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IN WAR-TIME

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EDITORIAL

APPROACHING VICTORY

Blow after blow, as we write, is being struck by the Allied Forces against Hitler's European fortress. Any detailed comment upon the mounting tide of successes would certainly be out of date before these lines appeared in print. Day by day, hour by hour, the pattern of the grand design of United Nations strategy is unfolding itself. To every intelligence the end is beyond doubt—we are set on a clear course to victory. The Prime Minister, in his "good report" to Parliament on August 2, felt able to hint that the end of the war in Europe might come "soon"—adding the very necessary rider that over-optimism must not be made an excuse for unduly relaxing either our precautions or our exertions.

This assuredly is not the moment for fixing dates that can be no more than guesses, for premature jubilation or complacency. However short the overwhelming supremacy of Allied arms can make this final stage of war, it must inevitably contain more than its share of the blood, toil, tears and sweat which Mr. Churchill in 1940 promised us as our portion. Hitler once threatened that, if he should fall, he would bring the world crashing in ruins about him. Already there are evidences of the Nazi intention to inflict as much indiscriminate damage as possible in their brief "twilight of the gods." That inevitably implies some slaughter and misery that, at this stage of the war, must seem irrelevant to the final issue. All the more reason for ensuring that, if victory is within our grasp, that grasp shall be tightened.

And after victory, what then? The meeting of the four-Power conference on post-war security organisation reminds us that peace will not be a period of ease and relaxation. The Dumbarton Oaks talks are described by official spokesmen as exploratory and informal in nature, so obviously a good deal of spadework still remains to be done. There is, indeed, general agreement among the four Great Powers that a "general international organisation" must be set up as soon as possible, along the lines laid down in the Moscow Declaration. Already the League of Nations Union has been able to put useful ideas into the pool, and to play some part in popularising them among the people of this country. But, since the success and continued existence of any international organisation, however admirably planned and contrived, must depend upon the catalytic agent of human will, it is clear that the Union's responsibilities are only beginning.

Once our Union, early in 1920, had seen its first aim realised by the creation of the League of Nations, it set about the immeasurably more urgent and difficult task of advocating the full development of the League. The situation will be parallel after this war, when the new International Authority embarks upon its career. Only the Union will be richer in knowledge and experience. That heritage must be upheld by adequate membership. Henceforth, the watchword of all Branches should be, "Strengthen our Union now!"

REFUGEE CONFERENCE IN LONDON

Highly encouraging are the practical steps now being taken to fit the various international bodies into the general scheme of post-war organisation. Geneva seemed to have been transplanted to London mid-way through August, when the Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees held its first plenary session since its reorganisation. Everything was run along League of Nations lines, though this in fact is not a League committee. To help in creating the Geneva atmosphere, M. Mathieu, the League's chief interpreter, once more officiated at an international conference, and Miss Ward looked after the Press exactly as she used to do in the old Geneva days.

Why was this meeting held? Chiefly to adopt new rules for the constitution and procedure, thus giving formal expression to the Refugee Commission's new mandate. The Governments have agreed to give wide powers to the Executive Committee. The work should gain in efficiency. Further, to avoid rivalry and overlapping, the principle of co-operation with other governmental organisations concerned with various aspects of the refugee problem was affirmed. Representatives of the I.L.O., the International Red Cross, U.N.R.R.A., S.H.A.E.F., and the War Refugee Board of America were, in fact, among the delegates.

Thirty-seven Governments — United Nations, their associates and neutrals—have now joined the Committee. Help is expected from them on the financial side, and in providing places of permanent or temporary refuge. The spirit at the London meeting appeared to promise that official sympathy and understanding which may mean the difference between life and death for multitudes.

What is happening to-day in liberated Italy foreshadows the bigger work for refugees that will have to be done when all Europe is free. There Sir Clifford Heathcote-Smith, the Committee's representative, is acting with the Allied Commission of Control and particularly with its sub-commission dealing with displaced persons. To do the best possible for the refugees of non-Italian origin, there are consultations with the national missions (e.g., Czech, Polish and Yugoslav). Voluntary organisations help to provide quite an experienced and efficient staff. Refugee camps

and billets have been set up, and successful efforts have been made to secure suitable local employment.

In North Africa the French authorities have been extremely helpful. At Fedhala a camp has been set up to relieve the pressure of refugees who have managed to escape into Spain and Portugal. Sir Herbert Emerson, the Director of the Committee, paid high tribute to the attitude of Spain, Portugal, Switzerland and Sweden in not turning back refugees from their territory.

Even now, it will be seen, something can be done to help refugees. A few weeks ago some 700 (German, Austrian and Polish) went to Palestine. Even more recently the United States Government took in about 1,000 refugees from Italy with the promise of asylum during the war. There are good prospects, too, of rescuing some of the Hungarian Jews.

Nobody can say the final number for which the Commission will have to make itself responsible. Fortunately, all Governments look after their own nationals where they are able, and those of the liberated countries are not likely to shirk this obligation after the war. Repatriation, where this is possible, will be U.N.R.R.A.'s job. It is the stateless and "non-repatriable" persons with whom the Inter-Governmental Committee is concerned. How many of these will there be? Sir Herbert Emerson, when asked this question, could at this stage only hazard a guess. The minimum, he thought, would be 500,000. If there were more than 2,000,000 he would feel seriously perturbed.

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THE UNANIMITY RULE

By DR. GILBERT MURRAY, O.M.

(Should the Unanimity Rule be maintained for voting in the new International Authority? Among Union Branches the question is being keenly debated in connection with the Executive's Draft Pact. Dr. Murray, from his wisdom and experience, here discusses both the theory and the practice of the Unanimity Rule.)

Article V of the Covenant lays down that at meetings of the Assembly or Council decisions shall require the assent of all Members present. Exceptions are made for questions of procedure, which clearly must be "decided" one way or another, and for certain particular cases expressly named in the Covenant. (See Articles XV and XXV.) This is, of course, the ordinary custom in international conferences. Let us consider how it works.

Not a Veto

In the first place it is not a veto. It does not prevent the nations forming the majority from going forward independently. The first case where it was applied showed this in an almost farcical manner. In 1923 a special "interpretation" of Article X was agreed to by the whole Assembly except the Persian representative, who, in an access of conscientiousness, said he had received no instructions from his government. The "interpretation" could not be passed! The only effect of that was that the governments which had voted for it, acting as sovereign states, declared their acceptance of the interpretation.

