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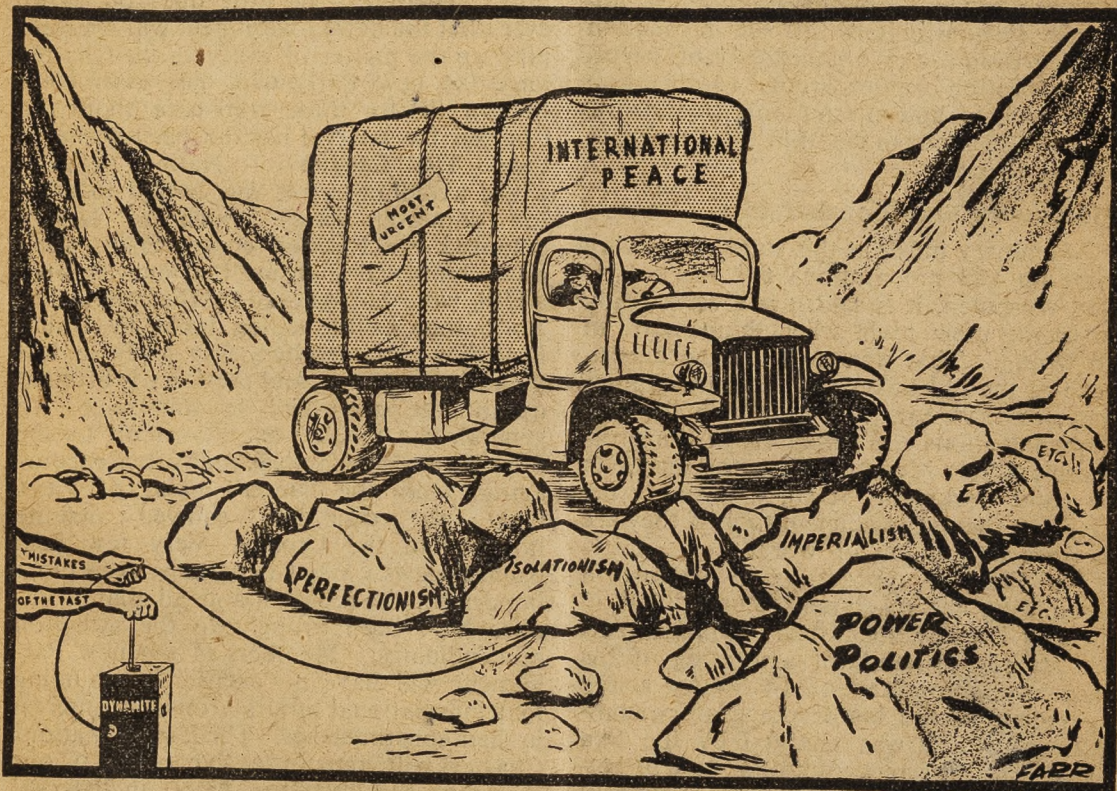
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UNITED NATIONS CHARTER



“THE PATH MUST BE CLEARED”

“THE CHARTER POINTS DOWN THE ONLY ROAD TO ENDURING PEACE. THERE IS NO OTHER.”

PRESIDENT TRUMAN

EDITORIAL**MAKING THE CHARTER WORK**

Now that the Charter of the United Nations is an accomplished fact, the most urgent task before the world is to set it working with the smallest possible delay. After that, of course, constant energy and vigilance will be needed to see that it continues to work. But first things first. With the ink of the signatures of fifty nations scarcely dry, there is still a lot of spade-work to be done before the new World Organisation is ready to assume the immense responsibilities for the prevention of aggression, the organisation of peace, the promotion of international co-operation in every field, and international trusteeship, which are set out in detail in the San Francisco Charter.

Machinery and Membership

Machinery must, at this stage, loom very large in the preparations for the future. Bad workmen, it is said, are always ready to blame their tools when things start to go wrong. That was certainly the experience of the old League of Nations. Things may, or may not, go wrong with the new United Nations. We may credit the prospective States Members with the desire to be good workmen. If so, it is surely the case that they need efficient tools if they are to do a decent job of work.

No time, it appears, is to be lost in assembling the machinery blue-printed in the San Francisco Charter. Arrangements are already in hand for a meeting of the executive committee of 14 States, acting on behalf of the larger preparatory commission, which was charged by the San Francisco Conference with the task of getting the international organisation in working order. August 9 seems likely to be the opening date of the meeting, which will be held in London.

Equally important, the United Nations must be officially launched with as large and representative a membership as the world situation allows. The fifty signatures recorded at San Francisco are but an earnest of good intentions. If the Organisation is to get a good start, ratifications by the respective Governments should follow with a minimum of delay.

That means, in the democracies, that Parliamentary approval for adherence to the Organisation must be secured.

Great Britain

In Great Britain, the political situation has made some delay unavoidable. With no Parliament in existence and the secret of the electors' choice locked for several weeks in the ballot boxes, we have had to mark time. There can be little question, however, that the new Government will speedily take up the matter of ratifying the Charter once the new Parliament has assembled. Meanwhile, for those who care about the Charter, the interval has not been waste of time. The League of Nations Union, whilst avoiding—as it was bound to do—the domestic issues which so largely coloured the Election controversies, used all its influence to ensure that international affairs were not ignored by the candidates. An outline of the action taken by Union Branches and members was given in last month's HEADWAY, and the story is brought up to date elsewhere in this issue. In general, the results, as known up to the present, are satisfactory, and often encouraging, from the Union's point of view. Only one candidate showed definite hostility to the Union. Very few held pacifist views. What is perhaps even more important, the Charter and all that it implies have been brought to the attention of candidates. Members in the new Parliament will have no excuse for thinking that international affairs arouse no interest in their constituencies. The United Nations Charter will remain a live issue, if our Branches and members maintain the zeal and vigilance that so many of them have displayed during the Election.

The Dominions

In other parts of the Commonwealth, good progress is being made towards securing the necessary legislation for ratifying the Charter. Thus, in Australia, Mr. Forde, the Deputy Prime Minister, tabled the Charter in the House of Representatives on July 3. Announcing that a Bill for ratification would be introduced at the

earliest moment, he expressed the hope that Australia would be as quick in ratification of the Charter as she had been active in its preparation.

That New Zealand might be among the first of the United Nations to make her decision on ratification was strongly urged by Mr. Peter Fraser, the Prime Minister, on his return from San Francisco. But before a decision was made, he added, it was essential that both Parliament and the public should fully appreciate what was involved. The Charter might well be the most important document of our time, and it was therefore essential that its provisions and commitments should be understood by the people generally.

