

HEADWAY

IN WAR-TIME

The Journal of the League of Nations Union

No. 54

MARCH 1944

PRICE 3d.

FUNDAMENTALS FOR PEACE

An Eleven-Point Programme for Peace is the main feature in the latest number to reach us of *Changing World*, the monthly organ of the American League of Nations Association. This is the substance of the Fourth Report prepared by the Commission to Study the Organisation of Peace. Its findings were presented at an all-day conference in New York, which was attended by several hundred persons and brought together many leaders in the field of international relations. The Commission claims that its fundamentals are within the range of practical possibility and that they are the minimum steps required to prevent future wars.

We are certain that readers of HEADWAY will find the eleven points both interesting and instructive. Our fellow-workers in the United States, it will be seen, after an exhaustive study of the problems of peace from their own angle, have reached conclusions very similar in main essentials to our own. It is particularly illuminating to compare the American Commission's programme with our Union's Draft Pact for the Future International Authority.

Here, then, is the Eleven-Point Programme:—

I. Immediate Action

The United Nations and their associates should proceed now to establish the general international organisation. It should provide for eventual participation by all nations.

II. Universal Obligation

Aggressive war is a crime against mankind. All nations must be bound by the obli-

gation not to resort to other than peaceful means for the settlement of disputes.

III. Prevention of Aggression

The nations, acting through the international organisation, should agree to employ whatever means are necessary, including armed forces, to prevent aggression.

Certain strategic bases should be permanently occupied by forces of the co-operating nations as a police measure. For emergency preventive action they should have available an international air force recruited by voluntary enlistment.

IV. Justice

The international organisation must provide means for the pacific settlement of disputes and to achieve an ever greater degree of justice among nations.

The Permanent Court of International Justice should be adopted as the supreme judicial tribunal of the international organisation. The scope of arbitration should be widened.

V. Control of Armaments

The international organisation must fulfil the promise of the Atlantic Charter by measures to "lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments."

The nations should reduce armaments progressively to agreed levels under the supervision of an armaments control commission.

VI. Economic and Social Collaboration

The international organisation should promote co-operation among the nations to secure "improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security."

Among the agencies which should be used or created are: (a) The International Labour Organisation; (b) United Nations Organisation for Food and Agriculture; (c) United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration; (d) economic organisations to deal with such matters as international trade, communications, monetary stabilisation and industrial development; (e) organisations for social welfare and health; (f) organisations for cultural and intellectual development.

VII. Human Rights

The international organisation should provide means through international law for safeguarding essential human rights.

A permanent international commission should be created, consisting of jurists and others experienced in public affairs, to formulate from time to time the principles and procedures of international justice with respect to groups or individuals.

VIII. Colonial Trusteeship

The international organisation should provide for a system of trusteeship over non-self-governing peoples.

Nations with non-self-governing territories should accept certain responsibilities to the international organisation for the elimination of exploitation and for the extension of self-government.

IX. Central Political Bodies

The international organisation should include (a) a general international assembly open eventually to the delegates of all nations; (b) an executive council composed of a limited number of States, including those nations that bear the heaviest share of responsibility for the restoration and maintenance of peace, and able to take quick decisions in cases of threat of aggression; (c) a secretariat to study international problems and to provide information and secretarial services.

X. Regional Organisations

Such regional organisations as exist or may be created should conform to the same fundamental purposes as the general international organisation and co-operate with it in their fulfilment.

XI. Use of Existing Machinery

The international organisation should build upon the foundations already laid in the League of Nations and its allied institutions, making use of whatever may be found serviceable in their experience and organisation.

In its general statement the American Commission points out that there are two ways to plan political organisation: one

is to draft a constitution in broad outlines and leave it to the future to fill in the details; the second is to begin with the details and work out through them to a completed whole. Only the first method was used after the first world war. To-day the United Nations are already making significant use of both methods.

U.N.R.R.A. and the Interim Food Authority are practical steps towards the peace. At the same time the Moscow Declaration has given us the goal of a "general international organisation." This Declaration is limited to the problem of security. Other matters such as economic and social welfare are left for future consideration, "and properly so, because the establishment and maintenance of peace is the indispensable condition for progress in all other matters." The American Commission calls for the speedy establishment of this "general international organisation" and suggests that it must be implemented in three great fields—those of security, economic welfare and justice. All new institutions should be considered in relation to already functioning agencies, such as the International Labour Organisation and agencies of the League of Nations. Since the work of all is interrelated and none of them can function successfully unless they are made part of a wider mechanism, they should be made part of the international co-ordinating body.

FROM AUSTRALIA

THE AUSTRALIAN UNITED NATIONS ASSEMBLY, run on similar lines to the London International Assembly, is flourishing, and has vigorous sections in the various States of the Commonwealth.

Month by month it is publishing a series of pamphlets, price 1s. per copy. Two numbers which have reached us feature "Work for Rehabilitation" and "Ideas on Education." Prominent in the cover design is a United Nations flag which, although unofficial, has been endorsed by the representatives of 31 Allied nations in Washington. Four vertical red bars on a white background represent the Four Freedoms, the colour denoting the price to be paid for victory over the aggressors. The flag was first introduced on United Nations Day, June 14, 1943.

OUR DRAFT PACT

The General Council of the League of Nations Union, at its most recent meeting in December, had before it the "Draft Pact for the Future International Authority," which had been prepared by the Policy Sub-Committee during the autumn and adopted by the Executive. In warmly welcoming the Four-Power Agreement signed at Moscow, the General Council approved the publication of the Pact in the name of the Executive, as being consistent with the policy of the Moscow declaration. Branches were urged to study the Pact, together with other relevant documents. It was further urged that the Pact should be used in the Union's efforts to popularise and support the Moscow policy.

The Union is now publishing the Draft Pact, with some revisions in the light of the Council's discussions, together with a commentary.

This foreword explains that the Draft is meant to show, shortly and in layman's English, how the policy of the Moscow Declaration might be carried out. If the nations are resolved to establish "a general international organisation" which

can protect the peace, assure international justice, and promote prosperity and freedom, this Draft will afford a serviceable sketch of the foundations on which that organisation can be built.

