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IN WAR-TIME

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EDITORIAL

A YEAR OF HOPE AND ENDEAVOUR

The fourth New Year of the war is with us and this traditionally is the season for mental stocktaking. Balancing the losses and the gains of 1942, the United Nations enter upon 1943 in good heart—but in no mood to underrate the powers of an enemy who is never more dangerous than when the possibility of his meeting defeat is rapidly passing to the stage of certainty.

Many tables have been turned in the course of an eventful, crucial year. Twelve months ago, when Japan's treachery had temporarily upset the military and strategic balance of the whole war situation, the Allies were "up against it" with a vengeance. More of the story of Pearl Harbour has recently been told, to show how the scales were suddenly weighted against us. Fresh disasters were bound to follow while Britain and America alike were reeling under the impact of Japan's early blows. There is no need, as Lord Cranborne pointed out in the House of Lords the other day, to look for subtle and imaginative explanations as to why Britain so swiftly lost large and valuable colonial assets in the East. *Blitzkrieg* has the same sweeping effects whether practised by an aggressor in Europe, Asia or any other continent. Whether or not those effects are to be final de-

pends upon the powers of recovery and spirit of determination in which all those still able to carry on the struggle tackle their formidable task. During more recent months the United Nations have triumphed over setbacks and, on the whole, have no cause to be ashamed of the sum total of their achievements. United strategy, to back united aims, is beginning to bear fruit. It may be possible for the zealous theorist to point to mistakes made and opportunities missed—but even Hitler has not shown himself to be immune from this common failing among belligerents since wars began. The central, shining fact remains: in a remarkably short space of time considering our difficulties a year ago, defence has been turned to attack in one theatre of war after another. That is the picture as seen from the Allied side.

Inside Germany

How does the war appear to Axis eyes? To the German, Italian and Japanese leaders who know the facts, the course of events can scarcely be satisfactory. Grim forebodings doubtless colour their thoughts and dreams. But there is no evidence that the German people as a whole are yet conscious of impending defeat.

As usual when unfavourable, war news

from the fronts which are engaging Allied attention has been "written down" in the dragooned German Press and on the radio. Dr. Goebbels, with his customary skill, has made a neat job of fitting recent events into the general Nazi picture of the war. The German case in the war and the German aims to be realised at the peace are still his theme song. But, with so many evidences of distress under the much vaunted New Order, he has to explain that Europe is a very sick man who will have to get worse before he is better. "The shiverings due to his feverish state," he wrote in *Das Reich* on December 6, 1942, "are not the symptoms of approaching death but of coming life. Seldom, very seldom, does the patient understand what the doctor orders."

Constant scolding of neutrals for their failure to understand Germany's problems is another dominant feature of German propaganda just now. They, together with the "over-objective people" inside Germany, have it dinned into their ears that they must realise that (again quoting *Das Reich*) "we are engaged upon a life and death struggle in which it does not matter so much who is right and wrong, but rather who will win and who will be annihilated." To which the *Schwarze Korps* adds sharp hints of what it would mean for Germans to lose the war. But clearly the tone of these exhortations, while it does point to weaknesses inside Germany, is more an indication of the inner nervousness of the Nazi leaders than a sign that the nation as a whole has reached the breaking point.

The Post-War World

Since none can tell when the certainty of defeat will dawn upon Germany, it is common sense for the Prime Minister, the Foreign Secretary and other leaders to warn us to keep our rose-coloured spectacles in our pockets or handbags. Equally, however, they are agreed that it is not a moment too early for the

United Nations to make some at least of their plans for the post-war world. The debate in the House of Commons on post-war reconstruction was chiefly important as an "open sesame" to the subject. The actual speeches did little more than scratch the surface, but they gave promise of more adequate and more fruitful discussions to come. Opinion as reflected in the House had clearly advanced since the earlier stages of the war. Planning—first to deal with Europe's immediate distress after the war, and secondly to make an effective long-term settlement—is now definitely on the map. And one of the most hopeful features of the debate was the importance attached by many speakers to utilising existing organs of the League of Nations and the International Labour Organisation—a view which won the hearty support of the Foreign Secretary.

The peoples of the United Nations stand firmly together in their determination that, this time, everything humanly possible must be done to put an end for ever to aggressive war and to build peace on a basis of economic security and social justice. Whatever form the International Authority may ultimately take, the acid test will be its ability to guarantee the world these twin benefits. Lord Cecil has reminded us that a new heaven and a new earth will not come merely for the wishing. In peace, no less than in war, hard and unremitting work will lie in front of us. To get the right machinery established will be an indispensable first step; but it will avail little unless constant vigilance is exercised to make sure that there is also behind it the right policy, consistently pursued over a period of years.

"Sub-human Barbarism"

There was an unforgettable scene in the House of Commons when all the Members, irrespective of Party and Creed, spontaneously rose to their feet to register their abhorrence of the appalling mass murders of Jews systematically carried out in pursuance of

Hitler's policy of extermination. The evidence from all sources, unfortunately, is too conclusive to be placed in the same category as some atrocity stories which crop up in war-time. Throughout Nazi-controlled Europe—Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Norway, Holland, Belgium and France—what the Archbishop of York calls "sub-human barbarism" is being perpetrated on an unimaginable scale. Rightly the Inter-Allied Information Committee speaks of "horror which numbs the mind."

In its resolution of July 30, 1942, our Executive registered the Union's indignation and declared that "it is of the utmost importance that those who can speak for all nations whose moral conscience is not dead should express their horror at this relapse into barbarism."

League Finance

The provisional League Budget figures for 1943 are now to hand. They total 11,388,376 Swiss francs (some £537,000). Of this the League Secretariat's share is 3,434,259 Swiss francs (some £163,000),

and that of the I.L.O. 4,588,187 Swiss francs (of which 753,161 Swiss francs are a 1942 advance)—some £218,000. There are still 45 Member States to share the cost of the League and the I.L.O., and Great Britain's contribution in present circumstances is somewhat greater, proportionately (though not in actual cash) than in peace-time, i.e. just over 11 per cent.