U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.

In the United States, President Truman has put the ratification of the Charter high on the list of priorities. Visiting Congress to ask the Senate to ratify without delay, he put the issue fairly and squarely. "The choice," he said, "is not between this Charter and something else, but between this Charter and no Charter at all." Senator Connally, urging early approval upon the Senate, declared: "We leagued our armed might for war, now let us league our moral and material might for peace. The World Charter for Peace is knocking at the doors of the Senate: We shall not turn it away." Perhaps even more significant was the appeal of Senator Vandenberg, the former isolationist leader, who argued that the only alternative to the new United Nations security league was world chaos. "You may say this will not work," he added. "I answer that I do not know, but I think it will at least so long as this Charter holds the major Powers in harmony. I answer that I propose to try the only chance."

And Soviet Russia? Already the U.S.S.R. is deeply committed to the United Nations Charter. She helped with the Dumbarton Oaks foundation. She fought hard at San Francisco for the exact form of Charter that she could accept. Her signature implies the intention to ratify. Mr. Gromyko, the Soviet Ambassador in Washington, has publicly suggested that it would be a good idea if the United States and Soviet Russia could ratify the Charter at the same time.

THE CHARTER

First of the publications with the imprint of the new United Nations Association is the complete text of THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS. Many readers will remember the popular pocket edition of the Covenant. The Charter is a much longer document, and so runs to 48 pages of a slightly larger size, but still handy for carrying about in a bag or pocket. The stiff blue cover will preserve it against wear and tear. The cost is 3d. a copy (post free 4d.). Large orders can be taken at the rate of £1 per 100.

THE ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1944 of the League of Nations Union is now on sale, price 6d. post free. Here is a solid but inspiring record of what the Union has been doing to educate and arouse public opinion concerning international affairs, as well as to bring constructive suggestions to the notice of the Government. It is the best answer to anybody who may ask, "What is the use of a society like the League of Nations Union?"

Another popular little pamphlet is entitled JUSTICE AMONG THE NATIONS, by the Very Rev. A. S. Duncan-Jones, Dean of Chichester. It contains three broadcast addresses given by the Dean on "Power and Law," "Politics and Peoples," and "Foundations of Peace." (Price 3d. 14 pp.)

OVERSEAS

THE UNITED NATIONS SOCIETY IN CANADA is the new name of the former League of Nations Society in Canada. The change was formally made at the recent Annual Meeting of our sister Society, held in Toronto. Full support of the World Organisation that emerged from the San Francisco Conference is the primary aim of the Society, which will urge upon the people and Government of Canada the acceptance of whatever commitments may be necessary for the support of the Organisation. It will further promote among the Canadian people the study of progressive improvements in the Organisation as opportunity permits.

The Annual Report of the JOHANNESBURG LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION shows that, in co-operation with Federal Union, fortnightly meetings have been regularly held to study the problems and activities of the United Nations. Useful activity has been continued among the young people in the schools.

THE SAN FRANCISCO CONFERENCE

By K. D. COURTNEY

(Our Own Observer at San Francisco)

The Conference at San Francisco has been described as the first beachhead in the battle for peace. It is a good simile for if bitter experience in the war has taught us the importance of beachheads it has also taught us that ultimate success depends upon the campaign for which the beachhead can only be the jumping-off place. Well, the beachhead has been won at San Francisco. The Charter of the United Nations has been signed. The foothold may seem to some to be precarious, to others it may seem that a great objective has been gained. In any case it is now for the nations who have signed the Charter and most of all for the Big Four to consolidate their gains. If the battle for peace is to be won, it must be waged unceasingly.

A full account of the Conference can only be written when the documents are all available and when first-hand accounts of the work can be given by those who took part in it. This article can do little more than record some impressions of the meeting at San Francisco and give some account of the way in which the tentative suggestions of Dumbarton Oaks developed into the Charter of the United Nations.

A Bad Start

The background of the Conference in its early stages was unfortunate. Instead of getting down to work on the Charter the delegates had first to face problems of membership. This involved the question of Poland and no solution of the Polish problem had been found when it was suddenly revealed that the sixteen Polish delegates to Moscow had been arrested. And so discussions about Poland ceased abruptly and Poland remained unrepresented. In the meantime, the Conference had learned that the Big Four had agreed at Yalta to the admission of the Ukraine and White Russia as independent republics, thus giving the Soviet three votes. Moreover, the United States Delegation, with the Chapultepec Conference behind them, supported the South American demand for the admission of Argentina, a demand strongly resisted by U.S.S.R. In the end an invita-

tion to the Argentine was balanced against the admission of the Ukraine and White Russia. But these things gave the Conference a bad start and later the trouble in the Levant was to add another disturbing element from the outside.

Positions of Delegations

The first impression made upon an observer accustomed to the meetings of the League of Nations was the sharp contrast in the relative positions of the delegations as they used to be in Geneva and as they were in San Francisco. In the League of Nations the European countries played a predominant part and France was always a leader. In San Francisco many European countries were not represented at all. Others newly liberated or in course of liberation had scarcely stabilised their political and economic position to a point at which they could act with confidence and determination though individual leaders played an increasingly important part in the work of the committees.

Over against the shattered ranks of the European countries—only seven small countries were represented besides France—were the serried rows of the South Americans almost untouched by the war and mustering 20 votes and so, as Molotov pointed out, approaching a majority in a conference of forty-nine. The emergence of this American bloc actual or potential coincides oddly enough with the end of the legendary belief in the bloc of the British Commonwealth. The attitude of the British Dominions has forever shattered the myth that Great Britain and the Commonwealth speak with one voice. At this conference the Dominions were on many points at issue with Great Britain and were by no means agreed among themselves. Australia and New Zealand became the leaders of the so-called "little 45" in the battle of the veto. South Africa, on the other hand, sided with the Big Four. Canada, concerned as she is with her position on the American Continent and with her French Canadian population, had a very definite line of her own, particularly in regard to the use of national forces with-

out the consent of the Government of the country concerned.

Another new element in the Conference were the Arab states acting together as a group and very conscious of their nationhood and of their potential role in world affairs.

