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*The Revival of Education in Europe*

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no small part in preparing the soiled atmosphere in which the Nazis could thrive.

These Papers do not present a whole story, but only the first chapter. They do, however, make a start in framing a structure without which other measures cannot be well designed or fitted in. I would also suggest to those of your Lordships—and there are many—who have for years taken a particular interest in the evolution of international forms of government, that we here offer an essay of some importance in the new modes of international government in economic affairs, by means of which the future may be better ordered than the past. Neither plan conceals a selfish motive. The Treasuries of our two great nations have come before the world in these two Papers with a common purpose and with high hopes of a common plan. Here is a field where some sound thinking may do something useful to ease the material burdens of the children of men.

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**MR. R. A. BUTLER***President of the Board of Education***May 27, 1943**

[Extracts]

Education has great responsibilities, both at home and abroad.

I have the honor to preside over a Conference of the Allied Ministers of Education together with representatives of the U. S. A. and U. S. S. R. Let me deal with three particular directions in which we can use our legitimate influence for the good of Europe.

First we should play our part in restoring some of the terrible devastation caused in the educational life of the occupied countries.

Then we should use our influence to prepare a well-tilled seed bed for the growth of European civilization into so complete a pattern of freedom that it presents a real unity not easily to be sundered.

Let us solemnly remember the terrible devastation of the educational life of the occupied countries to which the recent Reports of the Joint Commission of the London International Assembly and of the Council for Education in World Citizenship have drawn attention. Let us pause for a moment to think of some of the facts!

**Devastation of Educational Life on the Continent**

In Belgium there is the tragic loss for the second time of the Louvain University containing over 600,000 volumes and illuminated manuscripts. The Libraries and archives at Ostend, Tournai and Nivelles were also destroyed. Numerous schools have been requisitioned by the Germans for use as barracks and such like purposes. Brussels University was closed in August 1942, when the Council of Administration and the professors refused to ban Jewish professors and free-masons and refused to accept the nomination of German professors and supporters of the New Order.

In Czechoslovakia all Czech universities and other high schools of university rank were closed down in 1939. Many scientific institutions, libraries and museums were closed and pillaged.

In France, apart from the schools destroyed during the military campaign many have been taken over as barracks by the Germans; many students have been ar-

rested and executed; all public and private libraries in Alsace-Lorraine have been emptied of their French books.

In Luxembourg the German administration have taken over all the libraries and museums; have confiscated text-books, and dismissed or executed many professors and teachers.

In the Netherlands there is the same story of closure of universities, the destruction of schools or their requisitioning, and the imprisonment or execution of students and teachers.

In Norway fifteen professors and about 2,000 teachers have been put into concentration camps.

In Poland almost all the famous libraries have been destroyed and artistic treasures stolen. One hundred professors have been executed or have died in concentration camps, or have been killed by enemy action.

In Greece there is a deliberate effort to exterminate all the Greek culture of certain areas.

In Yugoslavia, Belgrade University has been damaged and its libraries and installations destroyed. It is estimated that many hundreds of school teachers and between 3,000 and 4,000 students and pupils have been killed.

Need I here dwell upon the massive destruction in Russia and China? . . .

We are making what plans we can to repair the devastation.

### **Preparation to Revive Education in Europe**

Working in collaboration with the British Council and its odyssean Chairman Sir Malcolm Robertson, we have thus decided to deal with the very first needs of the schools and colleges which will have to be restarted in the occupied countries. We are concentrating our attention on such questions as the provision of equipment and are taking steps to seek out and train prospective teachers.

It is proposed to hold a Course for British and Allied Teachers during the summer holidays, where common experience and problems can be discussed.

Having in mind the ultimate goal of achieving some fusion of European civilization, we have studied the possibility of developing a series of cultural conventions or "treaties of understanding," as I should like to call them, between the Allied Nations. These instruments should be bilateral or between two parties and are destined to be made in the immediate post-war period. And we have some past experience to draw upon.

Various Governments in pre-war days entered upon such Conventions. It has been the aim of the most successful among them to bring interested States together in the fields of science, letters, the arts, and especially education.