Owing to the importance and scope of the League's work, especially with regard to implementing the Atlantic Charter, no reductions as compared with 1942 have been possible in the credits asked for 1943. If developments in the international situation should make it necessary for Governments to increase the programme of work, additional expenditure must follow. But what little dots these yearly League figures are compared with the vast daily agglomerations caused by the cost of the war! Put them beside the £13 millions a day which we are spending on the prosecution of the war, or even the £9 a minute which our "prisoners of war parcels" cost, and they will scarcely be missed.

DEEDS

Since the report of the L.N.U. General Council appeared in HEADWAY last month, there has been a small but immediate response to the Treasurer's appeal for *renewal of Deeds*.

Up to the time of going to press, renewals have been received from Berks, Cambridge, Lancs, London, Surrey and Warwick.

The number so far is but a trickle. But the trickle would become a flood if members who pay by Bankers Order would also sign Deed forms. It would cost them no more, and the gain to the Union would do much to ease our financial worries for 1943 and onwards.

Headquarters will willingly explain the position regarding Deeds to any member sending a card to the Secretary, L.N.U., 11, Maiden Lane, London, W.C.2.

MR. EDEN'S SPEECH

The Executive Committee of the L.N.U. has adopted the following resolution:—

"The League of Nations Union respectfully offers its warm thanks and congratulations to the Foreign Secretary for his statement (in Parliament on December 2) of the policy of H.M. Government;

"Urges that all the resources of the Government be used to make Mr. Eden's speech widely known both at home and abroad; and

"Trusts that H.M. Government will do its best to reach agreement with the other United Nations (and especially with the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., and China), while they are still fighting side by side, concerning the means for realising the object stated by Mr. Eden, including the nature and functions of the international organisation promised in his speech."

WORLD AFFAIRS IN PARLIAMENT

By OWEN A. RATTENBURY

In many respects the Debate on the Address in the House of Commons was a true mirror of the times. It was notable for the ever recurring theme of post-war reconstruction. This, of course, was all related to the general background of the war situation. As one Member remarked, it was the first occasion since the war started that it had been suggested that we were getting nearer to peace in Europe, though others (supported by the Foreign Secretary) echoed the note of caution struck by the Prime Minister in his broadcast the previous Sunday against assuming that all was over bar the shouting. Still it was refreshing to hear certain Members, who in the past had vehemently opposed any statement of peace aims, admitting that the course of the war had changed the situation and welcoming the debate.

After Victory

Mr. Greenwood quoted notable words spoken by General Smuts in 1919 to the effect that "our Allied peoples must remember that God gave them an overwhelming victory—far beyond their greatest dreams—not for small selfish ends, not for financial or economic advantages, but for the attainment of the great human ideals for which our heroes gave their lives and which are the real factors in this war of ideals."

Never again, said Mr. Greenwood, must we, through weakness, timidity or selfish interests, fall so far from grace and so far short of attainment as was the case after the last great war. In a striking passage he said that the world does not lose, it gains through the progressive improvements of the peoples, wherever they live, whatever their colour, whatever the state of their economic development. Freedom from want, therefore, must be the cardinal aim of the future as a means to prosperity for all. In this direction the I.L.O. and the Economic Section of the League—both of which were alive and surviving the political structure—had a great part to play. But we must go further, and he called for 'the establishment of an International Development Board, with a parallel Finance Board,

to assist in the economic reorganisation and development of the war-stricken, impoverished and under-developed countries. Plans for that should be worked out now by the United Nations in co-operation with the countries which would require aid at the end of the war not merely to get rid of war's ravages but to set their feet on the path to a new prosperity not enjoyed in the past.

United Nations and League

In the opinion of Sir William Jowitt, given freedom from fear of aggression the prospects of an increased standard of living throughout the world were almost unlimited. Russia, able to devote to the service of peace those vast energies she had had to devote to the service of war; China, waking from her long sleep, under her great leader, looking forward to years of peace, order and good government; India, her leaders having settled their differences, settling among themselves political problems; and the colonies—with these elements the United Nations held out the greatest hope for the construction of a system for the future. The I.L.O. had not only maintained itself but had functioned with great efficiency during the war. In working out schemes for raising international standards H.M. Government would continue to co-operate with it. Post-war relief was having the attention of the committee set up for that purpose a year ago.

Mr. Mander was glad that the Government had made plain that they were not prepared to take up the attitude that we had to keep the pace of the slowest Members of the House. The United Nations, he thought, should be taken as the basis of the new world order. They should take over from the League of Nations such of its work as was valuable—and a very great deal of it was extremely valuable—and develop it under their auspices. He imagined the actual physical power would have to be delegated to Britain, the U.S.A., Russia and China. To his mind the vital thing was that military power in overwhelming force could be operated at the

moment when the aggressor started or even made preparations to start. While against giving up any part of the British Empire, he advocated a mandate system with oversight similar to that of the League of Nations. He also had something to say on the re-education of the minds of German youth—"spiritual castor oil to purge the minds of the Nazis."

The Debate also showed that there were some Members still impervious to the lessons of experience, and who still delighted in scoring cheap jibes at the expense of the League. Thus Mr. Andrew MacLaren, who incidentally had a rollicking time criticising the Uthwatt, Scott and Beveridge Reports, spiced his remarks with references to "a league of mockery, a thing built on sand, without any foundations," and the fanciful picture of "a lot of gentlemen (at Geneva) watching one another to see that they did not run away with something."

Mr. Eden's Reply

Mr. Eden, replying, spoke of the Debate as "both timely and useful." Indeed, he regretted that the time available had been so short, but consoled himself with the reflection that it was unlikely to be the last Debate in the House on reconstruction. The dominating impression left upon him had been of the immensity of the task which would confront them at home and abroad. The wreckage was greater than after the last war, and besides the business was not over yet. Touching upon the plans which were being made with the Dominions and the United States to send food and relief into the occupied countries as soon as they had genuinely regained their freedom, the Foreign Secretary stressed this country's determination to do all in its power to help Europe in the immediate post-war period, because we understood perfectly well that the immediate alleviation of this problem was essential to the recovery of Europe and to our own recovery as well.

