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ELECTION TIME AND THE UNION

These few hectic weeks, during which our country once more finds itself in the throes of a General Election, have brought a sharp spell of high speed activity to the League of Nations Union, its Branches and its members.

Party politics, of course, are not and never have been the concern of the Union. Our strength lies in the fact that we are an All-Party organisation. Mr. Churchill, Mr. Attlee and Sir Archibald Sinclair are all among our principal honorary officers. On the Executive Committee serve men and women of all parties as well as people with no definite political connections. The members up and down the country hold many different views, and which way they may feel impelled to vote is certainly not the Union's business.

Where the candidates stand with regard to International Affairs, however, is the Union's business. What is their attitude towards the new World Organisation? Are they convinced that it is a necessity? Will they do what they can to back it up?

By all constitutional means the Union has been doing its best to get answers to these important questions in the various constituencies.

We print in this number a letter to the Press which Lord Cecil wrote on the subject. He sent it to local newspapers in all parts of England, Scotland and Wales, and it was published in a number ranging from the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN and the BIRMINGHAM POST to smaller papers.

At Head Office machinery was set up to advise Branches on the best methods of ascertaining opinion in the constituencies. The Executive assisted by drawing up a short set of questions to be submitted to candidates. They read as follows:—

(i) Do you believe that the greatest interest of our country and the world is the preservation of a lasting peace based on freedom, justice and good faith, and that a world organisation for peace and security and for the promotion of the social and economic welfare of the peoples is essential for that purpose?

(ii) In the event of such a world organisation being established and H.M. Government becoming a member of it, would you be prepared to support it?

(iii) Would you also support the International Labour Organisation, whether it is incorporated in the world organisation or not, in promoting the highest standard of living conditions for all?

(iv) Do you agree that loyalty to the world organisation by this country as a Member State is essential to its success and quite consistent with the highest national patriotism?

Branches were urged to try to get the replies published in the local Press before polling day.

One extremely effective method, adopted by many Branches, was to arrange All-Party meetings, with all candidates speaking. Often the halls were not big enough for the crowds. At Chelmsford, for example, where Mr. C. W. Judd (the Union's Secretary) spoke with the candidates, the Town Hall proved totally inadequate. The vast open-air demonstration, into which the meeting converted itself, proved how intense is public interest in world affairs.

SAN FRANCISCO

Printers and publication dates, unfortunately, will not wait on international conferences. As this number of HEADWAY goes to press, the San Francisco Conference is in its concluding stages. After nine weeks of intensive discussions between some fifty nations, the Charter of the new international organisation—The United Nations—has been completed. Before these lines appear, the final ceremony of signature and President Truman's concluding address will be history.

So far, of course, the complete text of the Charter has not been available for study in this country. Comment must therefore at the moment be guarded. But it is now virtually certain that the new general international organisation, foreshadowed in Dumbarton Oaks, will be in existence in a matter of months. The interim preparatory commission will be getting to work in London very soon, and it is not seriously doubted that the necessary ratifications to make the Charter effective will be speedily forthcoming.

Our Union, on examination of the final Charter, may well find features and provisions that we should have preferred to be otherwise. On the other hand, pending a more complete judgment, there are certain important facts to remember. First, large parts of the Dumbarton Oaks scheme, which were welcomed by the Union, were accepted with very little question. Controversy and argument centred round a relatively few big questions. MISS K. D. COURTNEY, writing from San Francisco, summarised the main difficulties as follows:—

(1) The Regional Question, pushed into the foreground by the Chapultepec agreement.

(2) The question of Trusteeship, complicated by the U.S. position about strategic bases.

(3) The question of amending or periodically renewing the Charter.

(4) First, last and all the time—the Veto.

All these problems have been settled, sometimes not to the satisfaction of the smaller and "middle" Powers, but at least

on terms which they were willing to accept for the sake of getting the Charter through.

And, in certain respects, it may be fairly claimed on the information available that the Charter will be an improvement upon Dumbarton Oaks.