The Big Four

The delegations from the Big Four or "sponsoring governments" were in a special position. The Yalta powers had come to an arrangement by which they did not individually put forward or support amendments, but agreed beforehand on the line they should take. This arrangement, inevitable if the Conference were not to become hopelessly confused, led to a certain appearance of unreality as the delegations of the Big Three often had to support or accept proposals which did not necessarily represent their own point of view. There was indeed to a British observer some irony in the apparent opposition between certain of the British Dominions and the British delegation. The Dominions often spoke with the voice of British public opinion and expressed views which were not in themselves unacceptable to the British Delegation but, since the co-operation of the Big Four was the core of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, the British Delegation were bound by the Yalta agreement. This situation did not seem sufficiently understood. Amendments were sometimes urged which, whatever their merits, would have blown to pieces the Yalta agreement and with it the Conference.

The United States Delegation had its own pre-occupations. Like the British it was pledged to the Yalta Agreement, but it also had to operate with one eye upon the Senate; this time the American leaders were determined that the United Nations Charter should not meet the same fate as the Covenant of the League of Nations 25 years ago. The U.S.A., moreover, was committed to the agreement with the South American states made at the Chapultepec Conference on March 3 last, and this led, amongst other things, to the regional agreement referred to later. It was thought by many Americans to have been unfortunate that the Chapultepec Conference took place before the meeting at San Francisco. The Russian attitude at San Francisco was that of meticulous adherence to the Yalta

Agreement, but this adherence was apt to involve an interpretation of its provisions (just as in the case of the Polish agreement) which did not correspond to that of the U.S.A. and U.K. Once Molotov had left, the Russian delegation became somewhat aloof and inscrutable since every major decision had to be referred to Moscow.

This brings us to the "battle of the veto" which hung like a thundercloud over the Conference from first to last.

The Battle of the Veto

The story is an interesting one no less because of the principle involved than because of the strategy that was adopted. The countries opposed to the veto started off by objecting to it pretty well wherever it appeared, including the veto on enforcement action in Section B of Chapter 8. This part of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals is the basis of the whole scheme and it was soon obvious that those who wanted a Charter at all must resign themselves to accepting it. The veto was, however, not thought to apply to the mechanism for peaceful settlement until it became evident that U.S.S.R. interpreted the Yalta Agreement in a way that went very much further than had been generally understood. Russia wished the unanimity of the permanent members of the Council to be required, not only for the investigation of any dispute, but also for recommendations for peaceful settlement and, as ultimately appeared, for merely bringing any dispute before the Security Council for discussion and consideration. Russia's attitude on these points became known only by degrees. Mr. Cadogan made a speech at the appropriate committee, describing the British attitude and giving to the Yalta formula as liberal an interpretation as he could, including amongst the matters not subject to the veto, the consideration and discussion of any dispute which might be brought before the Security Council. The Russian delegate made at that time no objection, and indeed the idea that any member of the Council might veto mere discussion of any subject had not been taken seriously by most of the Delegations; freedom, in this respect, had been taken for granted. It came, therefore, as a shock to the Conference, when Moscow declared that it held firmly to the view that no dispute could be discussed by the Security Council without the unanimous consent of

the Big Five. This announcement created for a time a deadlock at the Conference. The United States and Great Britain declared that such an interpretation was wholly unacceptable to them and they were supported by France and China. The attention of the little Forty-Five was of course immediately concentrated on this same question so that the matters which they had previously been fighting—i.e. the veto on investigation and recommendation, fell into the background and the whole Conference waited to know whether the efforts directed to persuading Russia to make a concession on this point were going to be successful. In the end they were. Russia with a gesture of making a sacrifice for the sake of the Charter, agreed to what no one had previously supposed in doubt—i.e. the right of the Security Council to discuss any question brought before it and so the Conference was able to work on to its conclusion, but in the meantime the ground had been cut from beneath the feet of those who were trying to get the veto out of some of the other processes of peaceful settlement. Russia had made a great concession and a fine gesture, more could not be offered. Perhaps this brief history may be concluded by the words of one of the British Press. He said the trouble with Russia is that she always puts four things on the table and you don't know which of these she really wants. Personally I found it difficult to take the so-called crisis very seriously. It was difficult to believe on the one hand that Russia was prepared to abandon the Charter at the cost of leaving Great Britain and the United States standing side by side in opposition to her. On the other hand it was difficult to see that this particular point had a very real importance to Russia. It had already been agreed that the powers of the General Assembly were to include the right to discuss any questions relative to the maintenance of international peace and security, so that if disputes could be heard in a body with so large a sounding board as that of the General Assembly, it did not seem of vital importance that they should be kept out of the Security Council.

The battle of the veto was fought throughout the Conference not always wisely, for amendments were sometimes aimed at the very foundation on which the edifice was built and the only foundation which its architects accepted.

A Rearguard Action

Since the Russian concession about disputes brought before the Security Council, the battle has been of the nature of a rearguard action and it has been lost on most points. The Security Council has claimed and won the right to unanimity of the Big Five on the appointment of the Secretary General. The "45" have, however, successfully defeated a proposal to appoint five deputy secretaries and have conferred on the Secretary General the right to appoint his own staff, emphasis being laid upon its international and independent character. This decision was made against the vote of Russia (supported by other members of the Big Five Group). The last battle of the veto took place over amendments to the Charter. The veto was insisted upon over the acceptance of amendments, but it was agreed that the Assembly by a majority of two-thirds of its members and any seven members of the Security Council should have the right to call a Constitutional Conference for the purpose of reviewing the present Charter. It was further agreed that if such a Conference had not been previously held, a proposal to call it should be put on the agenda of the tenth annual session of the General Assembly. It would seem from this survey that the "little Forty-Five" have almost every time been outvoted by those who support the predominance of the "Big Five" in the new organisation. This is undoubtedly true so far as security is concerned. On the other hand, the San Francisco Conference has greatly extended the powers of the Assembly and has developed the Economic and Social Council so that it becomes one of the most important organs of the United Nations and can if it will play a part in the development of human welfare which can make it into an instrument as important as the Security Council. The position of the General Assembly in relation to the Security Council is much stronger than in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. Amongst other things it has the right to discuss any matter within the scope of the Charter and can make recommendations if it so wishes to the Security Council. The only restriction refers to recommendations as to a dispute which is under consideration by the Security Council as provided in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals.