One danger was that, the moment the armistice was signed, there would be a desire to "let up." "Whether we are able to maintain peace or not afterwards," said Mr. Eden earnestly, "will depend on whether we can carry through this co-operation which we have now established with other great Powers, in particular with

the United States of America, with Soviet Russia and with China." But he made it plain that he did not visualise a world in which four great Powers would "try to clamp down some form of big-Power dictatorship over everybody else." Still, these Powers would have a virtual monopoly of armed strength, which must be used to prevent a repetition of aggression. This would not preclude other Powers, great or small, provided they were willing to play their part, from being secured in the enjoyment of that independence for which they had fought and suffered so long. Our part was to act as a bridge to Europe, and only we could play that part. He hoped we should not leave Europe to itself. He would like us to do all we could to help them to re-establish their ruined economies. Peace and security in Europe were our own peace and security.

League Machinery

Coming on in due course to the machinery which he visualised to form a world system for ensuring the peaceful development of all peoples, Mr. Eden said:

"There are certain international services which have gone on during the war which have not died, and which may render great service after the war. There are the international health services and economic services and the work done by the International Labour Organisation. We shall need that work more than ever after the war. The I.L.O. has struggled manfully and with considerable success to remove certain of the evils which are among the root causes of war: low standards of living, insecurity and unemployment. Unless we can cure those evils no peace structure can be enduring. The I.L.O. must be strengthened and developed. I should like to see it become the main instrument giving effect to Article 5 of the Atlantic Charter. Somebody may say, 'How is all this to be done? What is the machinery to give effect to it?' I would reply that, although the machinery is important, it is unfortunately less important than certain other ingredients which are essential to the maintenance of peace. The old League of Nations failed, not because its machinery was faulty, but because there was not the representation or the force or the drive behind it."

So, Mr. Eden concluded his argument, the international organisation must be fully representative of the Powers that mean to keep the peace. The Powers themselves must have the unity and determination to arrive at agreed and positive decisions. And, perhaps most important of all, they must have the force behind them to give effect to their decision.

This insistence by Mr. Eden on the necessity of physical force behind any international structure for peace seems now to be an accepted philosophy in the minds of all the politicians who mention the subject.

House of Lords

In the House of Lords Viscount Cranborne, the new Lord Privy Seal, touched upon the Allied plans for sending aid to occupied countries immediately after the war. Although, he said, no real crack in the morale of the enemy was as yet apparent, wars had a way of collapsing quite suddenly, and he agreed that the necessary machinery should be ready to

work when required. We were in closest consultation with the United States Government and the other United Nations. Machinery was being steadily built up, the organisation was getting into trim, and the time was not being wasted. Sir Frederick Leith Ross would remain in charge of the problem on the English side and keep in close touch with Governor Lehman, whose appointment was one indication that the United States was willing to take her part in dealing with the problem.

Mention should also be made of another speech by Lord Cranborne, a few days earlier, on Colonial Policy—his "swan song, sung after death," as Colonial Secretary. From his first hand knowledge of facts he stoutly contended that the reasons for our failure to hold Malaya were not administrative but military. He stressed the new doctrine of trusteeship in which respect Britain was ahead of the rest of the world. The chief lesson which he had learned at the Colonial Office was that no one could administer the Colonial Empire who did not recognise and take account of its diversity.

TOWARDS WORLD GOVERNMENT

Once again thirty L.N.U. members from the Sheffield and Manchester districts met for a week-end conference in the Derbyshire village whose very name is an inspiration: Hope.

Miss Freda White spoke on the importance of the "unofficial planners" of peace aims in this war, since the statements of the leaders on the subject are disappointingly vague. She indicated some of the intricate problems which will face the peace-makers and emphasised our responsibility in the Union for making public opinion realise that peace is an artificial and delicate thing to build up; and further, that this time we must be determined to work any structure we choose to make.

It was good to have with us the little man with the large heart and the unpronounceable name: Mr. Stefan Drzewieski. In his talk about Poland there was an echo of Lord Cecil's speech to the

General Council: that nationalism, in its many different forms, cannot be disregarded in post-war plans for Europe.

On Sunday morning a few of us, symbolically perhaps, climbed Win Hill, and 1,700 feet up, in the bright sun and sparkling air that reminded us of Switzerland, we lay in the heather and watched the white mist in the Hope Valley below us, stretching away into the distance, like a Chinese landscape painting.

The conference closed with a discussion on "Security," opened by Miss White. The questions raised related to an international army, economic problems, education, and whether or not it is desirable to crush Germany's heavy industries, to all of which Miss White had ready answers from her wide knowledge of foreign affairs. "To run a peace," she concluded, "is less difficult and ambitious than to run a war." It is our duty to prove that this is true, not only to our generation, but to the next.

H. M. D.

A NOT-ALTOGETHER-IMAGINARY CONVERSATION

(The characters are two officers of different Branches of the L.N.U., meeting for the first time since the beginning of the war)

MR. PEGAWAY: Hello, DeLay, old chap! Wherever have you been hiding all this time?

MR. DELAY: Devon—with the firm. But, thank goodness, we're back now and likely to remain.

MR. PEGAWAY: Well, your Branch will be thankful. Haven't heard of anything doing in your part of the world since you left. Your departure seemed to remove the prop that upheld the whole structure!

MR. DELAY: I'm afraid I haven't given a thought in that direction since my return. Too much taken up with winning the war—Civil Defence and all that. Besides, nothing can be done before Victory comes, and then I imagine something quite different from the Old Covenant will emerge, with America, Russia and China playing a big part establishing World Order.

MR. PEGAWAY: All the same, the issues of peace will have to be faced by Great Britain as well. That's where our Organisation should come in. It took more than 20 years to build up the L.N.U. Think what it would mean if all its Branches ceased to exist during the war and the work of revival had to be undertaken at the very time when the Union should be helping to shape this country's policy for peace.

MR. DELAY: But frankly, old chap, what *can* a Branch do during the war? Yours, for instance? I can't imagine people turning out to meetings even if they were arranged. And as to calling round or writing in for subscriptions—that seems absurd at this time.

MR. PEGAWAY: *We* thought so, too, at first. But to our surprise people turned up in good numbers to our meetings. We started off with the Union's policy for peace, and later on discovered that a national speaker who could talk about his country's condition under war, or discuss

his ideas about the future, attracted unexpectedly good audiences. As to subscriptions, we have usually found people readier to pay than we to collect! There have been very few resignations. The decrease in membership has been largely due to the uprooting of populations everywhere, and to lack of collectors.

MR. DELAY: That's it: we need more young people. Youth seems to be quite unrepresented in my Branch.