A brief statement of the Union's general assumptions is followed by explanatory notes on the Articles of the Pact. The kernel of the plan, of course, is contained in Articles IX, X and XI, which aim at remedying the main weaknesses in the League's Covenant. The police function, being everyone's business, was apt to be no one's business. As the creation of a supranational authority seems unlikely at this stage, the best available alternative appears to be to place on the Great Powers an unqualified obligation to use their whole strength, as agents of the International Authority, to defeat aggression.

The intention of this note in HEADWAY is not to summarise the Draft Pact and the commentary, which deserve the closest study that Branches and members can give to them, but to let readers know that they are now available in printed form. Write for copies to the Head Office, 11, Maiden Lane, London, W.C.2.

CANADA "ON THE MOVE"

"WE ARE ON THE MOVE." That is the current watchword of our friends and fellow-workers of THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS SOCIETY IN CANADA. "There can be no question of just 'holding on,'" declares their *News Bulletin*. "We must go on."

Asserting that the International Post-War Forces are gathering strength, the *News Bulletin* continues:—"One cannot but be impressed by the increasing activity in League of Nations work in Britain, in the United States, and we are thankful to say 'In Canada.' Alibis for non-activity or non-interest are losing their hold. It is no longer sufficient to say, 'We are so busy winning the war.' It is just as urgent that we win the peace."

"Who serves the League serves Canada," is the slogan printed across the top of the front page. The six pages of the *Bulletin* are packed with short but

stimulating articles, news paragraphs, quotations from speeches, and brief notices of "books to buy." We are happy to see some of the contents of HEADWAY passed on to Canadian readers.

There is news of meetings, study groups, broadcasts and other activities from Ottawa, Montreal, Toronto, Vancouver, Victoria, Calgary, Winnipeg, Kingston and Halifax.

Take Your Choice is the title of a special 10-cent booklet, prepared by the Society, which we learn is travelling to all parts of Canada. Attractively got up and popular in style and language, its contents are designed to stir public interest and focus attention on the great international problem of peace and security. The letterpress is enlivened by photographs, diagrams, reproductions of paintings and Low cartoons.

EDUCATE FOR WORLD PEACE

By FLYING OFFICER R. P. ODELL

Much has been written and discussed about re-educating the Germans after the war. Presumably the main purpose is to introduce an educational system within Germany which will instil into the minds of the youth of that country the ideals of peace and eradicate their leanings towards war and warlike pursuits. Plainly something of that sort will have to be attempted.

Negative Attitude

But first this country must put its own house in order by endeavouring to achieve such an ideal in its own schools. This is not suggesting for one moment that any of our many types of school have had belligerent intentions in their teaching. Far from it. But whereas the young German was drilled, paraded and dragooned into a militaristic hobbledehoy in the pre-war days, our boys were brought up in a dangerously negative manner. After the first World War, pacifism was in the air throughout the country, a peace-at-any-price attitude which was quickly noted by ambitious nations. This period may be said to have culminated in the much-publicised Oxford Union motion, which, by being exaggerated to an absurd degree, opened the eyes of many people to what was happening owing to this continual harping on the peace theme. The youth of the nation were not being given a lead along the right lines. Those who had suffered in the 1914-18 war were putting the luxuries and pleasures of peace before the ideals. It was a natural reaction to the strains they had endured, but it resulted in a sense of duty to the younger generation taking a back seat.

Unfortunately, no one took charge and gave a real lead then and there. All that happened was a drifting into that negative attitude which has already been mentioned. Peace was considered a good thing and war a bad one, but apart from that the subject was tacitly ignored. Peace and war were as far as possible not discussed in the presence of the young. Everyone was a little frightened of it.

The German had been brought up for war; the Englishman had not been brought

up for peace, not systematically. Nothing had been done in this country to show the Germans that war would turn out again as unprofitable as it had in 1918. Naturally the scales tipped in favour of war.

Education has a very important part to play in the preservation of world peace. After all, it was youth, trained as a fighting machine, which made war possible for Hitler in 1939. Surely it should be equally possible for youth, trained as an enemy of war rather than in pacifism, to maintain peace for humanity in the future.

The Schoolmaster's Part

It is not the purpose of this article to outline any scheme but to urge that steps should be taken by practical schoolmasters to show that they are willing, even eager, to play their part. Indeed, once they are approached on the subject, they will prove more than willing, for no section of the community loses more by war in human ties and friendship. The keen and efficient schoolmaster follows the subsequent careers of his pupils with active interest, and when those careers are ruined or prematurely ended, he suffers a personal sense of injury and wrong.

It is not going to be an easy problem. Whereas the warlike attitude is encouraged by uniforms, parades, drill, and lectures on the honour of fighting and dying for one's country, the ideal anti-war attitude will not be encouraged by the omission of these things. The same teaching differently applied would be nearer the mark. Drill to maintain a standard of physical fitness, parades to instil pride in belonging to a community united in the same aims, and lectures on the responsibilities of each individual member of the commonwealth of nations.

The abolition of cadet corps would be no contribution towards peace. In discipline alone they pay good dividends, which will assist in preventing another lapse into the state of laxity in which this country found itself at the beginning of the war. Besides, cadet corps will provide a nucleus for the Services which must never again be reduced to a state of numerical impotence.

Healthy Direction

Boys are receptive. They also admire physical strength and fighting qualities. A boxing match, a hard game of Rugger, a military band, a parade of soldiers, a warship sailing out of harbour with all its panoply of power, all these things stir them to the very depths of their being, and cause them to dream dreams of personal prowess when they grow up. There is a danger that these heroics from which every boy suffers at one time or another may be regarded as the root of the trouble. Well-intentioned people may try to stamp out these characteristics. If so, they will attempt the impossible. It is ingrained,

it is human nature, and as such must be exploited and not suppressed. Though it has never yet been attempted with any success, it must be possible to divert these traits into anti-war channels, so that this whole commonwealth of nations presents itself as a warning to ambitious and belligerent countries.

This desired result cannot be brought about by Act of Parliament. It can only be achieved by united action on the part of all schoolmasters. Let them get together now and let none stand aloof. It is a matter of national urgency, and later, when we have found the answer, we shall have a lesson to teach to the whole world.