Slightly more serious was another hitch, the only other, I believe, which was caused by the Unanimity Rule. It was on the Refugee Question. The general wish of the Assembly was to set up a League Organisation for assisting the refugees, but Russia dissented and consequently there was no "decision"; only a majority recommendation or "voeu." There was nothing to prevent the majority from setting up an organisation, and they did so; but it was not a League Organisation and could not use the League machinery or Secretariate.

Majority Influence

Now supposing, instead of the Unanimity Rule, the Covenant had laid down that decisions could be made by a

majority—or a three-fourths or four-fifths majority—of those voting, what would have been the difference? What in the first place the effect on Russia? Absolutely nil. Russia would not have obeyed the decision and the League could not have forced her. What on the rest of the world? On America, for instance? Almost exactly the same. The debate at the League had, as a matter of fact, some effect on American opinion. It called attention to the sufferings of the refugees and led to American help in the organisation. Would that help have been at all more rapid or effective if the call had come from a formal "decision" of the League instead of an informal "voeu" or "desire," technically called in English a "recommendation"? The truth is, such an expression of the wish of a majority of the Assembly has a degree of influence proportioned to the size and character of the majority; and a "decision" has no further force, except inside the League Organisation itself.

Method of Persuasion

Except in the extreme cases of armed aggression the League does not contemplate using force. Its method is persuasion, appeal to public opinion, in rare cases diplomatic or economic pressure. The Council and its special committees must mostly be content to conduct their business rather on the model of the British Cabinet, which hardly ever proceeds to a vote, or a Quaker committee, in which the Clerk "takes the sense of the meeting." Where there is general unity of aim this method works better than any other; where there is not unity of aim, and at the same time no power of coercion, it does not work well, but neither would any system of voting. As a matter of fact, the League in its better days was steadily growing to be more completely what lawyers call a "persona," with a unity of policy and will. In the committees on

which I served this was very noticeable. The members were really interested in their enterprise; they had a real "will" to the same end, and the knowledge that no one could be merely outvoted and overridden made everyone more co-operative. The Council, too, formed a pretty regular habit of accepting without alteration the reports of their committees.

Draft Pact Modifications

In a national committee members vote on terms of equality: in an international committee it is flatly impossible to devise any system of voting which Norway with two-and-a-half million nationals and China with 400 million will both accept as fair. In a national committee those who disobey can be coerced; in an international body they cannot be coerced. It is wise, therefore, to assure them plainly at the outset that there will be no attempt to coerce them. That is assured by the Unanimity Rule. The Draft Pact modifies the Rule in certain ways. It lays down more broadly than the Covenant the principle that the parties to a dispute cannot vote; it somewhat enlarges the meaning of "points of procedure," and it provides that a two-thirds majority of Members, if they wish to proceed with some proposal, may have the help of the Secretariate.

The Root Issue

It does not seem practicable to go further. The one cardinal issue on which the action of any world organisation for ensuring peace will be doubtful, and ought not to be doubtful, would not be really affected by any provision about counting votes. That problem is how to make sure that all members, or at least those members on whom the issue depends, will, when the time comes, do their duty and take united action to stop the aggressors. That issue will depend on many factors: the degree of common aim and mutual trust among the members, the degree to which they are convinced that peace is indivisible and war an intolerable anachronism, the degree to which they are morally and materially prepared for effective action in due time, and so on: it will not depend on things like the Unanimity Rule. Even in industrial matters the history of the ILO has shown us the gulf there may be between the votes of an expert international committee and the action of the states it represents. We must recognise that no independent nation will adopt a policy which it thoroughly disapproves because a large foreign majority in an international committee has "decided" that it should. Imagine such a "decision" being handed to the American Senate! Or to Marshal Stalin!

AN INTERNATIONAL EMBLEM

By GEOFFREY MANDER, M.P.

It was not inappropriate that D-Day coincided with an opportunity to discuss on the adjournment of the House of Commons, as a result of notice I had given many weeks before, the question of the advisability of adopting some international flag or emblem as the outward and visible sign of unity. It will be agreed by its most enthusiastic supporters that the League of Nations was wanting in certain things. It lacked force, and that, we intend to remedy, but it also lacked colour, ceremonial and symbolism, those intangible elements which in a sense are so trivial and yet, in fact, are so immensely important.

National Precedents

We all recognise the heightened autho-

rity and impressiveness that attaches to such symbols or ceremony as the Monarch's Crown, the Speaker's Procession, the Judge's wig, the Mayor's robes and national flags and emblems—all these things should have their counterpart in the world organisation, in addition to, not, of course, in substitution of, national precedents and emblems. Surely we should also have a song and march to serve the same purpose for universal adoption by all peace-loving States. Council and Assembly meetings should be opened formally with a touch of pageantry.

No one would suggest for a moment that national flags, which have such a hold on the people of their country, should be in any way interfered with or diminished in

importance—the Union Jack, the Stars and Stripes, the Red Flag would still fly as high and still move as deeply the hearts of the citizens of their States, but there is a greater unity which requires to be indicated in some way.

Some International Flags

Let us take a glance at the past history of this question. Perhaps the earliest international flag of any kind was at the time of the Crusades when the Cross was used as an emblem. But to come nearer to our times: after the last war the Inter-Allied Shipping Commission made use of an Inter-Allied flag which was flown on all their ships in every port in which they went and performed its function admirably. The League of Nations itself on one occasion brought out a flag; this was in 1933 in the dispute between Colombia and Peru concerning the territory of Leticia. It consisted of a white rectangle with an inscription in dark blue—League of Nations Commission on Leticia. Not very exciting. In 1930 there was an international competition for a flag of this kind, and 1640 entries were sent in. They were rather disappointing. Of the two adjudged to be worthy of selection one was the design of a five-pointed star inside a circle representing the five continents inside the world. The other design was five linked circles inside a circle representing the same idea. The colours were white or silver for peace, blue for truth, and yellow or gold for good luck. There is, of course, as an alternative the well-known map of the world and stars, the emblem of the League of Nations Union.

During the present war there was an occasion when a United Nations flag was flown in Washington for a brief period—this consisted of horizontal red lines on a white background representing the four freedoms.

There is no reason to think that the Government is unsympathetic to a proposal of this kind if general acceptance could be achieved. It would surely not be necessary to obtain the concurrence of each one of the United Nations—that indeed might lead to endless discussion—let the four great Powers, who would naturally give a lead in these matters, agree and probably the others would fall into line.