MR. PEGAWAY: And must of necessity be until the end of the war. An Organisation like ours can only be kept alive at such times as these by the middle-aged and over. But if we don't accept this responsibility, how are the young people going to feel when they return from National Service and find their hopes of a lasting peace jeopardised by lack of weapons with which to fight for peace?

MR. DELAY: There's something in that, I admit.

MR. PEGAWAY: There's something also in the fact that leaders in all the United Nations are emphasising the need to plan ahead, and to prepare public opinion NOW for peace. That is surely a definite encouragement to go on using our Organisation for the purpose for which it exists—education. The Union has issued its plan for World Settlement after the War, and in principle it resembles closely the Atlantic Charter. As a matter of fact, we are holding a public meeting next Saturday on "THE ATLANTIC CHARTER AND THE LEAGUE." Why not come along, and have tea with me afterwards?

MR. DELAY: You're a dangerous man, Pegaway. I can quite see, if I go on talking to you, that I'll have to do something about my Branch! All the same I'll risk it and turn up at that meeting—just to convince myself that it *is* necessary to do something about that Peace Front now.

M. GLADYS STEVENS.

A JUST SOCIAL ORDER

By CLIFTON ROBBINS

Events in war-time move so fast and demand such attention that very often happenings outside the range of the battlefields do not gain the recognition they deserve; and this seems to be particularly the case of a declaration made in Chile in September by the First Inter-American Conference on Social Security. Admittedly the subject does not sound exciting, but, when it is realised that the Conference was attended by delegates from twenty-one American countries including Canada and a delegation from the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, the striking terms in which the declaration is made can be seen in quite a different perspective.

"Freedom from fear" is one of the Four Freedoms President Roosevelt defined as essential to life in a post-war world, and the declaration may be considered an amplification, at least in one direction, of the phrase "freedom from fear" when it says that "every man and woman must be afforded physical and economic protection against social and economic risks through properly organised social action." Everyone knows how the life of the worker before the war was influenced by the fear of sickness and unemployment; and of the gradual growth of state social insurance to mitigate these evils. The declaration which is given below recognises in a comprehensive fashion, both nationally and internationally, the need for the elimination of this particular fear.

THE DECLARATION OF SANTIAGO DE CHILE

The First Inter-American Conference on Social Security,

Assembled in Santiago de Chile from 10 to 16 September, 1942, at the invitation of the Government of Chile, under the auspices of the Inter-American Committee to Promote Social Security.

In the presence of delegates from twenty-one countries of the Continent.

With the participation of a tripartite delegation from the Governing Body of the International Labour Office and a delegation from the Pan-American Sanitary Bureau.

Considering:

That freedom and dignity are essential and inalienable attributes of human personality;

That, to be able to enjoy fully the basic freedoms of thought, expression and activity, every man and woman must be afforded physical and economic protection against social and economic risks through properly organised social action;

That it is the common desire of the American nations to increase constantly the moral and material welfare of individuals and families.

Adopts the following Declaration:

I. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SECURITY

1. Society must find a new inspiration in a movement of solidarity of all men and nations to abolish and secure the means of living in health and decency.

2. The potentialities of economic and technical resources must be turned to account in order to satisfy the necessities of life of the greatest number of persons and peoples everywhere.

3. The economic objective will not suffice to evoke a hearty and generous co-operation unless identified with the moral objective of a just social order, which equitably distributes the fruits of production.

4. Each country must create, conserve and build up the intellectual, moral and physical vigour of its active generation, prepare the way for its future generations, and support the generation that has been discharged from productive life. This is social security: a genuine and rational economy of human resources and values.

5. The provision of such basic security will promote personal effort and initiative and improve the structure of society by the elimination of the causes of social insecurity.

II. SOCIAL INSURANCE

6. Social insurance, as an expression of social security is called upon:

(a) To organise the prevention of risks the occurrence of which deprives the worker of his earning capacity and means of subsistence:

(b) To restore, as quickly and fully as possible, the earning capacity lost or reduced by reason of sickness or accident;

(c) To supply the means of subsistence in case of cessation or interruption of gainful activity as the result of sickness or accident, temporary or permanent disability, unemployment, old age, and premature death of the breadwinner.

III. A CONTINENTAL PROGRAMME

7. A policy of social security for the Americas should comprise measures for promoting employment and maintaining it at a high level, for increasing the national income and sharing it more equitably, and for improving health, nutrition, clothing, housing and general and vocational education for workers and their families.

8. The health, capacity and welfare of the workers of any one American nation is a concern of all American nations, and therefore concerted action by social security institutions is imperative for the preservation of their human assets as a guarantee of continental defence and integrity.

9. This action implies for the American nations the necessity of establishing a common

reservoir of all things required for maintaining the continuity of their social policy, for preserving their unity, and for meeting any eventuality in this connection.

10. A continental agreement entered into by the social security institutions will forge new links of solidarity by solving problems in which the fate and conscience of all peoples are deeply engaged, and will strengthen the belief in the future of the Americas.

IV. A WORLD ASPIRATION

11. The decisions of the Americas with a view to a new structure of social security represent a contribution to world solidarity in seeking the well-being of peoples and the attainment of peace.

AMERICA READS LORD CECIL

We are indebted to a correspondent in California for a cutting from the HOLLYWOOD CITIZEN-NEWS of October 30, 1942, featuring an interview given by Viscount Cecil to DeWitt Mackenzie, the well-known American columnist on international affairs, whose syndicated articles are widely read in many newspapers throughout the United States. Lord Cecil trenchantly gave chapter and verse for his belief that a new international authority—a real barrier against war—must be the immediate concern of the Allies as soon as this conflict was ended.

Almost simultaneously, with obvious reference to the same interview as published in another newspaper, Lord Cecil received the following letter from a correspondent in Texas.

To Viscount Cecil of Chelwood,
London, England.

Sir:

In a recent issue of my favourite local newspaper—the *Times Herald*—I read an interesting article about you and your efforts made on behalf of world peace—written by Mr. DeWitt Mackenzie, Wide World War Expert.

I am an average American citizen keenly interested in world affairs, and especially am I interested in world peace. Your contention that the erection of a new international authority—a real barrier against war—must be the immediate con-

cern of the Allies as soon as this conflict is ended—is quite correct. May the day soon come when such a work may be undertaken.