WORLD AFFAIRS IN PARLIAMENT

By OWEN RATTENBURY

There have been two debates in the House of Lords during February on certain aspects of the war—the Government's bombing policy, and the protection of ancient monuments and works of art within the theatres of war. The first debate was introduced by the Bishop of Chichester, and the second by Lord Lang of Lambeth. When speaking on the first motion, Lord Lang expressed his wish that the two issues should be treated separately. This appeal was, in fact, disregarded by some of the speakers. Lords Latham, Winster and Trenchard, for instance, used the second debate to reply to the speech of the Bishop of Chichester in the first. The Lord Chancellor wittily described their action in the following words:—

"I am not one who desires to see introduced into this House any stricter rules of order. We govern ourselves, which is a good way of proceeding. But that does not really excuse anybody from failing to appreciate that the two questions raised are quite distinct. The question raised last week by the Bishop of Chichester was this. He attempted to persuade us that the Government should modify its bombing policy and practice. That is what he was attempting to do, and I was not in the least surprised that it aroused the indignation, though somewhat postponed, protest of Lord Trenchard and the two other members of the House who have spoken. . . . Their intervention really

illustrates the principle of the delayed action bomb. They have heard a speech which they greatly resented from a right reverend prelate last week. They have reflected upon it and read reports of it and, it may be, the views of other people upon it; and here, a week later, like a delayed action bomb they have gone off with a tremendous noise and effect. But the result is merely to produce a rather sulphurous atmosphere in which there is danger of your Lordships not seeing what the present question is."

However, since what was done really telescoped the two debates into one, it is better perhaps to treat them as one debate.

The Bishop's Plea

The Bishop of Chichester had called attention to the present scale bombing of industrial towns, especially as regards civilian non-combatants and non-military and non-industrial objectives. It was idle, he agreed, to suppose that war could be carried on without injury and violence from which non-combatants suffered as well as combatants. Our earlier expressions of aims had shown a firm desire to spare the civil populations. He was not forgetting the Nazi example of bombing Belgrade, Warsaw, Rotterdam, London, Portsmouth, Coventry, Plymouth and Canterbury—from which it was clear that this large-scale bombing had been started by the Nazis. But, although it was legi-

time to bomb industrial and military objectives, especially in view of the second front to come, and that with it there must be some killing of civilians, there should be a fair balance between the means employed and the object achieved. To bomb a whole town because some portions were military and industrial was to reject the balance. He cited some examples of the wholesale destruction which had come about by the method of area bombing. In his opinion, the combination of the policy of obliteration with the policy of complete negation as to the future of a Germany which had got free from Hitler was bound to prolong the war and make the period after the war more miserable.

Archbishop Lord Lang, who said that he did not intend to follow the previous speech, though he paid tribute to its sincerity and courage, felt that there did seem to be a deterioration in temper which would involve a lamentable lapse in moral outlook. He quoted as the tenor of some letters received by him, "They let us have it; let us give it to them tenfold; pay them back in their own coin"; a sentiment which Lord Winster a week later appeared to share—at any rate, he said that he could see nothing to take exception to in its spirit. Lord Lang urged that there was nothing we should gloat over even if these things were necessities.

The Government's Policy

The Government reply was made by Lord Cranborne, who declared that the R.A.F. never indulged in purely terror raids. It would, he agreed, be wrong to gloat over the destruction of German cities forced upon us by military necessities. What we had to do was to weigh against each other the suffering caused and the suffering saved. Referring to the cruelties inflicted by the Axis Powers upon Jews and others, which the Bishop had pointed out again and again, Lord Cranborne urged that the only cure was to liberate the occupied countries; and this offensive was designed to do that. That was why they attacked Essen, Magdeburg, Cologne, Hamburg, Mannheim and Berlin—never the small country towns or villages, which would have been futile as well as brutal. Berlin was the heart and

soul of the Nazi system, the headquarters of Himmler's iniquitous secret police, and also the most important centre of German war production. The great German war industries could only be paralysed by bringing the whole life of the cities in which they were situated to a standstill. Noble Lords should think not only of what the Germans were suffering, but of what the Russians, Poles, Czechs, Dutch, Belgians, Norwegians, Yugoslavs, Greeks, French and Danes were enduring. The only way to end these horrors was to beat the enemy rapidly and completely and restore enduring peace.

What Lord Latham stressed was the absence of reference to the little homes of the little people of the East End of London and Coventry. The cynicism which suggested that these homes could be restored by mass production shocked him. He argued that if might is employed to defend right, then it is right. Though he had tried, he could not separate the people of Germany from their crimes. The enemies of mankind had chosen the weapon, and must perish by it.

Lord Samuel contended that, when later we looked back at these years, we wanted to be proud of our victory. Though he did not ask for priority for buildings and monuments over all else, he would not have Britain indifferent to these things.

Lord Trenchard resented the criticisms. Our airmen, soldiers and sailors were not vandals. Lord Winster joined in the protests. He asked for the evidence of gloating. The Bishop had refused to face facts, and his speech had disturbed the fighting men.

No Needless Destruction

The Lord Chancellor replied that, while the necessities of war stood out miles ahead of everything else, still every practicable step would be taken to avoid and prevent needless destruction. He quoted General Eisenhower's instructions. The choice was not always clear-cut as between people and buildings. Still, it was not nonsense to guard as far as possible against the destruction of ancient monuments, and the War Cabinet entirely approved of General Eisenhower's attitude.

THE L.N.U. AND THE INDUSTRIAL COMMUNITY

By TOM GILLINDER

(Many readers will remember Mr. Gillinder as the Union's Staff Speaker on the I.L.O. His important war service in three Ministries has brought him into constant contact with the workers in factories. He knows what they are thinking and saying—hence this article.—ED.)

With the approach of military victory in Europe, and the tentative orientation of United Nations policy, based on the Atlantic Charter, assuming greater significance, the task of the L.N.U. becomes increasingly important in its time honoured role of stimulating an informed and determined public conviction.

War-time exigencies have inevitably cramped activities, especially in the field of service wherein I was privileged to labour prior to September, 1939. Without seeking to withhold any of the richly deserved credit and gratitude that we owe to the men and women of the Services, in the widest sense of that phrase, it will not be denied that the great contribution made by the industrial workers, despite the occasional disturbances by a minority, has carried the nation from grim desperation to the promising ascendancy of 1944.

These millions (the common man and woman), with the exception of the minority referred to, have devoted long hours of concentrated effort, to the inevitable neglect of the wider issues of citizenship.