That is where I think an attempt should be made to secure identity of view.

An International "Flash"

We see men in the Services of all nations now wearing a variety of emblems representing their national, regimental or other associations. I should like to see an additional emblem that all could wear. It is the case at the present time that certain British and American nationals acting in concert have such an emblem, such as the SHAEF "flash" with its symbols of liberation. I am going to be bold enough to make a suggestion as a contribution to the discussion of this question. We should do well to base ourselves on tradition and history, and I do not think we could do better than look back to ancient Greece which means so much to-day and has meant so much in the past in the history of culture and philosophy. Above all, we should look to Athens where democracy first showed itself on the earth's surface; when the Athenians went into battle they made use of two symbols, the olive for peace and the owl for wisdom. These could be incorporated into an international "flash."

An alternative might be found in some of the interesting banners displayed on the Bayeux tapestries depicting scenes during the Norman conquest—there would appear to be possibilities here.

Symbols are Powerful

It may be said that all this is only a matter of sentiment and emotion, but we should remember what an enormous part is played in the world of human beings by sentimental and emotional forces, and we should make the most of the feelings which are evoked by great symbols. We need to use every opportunity that presents itself to get mankind thinking internationally. Long centuries have endowed national symbols with their power. I suggest that we must begin now to build up in a practical way similar feelings in the larger field of world affairs.

WORLD AFFAIRS IN PARLIAMENT DEBATE ON THE I.L.O.

By OWEN RATTENBURY

The British Government are not "daunted by the alleged failure of the League of Nations." It was very refreshing to hear Mr. Ernest Bevin say this during the debate on the International Labour Organisation. "After all," demanded the Minister of Labour, "what was attempted? The biggest thing in the world. It is perfectly true—let us acknowledge it—that the conscious moral force behind the League of Nations at that time did not exist, that is to say there was not the same kind of moral force as that which supports a law carried by this House in our own country. But the fact that it did not exist, which weakened the League and produced this second war, has done more to develop the moral force which is now emerging and will ultimately lead us back to a better world organisation."

Now that is the sort of statement which has often been described by the anti-Leaguers as "sloppy sentiment." Such a criticism just would not fit Mr. Bevin. There is something so obviously big and strong about him—great and even clumsy physique matched by bigness in manner and delivery—that the force of his speech comes home. The occasion was the conclusion of the debate on the recent International Labour Conference at Philadelphia, opened by Mr. George Tomlinson, the British Government delegate.

Post-war Place of I.L.O.

On the question of the future organisation of the I.L.O., Mr. Bevin said that it was bound to dovetail into other forms of international organisation. Nutritional and monetary international bodies were parallel. All he could say about the future was that the British Government wanted to put the I.L.O. as high in the scale of world organisations as they could. To its complete independence he was opposed—he thought it would be fatal if it were not part of the world organism.

Development of communications and travel had made the world far smaller. For 300 years this country had made a great contribution to peace because she

had helped to police the world. But no single country could do that again.

Mr. Bevin referred with approval to the I.L.O. proposal for joint international committees for industries and trades and services, and instanced the International Transport Workers which had endured in spite of the war.

On differences in standards and trying to get international standards, he mentioned that, when the aim was a 40-hour week for transport workers, he found that owing to different conditions a 40-hour week in Paris meant about the same actual working hours as a 48-hour week in London. This, of course, was no reason for throwing mud at each other; but by discussing it in conference they found out the facts.

"Trusting the Foreigner"

Interjections from Mr. Petherick brought the same point into discussion as had been made in an earlier speech by Mr. Austin Hopkinson. Could we trust the Germans or Italians or Japanese? Could we trust anyone, in fact? *We kept our word, but they never kept their word.*

Mr. Bevin said that you could not ignore 80,000,000 people. When this war was over, when they were back in the comity of nations and had paid their price, you would have to deal with them. It would be found that sooner or later—it might be after a long armistice or re-education—whatever steps you took would have to recognise their existence. We had been forced to recognise the Italians.

British Policy

So much for Mr. Bevin's useful statement. Mr. Tomlinson's opening statement must now be very briefly summarised. There was agreement that the I.L.O. must be maintained; that, in fact, if it had not been in existence it would have to be formed now. Mr. Tomlinson pointed out what he considered certain dangers, one of which was the adopting of resolutions without sufficient preparation or discussion. In the field of social security we had always led the world. The British viewpoint at

Philadelphia had been that it was best to decide upon guiding principles rather than detailed schemes. The Conference had regarded this as a delaying action. With the British record it was hard to tell why.

In parenthesis Mr. Hynd and Mr. Leslie—both experienced I.L.O. men—reminded Mr. Tomlinson that Britain's failure to ratify some of the conventions had not been too helpful. To this Mr. Tomlinson replied that ratifications could be made with reservations which could render them innocuous. That sort of ratification would never be made by Britain.

Another danger, continued Mr. Tomlinson, was that the Conference might be used for propaganda purposes. That would be disastrous.

He emphasised the Conference declaration that "labour is not a commodity", the fact that throughout full employment was of primary importance, the proposal that there should be a regular exchange between Governments of information and statistics on uniform lines, and the proposal (later stressed by Mr. Bevin) that there should be international joint committees in the major industries of the world.

Ratifications

Mr. Lewis Jones had something to say about ratifications. Spain had ratified more conventions than anyone else. "She ratified 34," he said, "although she is not a member of the I.L.O. at the moment, and is probably not operating even one of those conventions." That left something to be understood, which may have been in Mr. Jones's mind. The enlightened Spanish Government which ratified those conventions, with the undoubted intention of operating them all, is not now in existence, having been defeated by the combined power of Franco, Mussolini and Hitler—a trio that is not likely to have much use for conventions that owe their origin to an organisation against which they are fighting. Mr. Jones, however, pointed out that Great Britain had ratified 33 conventions in 25 years. Like Mr. Graham White he contended that the 5th point of the Atlantic Charter was impossible of operation unless the I.L.O. were given its proper place in the post-war world.

Praise for Staff

Mr. Leslie paid a tribute to the efficiency and energy of the I.L.O. staff, starting with

that great Frenchman, Albert Thomas, and his successors, Mr. Butler and Mr. Winant. The present Director, he thought, was worthily in the tradition of these fine leaders. It would be necessary, he added, to have inspectors to see that the provisions of the Peace Treaty were carried out. The same principle should be applied to conventions passed by the I.L.O., to prevent any country embarking on unfair competition by sweated labour.