Thus MISS COURTNEY writes:

"The position of the General Assembly in relation to the Security Council is much stronger than in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. This question has been subject to much discussion, and indeed was the last of the 'crises' which arose at San Francisco. About the middle of May the appropriate committee accepted an amendment by which the General Assembly could discuss any matter within the sphere of international relations. Russia made some objection to this formula as being too broad, and finally Mr. Gromyko brought it up at a special committee, and was said to have declared that Russia would not sign the Charter unless some alteration was made. Dr. Evatt, of Australia, who had been instrumental in getting the form of words to which Russia objected introduced into the Charter, played an important part in achieving a compromise. Instead of going back to the original language of Dumbarton Oaks, as Russia had suggested, a new formula was finally adopted by which the Assembly is given the right to discuss 'any questions or any matters within the scope of the Charter or related to the powers and functions of any organs of the Charter.' Moreover, it can make recommendations to the Security Council on such matters. The only exception refers to recommendations as to a dispute which is under consideration by the Security Council, as in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals."

Much, too, may be expected from the declaration of principle in the preamble (based on Field-Marshal Smuts' draft), the declaration on colonial policy, the trusteeship system, and the plan for the Economic and Social Council which goes into greater detail than the Dumbarton Oaks draft.

Next month, when Miss Courtney is back from San Francisco, we hope to give readers her impressions and reflections on the Conference as a whole.

IMPRESSIONS

TO AND FRO ON SAN FRANCISCO

By BRYN THOMAS, Ph.D. (Econ.) (United Nations Association Lecturer)

As I go to and fro about the country lecturing for the UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION I am inclined to believe, like the Special Correspondent of *The Times*, that there is "a lingering conflict between two conceptions of what the organization set up at San Francisco" should be. Should it remain the political instrument which it is, largely under the leadership of the great Powers, or should it be a legalistic machine? If the latter: then there is room for much criticism concerning the veto of the Great Powers and much else; if the former, we can definitely claim that San Francisco has surpassed even what we expected of it.

Two factors which largely account for the difference widely felt in some circles until about the middle of June were (a) the death of President Roosevelt, which gave way to the anti-Roosevelt isolationists to come out to the open politically once again, and (b) the change of Government in Great Britain following the victorious end of the War in Europe, a change which brought to the surface some of the strongest opponents of the Crimea Conference. In combination these two factors served to issue forth to the world reports of the conference which sometimes bordered on the jingoistic journalism which we witnessed at the end of the Great War. Within three weeks of VE Day, for instance, we were confronted with violent anti-Soviet comments, some wise and some otherwise, comments which could not but be organised from some vicious centres here and across the Atlantic.

These two factors and the conflicting conceptions which people hold of almost every organization—legalistic and political—created a tendency in some quarters to relegate San Francisco to the limbo of uselessness before we knew what it was all about. "As it was with the League of Nations," they say, "so it will be with the United Nations Organization again: all talk and nothing more." On the whole, however, people saw through the journalistic haze and the political manoeuvring

which characterised the first stages of the conference. The rumour-mongering of war with Russia gave the game away. People sensed it at once. They recognised it as a survival of Hitlerism—as a last bold bid to split the Big Three (the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and US!). Hitlerites tried it for years before 1939. They tried it even when the unconditional surrender was about to be made—by offering it at first to Britain and the U.S.A., leaving Russia out of it.

Underneath the indifference, the confusion of ideas and the conflicting conceptions of what San Francisco should be, there is, in my opinion, especially in the schools, a deep conviction that this time we are facing facts, not building on fancies.

The sternest fact of all is the realization that before you have law you must have a political organization. It is the politicians who make the law. In fact, law is at best only the maximum of agreement (compromise would be a more fitting word) between the politicians. For this reason the politicians must have an organization through which to confer before they can have law. The political, therefore, precedes the legalistic always. It does so nationally. Why shouldn't it internationally? And that is how we should view San Francisco.