They will require special attention if the irresistible power of public opinion is to decide the broad behaviour of Parliament towards the solution of the problems which concern their future political, industrial, social and economic security and well-being, within the framework of the Atlantic Charter. No one, either within or without the L.N.U., at this stage possesses a more intimate close-up on the character and outlook of these workers than the writer. It may be stated that the factory, mine, shipyard, and mill leadership, viz., shop stewards, Committee representatives, delegates, etc., has changed

considerably since 1939. This vital aspect cannot be ignored if and when we resume on pre-1940 lines the effort to enlist the practical and moral support of the workers' organisations for the L.N.U., I.L.O. and a World Authority to maintain permanent peace. Trades Unions and Employers' Associations have likewise shown material and psychological readjustments that may, if rightly handled, harness these influential groups to the policy and purpose of the L.N.U.

The general reconstruction and rehabilitation of Europe, with the repercussions on labour standards, constitutes an issue of vital importance to British industry. The opportunity to take up the question of levelling up general conditions of employment, which occupied the special attention of the I.L.O. before 1940, must be emphasised as a major contribution by the United Nations to any sound foundations of economic equity. The acceptance of existing conventions on basic matters such as working hours, age of entry into industry, compensation, social insurance, throughout those countries about to be restored, would be a useful beginning towards preventing recurrence of economic competition comparable to pre-war tragic rivalry. In any case the I.L.O., having remained progressively intact amidst the falling bastions of peace, warrants much greater attention within and without the L.N.U., and its service to the industrial community can be made to provide the link where other approaches make no appeal. Never was it more timely to assert that lasting peace will depend upon the acceptance and practice of Social Justice.

Our Address:

HEADWAY

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

Telephone

LEMple Bar 6140

POST-WAR EMPLOYMENT

By GORDON DROMORE

The latest example of the extremely valuable post-war reconstructive work of the League (which your lackwit so loves to denounce as dead) is a Report by the I.L.O. ON MAN-POWER MOBILISATION FOR PEACE. Now everyone, whether he or she be in the fighting forces or on the vast working front at home, is profoundly concerned with this problem of post-war employment: it is, moreover, one of the pillars on which all the Beveridge principles rest. Here is an experts' Report which states the issues quite simply, backed with some remarkable statistics taken from the whole British Commonwealth and the U.S.A. It indicates broad and, in the main, immediate measures for constructive solutions, carrying with them undeniable weight and conviction. Published in Montreal, it can be obtained from the I.L.O.'s London Office, 38, Parliament Street, S.W.1, or from the L.N.U. Book Shop. It costs only one shilling. No money could be better invested.

Basic Changes

We have got to grasp at the outset that the war has introduced a number of big basic changes in employment. They are most important because, if we miss their meaning, we are likely to make more than a mess in planning for post-war employment. The Report lists five: In the armed forces there are now 60 million men and women; unemployment has disappeared; despite large-scale mobilisation for war purposes employment has reached peak levels; to replace men previously in employment, or to meet more war demands, the forces of labour have been rounded off with great numbers of women, of young people of both sexes, of old people and of handicapped folk; finally, millions of men and women have been moved or forced to transfer from one industry, occupation and area to another. This is the new employment situation which has to be faced. The whole level of employment has been hugely raised, the make up and the structure of industry transformed, and a process of transference of workers created and developed into a vast experiment in

industrial mobility. War, apparently, has been needed to prove the life and death importance of knowing where people are and how to get the right person to the right job. But why should not peace do the same?

Two major problems will emerge after the war. The first is to keep the level of employment high enough so that discharged men and women will have the opportunity to get not only work but suitable work. The second is to bring the person and the job together. And it is with this problem that the present Report is chiefly concerned.

In planning for this end we can learn a lot from the lessons of the war. For example, the work must be useful. We should have no patience with relief job work, or blind alley business, and no tolerance for the wailing old ghost of over-production. It was Sir Arthur Salter, second-in-command to-day of U.N.R.R.A., who said bluntly that no general over-production can exist until the last Hottentot could have (if he wished) the standard of living of an American millionaire. We know now the magnitude of the unfilled needs of people everywhere. We also now know that our productive machinery *can* be fully used and *can* be made to meet the urgent needs of the people. Why should we be afraid that we shall be unable to use our human resources effectively or incompetent to use all the men and women who want to work? The Report is openly unafraid.

Orderly Transition

There is a big difference between long and short term employment planning. International schemes, such as those indicated in the League's Report on "The Transition from War to Peace Economy," have been laid before the Governments: they deal largely with the former. This I.L.O. Report is mainly concerned with the latter. The general goal here is to organise a rapid and orderly conversion of industry to peace production; the more specific one is to avoid a mad scramble

for jobs, to keep unemployment low, and to help displaced workers to suitable jobs. The war workers concerned fall into four classes: (1) Those who will go on with little interruption; (2) those who will be laid off for periods from two to six months for plant re-organisation, re-tooling, new parts, new contracts, etc.; (3) those who plan to go back to their old peace-time jobs; (4) the large group who will be dismissed as a result of partial or total shutting down of plant.

Class (1) should need little help. With the other classes the Report deals pretty fully. It has much of special interest to say about the employment of women, of young people, and of those who are handicapped. With special reference here what seems to be required is something like a Code of Fair Employment Practice, on the basic principle of abandonment of discrimination which, hitherto, has really rested on the insufficient supply of jobs.

The Machinery

Inevitably, one asks what is the machinery needed for organising all this employment. The answer boils down to this—full Information and as good an Employment Service for peace-time ends as there is for winning the war.

There must be full Information avail-

able about the education, occupation, skill and qualifications of every demobilised man or woman. Many Governments have already completed their data. Equally full information is needed to show how Forces' jobs are related to civilian jobs. The U.S.A. have made valuable analyses here. But, above all, the central pivot of post-war employment will be the Employment Service—with its associated agencies for Labour Supply Training. (Training and Placement must continue to be intimately connected.) Mobilisation for war necessitated expansion and co-ordination of employment machinery on a vast scale. It must all be available for peace employment, for on its efficiency the success of the latter will largely depend.