Mr. Hynd drew attention to shortcomings in the implementation of the high ideals expressed in 1919—not only by European and Asiatic countries but by ourselves as well. Emphasis on the industrial side on the I.L.O., in his opinion, prejudiced the position of agricultural communities forming 60 to 70 per cent. of the world's population. The important statement of 1919 in the Charter of the I.L.O. that "the failure of any nation to establish humane conditions of labour must be an obstacle to the other nations," was now matched by the words of the Philadelphia Charter—"Poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere."

It was in the House of Commons—Mr. Hamilton Kerr reminded the House—that Wilberforce raised his voice against slavery and Shaftesbury protested against child labour. It was in this country that Elizabeth Fry did her work for prison reform (he might have added John Howard, too). If peace was indivisible, so prosperity was indivisible in the economic sphere. We could not have a shattered Europe or a shattered China and a prosperous world. "I believe," he ended, "that the I.L.O. if it sees that the worker gets a fair day's pay for a fair day's work and ensures that workers all over the world obtain reasonable wages and conditions, will prove itself to be by far the most effective instrument for international co-operation we have so far found."

A fitting tailpiece to this account of a most interesting debate!

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THE BRETTON WOODS AGREEMENT

By MARGARET STEWART

To a layman, the reports of the Bretton Woods Monetary Conference may have seemed somewhat confusing, while the White Paper, setting out the terms of the Agreement, is a highly technical document. The British public will have to wait for a full explanation of the implications of the Agreement from the experts who represented this country at the conference; and until Parliament has had an opportunity to debate it, no final judgment can be passed. The international economic and political issues involved are of tremendous importance, and need the most careful and considered study.

A Remarkable Achievement

There may be many differences about the details of the monetary plan, but there can be general agreement that the Conference was in many respects a successful one, and augurs well for the future of international co-operation. Economists, according to tradition, never agree, and it is something of an achievement that the representatives of no fewer than 44 nations should, after three weeks round a conference table, have arrived at an understanding on the very complex monetary problems of the world. The achievement is the more remarkable when one considers that many of the nations represented had formerly engaged in bitter currency warfare.

International Monetary Fund

Determination to avoid a repetition of the disastrous experience of financial crisis in the 1929-31 period was indeed the guiding motive of the Conference. The Agreement provides for the setting up of an International Monetary Fund, with the prime object of promoting "international monetary co-operation through a permanent institution which provides the machinery for consultation and collaboration on international monetary problems." One of its further objects is stated as being to "facilitate the expansion and balanced growth of international trade, and to contribute thereby to the promotion and maintenance of high levels of employment and real income, and to the development of the productive resources of all members as primary objectives of economic policy."

Membership of the Fund is open to the Governments of the United Nations represented at the Conference and to the Governments of other countries, as and when the Fund decides to admit them. The Fund will come into being before the end of 1945, but it is highly improbable that the state of the world will be sufficiently stable by then to assess fair or correct exchange relationships. The Fund, it should be noted, is essentially a long-term project. It will not have any responsibility for financing relief and reconstruction measures that have been necessitated by the damages of war, this being UNRRA's province. But here it might seem difficult to draw a dividing line. Members of the Fund pledge themselves "to collaborate with the Fund to promote exchange stability, to maintain orderly exchange arrangements with other members and to avoid competitive exchange alterations."

Each member of the Fund is assigned a quota, which will be subject to review at five yearly intervals, but if necessary adjustments can be arranged before the period has elapsed.

In this respect, some adjustments might seem desirable, and it is difficult to understand the basis on which quotas have been fixed. France, for instance, which before the war was one of the world's leading financial centres and possessed substantial gold reserves, is only assigned 450 million dollars, compared with China's 600 million, while Holland, in spite of the vast resources of her colonial empire, is only assigned 275 million. The United States leads with a quota of 3,175 million dollars, more than twice that of the United Kingdom, which is 1,300 million.

The machinery of the International Monetary Fund consists of a Board of Governors, which will meet annually, and Executive Directors, on whom the detailed task of management will fall.

The Fund and Gold

The Fund has been described, and assailed in some quarters, as a return to the Gold Standard, which ruled, and some say wrecked, the world's finances in the period between the two wars. The Agreement does provide that members' currencies

should be expressed in terms of gold, or in terms of United States dollars of the July, 1944, standard, and the Fund's object is basically the same as that of the Gold Standard—to obtain universal convertibility of currencies and ensure maximum stability. The Fund, however, differs from the old standard in that the links between the currencies are elastic and not rigidly fixed. Moreover, it should be remembered that it was not the fault of Gold, as such, that the monetary crisis developed—it was due rather to mismanagement, political pressures and unbalanced creditor-debtor relations, and the situation was aggravated rather than caused by the rigidity of the Gold Standard. There was a tendency for gold to become the master, and not the servant, of economic systems.

International Bank

The second part of the Bretton Woods Agreement is more straightforward and should command universal approval. It provides for the setting up of an International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. The object of the Bank, which will have a total capital of \$10,000 million and whose members will be the same as those of the Fund, is to help members to develop their territories and to facilitate capital investment for productive purposes. The Bank will stimulate private foreign investment, but where private capital is not available in sufficient quantities or on suitable terms, it will provide finance out of its own capital funds, and will concentrate on works of major public importance.

The International Bank should thus present an important instrument for the economic and social development of colonial and backward territories. The essential condition for its success, as for that of the Fund, is genuine co-operation and the determination to help the less economically advanced countries, in a disinterested and non-colonising spirit.

Will the Plan Succeed?

It is, as already stated, impossible to do more than comment in the most general terms about the Bretton Woods Agreement, and in a short space it is impossible to enter into the complicated technical details, important as they are. No Government is yet committed to the scheme and

the question which will face the British Government this autumn is whether or not to ratify the Agreement, signed on its behalf.

The success of any international monetary agreement must depend on a number of factors: on how far the nations are willing and able to maintain a high level of employment internally, and on how far the creditor nations are willing to accept goods and services from other countries, and to bring their balances of payments into equilibrium. This last question is particularly addressed to the United States, which will emerge after the war as the foremost creditor nation and should avoid the restrictionist high-tariff policies pursued formerly. The answer, perhaps, will have to await the result of the Presidential election.