Wide Powers

The General Assembly is to promote "international co-operation in the political, economic, social, cultural, educational and health fields, assisting in the realisation of human rights and basic freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, language, religion or sex, and encouraging the development of international law." Under the terms setting up the Economic and Social Council it is declared that it is a principal organ of the United Nations and that the organisations shall promote (a) higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development; (b) solutions of international economic, social, health and other related problems; international cultural and educational co-operation; and (c) universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, language, religion, or sex. As provided by the Dumbarton Oaks proposals the Economic and Social Council is to carry out its work by bringing into relationship with the organisation specialised inter-governmental organisations "having wide international responsibilities in economic, social and other related fields." No organisation is mentioned by name and a proposal by the British delegation to mention the I.L.O. was withdrawn on the understanding that it would be considered on the same footing as other existing inter-governmental organisations. The proposals go further and introduce a new principle by providing that the co-operation of non-governmental organisations may be sought by the Economic and Social Council. "Suitable arrangements" for consultation for such organisation are to be made and this is to apply both to international and in certain conditions national organisations.

Regional Arrangements

Much time was spent by the Big Five in coming to an agreement as to Regional Arrangements and provisions for a Trusteeship Council in place of the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations. The setting up of regional committees was foreseen in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. Trusteeship had not, however, been touched upon and this subject was consequently outside the arrangement by which the Big Three were to act with unanimity before

submitting proposals to the Conference. The regional arrangements have been very much developed and occasioned considerable difficulties before an agreement could be reached. The Chapultepec Conference had laid the foundations of a Pan-American regional group and insistence upon its rights and power led to the acceptance at San Francisco of a clause which declares that "nothing in the Charter impairs the inherent right of individual or collective defence if an armed attack occurs against a member state until the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to maintain international peace and security." The clause goes on to say that such measures are to be immediately reported to the Security Council and that they should not in anyway affect the authority and responsibility of the Council. Nevertheless it is evident that this proviso makes a considerable gap in the decision that enforcement action must be taken only with the unanimous consent of the Big Five. A similar gap is made in another clause under Regional Arrangements, by which without the authorisation of the Security Council measures can be taken against enemy states in this war "directed against a renewal of aggressive policy on the part of such states." This claim is intended to cover the Franco-Soviet treaty, but it is easy to see that both these provisions might have far-reaching consequences and may prove an unfortunate concession to the regional, as opposed to the world-wide, view of security.

Trusteeship

Space does not permit of any adequate discussion of the trusteeship proposals. A Trusteeship Council is to be set up and the territories brought under it are specified as (a) territories now held under mandate; (b) territories which may be detached from enemy states as a result of this war; and (c) territories voluntarily placed under the system by states responsible for their administration. A new development and one which created considerable difficulty is the setting up of strategic areas which are to be subject not to the Trusteeship Council but to the Security Council. These strategic areas may be part or all of the territory to which the trusteeship arrangement applies. And it can be seen at once that it may produce a number of complications—the pro-

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THE GERMAN SCHOOLTEACHER

By R. P. ODELL

It is becoming clearer every day, as the horrors in Germany reveal themselves, that the United Nations have got to look farther than the actual perpetrators of these crimes in meting out their punishment. Where torture, starvation, rape and murder are concerned, those who carried out the orders just as much as those who gave them must be punished. That surely is now generally agreed. The firing squad is the only answer. Civilization demands the elimination of such men and women, for it is in danger as long as there is a vestige of the poison remaining.

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posals is in fact based on the need which U.S.A. feels for controlling strategic bases in the Pacific Ocean and elsewhere. The need for putting these bases under the Security Council rather than under the Trusteeship Council was explained on the grounds that the latter is invested with a new power, i.e. inspection, and this could not properly be exercised in strategic bases.

Considerable time was spent on drawing up the statute of the International Court of Justice. This of course demands careful study by jurists. It is sufficient to state here that it is decided that the Court is to be a new one largely with a view to controlling membership. A number of states not represented at San Francisco, for instance Spain, were members of the old Court and to begin with only members of the United Nations are to be *ipso facto* members of the new one. Compulsory jurisdiction has not been established, but there is to be an optional clause as under the old statute.

Lastly, in accordance with the suggestion made by the L.N.U. and put forward by many delegations at San Francisco, there is a preamble to the Charter setting forth its objectives in general terms. The preamble was originally drafted by Field-Marshal Smuts; the Committee which discussed it, however, made a good many alterations and additions, and like most statements which are the work of many

But there is a guilty class in Germany which may escape punishment if their share of blame is not more generally recognized. All those who have taken any part in the last twelve years in the teaching or training of the youth of Germany are war criminals. In fact it would not be going too far to say that they are more to be blamed than the young men and women who have been such apt pupils to their teaching.

Boys have a natural streak of cruelty in them. No one who has had any dealings with them in the mass could deny

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minds it has as a result become rather long and unwieldy. It remains, however, a fine summary of the aims of the Charter.

"A Great Achievement"

Opinions as to the Charter of the United Nations will differ. Perhaps no one is entirely satisfied with it. Its signature in the circumstances in which it was born is however a great achievement and probably goes as far as it was possible to go in the direction of an agreement to maintain peace and promote international co-operation given the different levels of political maturity and experience at which the states members now stand. The continued co-operation of the United Kingdom, the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. is essential for the peace of the world, and the mere fact that they have held together at San Francisco is an achievement in itself of the first importance. It may well be that the echoes of the veto controversy will die away and be forgotten while the functions of the Economic and Social Council will continue to play an ever increasing part in the development of human welfare and peaceful progress.

All this depends upon our success in establishing the habit of international co-operation, and upon the determination of the United Nations to prevent war. Once again the San Francisco Conference is no more than a beachhead. The real battle for peace has yet to be won.

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this. The bullying that used to go on at schools is only one proof of it. The fact that bullying is now so much reduced is not due to any lessening in this cruel streak, but to the fact that far more attention is now paid to introducing into the schools a code of behaviour by which bullying is regarded as something despicable.

Young minds are pliable. They are extremely receptive to the atmosphere of the little world in which they live. That atmosphere gradually becomes a part of them, and if it is sufficiently and carefully fostered, it moulds their character to such an extent that they become dogmatic in its support.

Creating One Track Minds

These two facts—the cruel streak and mental pliability—have been used by the education authorities in Germany for their own ends. The teacher, under instruction no doubt, but this does not exonerate him, has created in the mind of the young German the belief that he is a superman and that all other races are of a lower order to be used or exterminated by him as his whim dictates. He has been taught that cruelty and murder are praiseworthy when they are committed against other races. It would seem that this training has got out of hand in so far as Germans are themselves victims of the concentration camp, but it was a training that was bound to have such repercussions.