Your yeoman work as draftsman of the covenant of the League of Nations was not a labour lost. Seed has been planted which in due time shall bear good fruit. My beloved country has not done what it should have to maintain a barrier against war. We have made mistakes as have many other nations, but we have learned a costly lesson, and we shall undoubtedly profit by that lesson. We must stand with Great Britain and other Allies in setting up and maintaining machinery to perpetuate peace.

Please continue your noble work as against the time when a real peace authority may be set up.—Yours very sincerely,

ROY A. SKINNER.

Dallas, Texas, U.S.A.

L. R. F. BUFFET LUNCH

Rt. Hon. the EARL of LYTTON,
K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

on
"The Moral Basis of
Security"

January 13, 1943, at 1 p.m.
Y.W.C.A. Lounge, Gt. Russell St., W.C.1

UP AND DOWN THE COUNTRY

WATERLOO, CROSBY, SEAFORTH AND LITHERLAND BRANCH has lost a real stalwart with the departure of Mr. James Macdonald, J.P., to London, after twenty-three years first as Hon. Secretary and then as Chairman of the Branch. At a special meeting presided over by the Mayor of Crosby, two presentations were made to Mr. Macdonald. Councillor A. S. Williams, President of the Branch, handed him a substantial cheque and a book token for £5 from the members; and the Rev. B. Bee gave him another book token on behalf of the Council of the Free Churches. Mr. Arthur Armitage, the Hon. Secretary, referred to Mr. Macdonald as "a sincere friend, keen supporter and true leader." Hardly ever had he been absent from a committee meeting, and in building up the Branch he had given consistently of his time, experience and personality.

"Worth broadcasting to the whole nation" was the Mayor of Hornsey's verdict on the Dean of Chichester's address to the CROUCH END, EAST AND WEST HORNSEY BRANCH. The Dean spoke in his usual challenging style on "The Future—Recurrent Wars or What?" The Churches were well represented on the platform and Captain Gammans, M.P., absent on a special mission in the United States, sent his best wishes to the meeting.

Madame Dayet, wife of one of the first French diplomats to offer his services to General de Gaulle gave an intimate and detailed picture of "Inside France To-day" at the LONDON REGIONAL FEDERATION'S December Buffet Luncheon. She described the gradual change which had come over the attitude of the French people towards the Fighting French, who had made great sacrifices and endured risks and hardships in order to get away and continue the struggle. Vichy France had described them as "rats deserting the sinking ship" but it was now being realised that rats did not swim back to the ship to try and refloat it. In France to-day there had developed a healthy jealousy to find the most effective means of beating the enemy. Students and other young people were in the forefront of resistance. Madame Dayet stressed the great part being played by the underground Press in

linking together the elements of resistance, which was organised to a far larger extent than many people supposed. Sabotage was the key-word, and the men of the R.A.F. were cheered as they went over France to bomb German controlled factories because they were looked upon as fellow-saboteurs. Resistance was like the peak of an iceberg—you could see only the small part that appeared above the surface.

Mr. John Haugland, a journalist who recently escaped from Norway, described to our STREATHAM BRANCH the actual working of the German plan to incorporate the Scandinavian States into a Greater Germany. The Norwegians had a saying, "When the German appears, the food disappears." As a result of their privations, the people were physically tired and mentally nervous, but they were united in underground movements against the Germans. In reply to one question, Mr. Haugland said that Norway thought that some sort of League of Nations must be established after the war, but this time it must have power to support its ideals.

An experiment was recently tried in WILMSLOW (Cheshire) when the L.N.U. and the Anglo-Soviet Friendship Committee held a joint meeting to discuss the future of Europe. Each side put up a speaker, and questions were invited from the audience. Mrs. Pat. Devine, an American who had spent many years as a secretarial worker in the U.S.S.R., presented the Soviet point of view. For the L.N.U., Mr. Leonard Behrens gave one of his usual delightful and helpful talks. The evening revealed an encouraging measure of agreement regarding the state of Europe after the war.

We learn from the GOOLE BRANCH that Mr. John T. Catterall "came and did his stuff in valiant style." It was a good light night, the hall was full, everyone was well pleased with the meeting, and new members were obtained. Excellent support was given by the local Business and Professional Women's Association, the W.E.A., the Methodist Youth Group, and the churches and chapels as a whole. The Vicar, after announcing the meeting in Church on Mayor's Sunday, came along

and supported the Mayor who was in the chair.

At HARROW Mr. Catterall had a "Question Meeting" on "Russia." At OAKHAM he spoke at the Y.M.C.A. Centre on "World Order or Chaos?" His subject at LEAMINGTON was the Atlantic Charter, with which he also dealt at CALLINGTON. At LAUNCESTON Mr. Catterall addressed both an afternoon meeting and an evening service. His programme at TAUNTON included a public meeting, a visit to the Women's Co-operative Guild, and talks at King's College (senior boys), Taunton School (senior boys), and Bishop Fox's School Junior Branch (girls). Mr. Vernon Bartlett, M.P., took the chair for Mr. Catterall at BRIDGWATER, when he spoke on "The Collapse of Hitlerism—What Then?"

Major-General J. W. van Oorschot, C.B.E., among his many speaking engagements for the L.N.U., visited NORTHAMPTON for three days. He gave addresses at the Men's Own, the Rotary Club, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Kingley Park Methodist Church, and the Walthamstow High School at Wellingborough.

Mr. Jaya Deva also spoke for the Union at NORTHAMPTON. The following were among the other meetings held during December: Dr. Vaclav Benes at WOLVERHAMPTON; Mr. W. Arnold-Forster at ST. ALBANS; Mr. K. Zilliacus on "The Future of World Government," at NEWCASTLE; Mr. Gerald Bailey on "Post-War Economics," at GUILDFORD; Mr. L. E. Genissieux (Fighting French), at BECKENHAM; Mr. S. K. Chow (China), at RUGBY; Mr. F. Y. Chai (China), at WEYBRIDGE; Miss Olive Lodge on "Yugoslavia," at WONERSH (Surrey Federation); and Mr. H. C. A. Gaunt, on "Training World Citizens," at joint meeting of PADDINGTON and ST. JOHN'S WOOD BRANCHES. At WITHINGTON Mr. T. Schwarz spoke on "Austria in Post-War Europe," and the Rev. Wilfred Garlick addressed a United Service.