But Planning to meet post-war employment problems, concludes our Report, is not merely a job of experts and technicians. The people—employers and workers above all—must take a hand. The more public discussion there is about planning employment, the better informed the people will be. The sooner the discussion is begun (our text book, now to hand, costs only a shilling!), and the further it is carried, the more hope for a peace programme which will carry us through the transition period into the future. This is our great hour. "We must rise with the occasion. We cannot escape history."

THE LIBRARIAN ASKS:—

"HAVE YOU VISITED US YET?"

THE L.N.U. LIBRARY is back again in London. Visitors will be cordially welcomed at 11, Maiden Lane, W.C.2.

This fine collection of books on international affairs, which is constantly being expanded, includes:

Recent Books on Post-War Reconstruction
Publications of the League and the I.L.O.
Books on the Countries of our Allies
Books on Germany, Italy and Japan

There is also an excellent Collection of Works of Reference on International Affairs.

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

UP AND DOWN THE COUNTRY

One hopeful indication of the L.N.U. revival, stimulated by such international developments as the Moscow Declaration, is the number of branches which are arranging for tours by Headquarters' speakers. This method, in addition to rousing the Branch members and providing them with up-to-date information, can be a useful means of access to local organisations and schools.

WESTON-SUPER-MARE was the scene of one such visit. A series of meetings had already been arranged for Mrs. Corbett Ashby, when she decided to fight the Bury St. Edmunds election. Fortunately, Miss K. D. Courtney, Vice-Chairman of the Executive, was able to step into the breach. In the course of two days she addressed a meeting in the Church Institute on "The League of Nations of the Future," and also visited the Westcliff School and the Boys' and Girls' Secondary County Schools to speak on "The Changing Face of Europe."

Mr. J. T. Catterall, the Union's Staff Speaker, had an encouraging time in the North of England. At the end of a public meeting which he addressed for the GATESHEAD BRANCH on "The Place of the League of Nations in the Future World Plan," several new members were enrolled. Another meeting at BRAMPTON was well attended, and in addition to Mr. Catterall, Mr. Charles Roberts made an effective speech. The *Carlisle Journal* provided splendid publicity. The BISHOP AUCKLAND meeting was notable for the number of keen questions which it provoked concerning the future of the League. Mr. Catterall's verdict was that each gathering yielded results which are symptomatic of deepening convictions in the necessity of a dynamic peace system.

BATH BRANCH arranged a full week for Mr. Leslie Aldous, Editor of HEADWAY. The local organisations which he addressed included the Liberal Discussion Group ("Towards the New League of Nations"), the Rotary Club ("Freedom from Want via Food for All"), the Bath Trades Council ("Problems of Post-War Reconstruction"), the Abbey Youth Club ("Youth's Part in the Post-War World"), and Bath Toc H. ("Service for Interna-

tional Peace and Prosperity"). The City of Bath Girls' School, augmented by students from the Domestic Science College, and the Boys' School, heard talks on "Planning To-morrow's Peace." Mr. Aldous also spoke at a public meeting in the Pump Room on "The World After the War," and met the Branch's Executive Committee and Discussion Group for an informal discussion.

Miss OLIVE LODGE, visiting NORTHAMPTON, spoke at the Soroptimist Club luncheon, the Girls' School, the Y.M.C.A. and the High School for Girls.

BIRMINGHAM is to be heartily congratulated on the highly successful series of lunch hour meetings which it has been running, last month and this, at the University. The speakers include Colonel David Carnegie on "Collective Security," Mr. Watkins Davies on "The Atlantic Charter," Mr. Morris on "The Moscow Agreement," Sir Ralph Wedgwood on "Social and Economic Reconstruction," Dr. B. Etcher on "The Trial of War Criminals," Miss Freda White on "Colonial Problems," and Miss K. D. Courtney on "U.N.R.R.A."

Introducing Miss Eleanor Rathbone, M.P., as the speaker at the L.R.F.'s February BUFFET LUNCHEON, Mr. A. J. Howe gave some personal reminiscences of refugee children who had made good. Miss Rathbone deplored the tendency to exaggerate the size of Britain's refugee problem—we were in no danger of having to look after a "horde of refugees." The vast majority of those over here were moreover doing useful work either in the Pioneer Corps or in civilian occupations. She was not seriously worried about the treatment of refugees now, but she was worried about the policy of admission with its strictly utilitarian test. The U.S.A., with its desire to re-unite families, and its more liberal naturalisation policy, was in these respects better than we. For the future, though the great majority would want to go back to their own countries, it would be madness to drive out useful citizens who had established themselves here in ways that were economically advantageous to the community. Asking how many refugees we could rescue from tor-

ture and death, Miss Rathbone urged that Britain should set an example to the Dominions by encouraging a more liberal policy for admission now.

EAST FINCHLEY BRANCH held an International Brains Trust on the subject of "The Moscow Declaration." In their answers to some very pertinent questions, the members of the Brains Trust revealed complete unanimity in their welcome of the Moscow Declaration. They were Miss K. D. Courtney (Great Britain), the Rev. Marcus Spencer (U.S.A.), Mr. S. K. Chow (China), and Mr. Reg. Bishop (Russia).

Mr. Catterall represented the L.N.U. at the GOLDERS GREEN International Brains Trust, at which the other members put forward French, Polish and Federal Union points of view.

HARROW BRANCH organised a big meeting on International Peace in the Girls' County School Hall. The speakers were Mr. Norman Bower, M.P., Mr. H. C. A. Gaunt, the Rev. W. A. Hewett, Mr. Sydney Walton, and the Rev. J. H. Watkins.

Other Branch and Discussion Group meetings during February were as follows:—PADDINGTON and ST. JOHN'S WOOD, Mr. J. Macdonald on "The Moscow Conference"; LEAMINGTON, Dr. R. M. Luzzatto on "The Problem of Italy"; WALLINGTON, Dr. S. N. Ghose on "India"; WITHINGTON, Mr. J. W. Rees on "Spain in Transition"; HAMPSTEAD, Dr. A. Kunosi on "Czechoslovakia"; WONERSH, Mr. J. Macdonald on "The I.L.O."; and BOSCOMBE, Mr. Catterall.

BOURNVILLE WORKS BRANCH reports remarkably good attendances and quality of discussion at the fortnightly discussion meetings on "Problems of Reconstruction." Mr. A. Shenfield, Lecturer in Economics at the University of Birmingham, is taking a realistic view of post-war problems, and is serving as a very useful corrective to pacifist propaganda that might tend to subvert L.N.U. aims and purposes.