The fanaticism which our men sometimes met shows how successful the German teacher has been in producing the one track mind of bestial singleness of purpose. Young Germans do actually consider that to fight and die for Germany must always be right and could not under any circumstances be dishonourable. Those Germans who have committed awful atrocities against humanity, and those who have seen or known what has been done, suffer from no sense of guilt. They would do the same again for the sake of German aggrandisement without the slightest compunction.

THEY WILL DO THE SAME AGAIN IF THEY ARE ALLOWED TO TEACH THEIR CHILDREN IN THE SAME WAY AS THEY THEMSELVES HAVE

BEEN TAUGHT. That seems to be the crux of the whole matter. That is where the main threat to permanent peace lies.

No man or woman who has had any part in the German education system should be allowed to remain in it. They are criminals. Even if they did not realise the probable results of their teaching, then their lack of knowledge of elementary child psychology unfits them to have charge of children. In any case, ignorance cannot be put forward as a defence in their trials. They are guilty and must be punished. When their punishment is completed, they must be segregated from all contact with the youth of their country. Never again must they be allowed the opportunity of poisoning the mind of youth.

Wanted—A New System

A new system of education will have to be built up. New personnel will have to be chosen and trained. Schools must be inspected and supervised to see that no nationalistic creeds are being taught. It is a vast undertaking but it is one which has to be tackled if Germany is not to remain a festering sore in Europe. Our own educational system is not perfect by any means, but the record of our youth in this war shows that it is good enough to use as a model on which to base the training of a new Germany.

Don't let us forget one other point. The Nazi fanatic of to-day, if he survives the war, will have children. He will not lose his fanaticism. However he may try to conceal it, he will still believe the master race theory and work for a revival of German militarism. He will try to infect his children with the same germ. We cannot stop him having children, but we can and must prevent him from spreading the tenets of his diseased mind. His children must be taken away from him entirely. No convicted war criminal should be permitted the opportunity of producing a new race of Nazi thugs.

The leaders of Nazi Germany are undoubtedly the main criminals. But next to them in the list of priority should come the men and women who trained a generation of boys and girls to become sadists. They are more guilty than those they taught. They must not be allowed to escape retribution.

UP AND DOWN THE COUNTRY

Election-time activities have, in many parts of the country, monopolised the time and energy of our Branches during the past few weeks. As readers of last month's HEADWAY will know, every Branch was asked to approach the candidates in its constituency to ascertain their views regarding the new World Organisation which was being set up at San Francisco. District Councils, Branches and individual members flung themselves into this important work with a will. Preliminary reports show that in some 250 English constituencies Union action was taken—the final figures will probably be much higher.

All-Party Conferences were recommended as the most effective means of arousing interest and securing publicity. Before the Election came along, a dozen Branches had shown the way—BATH, BIRMINGHAM, BURY, CROMER, DERBY, HARTFORD, HULL, LEEDS, LEICESTER, ST. ALBANS, SOUTHAMPTON and SKIPTON. We have had reports of 28 more arranged during the Election. All appear to have exceeded expectations—attracting large audiences of many hundreds of people, most of whom would not normally have attended League of Nations Union meetings. Quite a number had their special features of interest. One, for example, was attended by a candidate who had been a member of the Indian delegation to the San Francisco Conference and graphically described why the nations taking part "simply dared not fail."

We should have liked to give individual reports of all these meetings, as well as give credit to all the Branches (running well into three figures) who have secured the views of their candidates in writing for publication in the local Press. But that would run away with far too much space. Also it would inevitably involve a good deal of repetition—the success of one meeting finding its counterpart in other places. So the Branches concerned, we feel sure, will understand if we have to content ourselves with giving a bare list of those which are known to have organised All-Party Conferences:—BEVERLEY, BRENTWOOD, BROMLEY AND BECKENHAM, CHELMSFORD, CHESTER,

CRICKLEWOOD AND EAST WILLES DEN, HAMPSTEAD, WEST HARROW, EAST HARROW, HENDON, KENSINGTON, LETCHWORTH, MORECAMBE, ONGAR, PENRITH AND COCKERMOUTH, PLYMOUTH, PUTNEY, REIGATE, RUGBY, SKIPTON (BENTHAM BRANCH), STREATHAM, SUTTON, TORQUAY, WALTHAMSTOW, WESTMORLAND (WINDERMERE BRANCH), WILMSLOW, WOOD GREEN AND WORTHING.

In Scotland the SCOTTISH NATIONAL COUNCIL has not lagged behind. Our present information is that, as a result of the activity which it has stimulated, some twenty constituencies were covered.

In Wales the WELSH NATIONAL COUNCIL made itself responsible for approaching most of the candidates.

The Union is greatly indebted to Miss BONE, Hon. Secretary of the CLAPHAM BRANCH, who voluntarily came to the Office for almost the whole of the Election period and did much of the detailed work involved.

Meanwhile, the normal work of the Branches goes on and, in many cases, will get an extra fillip from the Election spurt.

HARROW is one Branch which has not been too busy with its Election meetings to press forward with the consolidation of the Branch. In addition to the normal Summer Meeting, two Conferences have been held, to which all local organisations were invited to send delegates to discuss ways and means of stirring up a more lively interest among Harrow people in the new international organisation. Already the Branch is planning its programme for the winter months. Mr. Winant has consented to address a Speech Room meeting on November 9, during a weekend international conference for the Youth Organisations of Harrow.

GREEN LANE (COVENTRY) BRANCH had a double bill at its highly successful garden meeting held in the grounds of Dr. and Mrs. Wormell. First Dr. Kolisch spoke on Czechoslovakia and after tea Mr. J. Johnson related his experiences in and impressions of Soviet Russia.

San Francisco and the United Nations Charter brought many requests for

speakers both from Union Branches and from other organisations.

Miss K. D. Courtney, the Union's own special observer at San Francisco, found her services in great demand immediately on her return. One of her earliest engagements was at the LONDON REGIONAL FEDERATION's Buffet Luncheon, where she spoke on "I was at San Francisco." At the Headquarters of the American 8th Air Force a huge audience was waiting to hear her impressions of the Conference. She addressed other meetings at JORDANS and at the CAMBRIDGE S.F.I.C. at Trinity College.

Miss Nancy Stewart Parnell spoke on San Francisco to a garden meeting at LEAMINGTON and at Mostyn Road, LAMBETH.

A public meeting arranged at HASTINGS provided Dr. Bryn Thomas with the opportunity of also addressing the Rotary Club of the town. Another Rotary Club which he visited was that of ST. ALBANS.

Mr. J. T. Catterall's engagements included talks to the Bow Old Age Pensioners' Association, the CROUCH END Women's Fellowship, and the Essendine P.H. School at PADDINGTON.