San Francisco is the first time we have seen the three big democracies of Britain, Russia and America functioning together. Give them time and they will perform wonders. On their indissoluble harmony depends the working of whatever will emanate finally from San Francisco. These three together, forming the core of the Security Council, voting as they have decided to do, on the principle of majority (for the first time in international history), will gather around them "peace loving" nations in one UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION. And the people of England welcome the reorientation of political perspectives. "Give them time," they say, "and they will this time eliminate war."

THE WAR CRIMES COMMISSION AND THE PUNISHMENT OF WAR CRIMINALS

By "JUDEX"

(Our distinguished contributor is one of the outstanding International Lawyers of the United Nations. A series of articles on War Crimes, which he wrote for the Royal Institute of International Affairs, is being published as a pamphlet by the Alden Press.)

So much misinformation has been spread about the United Nations War Crimes Commission that some precisions about its duties and activities may be of interest.

The decision to institute a United Nations War Crimes Commission originated in a debate that was held in the House of Lords on October 9, 1942. Unofficial bodies such as Commission I. of the London International Assembly,* in whose discussions Lord Maugham had taken an active part, had already gone deep into the study of the question, but on that date, the creation of the United Nations War Crimes Commission was announced simultaneously in the House of Lords by the Lord Chancellor and in Washington by President Roosevelt. The inaugural meeting was held at the Foreign Office on October 20, 1943. Six days after the inauguration the Commission began its work in rooms at the Royal Courts of Justice and since then it has held as many as six meetings a week.

Sixteen Allied countries are represented on the Commission, each by one member. As their first chairman the members elected the representative of Great Britain, Sir Cecil Hurst, President of the International Court of The Hague. After his resignation, at the end of 1944, for reasons of health, the Commission elected Lord Wright, representative of Australia, as his successor. Meanwhile, a sub-Commission for the Far East was set up at Chung-King.

Links in a Chain

The Commission has a double task: to investigate and to advise. Its first task is the investigation of war crimes. In this respect the Commission is one of the four main links in the chain of agencies co-operating in the work of punishment of

* The London International Assembly was founded by the League of Nations Union.

war criminals, and which are, as Lord Wright so clearly stated in a recent article published by the "New York Times":

1. The various National Offices or Commissions which have been established in the Allied countries by their Governments to detect war crimes, and conduct detailed investigations. The jurisdiction of these National Offices is primarily limited to crimes committed within their own country or against their own nationals. It is for these National Offices to collect the evidence, name the accused and bring charges against them.
2. The dossiers thus constituted are then forwarded to the United Nations War Crimes Commission, which is the second link in the chain. There the dossiers are centralised and examined. There is no delay: a decision is reached within five or six days; if there is sufficient evidence to constitute a prima facie case the proposal is that the accused be placed on the list of war criminals; if not, the case is referred back to the National Office for supplementary information. Most of the cases, however, are complete when they reach the Commission so that a decision can be taken immediately.

From time to time, as a reasonable number of names of accused has accumulated, lists are drawn up and sent to the Allied Governments and to the military authorities, who are charged with the task of apprehending the accused.

Dossiers arrive from everywhere, for the jurisdiction of the War Crimes Commission covers the whole world. The Commission has not only received charges against Germans but against Hungarian, Bulgarian and Italian war criminals. Recently a number of charges against Japanese was examined and a list of Japanese criminals was issued. To this day ten lists, including more than

4,000 named criminals, have been issued. Others are in progress and include not only persons against whom a prima facie case exists but also suspects and witnesses. In some cases such as Oradour-sur-Glane and Lidice, where whole units have taken part in wholesale massacres, the whole unit has been charged.

When notorious war criminals do not appear on the Commission's lists, the responsibility is not that of the Commission but of the National Office who has failed to bring charges against these persons. Furthermore, the Commission has, in effect, endeavoured to fill the gaps, as will be seen hereafter.

3. The third step is the arrest of the accused: When the lists reach the Supreme Headquarters in the various theatres of war it is their function to give effect to them, i.e., to trace the criminals and apprehend them. To carry out this difficult task it has been found necessary to establish central record offices. The Paris Central Record Office for War Criminals and Security Suspects (C.R.O.W.C.A.S.S.) is a model of its type.
4. The fourth main link in the chain is the Court by which the accused will be tried.