Some of the ROTARY CLUBS which heard L.N.U. speakers during February were:—ASHFORD, Mr. A. J. Clasen (Luxembourg); BRIXTON, Major-General J. W. van Oorschot (Holland); FINCHLEY, Mr. J. Macdonald ("Modern Problems connected with the League"); MAIDENHEAD, Dr. R. M. Luzzatto (Italy); SLOUGH, Mr. Norman Mackintosh (Canada); and WEST NORWOOD, Mr. Catterall.

LAMBETH BRANCH, during the month, arranged for L.N.U. speakers to visit the West Norwood Brotherhood, Holy Trinity Men's Meeting, Emmanuel Youth Centre, St. Stephen's Church, Locksfield Methodist Mission, the Moffat Institute, Streatham Hill Congregational Church, St. Saviour's Church, Manor Chapel, Studley Road Church and Anerley Methodist Women's Fellowship.

LONDON YOUTH HOUSE had a visit from Sir Ralph Wedgwood, who spoke on "Unemployment from the International Point of View." PENGE YOUTH CLUB had two meetings, at which Miss Barclay Carter spoke on the U.S.A. and Miss Charlesworth on "The Re-education of Germany After the War." Miss van der Laan (Holland) addressed the BURNT ASH YOUTH CLUB.

Other organisations which had visits from L.N.U. speakers included:—EDMONTON WOMEN'S FELLOWSHIP (Mr. Catterall on "Russia"); HAMPSTEAD TOWN-WOMEN'S GUILD (Mr. Aldous on "Britain's Part in a Healthier World"); SOUTH HARROW C. OF E. MEN'S INSTITUTE (Mr. Aldous on "The League and International Peace"); BECKENHAM FREE CHURCH HALL (Mr. R. V. Jenner on "The League Present and Future"); SOUTH BENFLEET W.I. (Madame Munkova, Czechoslovakia); WEST WICKHAM, British Red Cross Post-War Reconstruction Group (Mr. Catterall on "Britain in the Post-War World"); WEST WICKHAM WOMEN'S FELLOWSHIP (Miss Price Hughes); ASTWOOD BANK W.I. (Miss Olive Lodge); and BLACKHEATH CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH (Mr. Robert Tortue, Belgium).

At a recent meeting, the Executive of the BRADFORD COUNCIL decided that the time had come to make a forward move. A Central Office is being re-opened at 226, Swan Arcade, Bradford.

GREEN LANE BRANCH, COVENTRY, has decided to hold two meetings, and a whist drive and a dance, to raise money for the *Freshwater Memorial Fund*. The Branch is also pressing on with its membership campaign.

WATER ORTON BRANCH, near Birmingham, ended 1943, its "coming-of-age year," with 350 members. We wonder whether any other village of 320 houses can equal or surpass this fine record!

FRESHWATER MEMORIAL FUND

With the issue of the special Memorial leaflet, the Freshwater Memorial Fund has been well and truly launched. So far there has been scarcely time for the response that we expect from branches and members—a response that can not only provide a worthy memorial to a great Secretary, but bring fresh interest and reality to the Union's work and provide a lasting incentive to all branches to expand their membership and activities.

Below will be found a first list of contributions to the Fund (up to February 21), arranged according to branches—the names of individuals will not be published. Where contributors mention no branch they will be included under the general heading of "Unattached." Many contributions have been accompanied by cordial expressions of goodwill. "If nothing else had moved me," wrote one member, "Lord Lytton's beautiful tribute would have done so."

£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Aberamou	5	0	Glasgow	1	0
Acton	5	0	Great Sankey	1	0
Ashtead	5	0	& Penketh	1	0
Bath	2	0	Hastings	2	0
Berkhamsted	2	10	Headingley	5	0
Biggar	5	0	Helensburgh	2	6
Bingley	1	1	Henleaze	2	0
Birkenhead	10	6	Henley	5	0
Blackley and Harpurhey	5	0	Highgate	6	0
Bolton	5	0	Jordans	2	6
Boscombe	1	1	Kensington	1	0
Bournemouth	5	0	Kilve	10	0
Bournville	5	0	Kintbury & Inkpen	5	0
Works	2	2	Leamington	1	1
Brighton	2	6	Lewisham (Central)	2	2
Broadstairs	10	0	Leysian Mission	5	0
Broadstone	2	10	Leytonstone	5	0
Bromley (Kent)	5	0	Lincoln	10	0
Cambridge	5	0	Liverpool	4	0
Cardiff	1	0	Llanelly Central	10	6
Chichester	1	6	Llandinam	5	0
Clifton	1	1	Llanishen & Lisvane	12	6
Comrie	1	1	Marylebone	10	6
Crosby	1	1	Melbourne Cong.	2	0
Crouch End	1	11	Church (Royston)	5	0
Dorking	10	0	New Milton	2	2
Dover	5	0			
Earlsdon, Coventry	10	6			
Eastbourne	2	6			
Edinburgh	1	0			
Elie	5	5			

£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
North Finchley	1	1	0	Seaford	1	11
Nottingham	10	6	0	Shaftesbury	1	1
Ottley St. Mary	1	1	0	Sheffield	1	0
Oxford	5	10	0	Skipton	10	0
Oxshott	2	2	0	Stockport	2	2
Oxted & Limpsfield	1	0	0	Surrey Federation	10	0
Paddington	1	1	0	Taunton	10	6
Polperro	5	0	0	Torquay	1	0
Princes Risborough	1	1	0	Wallasey	10	0
Purley	10	0	0	Waterloo	3	3
Reading	5	0	0	West Hampstead	10	0
Reigate & Redhill	10	0	0	Weybridge	10	0
Richmond	2	6	0	Whalley Range	1	0
Romiley	1	1	0	Whitstable	2	2
Rugby	1	1	0	Wilmslow	7	1
St. Albans	15	0	0	Windermere	5	0
Savings Bank	5	0	0	Withington	5	5
Scone	1	1	0	Woking	1	1
				Wooburn	1	1
				York	1	0
				Unattached	118	2

Stop press: Total (Feb. 23): £316 17s. 9d.