The Editor of HEADWAY addressed meetings at the Willoughby Road Brotherhood, HARRINGAY, a discussion group at CARSHALTON, All Saints Women's Fellowship at TWICKENHAM, St. Thomas' Women's Hour at HANWELL, and the COULSDON Rotary Club.

We are glad to learn that ALDERMAN F. THRIVES, J.P., Chairman of our Sheffield District Council and an original member of the SHEFFIELD BRANCH Committee, has received the honour of C.B.E. and has been made a Freeman of the City of Sheffield.

Our Address:

HEADWAY

11, Maiden Lane, London, W.C.2.

Telephone:

TEMPLE Bar 0961.

LONDON CALLING

Since VE day, many peace-time activities, discontinued during the war, are being resumed. Fellowships and Guilds are being re-started; Brotherhoods and Mothers' Unions are re-forming, and programmes are being drawn up NOW for this autumn and winter all over the country. Speakers are consequently in great demand.

Branches and interested readers should see that world peace and the new United Nations Charter take their place among the subjects to be discussed, and the services of L.N.U. speakers enlisted for this purpose for local organisations.

Where possible, such arrangements should be made through the local Branch Secretary. When this is not known, or where a Branch has not re-started its activities, approach can be made direct to the League of Nations Union at 11, Maiden Lane, W.C.2, or the London Regional Federation at 32, Fitzroy Square, W.1.

EDUCATION

In a resolution passed at a joint meeting of the L.N.U. Executive and the United Nations Association, great satisfaction is expressed with the decision that the British Government should invite the Governments of all the United Nations to send delegates to a conference in London on November 1, for the purpose of establishing a United Nations educational and cultural organisation. It is urged that the tentative draft constitution of the Organisation should be studied in this and other countries by the educational authorities, teachers' associations and voluntary organisations upon which the ultimate success of the Organisation must depend.

FOR RECONSTRUCTION

Music which the Nazis sought to extinguish was heard at a Memorial Tribute in the Royal Albert Hall presented by Mr. Yehudi Menuhin and the National Symphony Orchestra in aid of the Reconstruction Fund for Jews in Liberated Europe. Always a glutton for work on these occasions Menuhin was soloist in a special arrangement of Ravel's "Kaddish," the Max Bruch Violin Concerto, Chausson's "Poème" and the Dvorak Concerto—with a liberal helping of unaccompanied Bach as an encore. Throughout, sheer unforced beauty of tone and easy serenity of style stamped him to-day as even greater a violinist than ever before. All was in the spirit of Menuhin's own message: "May the music we play to-night ring out for ever more untrammelled by prejudice and hatred."

TRAVEL WITH A PURPOSE

By S. G. HUM

For fifteen years before the war I was the Joint Hon. Secretary of a branch of the League of Nations Union. We were an active branch, organised study circles, lectures and mass meetings, ran a successful Youth Group and inaugurated the first peace ballot. But we never totalled more than 2,000 active members out of a population of 120,000 and never looked like doing so.

Too Specialised

We felt that we were constantly fighting apathy and inertia. A distant view of those 15 years suggests that we handicapped ourselves by our own specialised programme of activities, activities that appealed only to the few who would attend other meetings if they did not attend our own. Human beings are not all built to take an interest in political affairs. The Almighty himself did not so construct them. Abraham Lincoln once asserted that the Almighty made so many ordinary people because he liked them, and we felt sometimes that the Almighty in doing so had not played fair with our well-meaning efforts.

Let us be honest with ourselves. Very few of us who were in the Union heart and soul considered the Covenant absorbingly interesting. We found it difficult to thread our way through the Optional Clause, Technical Commissions, Voting Procedure and so on; and Intellectual Co-operation, to the very end, remained a blushing, diffident Cinderella.

The Union's popular pamphlets, despite their attractive covers and layout, misfired. Contrast them with the successful illustrated war sagas published by the Stationery Office and this statement needs no further emphasis.

Too often minds not cast in political or social moulds complacently retreated on the attitude, "Don't tell me what I should do; have a go at the foreigner and reform him." This hedgehog position was not based on a hatred of the foreigner. It was founded on the faith of the average Englishman in the pacific nature of his own countrymen, and this faith has not been shaken by September, 1939.

An Opportunity Missed

Unfortunately, foreign travel, popular as it was in the inter-war period, did little to eradicate inter-racial fear, for it had not gone deep enough to promote understanding. Foreign travel under commercial auspices had developed, mainly, into a series of chaperoned visits of a group of one's fellow countrymen from Anglicized hotels to places of historical interest or particular beauty. Little attempt was made to promote contacts with the foreigner whose country was being visited. He was just part of the foreign travel service. Guides did not attempt to explain him as they would Napoleon's Tomb or Heidelberg Castle—and tombs and castles do not fight one another. Recall, too, suburbia's talk of foreign travel in pre-war days. How often did the traveller return with an insight into the thoughts and feelings of the inhabitants of the country he had visited? He remembered hard railway journeys, tasty wines and dishes, picturesque bricks and mortar, but little that would equip him to grasp the problems confronting the foreigner. Human beings are seen at their best in their own homes, but rarely are they seen there by the rest of the world. An opportunity had been missed.

This problem, and the opportunities its solution presents, was never grasped by the League of Nations Union. School-children and adults visited Geneva, but they were already converted. High-ups from abroad were entertained by the Hospitality Committee, but there was nothing for the lukewarm shilling member, whose imagination was still in need of further impulses. Instead he was offered pamphlets and lectures for which his Creator had given him no appetite.

The Way Out

There is a way out and the League of Nations Union can create it. The League of Nations Union should take foreign travel as one of its essential educational activities and foster the introduction of supporters of the new International Organisation abroad into the homes of League of Nations Union members here

and vice versa. If international travel returns quickly the job will be easy, but if its return is delayed then the League of Nations Union must hasten its return.

The basis of the necessary organisation should not be at Headquarters between celebrities but at the branches between the ordinary members. Distance does not permit the first emphasis to be placed on exchanges with the Big Five except France, but Europe, the most potential source of war, will, we trust, be once again the most potential source of contacts between common people. Those peoples along the Atlantic and Mediterranean fringes, who have seen their countries liberated by the British Tommy, will undoubtedly welcome visits from his family and would equally welcome an opportunity of visiting the town of his birth. During the past five years this country has been the citadel behind which have been formed armies of foreign refugees. English women have married foreigners on an unprecedented scale. The Englishman has opened his home to foreign visitors as never before. Contacts already exist.