The Scene of Their Crimes

The Moscow Declaration provides that criminals will be returned to the scene of their crimes to be judged there, by the Courts of the country of their victims: Gestapo agents who, in Paris, have tortured French men and women will be returned to Paris to be judged by French Courts. At this moment, S.H.A.E.F. is said to have arrested a number of named war criminals of this category, but the decision to hand them over for trial to the country where they have committed their crimes has not yet been taken, and this delay is causing some anxiety, for the national courts are earnestly desirous to begin the trials soon.

Other Criminals

Another category of criminals is those whose crimes have no geographical localization, the Big Three have not yet decided how they would be dealt with.

A few arch criminals may be summarily dealt with by executive action: No trial is needed for men such as Goering, for the decrees to which they have put their signature, organising slave-labour and deportation or ordering the slaughter of innocent people, are sufficient evidence of their guilt. The Big Three may, however, decide to have them tried by an international court, either civil or military. On the level immediately below, there is a series of key-men and party leaders who are equally responsible. Lower still there are the concentration camp commanders and other henchmen who have carried out the systematic policy of terrorism and extermination. These men may either be tried on the spot, by military courts, or else they may be sent to the country of their victims for trial. Here again, the Governments have not yet reached a decision but a scheme is on foot, designed by Justice Jackson of the U.S.A. Supreme Court, and it is being discussed on the political level.

Advising Allied Governments

The United Nations War Crimes Commission has however a second task: to advise the Allied Governments on the ways and means by which the punishment of war criminals can be most effectively obtained. In this respect the War Crimes Commission was the first to advocate a series of measures which have been actually carried out. The Commission recommended more than a year ago that, when fighting ceased, the Gestapo and the S.S. should be maintained in custody. It also drew the attention of the military on the necessity for instituting inside Germany commissions to investigate the crimes and trace the criminals on the spot. When the Commission noticed that major war criminals were not charged by the Governments concerned, it has pointed out to these Governments the advisability of bringing charges against them. At a time when not one Government had charged any major criminal—not even Hitler—with any responsibility whatever, the Commission pointed out that gap, collected the specific material necessary to bring charges, and sent it to the Governments. The War Crimes Commission also advocated charging as criminals those who have prepared and launched the aggression and proved

that it could be done, both legally and practically. The complete scheme of an international court—civil or military—to judge top criminals was discussed in good time, a year ago, and recommended by the W.C.C. Furthermore, the Commission has many times drawn the attention of the Governments to the necessity of indicting not only the top criminals but also officials who in the quiet of their study have conceived and framed the diabolical measures by which the extermination of the opponents of nazism was to be carried out.

To facilitate the work of the Governments and National Offices the Commission

has issued Summaries of Information, lists of responsible key-men, Gestapo officials and personnel of concentration camps, in the hope that the National Offices would use the information thus collected to make dossiers against the persons concerned.

The Commission lacks executive power. Nevertheless this constructive body, whose members are unanimous in their desire that punishment be imposed without delay to the guilty, has on several occasions gone out of its way to advocate the speeding up of proceedings and to bring about the result which the public is impatiently expecting.

I.L.O. CONFERENCE

The International Labour Office announces that the 27th session of the International Labour Conference will be held at or near Paris during September. The exact date will be fixed after consultation between Mr. Phelan (Acting Director), Mr. Carter Goodrich (Chairman of the Governing Body), Mr. Joseph Hallsworth and Sir John Forbes Watson (Vice-Chairmen).

Six items, the Governing Body has decided, will appear on the agenda. These are:—

1. Director's Report: Social problems of the immediate post-war period, with special reference to Europe; future policy and programme of the I.L.O.
2. The maintenance of high levels of employment during the period of industrial rehabilitation and reconversion.
3. Welfare of children and young workers (first discussion).
4. Matters arising out of the work of the constitutional committee. (This will give the Conference an opportunity to consider changes in the I.L.O.'s constitution necessary as a result of the decisions of the San Francisco Conference.)
5. Minimum standards of social policy in dependent territories.
6. Reports on the application of conventions. (This will include questions relating to labour inspection and collective agreements.)