Among ROTARY CLUBS, the demand for L.N.U. speakers shows no signs of slackening. The list for December included: HERTFORD, Mr. S. L. Hourmouziou (Greece), and Major-General van Oorschot (Holland); EDMONTON, Commander Brusaard (Norway); WEST HAM and MAIDENHEAD, Mr. Hourmouziou; BURY ST. EDMUNDS, Major-General van Oorschot;

TOOTING, Mr. H. Manuelides (Greece); PUTNEY, Madame Dayet (France); ROCHESTER, STAINES and PLYMOUTH, Mr. John T. Catterall.

EALING INTERNATIONAL FRIENDSHIP LEAGUE heard a talk on "The History and Culture of Greece," from Dr. Hella Lambri. The MARRIED WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION (CARSHALTON AND WALLINGTON BRANCH) had Mr. Leslie Aldous to speak on "Nutrition and Health." MILTON ERNEST W. I., had a talk on "My Village in France—Then and Now," from Mrs. Dash, formerly Mlle. Sissons.

Two "Aid to China" meetings were organised by our CHURCH STRETTON BRANCH, the respective speakers being Dr. Gordon Thompson, who had worked in China for 30 years as a medical missionary, and Professor John Foster, who had been a Professor of History and Theology in Canton University for 15 years. The cheque for £26 11s. 9d., sent by the Branch to the United Aid to China Fund, supplemented the £26 already collected in boxes in the Parish Church.

LEAMINGTON'S meeting on behalf of the Aid to China Fund, addressed by Mr. H. Y. Hain, raised £27 7s. 6d.

One donation to the United Aid to China Fund, received from the Secretary of our CLYDEBANK BRANCH, represents the proceeds of the sale of bookmarks in the form of dyed Chinese leaves, which had been given her some years ago by a Chinese student in an International Hostel in New York.

CENTRAL HALL, WESTMINSTER

Friday, February 26, at 7 p.m.

L.N.U. Meeting

Speaker:

Dr. GILBERT MURRAY, O.M.

Subject:

"Real Peace This Time"

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

A star month for books—those nails in the coffin of tyranny! In spite of war the publishers have given us half-a-dozen of paramount importance.

First of all comes *Pierre Maillaud's FRANCE* (Oxford University Press, 3s. 6d.). Take these 140 pages, which embrace the whole history of France and her culture, very seriously. For on Britain's attitude to France, after the war, depends largely the issue of permanent peace in Europe. We are at the crossing of the roads. After 1920 we and America were both haggard by the bogy of "commitments"; and to France alone was left the burden of saving Europe. Yet she started under a double handicap. Her loyalty was divided. She distrusted the State—which was, in fact, out-of-date and latterly corrupt; but clung fast to a mystic faith in the Nation (which helps to explain French patriotism and French feelings about Pétain). Into this gap burst the bombs of German propaganda: "Even if a third war is won, France will still be left to win the peace. Last time France lost 75 per cent. of her mobilised men. Must there be another holocaust? Why not a less cruel alternative, co-operation with Germany?" Secondly, the guiding lights of French genius are lucidity and balance; but are these qualities towers of strength in an hour of earthquake or on the edge of a volcano? Did not the French balance of agriculture and industry spell fatal inferiority in the face of Germany's massive preparations for war? All of which leads to the heart of France's problem. It is a *demographic* one and concerns us also to a quite deadly degree. The population of France, as that of England, is about half that of Germany and will be less. Her production capacity is about one-fifth. Modern Germany's history, as those States who have to live near her know only too well, is one of periodic, predatory adventure. Defeat of Germany's armies *does not remove the German problem*. Her unity is likely to remain; certainly her birth increase and her industrial potential. Only one thing can prevent France from sinking into the German orbit: and that is frank, confident, definite co-operation on our part. Side by side with regenerated France we

must march into the future, in a common defence of European civilisation.

Next let us look at two books which touch our own traditions and way of life. In *TESTAMENT TO DEMOCRACY* (Hutchinson, 8s. 6d.), *Lord Wedgwood*, after forty years in the House, a fearless fighter against injustice everywhere, states the case for Parliamentary Government. Misunderstanding and pretentious criticism alike are exposed and the conclusion is wholesome and frank—Democracy of the British kind is the best form of government, and to sit in the House is still one of the highest careers. For his Testament is the story of the growth of conscience, of reasoned responsibility, and the habit of discussion. The system has its faults: Parliament may be overmuch a law-making machine; bureaucracy may have too much power; so may office-holders, thus weakening Parliament's control of policy. All are curable faults. But the system also has in it the stuff of endurance, for it works in the long run for the common good, whereby it will prevail over all the frantic boasting and frenzied practice of Fascist barbarism.

Dr. Ernest Barker, historian, philosopher and sociologist, packs an amazing amount of facts and illuminating explanation into his *BRITAIN AND THE BRITISH PEOPLE* (Oxford University Press 3s. 6d.). Here is the epic of the British Parliament and Law, the Churches, the Social Services, Education the Press, with the British people finding voice and expression through their national gifts—commonsense, tolerance, compromise and an insistence on freedom which by its tempered practice has taken the "R" out of Revolution. Readers, with the Beveridge Report or recent Parliamentary Debates in mind, may find special reward in Dr. Barker's chapters on Social Services and Education, though it is really invidious to select in a book so brilliantly compact and timely.

SPAIN, by *Senor Salvador de Madariaga* (Cape, 25s.), is a book which will flutter the dovecots of many well-meaning theorists. Nevertheless, it is a standard book about the real Spain, the Spanish body and Spanish heart, back of all the shot-swept limelight which extremists on

both sides of the Civil War flared on to the scene. Senor Madariaga speaks with authority—as experienced politician, historian, internationalist and recently exile, in a position to see things clearly: and the love of Spain is in his bones. The gist of the book is this—the Civil War was no "foreign invasion" but a "strictly Spanish event." Both sides committed excesses. But the so-called "Liberal and Democratic Republic," a slogan which many Britons swallowed whole, was merely "Revolution which paraded abroad under the Republican mask." The true Spain lay gagged and bound by extremists on both sides—tyrants, with foreign soldiers at their elbow, who were deaf to her deep longing for mediation. The Democratic Powers, had they possessed a fraction of the guts and gusto which these tyrants brought to their job, could have mediated and saved the true Spain. They still can do this, for General Franco has been quite unable to forge a united nation. The book is not cheap. It will shock some and make others furious. But it richly repays reading, for its solid evidence and for the light it throws on the peace prospects of to-morrow.