Rub Out Boundaries

The first aim, therefore, should be to rub out boundaries by maintaining old friendships and creating new ones, with the exception that the aggressors of 1939 to 1945 should be excluded until they have suffered the penalties of defeat and worked their passage back into the community of civilised nations.

A Headquarters' organisation can provide valuable facilities for advice and initial contacts and might even embark on a self-supporting ticket and foreign exchange agency similar to the W.T.A., but it cannot be emphasized too vigorously that the leaven must be allowed to work through to the branches and down to the shilling member.

Each branch should have its hospitality officer and Committee, with as wide an influence as possible, on which all corporate members should be urged to be represented. Each year offers of hospitality from members should be collected and the local committee stage an invitation to a comparable town abroad, preferably through an organisation similar to the League of Nations Union. Visitors should, as far as possible, possess interests similar to those of their hosts, and the hosts

should have a smattering of the language of their guests or the guests of the language of their hosts. There are very few towns which could not provide an attractive programme from their own resources by visits to places of historic interest, exceptional beauty, to factories, civic activities and theatres, but these activities should not be so lavish that no time is left for At-Homes, informal talks and unaccompanied wanderings. School branches in particular would find the venture of practical use and inspiration. A civic welcome would be an admirable method of giving colour and atmosphere to the venture.

By such means international hospitality would be directed to a definite aim and travel vested with a purpose.

It would be an activity of interest to many who cannot find their place in the educational activities of the Union as we now know it and, indirectly, it would pay a compliment to the man in the street whose retort to the overtures of the Union has so often been "Don't talk to me, talk to the foreigner."

BRITISH POLICY IN ERITREA. By Sylvia Pankhurst. (36 pp. 1s.) **ITALY'S WAR CRIMES IN ETHIOPIA.** (24 pp. 1s. 3, Charteris Road, Woodford Green, Essex.)

During her recent visit to Ethiopia, Miss Sylvia Pankhurst had opportunities of studying the situation in the neighbouring territory of Eritrea. Her first-hand impressions, supported by documentary evidence, are disquieting. She contrasts what is happening to-day with the promises made during the war of liberation. Italian Fascists are still in office, and local opinion is apparently ignored by the British Military Administration. British officials are coolly discussing annexation. This or a return to Italian rule would be equally unwelcome to the people, among whom Miss Pankhurst found strong support for re-union to Ethiopia.

The second pamphlet contains evidence for the War Crimes Commission. Here are details of massacres, slaughter and treachery. Close upon half a million Ethiopians, it appears, have been killed by poison gas, bombing during the occupation, massacre and execution, as well as from privation and maltreatment in concentration camps. Gruesome photographs illustrate the textual evidence.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

THE WORLD TO-DAY. (Chatham House Review. Obtainable from L.N.U. Book Shop. Monthly. 48 pp. 1s.)

Henceforth the Chatham House *Bulletin of International News* is to be published in two separate parts—this monthly review **THE WORLD TO-DAY** and a twice-monthly supplement, **CHRONOLOGY OF INTERNATIONAL EVENTS AND DOCUMENTS**. It is planned to include in each issue of the review "Notes of the Month" and five or six articles on international problems and conditions in foreign countries. The July issue, for example, contains articles on the Municipal Elections in France, the Allied Zones of Occupation in Germany, Germany and European Reconstruction, International Air Transport, and Guernsey under German Occupation. The *Chronology* (obtainable separately, 12s. 6d. for 24 issues) will be for the specialist who requires reference material.

"NOWHERE TO LAY THEIR HEADS."
By Victor Gollancz. (Gollancz, 14, Henrietta Street, W.C.2. 32 pp. 6d.)

Mr. Gollancz's plea for a solution of the Jewish tragedy in Europe is all the more moving because of the dignity of his language and the restraint which he imposes upon obviously deep emotions. This, to him, is not a matter for hatred or vengeance. Bitter indeed are the things that he writes about, but he doesn't want to be bitter about them. There remain, however, the victims of the tragedy, and for them something must be done, and done quickly. He discusses the plight of the various categories of Jewish refugees in Europe. The majority of victims cannot either stay where they are or return to places with grim associations. Humanity must give these wanderers a home or help to find them one. Growing anti-Semitism and desperate conditions among Jewish survivors impart added urgency. Mr. Gollancz's solution is the drastic one of throwing open the gates of Palestine—throwing the country open to Jewish immigration and setting up, by whatever stages may be necessary, a self-governing and Jewish Commonwealth. It is a solution which will undoubtedly be bitterly resisted in many quarters. The author, however, puts up a strong and eloquent argument, and he does try to face the

Arab question without merely brushing it aside. Palestine seems to him essential, both because of Jewish needs and also for what Palestine can give the world.

THE ITALO-YUGOSLAV BOUNDARY. By A. E. Moodie, B.A., Ph.D. (George Philip & Son, 32, Fleet Street, E.C.4. 241 pp. 8s. 6d.)

The troubles of Trieste have lately been front-page news. And the whole problem will be coming up shortly for some kind of settlement. Dr. Moodie's book could not have appeared at a better moment. Students and all who are interested in the possibility of procuring peace in this zone of tug-o'-war strain with its clash of nationalities, standards of life, economic interests, known as the Julian Region, will find it an invaluable source of information and fertile, far-seeing suggestion. The maps are good and there is an excellent bibliography covering this area in the north-east corner of the Adriatic, where Danubian, Balkan and Mediterranean regions all meet.

Trieste and Fiume used to be first-class ports, largely by expenditure of Austrian and Hungarian money; and this was so because they served and were meant to serve Vienna, Prague, Budapest and the Mid-Danubian Plain. After the last war the settlement was openly on "national" lines, with a victorious Italy calling the tune. In the following years, because of the obstacles placed in the path of trade from the Danubian areas, as well as the Yugoslav hinterland, where the majority of the population were Slovenes and Croats, the prosperity of the Julian Region declined. Will a one-sided "national" solution follow this time, with Yugoslav dictation of the overture? Will it follow the lines of the recent attempt at claim-jumping by Marshal Tito? It is, devoutly hoped not. To hand over Trieste, Istria, Fiume to Yugoslavia can be justified only on one condition—that free and easy access to these ports be granted and guaranteed to Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Italy. If this be the kind of settlement made, nothing would do more to assist the economic rehabilitation of all South-East Europe.