LORD CECIL'S LETTER

SIR,—Many questions will be discussed in the coming General Election. None is more important than those which concern the establishment of an International Organisation for Peace. Unless peace can be maintained progress and even security is impossible. Whatever steps are taken to improve the conditions of the life of the peoples will be swept away the moment war breaks out and indeed civilisation itself will be endangered. It is therefore of the utmost importance that those elected to the new parliament, whatever other opinions they may hold, should be trustworthy and courageous supporters of a new World Organisation such as that discussed at San Francisco. May I venture to appeal to your readers to take all constitutional means at their disposal to ascertain the opinions of the candidates for whom they are asked to vote. Do they recognise the supreme importance to this country and indeed the whole world of the maintenance of a just and honourable peace? Are they prepared to advocate an international organisation for that purpose? Do they agree that it is essential for the success of such an organisation that it should be loyally and unflinchingly supported by this country and the other countries which are members of it?

Yours faithfully,

Chelwood Gate.

CECIL.

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

By C. G. HAWKINS

Towards the end of May Edinburgh stages the solemn pageantry of its annual Assembly. The Lord High Commissioner and his Lady, supported by uniformed members of the Services and Ladies-in-Waiting, descend upon Holyrood; the streets fill with black-coated ministers, and elders and their wives and daughters are everywhere; there is the marching of escorts and an official visiting of many public institutions; and, above all, there is the Assembly and the Moderator.

Picture a large hall designed for deliberation of movement, broader than it is long and galleried on three sides for spectators while on the fourth side is the gallery reserved for the Lord High Commissioner and his suite. Immediately below him sits the Moderator, robed in his degree gown and hood over a Georgian court dress peculiar to his office, lace at cuffs and breast, dignified, genial, yet absolute in authority under the laws of his Church.

Before him sit the robed clerks of the Assembly and the regal bewigged legal adviser, flanked by two reading desks for speakers; then comes the Press and the Assembly in serried ranks where former Moderators sit and leaders of committees wait their call.

The highlight of the Assembly for us is the Report of the Committees on Church and Nation.

It is a splendidly phrased deliverance and covers on international affairs the attitude of the Church on peace and war; the principles of the Atlantic Charter as applied to the future; an exhaustive comparison of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals as contrasted with those of the League of Nations; the questions of Poland, of famine relief; of reconstruction on the Continent; on reconciliation; the need for the continuing of the League work on White Slavery and other matters. It is introduced by the Convener, the Rev. J. Pitt Watson, with great clarity. There are many phrases which are classic in definition, as for example on the Atlantic Charter:—

"Henceforth we had a measure of events, and a standard by which, as Christians to judge them."

On Poland:—*"It would be folly to ignore the political factors, but it would be a greater folly still to ignore the moral factors."*

On War:—*"It is a tragic situation when the Christian Church finds itself committed to the support of war."*

On Russia:—*"We want the friendship of Russia not because we need it, though we do, but because the world needs that security which only that friendship can give."*

It is a remarkable fact that in all this long and exhaustive deliverance the wording is so acceptable that not one criticism of the text arises. There is no attempt at re-phrasing, no enquiry for elucidation of any point dealt with, save on one very controversial matter which the Assembly finally refers back for further report on the facts.

From the gallery also it is good to note the L.N.U. so strongly represented at this debate. Indeed, two of our vice-presidents almost carry an addendum which would have improved an already most excellent deliverance, but the Assembly is not quite ready for decision. Professor Bailey, Dr. Barbour, Dr. Nevile Davidson, Professor Duncan, Professor Forrester, Dr. Hutchison Cockburn, Dr. Drummond and other L.N.U. members are all visible.

The Assembly has never given so important a lead on the moral issues involved in international affairs, and the gratitude of all interested in the peace of the world is most surely due for their splendid lead to the nation.