Sir William Barton, in *INDIA'S FATEFUL HOUR* (John Murray, 5s.), gives authoritative information and facts which should help to dispel misunderstandings about India and that "engineered" impression, acceptable at times abroad, that India is a nation struggling for freedom against the iron rule of an unchanging imperialism. The objective handling of Britain's achievements in India, of the economic background, of the real aims of political parties, of the key question "Is India a nation at all?"; the personal sketches of Nehru and Gandhi; the picture of social life in India—one and all are admirably done. This book deserves the widest public.

Transport House has just issued a short pamphlet on *INDIA* (price 2d.) by *George Ridley, M.P.* From it the ordinary man and woman can grasp the essentials of the Indian problem, and see that neither is it insoluble nor can it be settled out of hand by any British Government. The Cripps offer was historic—definite self-government for India after the war, on Dominion status. He was met with a demand—and no negotiation about it—for a very different thing—*independence now*.

For Britain to walk out, now, at the very crisis of a world war, with the Japs next door, would have meant (as Sir Stafford said to the *New York Times*) no Constitution and no Government in India at all.

Yet the impasse must be ended. The Indian communities, Mr. Ridley insists, triumphing over their own quarrels, should make agreed proposals to the British Government, who should keep all avenues open to genuine intentions. But civil disobedience, the Labour Party is quite firm, must be called off. It is a menace to India's freedom and an added burden to the Allies.

H. K. Knickerbocker's IS TO-MORROW HITLER'S? is the ablest and most absorbing Penguin Special (9d.) since *Harold Nicolson's "Why Britain is at War."* The American author was the best informed and best known foreigner in Nazi Germany till he was expelled for pointing to facts and telling the honest truth. Subsequent events have vindicated his judgment to the hilt. This Penguin enables readers to have a ringside seat at the greatest international fight of all time. It should be a best seller in every sense of the word.

There is only space for a few points from the effective answers given to a whole series of questions, yours and mine, about Hitler, Russia, France and our own country. But each hits a nail fair and square. Mr. Knickerbocker asked the famous psychologist Dr. Jung, before the war, what he thought was the source of Hitler's power. The latter was in no doubt. Hitler was strong because of the power the German people projected into him. They had become convinced that they had found their Messiah. Hitler was not so much a man or an individual as a *whole nation*. And how was it that Russia alone in Europe has been a match for Hitler? The answer is that Russia has no Hamlets or Fifth Column, and is untouched by pacifism or the softness of Western civilisation. She brings to war a fanaticism and a hatred as fierce as those of any Germans. Above all, Russia was the first country Hitler attacked with both *lives and territory to waste*. There is this about the League: "It is, of course, plain to everybody now that the world is being torn apart because *crazy* people prevented the League of Nations from functioning." And a last vivid pen picture of our leader:

"We have heard a great deal about fighting to the last drop of blood, but Churchill is the only man I have ever seen among the belligerents who makes it absolutely convincing."

THE NATIONAL PEACE COUNCIL (144, Southampton Row, London, W.C.1) announces the publication of two new 'Peace Aims Pamphlets' based on the economic discussions in its Peace Aims Conference. In No. 15 "The Foundation of Economic Reconstruction" (5d. post free), Professor John Macmurray discusses the moral issues in economic reconstruction and urges that the basis of a new civilisation should be sought in a synthesis of the spiritual and material aspects of life. In No. 16, "The Economic Basis of Peace" (1s. 4½d., post free), Dr. Thomas Balogh, E. F. M. Durbin, Wilfried Benson, A. A. Evans, Miss M. F. W. Joseph and others discuss the techniques of economic

peace—the practical necessities in realising freedom from want and social security for all peoples.

A WORKABLE AND DESIRABLE WORLD, written by *Arnold Freeman* for private circulation, is a small pamphlet intended as a serious contribution to the literature of the Peace Aims Movement. His elaboration of the thesis that man in society is a three-fold being with free spiritual possibilities, equalitarian relationships with his fellows and his physical material needs will seem to many an ambrosial diet when good red meat is wanted. Thus those who look for concrete machinery to make the next peace settlement workable will feel dissatisfied with the indefinite shape of the author's proposals. A copy of the pamphlet will be sent to anybody interested on application to the author at 63, Clarendon Road, Sheffield, 10.

FROM "HEADWAY'S" POST-BAG

Armaments

Sir,—The December HEADWAY and the accompanying leaflets give hope with one hand and take it away with the other. Agreed:

(i) That some international structure based on good will is the only hope. The League's social services and the I.L.O. still stand and still function, because based on this foundation.

(ii) The rest of the League's structure collapsed because based not on belief in good will but on fear of ill-will, and therefore on armaments.

This root inconsistency is sufficient explanation of the League's failure to prevent war. The League believes in, and still explicitly believes in, armaments. So, apparently, does Viscount Cecil—and to one who followed his strenuous work on the Disarmament Commission of the League in the Twenties, this is bitter disappointment. The December HEADWAY, 1942, is explicitly calling for an exact repetition of the 1919 iniquity—enforced disarmament of the enemy with indefinite postponement of disarmament for the allies; and still the reliance on armaments for the work of world-peace.

M. L. V. HUGHES.

Broughton-in-Furness.

(We are certain that the policy with regard to armaments, consistently advocated by the League of Nations Union over a long period of years, has the backing of the overwhelm-

ing mass of the membership—indeed, of the country as a whole, as was shown by the voting in the Peace Ballot. Society, whether national or international, has not yet evolved any method of completely abolishing the use of force, so it is all a question of the right use of armaments—of ensuring that force shall be used to uphold law and justice. As regards the disarmament of the Axis Powers at the end of this war, that is an inevitable common-sense precaution; and it follows that the Allies cannot afford to reduce their own armaments until they are certain that Germany and her associates will be unable to resume their policy of aggression and domination.—Ed.)

Esperanto

Sir,—I noticed with interest the two letters in November HEADWAY, making clear the high claims of Esperanto as the most suitable world language.