FRESHWATER MEMORIAL LEAFLET

(With a Tribute by LORD LYTTON)

Write for Copies to

THE SECRETARY, L.N.U.,
11, Maiden Lane, W.C.2.

UNION NEWS

ABERTILLERY JUNIOR BRANCH has suffered a severe loss in the death of Mr. W. J. Osborne, B.A. Miss A. M. Evans, Hon. Secretary of the branch, writes that he had been connected with it for over ten years, for the past eight as chairman. His superb gift of leadership and his enthusiasm were the branch's inspiration, and his great work for youth in the district will be long remembered.

Miss F. S. Saul, Hon. Sec. of the FIRTH PARK BRANCH, Sheffield, reports a total of 215 members for 1943—a net increase of 40 on the previous year.

A LEAD FROM HARROW

Mention was made in HEADWAY for December, 1943, of the open letter to the people of Harrow, appealing for new members, which our Harrow Branch was circulating over the signatures of all the principal office-bearers of the town. We now publish the text of the letter, with the suggestion that similar letters should be issued by other Branches.

To the People of Harrow

Post-War Reconstruction is receiving much attention in these days of War. A moment's reflection will show that the first essential is International Peace, without which all plans for improvement, national and local, cannot mature. International Society must therefore be built anew. Britain has the opportunity of world leadership in the establishment of lasting peace, as the permanent accomplishment of Victory.

After the last War, millions of people looked to the League of Nations as the means of securing peace and understanding. The reasons for failure are manifold; the blame lies with those who were untrue to League principles. The nations of the world now have their second chance. There must be no second failure, or ruin and chaos will result.

The Declaration of Great Britain, Soviet Union, United States and China, on World Security, issued at the conclusion of the Moscow Conference, affirms that the four Nations "recognise the necessity of establishing, at the earliest practicable date, a general international organisation, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving States and open to membership by all such States, large or small, for the maintenance of international security."

This all-important matter calls for the most earnest and active support of every citizen. As Herbert Spencer said, "No philosopher's stone of a constitution can produce golden conduct from leaden instincts." We need the exercise of Christian faith, in the sure knowledge that God's will for the nations is Peace. Moral leadership by Britain depends upon the moral strength of her people, as in the days

LONG SERVICE

Two members of the Headquarters staff, within a few days of each other, have just completed 25 years of service with the League of Nations Union. They are Miss M. B. Stephens and Mrs. D. A. McMillan.

of Dunkirk and the Battle of Britain. We must surmount all set-backs and disappointments, we must recapture the original passion for the cause of right conduct between the nations. If we fail, we betray those who have fought for us in the last War and in this, and we send once more our own sons to fight wars yet more fearful.

The time has come for the task to be taken up, in unity, in strength, and with high courage. All who already belong to a local branch of the League of Nations Union are asked to link-up in active operations again. All who are not in membership are urged to join immediately. None of us is immune from War's ravages, and Peace has to be fought for with the same undivided loyalty and sacrifice. There are no grounds on which any man or woman can claim exemption—except unworthiness.

CATALOGUE OF SELECTED PUBLICATIONS ON ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL SUBJECTS. (League of Nations Publications. Allen and Unwin, 40, Museum Street, W.C.1. Free on application.)

This catalogue is a guide to League of Nations documents of value in connection with the formulation of post-war economic policies. All publications issued to date by the Economic, Financial and Transit Department in execution of its very full programme of post-war studies are listed. From thousands of League publications, those of the most permanent interest, and especially those of interest to-day, have been selected. Even so, the catalogue runs to some seventy pages. The broad subjects covered range from economic security, financial reconstruction and the transition from war to peace economy to nutrition and housing, raw materials and foodstuffs, agriculture, and population and refugee problems. Certain documents now out of print have been included, in order to facilitate reference at libraries.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

JUDÆA LIVES AGAIN. By Norman Bentwich. (Gollancz, Henrietta Street, W.C.2. 8s. 6d.)

To those who know Professor Bentwich's writings it will be adequate recommendation to say that his latest book fully maintains his own high standard. All who are interested in the Jewish problem will find here a wealth of information, set out in a most readable form and moderate in tone throughout. A brief historic sketch of Palestine leads to a fascinating survey of what was achieved in the twenty years between two wars—"a crisscross of fulfilment and frustration." The "back to the land" movement and the amazing development of industry are graphically described. As might be expected from the Professor of International Relations at the University of Jerusalem, full space is devoted to cultural developments, especially the revival of Hebrew and the University's contribution to science, learning and thought. Among the Arts, Palestine's chief glory is music, which such masters as Toscanini and Huberman have helped to stamp with the seal of their genius. (As an example of how even Homer can nod, it is surprising to find Bentwich—p. 114— ascribing "The Creation" to Handel!). In summing up the working of the Mandate the author is not blind to the shortcomings of the Jews, e.g., their lack of the middle view. If he is critical of the irresolution of the Government, the Mandates Commission reached a similar conclusion. The common cause of the war has brought about a resumption of decent relations between Arabs and Jews. For the future, Bentwich is guardedly hopeful. He does not believe that co-operation has failed, any more than that collective security has finally failed. Palestine, he thinks, may eventually form part of a larger economic whole.

EDUCATION IN POST-WAR GERMANY. By Minna Specht. (International Publishing Company, 12, Great Castle Street, W.1. 1s.)

Two things are necessary if one's opinions on the re-education of Germany are to be worth listening to, suggests Dr. Gilbert Murray in his preface to this 40-page pamphlet. They are an understanding of the German mind and tradition, and

some practical knowledge of educational problems. Minna Specht has both qualifications. Convinced that "the change from war to peace must penetrate the mind of the child," she has some interesting proposals to make for the transition period including the setting-up of camp schools adapted for the handling of different types. She attaches great importance to the establishment of an International Education Commission. Her long-range plan includes training for self-government and mutual understanding, and she discusses the curriculum and methods of teaching in some detail. The professional training of teachers must be done under international guidance, with a view to education for world citizenship.

PEOPLE, CHURCH AND STATE IN MODERN RUSSIA. By Paul B. Anderson. (Student Christian Movement Press, Bloomsbury Street, W.C.1. 6s.)