Fitting into the Framework

If the nations carry out their intentions to remove obstacles to international trade, in accordance with the principles of the Atlantic Charter, and if they abandon their pre-1939 mentality, the monetary scheme can be made to fit into the general framework, as an integral part of post-war economic machinery. It cannot obviously be regarded in isolation. Apart from the wider context, its value will have to be assessed from the point of view of whether it will positively contribute to the restoration of world commerce and the creation of higher standards of living.

Bit by bit, the future world organisation is beginning to take shape. Bretton Woods is one of a series of international conferences—the problems of food, refugees, relief and rehabilitation, labour and social standards, have now all been discussed by the United Nations, and the various conferences have laid the basis for co-operation on these issues both for the immediate post-war period and the longer term.

Compared with the last war, when reconstruction problems were belatedly discussed and economic issues became obscured in the maze of political passions, the measure of agreement reached in the 1940s leads to the hope that good sense and co-operation will continue to prevail, even when the bond of fighting a common enemy no longer exists.

UP AND DOWN THE COUNTRY

From all accounts the public meeting recently arranged by our EARLSFERRY AND ELIE BRANCH was a model of organisation. The Branch had its reward in a bumper audience, which listened with close attention to a racy talk on Anglo-American relations given by Mr. J. Henderson Stewart, M.P. for East Fife. Many searching questions were proof of the interest aroused. In the Town Hall three large L.N.U. posters were displayed, and these were afterwards placed in prominent positions in the Town. Scouts distributed folders for prospective members. Special attention was drawn by the President to copies of the Draft Pact for the Future International Authority which were on sale. This Branch has distributed 1,000 of the Union's Economy Labels for publicity purposes.

An annual garden meeting, addressed by Mr. Jaya. Deva on "The War in the Pacific," concluded an interesting series of meetings which the BUCKHURST HILL BRANCH, although small, has managed to run during the past year. The subjects have included China, India, "The Spiritual Aspect of World Affairs," and "Economic Reconstruction." At the meeting on India, in January, a special collection taken for the India Relief Fund realised £4.

Further details have come to hand of the highly successful meeting at LETCHWORTH addressed by the Dean of Chichester on "The Foundations of a Better World Order." The meeting was held after the Sunday evening service and wise co-operation was evident. It was a representative gathering of several hundreds, including people of many religious, social and industrial aspects of the town. The collection of nearly £12 was for the International Red Cross.

LETCHWORTH BRANCH reminds all its members (and friends) that the Annual Garden Party will take place on Saturday, September 2. It asks for gifts for the "bring and buy" stall and helpers for the event. A cordial invitation is extended to any friends within reach of Letchworth to spend an enjoyable afternoon in the delightful St. Christopher grounds.

Mr. H. H. Walker, Assistant Secretary of the Union, visited BATTLESBRIDGE to

address the W.E.A. class on the present work of the League and its hopes for the future. A Garden Party at SOLIHULL had Mr. J. T. Catterall as the speaker. Tickets of admission and refreshments raised £32, and 14 new members were enrolled.

More than 60 women at CROSSWAYS MISSION heard Mrs. M. Gladys Stevens speak on "Our Part in World Peace." The Mission is finding a general desire to meet and discuss problems, and to take part in some constructive planning for the future.

ROTARY CLUBS which during August had visiting speakers supplied by the L.N.U. included: ASHFORD (Dr. S. N. Ghose on "India"); ENFIELD (Mr. K. D. Brough on "Economic Planning for India's Future"); MILL HILL (Mr. J. T. Catterall on "World Settlement after the War"); ST. ALBANS (Adjutant Monteux on "France"); and SLOUGH (Dr. Luzzatto on "Italy").

FRESHWATER MEMORIAL FUND

We publish below a *Seventh List* of donations to the Freshwater Memorial Fund, received at Head Office up to August 18, 1944. As in previous lists they are arranged according to Branches—the name of individuals will not be printed.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Bedford				L.N.U.,			
(Women's				Ireland ...	0	2	0
Liberal				Letchworth ..	0	4	0
Assn.) ...	0	10	0	Northfield ..	6	0	0
Bishop				N. Bow ...	0	2	6
Auckland	0	2	6	N. of Scot-			
Castleton &				land D.C.	10	0	0
Sudden ...	2	0	0	Petersfield ..	0	3	6
Chiswick ...	1	1	0	Renhold W.I.	0	2	6
Darlington ..	1	1	0	Sale ...	1	1	0
Grimsby ...	1	10	0	Skipton ...	0	10	0
Handsworth				Stockport ...	1	0	0
Birming-				Sutton ...	0	10	6
ham) ...	6	4	6	Tiptree ...	1	1	0
Hendon ...	0	5	0	Tyne D.C. ...	4	11	0
Hungerford ..	2	5	0	Wallasey ...	0	5	0
Hurtwood ..	0	10	0	Water Orton	5	5	0
				Worthing ...	5	0	0

Stop Press: Grand Total (August 21),
£1,432 6s. 9d.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

THE JOURNEY HOME

A REPORT PREPARED BY MASS OBSERVATION FOR THE ADVERTISING SERVICE GUILD. (John Murray, 50, Albemarle Street, W.1. Price 6s.)

When the war is over we in the Union naturally hope to enlist the support of the men and women returning from the Services and those whose conditions of work in industry have precluded them from taking any part in L.N.U. activities. Members sometimes talk as though a great influx of such people into our ranks will be automatic, even where their own Branch has lain dormant for the period of the war and has no plans for the future. Doubtless we shall have the pleasure of welcoming back many invaluable former members, but much hard thought and careful planning will be necessary if we are to win the support of the rest.

What many of the men and women in the Services and in temporary war-time work are thinking about the future is vividly set forth in this fifth war-time survey by Mass Observation. Much of it deals with their attitude to such personal post-war problems as how soon they will be demobilised, whether they will be able to adjust themselves to civil life, and what will be their chances of employment, but several sections have a decided bearing on our work in the L.N.U. It is disturbing to read, for example, that "at the back of many ordinary citizens' minds in the midst of World War II is foreboding of World War III." 46 per cent. of a random sample of Londoners, for example, believed that there would be another world war, and 19 per cent. said that they thought that there might be. An overwhelming majority of these expected the war to occur within twenty-five years.