Your readers may be interested to know that Esperanto was adopted some years ago as the official language of the World State organisation Reguego (Esperanto for "great state").

C. D. G.

Llanelly.

Appeasement

Sir,—It is surprising to find members of the League of Nations Union engaged in white-washing Chamberlain and the Chamberlain

Government. He and it were inveterate enemies of everything the League stands for. While we strove for open diplomacy, the late Premier carried secret diplomacy to the extent of by-passing his own Foreign Office, and dismissed a Foreign Secretary for protesting against unguaranteed pacts.

The history of the Chamberlain regime was a sort of political Rake's Progress. Starting with adherence to the old game of Balance of Power, it managed to assist in the splitting of the Franco-Russian entente, which was the best guarantee of European stability. It then passed to supporting the establishment of Fascist influence in Spain, and ended by a policy—which fortunately failed—of driving Germany and Russia to war. Sir Philip Gibbs ("Ordeal Over Europe," 1937) suggested that if Germany and Japan wanted to have a go at Russia, every obstacle should be removed from their way. This was evidently the Chamberlain idea. Manchuria, Austria, Czechoslovakia were handed over to the aggressor, not only without protest, but with approbation. The drive of Germany to the south-east interrupted the negotiations to pass Northern Poland over to the Nazis. The Finnish-German attack on Russia—commencing with the decision to fortify the Aaland Islands—met not only with approval, but with active aid in the very name of "honouring our obligations under the League Covenant." Honouring of obligations, forsooth, by the Premier who said we should not interfere in European affairs until our own interests were attacked!

The one thing that makes one doubt whether the Chamberlain policy could be as bad as it seemed was the utter stupidity of the idea that a major war in Eastern Europe could leave us unscathed, but the evidence of stupidity in the matters of China, Abyssinia, Spain and Czechoslovakia resolves any doubts.

For some reason the contemporary French Government followed, or was dragged by the force of political events into following our lead. The placing of her enemies on her southern border ended all hope of France exerting any good influence in European affairs, and may be regarded as one of the triumphs (*sic*) of Chamberlain diplomacy. We have just listened (December 15) to a broadcast talk on Gabriel Peri. He expressed, perhaps better than anyone else, common-sense opinion on the drift of affairs to which the British and French Governments of the time were either blind or indifferent. Writing after the cession of Prague, he said, "Le danger aujourd'hui est plus que jamais à l'Ouest parce que vous avez débruit de vos propres mains le contre-poids à l'Est. Quand je regarde les résultats de votre politique, je vois l'image d'un cimetière et d'une paysage dévasté."

The materialisation of that vision within which we are living is the best monument to the memory of the worst Government this country ever had. Apologetic epitaphs just don't make sense.

W. RAMSAY SIBBALD.

Hoyleke.

BRAINS TRUSTS

"International Brains Trusts" are again in the news. Reports have reached us of two more successful meetings of this type during December by our Bromley and Wallington Branches.

At Bromley, "United Nations Brains Trust" was a title which attracted to the Public Library many people who do not normally attend L.N.U. meetings. On one side of the platform was the Question Master, the Rev. O. G. Whitfield. Seated at a table facing the audience were the members of the Brains Trust: Mr. S. K. Chow, representing China; Miss Freda White, Great Britain; Dr. Wolfram Gottlieb, Russia; and Mr. Robert Kull, United States of America. An informal atmosphere was deliberately encouraged, and the questions were answered in a conversational manner. These questions ranged over a wide field, which included

such matters as economic planning, the Atlantic Charter, disarmament, America's attitude to the League, and the present position of the League.

In the interval Councillor A. J. Howe, chairman of the Bromley Branch, announced that the collection would be equally divided between the United Aid to China Fund and the Red Cross Aid to Russia Fund.

Wallington considered their Brains Trust perhaps their outstanding activity since the outbreak of war. As at Bromley, a strong international team appeared on the platform to do the bidding of the Question Master, Mr. F. W. Crabbe, J.P. In addition to a local speaker representing Great Britain, there were Mr. Jaya Deva (Far East), the Rev. Marcus Spencer (U.S.A.), and M. Eyriery (Fighting France).

THE RADIO RACE

The Geneva Research Centre has just published a most interesting report on RADIO TO-DAY, by Dr. Arno Huth (price 1.25 Swiss francs). The pre-war figures for the numbers and distribution of stations, and for the growth of the standard of power, are astonishing. For example, there were in the whole world 2,832 stations. But nearly half were in North and Central America; while South America had 508, as compared with Europe's 422. Even Germany's present total, including those in occupied Europe, is 166—as compared with 153 in Mexico alone. The explanation of this anomaly lies mainly in the influence of commercial companies who aim to get their public through the medium of a large number of stations in the big towns. Public authorities anxious to broadcast to all people, as a rule, have a few central stations with more relay stations.

The standard of power shows extraordinary increase. A station of 3 kilowatts was "powerful" in 1926; one of 50 kilowatts was common in 1930; while today Moscow Komintern speaks to the world with a power of 500 kilowatts.

All this is of enormous importance for to-morrow. Post-war radio must be planned, every bit as much as the rest of peace (if not more so when one faces up to the problem of re-educating Germany). Complete State control cannot possibly be allowed to be permanent.

There must be—all experience shows it—a balance between private initiative and public control, between unbounded liberty leading to chaos and the brutal castration of individual freedom of mind and ear.

For example, here are two urgent tasks. A new allocation plan for wave lengths in the European zone is imperative: the future of international broadcasting depends upon it. Again, there is the problem of organising collective listening—creating a habit of thoughtfulness to take the place of casual swallowing of a dozen programmes and digesting none.

Yet technical improvements open up before us an endless vista for the enrichment of our minds. There is the use of ultra short waves (from 1 to 10 metres), and discoveries such as Facsimile Service and Television. Above all, there is F.M. or Frequency Modulation Broadcasting, which in America is eliminating atmospheric crackles, and disturbance of household apparatus, while reproducing a whole range of sounds far more faithfully. Unquestionably, this will make the congested wave length problem simpler.

A new Armaments Race of the mind has begun. There can be no nobler crusade than to see to it that these and other developments of the tremendous power already conferred on broadcasting, in our homes, in our daily life, shall be used for good. Radio is in its infancy: we are wardens of its growth.

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