OBITUARY

The Union and especially the TEES AND CLEVELAND DISTRICT COUNCIL have suffered a severe loss through the death of *Mr. W. B. Strike*, for more than twelve years District Secretary. Mr. and Mrs. Strike's beautiful home was regularly the scene of summer meetings of the District Council. Mr. Winant and Dr. Gilbert Murray were among the Union speakers who enjoyed their hospitality when touring the North.

PUBLICITY FOR PEACE

By HOWARD THOMAS

(Mr. Howard Thomas, journalist, author and publicist, is perhaps best known as originator of the B.B.C. Brains Trust. At our London Regional Federation's Buffet Luncheon in June he showed that he had definite ideas on "putting over" peace to the public—ideas that were worthy of a much larger audience. Here he presents his chief points.)

The last ten years have shown how effective propaganda can be for a war. First the Germans used it to kindle the fires of war. Then at last the United Nations used it to further their war effort. The problem facing the League of Nations Union, or its successor, is to turn the propaganda force to promote peace—in particular to gain the interest and backing of millions who would otherwise settle down to a repetition of what we had before.

Propaganda for peace is much more difficult than propaganda for war. In war propaganda, anything—or almost anything—goes. Propaganda in war has a dramatic value. There is the immense publicity of battles won, of new weapons, of spectacular successes. Peace is unspectacular, undramatic. It was Thomas Hardy who said, "War makes rattling good history, but peace is poor reading."

The Public Analysed

So how does one approach this problem of publicity for peace? First, you must study the people you are aiming to reach. And bear in mind the first rule of all publicity—tell the people what they want to hear, rather than what you want to tell them.

You might, in fact, divide your public into two sections—the minority, the few thousands, who will pay serious attention to your serious appeal; and the rest, the great majority, the millions whose attention you have to fight for, who have to be coaxed and courted.

In broadcasting, if you get your appeal broadcast as a talk, you will reach the very small percentage who listen to talks. But if you want to reach the millions, the masses who do not listen to solid talks, you have to reach them through "In Town To-night," "The Brains Trust" and lighter fare. I think the Brains Trust programme proved my theory that the millions can be persuaded to listen to serious subjects if you present them attrac-

tively enough and dress them up with a little showmanship.

You need your serious appeal, too, of course; and fortunately the number of people who want serious information is on the increase. ABCA and other adult educational organisations are doing a splendid job in this direction.

Then there are the children. Just as Mr. Arthur Rank has realised that the children are his film audience of to-morrow, it is worth your while to remember that intensive work on the children to-day means less effort to-morrow. But to reach those children you need as much entertainment value and showmanship as Mr. Rank's organisation possesses.

Presenting the Case

Having analysed your audience, you have to present your case. In these days you need every device to amplify the appeal of the spoken word. Photographs, diagrams, drawings, all must help to tell your story graphically.

And now the media for reaching the public.

First, the Press. Spasmodical editorial announcements are not enough. There must be a stream of news and, if this news is to reach print, it must be professionally chosen and presented. A vital need is to have a Press Officer—or Public Relations Officer, if you like the new way of describing this job. A good example is the way the Red Cross has been kept in the public eye during this war.

And don't forget the magazines, especially the women's magazines with their great influence and circulations. Remember, when you want to reach the ordinary public, a gossipy article in *Home Chat* to you is worth more than a report in *The Times*. Your aim, after all, is to show the ordinary man and woman how they can do something towards maintaining peace, and the more intimate the journal in which your story is told the more likely

your appeal is to get right home to the people you are after.

A Planned Campaign

Then there is the radio. Here again a planned campaign is the only worth-while publicity. A talk now and then is not enough. You want sustained broadcasts, spread all over the schedule. Again, there is no point in going to the B.B.C. and asking vaguely for a series of broadcasts. That is what everyone else is asking for. Go with a detailed plan—suggestions for really interesting talks under the guidance of experts, for peace to be discussed in "To Start You Talking," in the Children's Hour, in the women's magazine. If you can pull enough strings you might even get a regular peace programme, but, please, it must be entertainment before propaganda, otherwise there will be no audience. In 1940 I was able to start a programme for the Merchant Navy called "Shipmates Ashore" and, because this was good entertainment, it attracted an audience of millions of listeners at home.

