinating story of the evolution of the modern world. Both are excellently illustrated by photographs, maps

and sketches with almost a Horrabin touch about them. Reading lists contain every kind of book (including fiction) likely to quicken the interest of the young student; and suggestions for classes stress such practical activities as arranging plays, picture miscellanies and discussions. The author clearly brings out that great world problems would not long remain unsolved if the nations were prepared to deal with them by united international action.

**SETTLEMENT WITH GERMANY.** By T. G. Dunning. (Student Christian Movement Press, 2s. 6d.) A fair and reasonable discussion of how to overcome what is evil in the German race when the time comes to rebuild a new Europe. The choice between collective peril and collective security, and the moral argument against absolute neutrality, are well pointed. The Church must play its part by adopting all practical measures for the creation of a truly oecumenical mind and consciousness.

**SOVIET WOMEN AT WAR.** By Maggie Jordan. (Russia To-day Pamphlet, 3d.) How Soviet women are coping with the new life and hastening the day of victory.

**DICTIONARY (IN ESPERANTO) OF CHILDREN'S GAMES AND TOYS.** (International Esperanto League, Rickmansworth. 9d.)

## NEWS FROM AUSTRALIA

Post-war Reconstruction is the theme of the January *News Letter* which has reached us from the AUSTRALIAN LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION (VICTORIAN BRANCH). Last December the venture was made of calling together representatives from different organisations, many of which had groups actively engaged in the study of different aspects of world settlement. About 100 people from some 40 organisations were present, and a healthy discussion took place on the Short Statement of the L.N.U. While most speakers were in general agreement with the L.N.U.'s proposals, some criticisms regarding its application and certain points of phraseology were put forward. Finally, it was unanimously agreed to set up a Commission for the co-ordination and organisation of the study of national

and international problems of post-war reconstruction. The Union was warmly congratulated for the courage and vision of its venture, and for the wide and representative character of the meeting.

Some excellent work has been done during the past year by the Junior Branches in schools. The Geelong College has had the enterprise to produce and publish a booklet entitled "What Next?" on the building of a new order, the profits being devoted to the Prisoners of War Fund. Another school has run a series of three conferences on post-war reconstruction.

The L.N.U. Library is being brought up to date to meet the demand for books on Post-war Reconstruction, and a series of lectures is being planned for A.R.P. posts and other interested groups.



## CHINA AND POST-WAR SETTLEMENT

In China to-day, not only are vast works of construction going on in the midst of war, but as in Britain and the United States careful thought is being devoted to the problems of post-war reconstruction—national and international. A report has reached us of a recent conference called by the Chinese Association of Political Science in Chungking to discuss the organisation of the world after the war. The chief speaker was Dr. Wang Chung-hui, one time Foreign Minister and formerly a judge on the bench of the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague.

Basing his opinion upon the experience of the League of Nations, Dr. Wang took the view that, although the time was not yet ripe for "the United States of the World," an organisation with stricter rights and duties than the old League was necessary. He therefore favoured the establishment of a world system, with regional systems forming an integral part of the international organisation.

He went on to lay down five conditions which he considered indispensable to international security:—

(1) Peaceful settlement of all international disputes.

(2) Strict outlawry of the use of force between nations.

(3) Clear definition of aggression.

(4) Creation of a permanent body capable of organising diplomatic, economic and military sanctions.

(5) Periodical revision of treaties which have become inapplicable, and of international conditions constituting a danger to the peace of the world.

In order to get rid of the causes of war, Dr. Wang further advocated the following long-term objectives:—

(a) International disarmament.

(b) Economic co-operation.

(c) Psychological construction of peace.

After discussing in some detail the various practical measures necessary for strengthening the League of Nations, Dr. Wang concluded with the observation that, when this world war was over, Great Britain, the United States, Russia and China would have to accept the responsibility for maintaining peace until a system of world security could be firmly established.

(Continued from page 3)

### Colonies

Colonel Oliver Stanley, the Colonial Secretary, has earned much criticism by the speech which he delivered at Oxford on March 5, with its curiously contradictory opinions on our post-war colonial policy. Although he made a later attempt to tone down the effect of his remarks, the impression persists that he advocated an unbending policy of "what we have we hold."

The League of Nations Union adheres to the principle that the task of colonial government is to act as trustee for the peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world. This idea has been voiced by Great Britain in a series of official statements, and accepted by the States Members of the League under Article 22 of the Covenant. In the Draft Report on *Colonial Settlement*, recom-

mended by the General Council to members and Branches for study, it is urged that this ruling idea of trusteeship "should be generalised from the mandated areas, to which it now applies by international treaty, to all colonial areas in which it would represent an advance towards self-government."

No doubt fault can be found with British colonial administration, in the West Indies, for example—as it can with the systems of other countries. The L.N.U. reiterates its views, not in any sense of carping criticism, but because it believes that the principle of the Mandate System is good. This is not the same as advocating international administration of colonies, the disadvantages of which need not be discussed here. The Mandate System worked under serious handicaps between the two wars, but it justified itself. Can it be strengthened, improved and extended?

## FROM HEADWAY'S POST-BAG

### Russian Foreign Policy

Sir,—The Russian invasions of Finland and Poland are memories which cloud the good will of many people who earnestly desire the friendliest relations between this country and Russia after the war. It is of vital importance to the security of the coming peace that these clouds should be dissipated.

Mr. Berry does a great service in pointing out that aggression can be of very different types. One type is that of Napoleon and Hitler, inspired by the lust for personal power or for world domination by the "chosen race," and is invariably a crime, without a redeeming feature. Another type is prompted purely by strategic motives, with the object of strengthening the state concerned in a war which is anticipated or in one which has actually broken out. Aggression of such a type may be justifiable under the present anarchic world system of power politics.