This general pessimism and cynicism leading to political apathy is one of the great dangers of the future, not least for the prospects of international peace. As Mass Observation expresses it, "private planning for an anarchic future, private fantasy and private fear tend to produce those conditions which they seek to escape." It goes on to observe in its final

summing up of the situation that "Clarification of ideas on demobilisation is the first step (to a solution); but people need to know more than how and when they are coming out. They need to know where they are going then. They need to know where everyone is going, what is going to happen to mankind." The League of Nations Union surely has something to say on this last and most vital point, and it would appear to be one of our most obvious duties and privileges to think out now how best we can say it.

NANCY STEWART PARNELL.

LIBERAL PLAN FOR PEACE. With an Introduction by Lord Crewe. (Gollancz. 126 pp. 3s. 6d.)

In one respect this book is ambiguous. Whether it contains "a" or "the" Liberal plan for peace is not made clear. And, except for Lord Crewe's brief commendation, the authorship is anonymous. The plan, however, opens the door wide for discussion. Members of the L.N.U. will find a comparison with the Executive's Draft Pact most fruitful—there are interesting similarities as well as important differences.

The first and foremost of our peace aims must be to deal with the war problem, and we shall be well placed to do this in respect of will, of power, and of knowledge. Peace, this time, must be enforced. The plan sets out to devise a system which will function silently, unobtrusively, quickly, without controversy and with deadly efficiency.

A Grand Council of the United Nations is envisaged, with the duty of proposing and introducing both political and economic codes. An International Executive will be entrusted with policing duties. The creation of an international police force is regarded as an interesting experiment worth attempting; but primary reliance must be placed on the armed forces of the United Nations themselves. A crucial factor is the willingness of the four Great Powers to keep the peace, to which formal shape should be given. There are provi-

sions for the disarmament and inspection of our ex-enemies; but the scheme for general disarmament is vague. An Economic Branch of the Grand Council, with a Clearing Union or Stabilisation Fund, is proposed with among its objects the reduction of trade barriers in accordance with Article 7 of the Atlantic Charter.

In favour of altering the basis of representation on the Grand Council, it is argued that, had our Geneva representatives been chosen by popular vote, Lord Cecil, Dr. Gilbert Murray, Sir Austen Chamberlain, and (later) Mr. Anthony Eden would have been regularly re-elected to make up a team of high statesmanship.

WORLD RESTORATION. By Sir George Paish. (Allen and Unwin, 40, Museum Street, W.C.1. 40 pp. 2s.)

Sir George Paish has written a powerful plea for the victorious nations after this war to co-operate as never before for the common good. They must not merely desire to collaborate but discover how to do it. The right policies must be formulated well in advance. The author outlines the political, economic and financial measures that seem to him necessary. His World Organisation would, as it were, combine the Charter of the United Nations with the League Covenant. Pessimists may argue that the "realities" of the situation will again bring all such schemes to naught. But what, asks Sir George, of the "invisible" realities? Some of these, to her undoing, Germany failed to take into account. The invisible forces of right-thinking men and women in all countries can this time tip the scale in favour of success.

THE BASIS OF CZECHOSLOVAK UNITY. By Alexander Kunosi. (Andrew Dakers, 42, Great Russell Street, W.C.1. 120 pp. 3s. 6d.)

Lord Cecil, in his Foreword, claims that the separation of Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia from the old Austro-Hungarian Empire was inevitable; also that the new State was on the whole admirably governed and achieved a remarkable degree of prosperity. This is the case which Dr. Kunosi proves up to the hilt. His historical survey shows the part played by the Slovaks in building Czechoslovakia. There were "growing pains" naturally, which the Nazi and Hungarian revisionists were not slow to exaggerate. Under German domination, the reorganisation of the whole social sys-

tem to the Nazi pattern, coupled with economic exploitation, makes a tragic story, lightened only by brave resistance. Dr. Kunosi is certain that, after this war, a free and full life can be achieved only by restoring the Republic, and that Slovaks and Czechs will come together of their own free will to achieve this purpose.

WELFARE IN THE BRITISH COLONIES. By L. P. Mair. (Royal Institute of International Affairs, St. James's Square, S.W.1. 115 pp. 5s.)

It is to be hoped that the somewhat high price of this outsized pamphlet will not deter potential readers. Every page is the crystallisation of ripe knowledge and experience. Dr. Mair, in analysing the background of social policy in the colonies, clearly shows that effective adjustment to modern conditions depends upon a simultaneous approach on all the lines along which development is desired. She follows with valuable sections on Education, Labour, Health and Social Welfare. If there can be a single key to all social problems, that key is Education. In the chapter on Labour, the influence of the I.L.O. on the study of these problems is well brought out. With Health the emphasis is seen to be shifting from the curative to the preventive aspect of medicine; three groups of bodies are concerned—British organisations, international bodies like the Health Section of the League of Nations, and health services within the colonies. The solution of the Nutrition question demands the closest co-operation between all departments concerned with welfare.

FREEDOM FROM WANT OF FOOD. (Lincolns-Prager, for the London International Assembly. 40 pp. 1s. Obtainable from L.N.U. Book Shop, 11, Maiden Lane, W.C.2.)

This pamphlet is described as a London International Assembly Report on the work and possibilities of the United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture. Maurice Fanshawe gives the background in his account of the pioneer work of the League of Nations in connection with Nutrition. In addition to the considered views of the London International Assembly, we also have reports of the speeches made by the Rt. Hon. Richard Law, Sir John Boyd Orr, Dr. A. Kunosi, Lord Cecil and others at the public conference on the subject called by the London International Assembly.

FROM "HEADWAY'S" POST-BAG

The Atlantic Charter

Sir,—I was sorry to see the article entitled "The German Frontier and the Atlantic Charter" in the June number of HEADWAY. Although late in writing, I have had it on my mind to do so ever since reading it.

I was so thankful for what seemed to me to be a stand on principle by the Executive, published in the previous number, stating their view that if the terms of the Charter are right, they are right for all peoples.—I increased my contribution to the Union because of my thankfulness for this insistence on principle, which seems to such an extent to have disappeared from international life in favour of mere expediency.

I realise the importance of offering freedom for the expression of opinion among our membership; but to give such prominence to the views of a member of the Executive contrary to the majority view seems to undermine the value of the stand on principle which meant so much to me. The correspondence column was surely the right place for such an opinion.

The opinions advanced in the June number of HEADWAY seem to me nothing more than a tissue of casuistry, which I deeply regret. Just one illustration of what I mean, the sentence: "It is in any case probable that the Eastern Germans will flee before the approaching Russian armies. If so, why should we bring them back?"

Hampstead. T. C. P. CATCHPOOL.