The author of this penetrating and well documented study follows his own advice to avoid the mistake of looking at the Russian scene from British or American standpoints. By surveying the position of the Church in Russia before the Revolution, during the period of militant communism, through the New Economic Policy, to the era of planning, he shows a process of historic development to be at work. The Church, with its bitter associations in the minds of Communists, went through times of persecution, notably between 1917 and 1922 and between 1927 and 1932; but there is a basis for a reasonable understanding of what was, after all, a dynamic revolution. Under different conditions the State became more tolerant, preferring to have religion in an orderly relation rather than in a state of rebellion. As a result of the war situation, this toleration has been extended, partly (but not solely) in order to gain greater national unity. There has been a logical increase of religious feeling during war-time. The Church and its adherents are taking full advantage of this situation, within the limits laid down by law and constitution. Mr. Anderson gives grounds for hope that post-war developments may be in accordance with the principles of the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms.

THE LESSONS OF THE KHARKOV TRIAL. By Dr. B. Etcher. (Russia To-day Pamphlet. 150, Southampton Row, W.C.1. 2d.)

In this pamphlet, the work of the Czechoslovak member of the United Nations' Commission for the Investigation of War Crimes, are to be found echoes of the findings of the first Commission of the London International Assembly. Analysing the Kharkov trial, the author draws the following lessons:—The German crimes in the Soviet Union and other countries are acts of a people in the grip of a great epidemic of criminality. This time justice will not break down; it is already in action. The Moscow declaration of November 1 laid down a legal basis for the punishment of war crimes. The plea of superior order will not be accepted as in itself a defence. The responsibility of the heads of the Axis States is not merely political and moral, but personal and criminal. To effect the punishment of the arch-criminals, Dr. Etcher concludes that it is necessary to establish a United Nations' Criminal Court for cases which have an international character. His epilogue is that, as part of reconstruction, there must be reconstruction of the Law which has been devastated or destroyed.

THE NATION'S FOOD. By Sir John Boyd Orr. (Labour Party, Transport House, S.W.1. 2d.)

After the Hot Springs Conference had put nutrition on the map, the Labour Party invited Sir John Boyd Orr to prepare a memorandum for its Policy Committee. Although not a member of the Labour Party or any other party, the great Scottish expert on nutrition consented. Here is his outline of the subject, with the Labour Party's conclusions added. Sir John combines practical knowledge with optimism regarding future possibilities. Thanks to the new knowledge of nutrition it was possible, by about 1935, to draw up a dietary standard for health. Thus, as a natural development, one feature of food policy in war-time has been distribution according to needs and not primarily for profit. Surveying progress since the last war, this pamphlet rightly argues that the nation might well be proud of what it has done. But all this is part of a world movement, sponsored by the

League of Nations, in which Britain has taken a leading part. Much remains to be done. Neither in Britain nor in the United States, for example, is the national dietary yet up to the standard necessary to maintain full health. The Hot Springs Conference, which really "meant business," marked the beginning of a "world-wide beneficent revolution." It was delegates from the British Commonwealth who set going the great nutrition movement of the League of Nations, which was the forerunner of Hot Springs. It would be fitting for Britain to continue to take the lead.

WHAT IS THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS. By J. L. Morison. (Craig and Wilson, 70, Bath Street, Glasgow, C.2. 1s. 3d.)

No. 9 in "The British Way" series, this pamphlet shows how the foundations of responsible government were laid in the British Commonwealth, how colonies become dominions and, most important, how development is still proceeding. Public opinion at home and overseas, it is shown, have often had greater effect than preconceived notions of theorists and statesmen. In recent times nowhere so much as in foreign policy have Imperial relations outgrown the first "Durham" phase. If all goes well, Dr. Morison thinks, the nations within the Commonwealth will provide a model and standard for the only "new order" which can save future world peace—through the sacrifice of some rights to gain the establishment of all the rest.

LEAGUE TO U.N.R.R.A.

The appointment of *Miss Mary Agnes Craig McGeachy* as chief of the Welfare Division of U.N.R.R.A. has a special interest to supporters of the League of Nations. Miss McGeachy will be remembered as one of the stalwarts on the League Secretariat, who made many friends among visitors to Geneva from this and other countries.

TERRITORIAL PROBLEMS

The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union, at a meeting presided over by the Earl of Lytton, adopted the following resolution:—

“The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union,
Having regard to the current discussion of various territorial problems;
Recalling

- (a) the declaration of all the United Nations, in Point I of the Atlantic Charter, that ‘*their countries seek no aggrandisement, territorial or other*’; and that ‘*they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely-expressed wishes of the peoples concerned*’;
- (b) the declaration in the Anglo-Soviet Alliance of May, 1942, that Britain and the Soviet Union intend to collaborate on the basis of the Charter’s principles ‘*for the organisation of security and economic prosperity in Europe. They will take into account the interests of the United Nations in these objects, and they will act in accordance with the two principles of not seeking territorial aggrandisement for themselves, and of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States*’;
- (c) the declaration of Cairo, by Britain, the United States and China, that ‘*they covet no gain for themselves, and have no thought of territorial expansion*’ (apart, of course, from restitution of such territories as Japan has ‘*taken by violence and greed*’);
- (d) the Four-Power Declaration of Teheran, by Britain, the U.S., U.S.S.R., and Persia (December, 1943) that they count on the participation of all peace-loving nations in the establishment of ‘*peace, security and prosperity in accordance with the principles of the Atlantic Charter, to which all four Governments have continued to subscribe*’;

Welcomes the re-affirmation by Mr. Eden in the House of Commons on January 26 of the statement by the Prime Minister that the British Government does not propose to recognise any territorial changes which take place during the war unless they take place with the free consent and goodwill of the parties concerned, and Mr. Eden’s note to General Sikorski, refusing to recognise any territorial changes which have been effected since August, 1939.”

MAIN CONTENTS

	PAGE
Fundamentals for Peace - - - - -	1
Educate for World Peace. <i>By Flying Officer R. P. Odell</i> - - -	4
World Affairs in Parliament. <i>By Owen Rattenbury</i> - - -	5
The L.N.U. and the Industrial Community. <i>By Tom Gillinder</i> - -	7
Post-War Employment. <i>By Gordon Dromore</i> - - - - -	8
Up and Down the Country - - - - -	10
Freshwater Memorial Fund - - - - -	12
Books of the Month - - - - -	14