The only distinction between, say, the recent British invasion of Madagascar and the Russian invasion of Finland is that in the case of Madagascar we were already at war with Japan, whereas in the case of Finland war between Russia and Germany had not then broken out. Stalin saw very clearly, however, that an attack by Hitler was inevitable and he did what he could to prepare against it, by strengthening not only his armaments but his strategical position as well.

Having tried to secure the co-operation of Finland against the Nazi danger and failed, he took the law into his own hands. We should examine our own motives in invading Madagascar and French North Africa very closely before we condemn him out of hand. Before condemning his invasion of Poland, too, we should remember how pleased our present Prime Minister was that Russia had occupied Eastern Poland and thereby kept the Germans out.

As regards Russia's intentions after the war, Mr. Berry has overlooked the fact that, by adhering to the Atlantic Charter, she has already declared, in the words of its first article, that "she seeks no aggrandisement, territorial or other." I hope, however, this does not mean that she envisages, with Mr. Berry, the restoration of the *sovereignty* of every pre-war state, however small, with all the accompanying national armies and tariff walls. Every internationalist knows of a better way.

CENTURION.

(Pseudonym used for service reasons.)

### Words for All Nations

Sir,—May I be allowed to refer to the footnote to Mr. Dark's letter on Esperanto and the

League of Nations. The footnote, no doubt owing to over-condensation, rather suggests that Esperanto was not favourably considered. It is only fair to state that the Secretariat of the League, after two-years' exhaustive enquiry into the claims not only of Esperanto but also of many other languages, submitted a report entirely favourable to Esperanto. This report was adopted by the Assembly but the opponents, mainly I believe the French and English, succeeded in getting the matter referred to the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. This Committee, being biased towards the purely cultural and traditional aspect, had no sympathy with the idea of an auxiliary language. Its report was antagonistic and recommended the wider teaching of national languages. This report was accepted but the recommendation about national languages was refused.

The fact remains, however, that the most exhaustive and comprehensive enquiry yet made into this subject did result in the recommendation that Esperanto should be adopted. As far as I know, every serious investigation has resulted in almost similar findings.

Esperantists sincerely believe that no national language can ever be a satisfactory solution. Some neutral language must be chosen. If Esperanto is not what we claim, then it will not be elected—but the Governments of the great powers must make up their minds and come to some decision.

Bathgate, Scotland.

W. A. GIBSON.

### Armaments

Sir,—I was much interested in the letter signed by M. L. V. Hughes, Barrow-in-Furness, also your comment on same in the January issue and am disappointed that none of your readers have ventured to amplify the extremely important point made by your correspondent that if the defeated countries and their dupes or victims as in the case of Austria, Rumania, etc., only are to be disarmed it places a tremendous burden on the other countries. Contrariwise it puts the countries who for some redemptive period are to be prevented from the glorious enterprise of dealing in and manufacturing instruments of death, in an enviable position so far as their economic situation is concerned. I well remember the preposterous outcry previous to 1914 that Germany was capturing the trade of the world, and when she was disarmed I thought now is the time for her to put her impossible design (if she ever had such) into operation. All the world knows now, of course, that this sort of thing did not suit the vast tentacles of the armament concerns, and German disarmament was soon relegated to the past. The Russian



Red Army was the next bogey which kept the armaments machinery humming. Then Italy came into the picture and so on. I look in vain for some constructive statement on the functions of the armament concerns after the present war and am certain that members of the Union can set themselves no better task than to discover a way out of this hideous dilemma.

Dundee.

A. G. BLACKWOOD.

### Brains Trust

Sir.—Many readers of HEADWAY, like myself, must have been chilled and disappointed when they heard Dr. Gilbert Murray's reply to the open question put to the B.B.C. Brains Trust. Surely this was an opportunity to "put over" to a vast public those great and enduring achievements in the field of international co-operation which would justify the use of a great part of the League's machinery in whatever world organisation may evolve after the war. Dr. Murray, too, could have pointed out in no uncertain way the main causes which led to the breakdown of the League on the political side. But no, he sounded lame, half-hearted and apologetic; and when, after a brief but lively discussion by the "guests," he had the opportunity to answer some of their criticisms, he only replied that he agreed with almost everything which had been said, except that it was a mistake to say that the British Government had six votes at the League deliberations—it had only one!

Another speaker (Commander Gould), however, put the chief cause of the League's failure in a nutshell—lack of sincerity on the part of those who operated (or evaded operating) the machinery at their disposal.

Dorking.

(Mrs.) K. D. TIZARD.

[Other listeners were enthusiastic about Dr. Murray's broadcast. The Brains Trust was not asked to answer the question, "Why did the League fail on the political side?" In the few minutes available the members therefore preferred to concentrate on the practical implications of the question set.—ED.]

### DEEDS

Four months have lapsed since, at the last meeting of the General Council, our Treasurer suggested that members might pay their subscriptions under deed, and thus double the value to the Union without extra cost to themselves. The response has been reasonably encouraging. Deeds have come from members in all parts of the United Kingdom, the greater proportion being renewals of those which have expired.

London, as might be expected, has sent in the largest number, Lancashire and Yorkshire occupying the second and third places. All the deeds received from Somerset, it is interesting to note, are from members giving deeds for the first time.

The final payments on more than a thousand Deeds will have been made by the end of this month. Is it too much to expect that the rivulet of renewals will become a broad flowing stream before the next Council meeting in June?

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