(HEADWAY published in successive numbers two contrary views by Executive members on the application of the Atlantic Charter to Germany, in order that readers might have the opportunity of reaching a balanced judgment on the evidence presented.—Ed.)

Munich

Sir,—In reply to the criticisms which have been made of my letter in the June HEADWAY, may I say that I was not trying to justify Mr. Chamberlain's foreign policy as a whole, but that I questioned Lord Lytton's assertion that at the time of Munich a threat of war by Great Britain would have probably deterred Germany from attacking Czechoslovakia.

Those who think that this threat of war should have been made should try to answer the very pertinent questions asked by "Subscriber to the L.N.U." in his excellent letter in the July HEADWAY.

On the general question of collective security two broad facts seem to stand out, viz.:

1. That without the armed intervention of Russia and America we should have lost the war

2. That this intervention was made not in support of collective security, but only as a result of an enemy attack on the country concerned. This is not meant as a criticism of our allies, but is simply a statement of fact.

Lastly, as the Munich settlement seems likely to remain a bone of contention, perhaps it would be as well to bury it, before the bone becomes a full-sized skeleton in the L.N.U. cupboard!

W. A. PAYNE.

Sir,—In his reply to Lord Lytton has not "A Subscriber to the L.N.U." overlooked some important facts?

1. Did not Hitler have the same extra time for preparation as we had and did not he take far more advantage of it?

2. Was not France represented at Munich?

3. Is it not a fact that the Czech army of some million well-armed and well-trained men were disbanded?

4. Did not Hitler acquire some 1,500 good Czech planes and also one of the best munition works in Europe?

5. Is it quite certain that Russian would not have come in?

In short were we not in a better position in 1938 than in 1939?

Hampstead.

W. T. PRITCHARD.

"Sir,—I agree with A. Henry in your July issue that "the 'Munichers' fairly take one's breath away." "Subscriber to the L.N.U." states: "I, for one, am thankful Chamberlain was not such a fool." It seems to me, however, that he has little to be thankful for in that respect.

Anyone who heard, as I did, Chamberlain himself broadcast after Munich, could not fail to be struck with the phrases, "Before I went to Munich I had no idea" "It was a complete surprise to me," reiterated again and again. Anyone who could have been so completely in ignorance of vital current affairs was obviously as green as grass, or else the biggest humbug which even our nation can produce—and in either case quite unfit to be Prime Minister of Great Britain and leader of the British Commonwealth.

To "Subscriber," as to Mr. Chamberlain, no doubt Czechoslovakia was a little country of which he knew nothing, and he appears ignorant of the fact that it was the bastion of S.E. Europe, and that they and Great Britain together would, in 1938, have provided Germany with the "war on two fronts" which it has since taken us 5 years to accomplish. Apart from the question of the actual degree of support from Russia involved in the Russo-Czechoslovak pact—my own opinion at the time being that it would probably have been

implemented to the full—there is no possible question of the quality and quantity of the Czech arms which fell to Germany as a result of Munich. To quote from "Your M.P.," the statistics of which have not to my knowledge been disputed, "When Hitler took over Czechoslovakia he captured . . . over 1,500 planes . . . 469 Czech tanks in 1939—thanks to Mr. Chamberlain's action in 1938. . . . Over 500 A.A. guns, over 43,000 machine guns, over a million rifles—these were among Chamberlain's gifts to Hitler. His gifts to Britain, in three years with all the money he needed, were, in each of these types of armament, considerably less." Our own men felt the weight of them too keenly in France—it was the strength of Czech armaments (not German ones, which were trumped by Czech standards) which led to Dunkirk. Our little chickens came home to roost with a vengeance there, and only the mercy of Providence saved us from complete disaster.

"But be ye not dismayed—though we stumbled and we strayed,
We were led by evil counsellors—The Lord shall deal with them."

It is to be hoped, however, that for their own sakes and that of the world, the British people will be wiser in future in choosing their counsellors.

(Miss) G. M. CAMFIELD
(Hon. Treas., Worthing Branch).

No Time to Lose

Sir,—Our honoured President, Viscount Cecil, in his article under the above heading, in the August Number of HEADWAY, emphasises the necessity of preaching throughout the country the doctrine that peace can only be safeguarded by international co-operation to prevent aggression, either by political, or diplomatic, pressure or finally, if necessary, by force.

May I venture to add a rider to this statement? Viz., that we should at the same time preach the necessity of establishing a Court of Equity to which claims and grievances can be brought and adjudicated upon. Unless such machinery was extant in our national life, i.e., in Parliament and the Law Courts, what chance would there be for the ordinary man to obtain a remedy for injustices and hardships? And to carry the query further, in consequence, would there not be a danger of national revolution which it would be beyond the powers of the authorities to deal with? In short, is it not impossible in the long run to put down aggression without at the same time endeavouring to remedy injustices?

That Germany labours under a sense of injustice it is difficult to deny. In Prof. Banse's book, "Germany and the Next War," there is a very striking sentence, "England, France

and America own three-quarters of the surface of the Globe, and they will not part with so much as an acre of desert land to others."

Admittedly, to attempt to remedy this grievance may be fraught with seemingly insuperable difficulties, but the eternal principle of justice demands that some method must be found of balancing the "haves" with the "have nots."

Southport.

C. A. LITTLER.

Sir,—We have had many interesting articles and letters in HEADWAY on securing the world against the crime of national aggression; but it is disappointing to find that the policy of the L.N.U. gets no farther than "the central truth is that peace can only be safeguarded by international co-operation to prevent aggression and that must be done by political and diplomatic pressure and, if necessary, by force."

Surely the lesson of the years following the formation of the League is the need for curtailing national sovereignty?

The leading members of the League failed to exert political and diplomatic pressure. Would they have done more to control aggression if force had been provided for by the Covenant? I doubt it!

Reliance on force will not bring us international co-operation and peace.

We must have Functional Federation as suggested in David Mitrany's essay.

This is brought out by the League's success in social, humanitarian and health problems. What a tragedy it is that the opportunity of internationalising aviation is being missed!

Is the L.N.U. so fearful of clashing with vested interests that there is no strong advocacy for such policy and the abolition of the private manufacture of armaments?

Newcastle (Staffs). H. A. LYTH.

Education Debate in the Lords

Sir,—I consider that the Earl of Lytton is more than kind to Dr. Joad and does less than justice to the Foreign Policy of the Chamberlain Government when he avers: "While members of the Oxford Union were telling each other that they would not fight for their own country, the Government was busy telling the world that they would not fight for any other."