With this task, rejoicing in your liberty, you can help us much better than if, as in the case with bastard Axis—so called—Kultur Conventions, the Press is treated as the pawn of the Propaganda Ministers and as a blunt instrument of false gods.

Material to study, or as you say "copy," must be available. We have set another commission hard at work upon such questions as the restoration of libraries and the provision of school books. It is not perhaps too much to hope that, while we have representative teachers and scholars from the allied countries here, a beginning may be made with the task of producing in collaboration with them a history of our common European civilization. Such a production would, as I conceive it, emphasize the essential unity of European history and the common foundations

upon which our civilization has been built. If in our schools and universities we can in future, teach the history of this civilization so as to secure the recognition

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of this essential unity, we shall have achieved something which will surely help mutual understanding and peace.

Who knows whether a pursuance of these lines of study may not lead us to the establishment of even more practical machinery? . . .

Any new international machinery whether for education or anything else must have two features; it must respond to the two tests of "universality" and of itself be "contributory".

Under the head of universality, which we have recognized as being necessary in the handling of our own internal insurance problems, and which I shall not forget in planning the provision of a universal primary and secondary education for this country, I would say that it will be essential in future that no great nations shall stay outside any machinery that is set up. Without the great nations there is no true balance. And in this connection I should like to say that the success of any small efforts we may be making on the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education will depend upon the collaboration, which is already assured, of the representatives of the United States of America, of the Soviet Union, of the Dominions and of China.

In fact some of these representatives have already attended our meeting this week and are in a position, as observers, to give us the benefit of their advice and encouragement. Without their help, influence and advice our small beginnings can lead nowhere.

When I say that a feature of international machinery should be that it is contributory, I mean that every nation should play its part and that none should stand aside. There must be contributions from all sides.

We in London are determined to give our contribution. Proud of our tradition and our war wounds, we shall hope to be in the future the center for a great entrepot trade of ideas. We do not wish to convert other nations and peoples to our own exact form of politics of government. We wish to be a great exchange and mart, where, from being a Nation of Shopkeepers we can become Merchants of international understanding.

That is why I am desirous of planning the future by degrees and starting on the educational level with a series of bilateral treaties of understanding. Later we may be able to tie these into a central knot. By adopting this process we should learn what we never seemed to learn at Geneva that an international organization has no particular merit simply because it is international and has high ideas. It must have roots in each country and be based on the practical interests of each participant, not on the undigested intellectual aspirations of the whole.

**Re-education of Germany**

When we come to consider education in the enemy countries I prefer not to talk in terms of imposing an educational regime from the outside.

I do not wish to give any final opinion today as to what our methods should be. All I will say is that whatever steps may be taken to control and suppress the outward manifestation of Nazism and Fascism, the restoration of the German mind, its recovery from the philosophy which has for so many years debauched it, is evidently the responsibility of the Germans themselves. It can come about only by an internal process—perhaps by a slow process; and it will only come about as the result of an overwhelming military defeat.

The beginning of the process of re-education must be the recognition on the part of the enemy of the fact that there are some things which he can *not* do. This

demonstration must be so complete as to leave no chance that future propaganda can be based on the claim that Germany was never defeated in war. The Germans

need to be educated into a realization that war does not pay, and the more they feel the evils of war, the more they will tend to reverse the false education and false ideals on which they have been brought up over the last several generations.

First then let us teach that war does not pay.

Then will come the time for understanding and for tying all the knots of Europe together so that all can learn to take their part in the European comity and be worthy and contributory members of the same.

Thus we should so order things that our enemies see the tragic error of their policies and bring up their younger generation not as Herrenvolk but as young Europeans.

It is only in this way that Europe will find a future for her civilization, and it is only in this way that we may hope to make some progress towards that which Immanuel Kant called for—"a long and intensive education of the spirit for all citizens in every country."