FROM HEADWAY'S POST-BAG**"Rebuilding Europe"**

Sir,—I have, and could have, no complaint with a review because it was critical: but I think the reviewer of my book, "Rebuilding Europe," ought to have been specific in his criticisms instead of merely sprinkling adjectives of colour. Many people, besides myself, have criticised the League of Nations, and for the same reasons as I have given in my book, e.g. the provision in Article 5 of the Covenant of the League that "decisions of the Assembly or of the Council shall require the agreement of all the members of the League," greatly reduced the power of the League by enabling a single dissenting State to veto a proposal nevertheless supported by all the others; that, as E. H. Carr points out, the League made the great mistake of trying to keep the peace and at the same time to keep the status quo, when, in fact, the one was incompatible with the other; and finally that Article 19 of the Covenant, which provides that "The Assembly may from time to time advise the reconsideration by members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable, and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world," was never put into operation. Incidentally, your reviewer says, "A substantial section of his book—according to Mr. Murray—was based on (Lord Cecil's) 'A Great Experiment.'" A footnote to page 53 of my book says that "I am indebted to this book" (Lord Cecil's) "for most of the material in this chapter," viz., Chapter 5, which deals with the League of Nations. Again, I have no "prejudice against Czechoslovakia," but I think that Benes was unwise as well as unjust in his treatment of the Sudeten Germans, and his failure to attain a friendly relationship with the Slovaks was, to put it mildly, unfortunate. (I cannot believe that the League of Nations Union's journal can approve of his latest project, viz., the expulsion of more than three million Sudeten Germans from hearth and home. Is not that just a sort of inverted Hitlerism?)

Surely, unless we intend to divide Europe into two spheres, the eastern subject to Russia and the western subject to the United States, some *modus vivendi*, not with Nazis, but with the German people must be found, and it was to help find that *modus vivendi* that my book was written. For that reason, and also perhaps in fairness to the writer, I venture to hope you will find space to print this letter.

C. DE B. MURRAY
(Advocate, and of the Inner Temple,
Barrister-at-Law).
Edinburgh.

International Force

Sir,—As an active member of the New Commonwealth, the Council for World Government Organisation and Federal Union, as well as the League of Nations Union, I am encouraged to find that all these organisations advocate the creation of an International Force. This fundamental change is essential if the new World Organisation is to be effective in a crisis.

Largely due to the efforts of Air Vice-Marshal Donald Bennett, C.B.E., D.S.O., M.P., the brilliant leader of the Pathfinder Force (whose book "Freedom From War"—reviewed by Lord Lytton in the June **HEADWAY**—should be read by all interested in this problem of power), the need of an International Force is being fully appreciated by the Liberal Party. Mr. Attlee and most Labour leaders have for a long time accepted this same idea.

Why then is nothing done? The reactionary forces are very strong, and harm is done by those who give lip service to the idea, but dismiss it as impracticable at present.

The need of an integrated International Security Force is one of the many points that has been very well put forward in a most attractive booklet "Proposals for the Establishment of a World Organisation," issued by the Council for World Government Organisation. Copies can be obtained from Mr. A. Farncombe, 12 Brook House, Park Lane.

R. FULLJAMES, Group Captain (Ret).
Southampton.

International Force

Sir,—In the account of the special meeting of the General Council, given in the May **HEADWAY**, the paragraph headed "Amendments," on page 4, refers to the discouraging way an amendment relating to an International Police Force was received by Miss Courtney. I should like to make two comments on this.

1. The paragraph is inconclusive and leaves it in the air as to what happened to the amendment.

2. If, in fact, the amendment was withdrawn or defeated, it seems to me most regrettable, as surely the need for such a force is vital, and it is not to be classed as a "special pet," as referred to by Miss Courtney.

I have for some time been impressed with the fact that the idea of an international force has fallen into the background, and surely there could not be a more important matter for international consideration.

Liverpool.
M. HOLTHUM.
[The New Commonwealth amendment was one of those which, because they "did not

apply to immediate action under the Dumbarton Oaks proposals," "failed to commend themselves to the Council." In the recommendations submitted by the Union to H.M. Government, however, the hope was expressed that the successful employment of co-operating national contingents might be replaced at the earliest possible moment by the creation of a genuinely international force.—ED.]

Membership Rates

Sir,—With reference to item No. 8 of Mr. Harrod's article in the June issue of HEADWAY regarding the proposition of raising the minimum subscription of the L.N.U. from 1s. to 2s. 6d. per year, I cannot help wondering whether Mr. Harrod has fully considered this proposal from all angles.

I have on occasion had the opportunity of visiting a few of the members of the Sub-Branch to which I belong, who are only able to offer the minimum subscription. In some cases one shilling is the utmost that can be afforded, and even this small amount has sometimes to be scraped together in pennies and halfpennies.

Whilst agreeing that one shilling per year is a very small contribution indeed for such an organisation, I am of the opinion that by abolishing the shilling as the minimum amount we should be putting the Union beyond the reach of many who are in full agreement with its ideals and aims, and it seems unfair that these folk should be unable to support the organisation for promoting world peace simply because the amount they would make themselves afford is rejected. Surely the idea of such a low minimum was so that we might ALL have the opportunity of participating, whatever our financial status?

I feel sure that the minimum subscription of one shilling per year does not "cheapen" the organisation in the eyes of such folk as I have in mind, and it *should* not do so in the eyes of the rest of us.

London, W.11.

BARBARA TAYLER.

DIARY OF EVENTS

June.

25. I.L.O. Governing Body (Quebec). Simla Conference begun.
27. Mr. Stettinius appointed American Representative on Security Council.
28. New Polish Cabinet announced.
29. Treaty for Incorporation of Ruthenia in Ukraine Republic.

July.

1. Mr. James F. Byrne named as U.S. Secretary of State.
4. Death of Mr. Curtin, Prime Minister of Australia.
5. Great Britain and U.S.A. simultaneously recognise Polish Government of National Unity.
9. Special Army Order giving regulations for Trial of War Criminals. Great Naval and Air Attacks on Japan begun.
10. White Paper on Administration of Kenya.
12. British and American Troops take over Berlin Zones. Mr. Chifley elected to succeed Mr. Curtin (Australia).
14. Lord Wavell reports failure of Simla Conference.
17. Opening of Three Power Conference at Potsdam.
18. Bill to prolong Belgian Regency passed.

Aug.

- 9.(?) United Nations Preparatory Meeting in London.

Sept.

- 6-7. L.N.U. General Council (London).

Nov.

1. United Nations Education Conference (London).

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