In reply to this allegation, may I recall that in the House of Commons on 24th March, 1938, the late Mr. Neville Chamberlain clearly defined our obligations and commitments and these included the defence of France and Belgium against unprovoked aggression in accordance with the Treaty of Locarno: in addition, we had treaty obligations to Portugal, Iraq, and Egypt. These facts show that H.M. Government were fully alive to our responsibilities as a world power.

It is true that in the said speech the then Prime Minister pointed out that our commi-

ment under the League Covenant to take military action was not automatic. How could it be otherwise having regard to the fact that each member State retained full sovereign power and nothing to compel it to undertake international police action against its own will? This was amply demonstrated during the Abyssinian war when Britain was the one power that was willing to co-operate in enforcing a full League policy. After all, collective security, if it is to work, must be collective.

When one reflects on the vacillating and shifting policy of certain neutral countries in the past five years and contrast this with the fact that Britain is the one power in the world that is fighting aggression without herself having been previously attacked, I think we have got little reason to be ashamed of our conduct in the realm of Foreign Affairs.

Dundee.

J. R. PATTERSON.

International Force

Sir,—It seems now to be generally recognised that the new League must have the backing of force; this is being increasingly interpreted to mean that a truly international police force, as visualised by the late Lord Davies, should be created in due course, perhaps ten years.

I submit, however, that this is not enough. The beginnings of such a force must be commenced immediately after the war. We must take advantage of the progress that has already been made, particularly in the air, where men of several different nationalities and tongues have been working in close and loyal co-operation. We have heard of Dutch and Polish pilots and mixed crews in British and French squadrons, using American aircraft, operating under the directions of a combined staff. In creating a composite international force there is no problem that cannot be overcome by men of good will, bound together in a common cause.

The real power of the future is in the air. Now is the time to plan a European Air Force, as part of a world security force, to be developed alongside the national forces of the United Nations. In the course of 10 years there should be sufficient confidence in the International Force to eliminate nearly all purely national fighting forces. In the course of a further 10 years it should be possible largely to reduce the size of the international fighting forces and rely upon the sanity and good will of the peoples of the world.

R. FULLJAMES
(Group Captain).

Securing Peace

Sir,—The interesting article in your last issue, giving details of various statesmen's ideas on the reason for the inability of the League to keep the peace in the world, reveals rather more than is perhaps entirely pleasant,

but it is no good running away from the truth about the position.

In paragraph after paragraph we read remarks to the effect that the League could not prevent war either because it was not armed or because it did not have enough backing of public or governmental opinion. I suppose it would be rude to call such statements nonsense, but do they really amount to anything? The League was armed to the extent that it had the whole armaments of member states ostensibly ready to fulfil its definite decrees (if any); it had so much public opinion backing it in this country alone that the Peace Ballot caused a government crisis (of a not sufficiently serious kind). Mr. Eden became a veritable spokesman for it in the British Government; but he refrained from pushing matters far enough to affect the issues.

Do let us be honest and admit that there are no such things as nations; there are only governments, and governments, in modern economic society, are almost inevitably collections of insincere and untrustworthy men. Until the peoples of the world send their own representatives to Geneva and the League has executive power over and above petty national governments with national (it would be too unpleasant to define "national," maybe) aims, peace cannot be secure. A renewed old-type League may well be far better than nothing, but to pretend that it can give any dependable security is only wishful thinking and we might as well be honest and admit it.

The trouble is that none of the statesmen whose remarks you quoted did admit it.

Bath. WILLIAM A. H. WELSMAN.

"Ambassadors for Peace"

Sir,—Nothing has appeared in HEADWAY (or any other paper I have seen) that is more likely to bear to fruition the new international body to maintain peace, sponsored by the four chief Powers of the Allies, than the spirit which pervades the article "Ambassadors for Peace" which I find in the current number of HEADWAY. Flight-Lieutenant R. P. Odell has got to the root of the matter where he says, "in the end it is the human contact as between individuals which is going to count in the establishment and consolidation of friendly relations." Let us therefore maintain what contacts we have formed, and are forming among our Allies, of both the larger and the smaller nations so that we may understand one another better, and thus be enabled to support and strengthen, through the larger knowledge we have gained the international body about to be.

Such links of friendship do more than any other thing to sever the bonds of prejudice.

St. Ives (Hunts). GERALD HOLMDEN
(Branch Secretary).

Suggestion for Secretaries

Sir,—If not too late, I should like to throw out a suggestion for secretaries—namely that they should start the 1944-45 session with a Youth Rally Debate. Ours at the beginning of last session—the subject being “The Re-education of Germany”—was very successful, and we had 150 present.

If any of the ladies and gentlemen concerned would like any hints on the organisation of such a function, I should be only too pleased to oblige.

92, Boundary Road, W. H. HARDING.
Carshalton, Surrey.

DIARY OF EVENTS

Aug.

2. *Mr. Churchill's statement to Parliament.*
2. *Turkey breaks off relations with Germany.*
8. *Anglo-American Oil Agreement (Washington).*
15. *Allied Invasion of Southern France.*
15. *Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees (London).*
21. *Four-Power Conference on Post-War Security Organisation (Dumbarton Oaks, U.S.A.).*

Sept.

15. *Council of U.N.R.R.A. (Montreal).*

COLONIAL FUTURE

Sweeping changes in colonial administration were foreshadowed by Miss Freda White, in her address on “Colonial Future” at the August Buffet Luncheon arranged by the LONDON REGIONAL FEDERATION.

After describing the economic, strategic and religious reasons for the development of colonies, Miss White said that there was no doubt things were going to be changed. The war had given a big “bump.” It was not generally realised that, in the Pacific particularly, colonies had been devastated as badly as Europe. Surviving populations, who had escaped bombs, were in grave danger of starving.

The Colonial Office, in war-time, had got away with a good deal of planning that in peace-time would have been difficult. There was, for example, the Colonial Development Act, of 1940. Anglo-American co-operation in the Caribbean Commission was a welcome sign. She mentioned also the plan for irrigating part of Kenya.

Education was at the root of the problem. The colonial peoples were not inferior in intelligence. Mass education and the acquiring of techniques were perfectly feasible propositions. Full use, however, must be made of those trained in various ways for running their own countries. As we had seen in India, there was a danger of educated people feeling bitter and frustrated, with no place for them in the social structure.

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