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## WILLIAM MABANE

### *Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Food*

House of Commons, May 13, 1943

[Extracts]

There would be more cause for alarm if my Department were attacked, not because of the way in which it manages the distribution of the food we have got, but because we had not got enough food to distribute. I imagine, therefore, that hon. Members and their constituents do comprehend that the major work of the Ministry of Food is carried on out of the public gaze and is concerned with long-term, global planning—planning which enables us in this fourth year of the war to offer a balanced dietary and to be able to look forward to the fifth year with a reasonable degree of calm confidence. Therefore, I do not propose primarily to devote myself to such exciting questions as why we have succeeded in once again performing our celebrated disappearing trick with lobsters, but to draw attention for a while to what I may call the basic strategy of food. My reason for desiring to do so is that during the last year there have been significant and important developments in the management of the world's food stocks, developments undertaken primarily for the purpose of the war but with undoubtedly an important bearing on post-war problems.

#### **"Watch the Stocks"**

First I would just like to say a word—I hope a reassuring word—about food stocks. Since 1939 our food stocks have been greatly strengthened. A cardinal injunction of my Noble Friend [The Minister of Food] is, "Watch the stocks." Additional warehouses have been built; cold storage accommodation has been greatly increased. Only by having these substantial reserves has distribution been maintained on a reasonably even level during the past 12 months. These stored supplies enable us to overcome the difficulties of uncertain and delayed arrivals. Earlier in the war we acquired more food than we released for consumption. Thus our stocks were raised very high above peace-time levels. That position cannot



continue, and there is no reason why it should continue. I want to assure hon. Members that provided, as I confidently believe, home agriculture continues to

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produce as large a proportion of our food during this year as last, the country can be confident that the national larder will continue to be well stocked during the next 12 months. I do not need to say that the food we get does not arrive here by accident, but I sometimes wonder whether the country realizes the extent to which design has taken the place of accident, not merely by comparison with the last war, but by comparison with peace-time. Certainly we began earlier. It is difficult to over-estimate the importance of the work done before the war by the Food (Defence Plans) Department. That work enabled the Department immediately to exercise a degree of control not reached even in November, 1918.

**Nutrition**

Since then control, particularly in the matters of production, procurement and allocation, has steadily become more extensive and complete. The purpose of that control is to secure that an adequate, sufficient and varied dietary shall be available for all for whom we have responsibility. These include, not merely the civilian population of this country, but the members of the Services wherever they may be, with some contingent liability for those occupied areas which we shall liberate. Further, we have willingly undertaken to make substantial provision for the American Forces in the European theatre. Beyond that, our requirements have to be set in accord with those of the rest of the Empire and of the other members of the Grand Alliance of the United Nations. To achieve harmony and balance in that is no small task. It has been made easier by the remarkable development in recent years of the science of nutrition. Shakespeare put into the mouth of Julius Caesar words which might seem appropriate to my Noble Friend:

"Let me have men about me that are fat."

Yet, accurately to represent my Noble Friend's mind, one letter needs to be changed. It should be made:

"Let me have men about me that are fit."

And our scientists can now properly relate food and fitness; we are able to produce and import, not merely food but food values, not merely filling but nourishment. When, then, the scientists have prepared their plan in terms of calories, vitamins and the like, that plan must be transformed into terms of actual food-stuffs. Plans for production here at home and overseas must be prepared and arrangements made for procurement, for transport, for storage and for distribution. This is a long-term business. The main concern of the Ministry of Food to-day is not with what people will eat to-morrow; it is with what people will eat in 1944 and 1945. Equally, the food we have to-day is the fruit of plans made and completed 18 months ago. These plans have, inevitably, to be flexible. They are made in a changing world. The fluctuations of war, the exigencies of shipping and many other factors conspire daily to make our plans "gang agley." But the tea ration has been maintained, notwithstanding the loss of some of our important tea-producing areas. For months before Pearl Harbor, our tea stocks were built up to a point sufficient to enable us to carry over the period until the greatly increased production, immediately arranged in India and Ceylon, could become available. We lost almost the whole of our rice supply, yet at no period has rice been to any degree short of demand, either for civilians or for the Services, because we called in the New World to redress the balance of the Old. We turned to the West to provide what the East could no longer provide. We found succour in Brazil and the United States. Here were areas capable of producing rice, and our requests that they should be employed for that purpose were met.

**Conserving Shipping Space**

No less has production to be related to shipping. Throughout the war my

Department has been concerned, all the time, to reduce the ratio of volume to