And again, in your means of reaching the public, do not forget television. They will want programme material. But there must be something worth televising—a peace pageant or something of that sort.

The Power of the Film

There is the cinema, perhaps the most potent weapon of all. Is there a full-length film on the peace theme? I doubt it. The Wilson film was not a box office success in this country. But there are other methods—the news reel, the short film, the flash.

Apart from the cinema itself there is the invited audience, the two million people who go along to a local hall and stand outside a mobile van to see Government films. There is the educational film, in which I am personally interested at the moment. Big plans are afoot for teaching children with films in schools, and for furthering adult education. A peace film could be sponsored to-morrow by this organisation and shown in hundreds of schools.

Other ways of reaching the public with your story include pageants, rallies and exhibitions. There will be new places like community centres wanting speakers and illustrated lectures. There will be organisations like C.E.M.A., the Co-operative Movement, the travel groups, the trades unions, willing to act as your spokesmen,

so long as they get the right material.

For all these schemes you will want intense regionalisation. The local appeal is strongest of all, and here it is worth studying what the National Savings Committee has accomplished with its very successful local group movements. These local savings organisations have run shows, concerts and all sorts of special efforts. Notice, too, the skill of a regular drive at intervals like "Warships Week," "Wings for Victory," and so on.

All these things need special organisation, of course, and make it all the more vital for you to have a large-scale publicity organisation with trained, professional people in charge.

Sugar the Pill

Now that I have made what are, after all, commonplace suggestions for publicising peace, may I make one more unusual, perhaps more controversial, suggestion?

The public is lazy-minded, difficult to interest in a subject like peace. Why not sugar your pill? Let us admit it is all too difficult to get the ordinary man or woman to attend a meeting on international affairs or to join an organisation. But, allied to your aim, is a subject of enormous interest. Greater than ever before is the interest in how the other man and his wife live and work. There is an urge to travel, to find out about the rest of the world and its citizens.

A talk on "International Peace" at a local hall may have only a sprinkling of housewives in the audience. But they will swarm to a talk on, say, "Running a Home and a Family in California."

Broaden your appeal, so that instead of membership you offer world citizenship. Translate your theories and ideologies into men and women, into houses and cities. Sell the world to the world. The better your Englishman knows your Russian, the better he will comprehend his outlook and his policy. Perhaps knowing each other more does not help us to like each other more, but it certainly makes for sharper understanding.

And on that firmer basis of understanding and respect can be built a truly international organisation for peace, with millions in this country playing a part—and every citizen of Britain willing to be an ambassador, an ambassador for Peace.

UP AND DOWN THE COUNTRY

Addressing the Twenty-fifth Annual General Meeting of the BROMLEY BRANCH, Dr. Gilbert Murray, O.M., expressed his pleasure on visiting one of the oldest and steadiest Branches of the Union. The Mayor (Councillor Arthur Collins) presided over an inspiring gathering. Dr. Murray gave a comprehensive explanation of what was being attempted at San Francisco. The vital test would be whether, in due course, the nations would dare to reduce their armaments by all round agreement. Peace-loving nations would not wish to have to go on indefinitely spending colossal sums on armaments.

Dr. Murray also re-visited the STREATHAM BRANCH, to speak on "The New League." The meeting was well reported. The local Press is taking a great interest in the meeting arranged for Streatham's three candidates to outline their respective policies on world peace and the future international authority. The Editor has been giving the Union a write-up each week until the event (June 30).

In direct response to Lord Lytton's appeal, our RUGBY BRANCH last year determined to increase its paid-up membership by 100 per cent., i.e. from 100 to 200. This has been achieved. A letter signed by Mr. Lyon, Dr. Champion, the Rector and Mr. Wheeler was sent out. Following up, members of the committee collected a number of subscriptions.

WESTMINSTER BRANCH held its Twenty-fourth Annual Meeting in Westminster College Hall, with Canon Alan C. Don in the chair. Mr. C. W. Judd, Secretary of the Union, spoke on the San Francisco Conference, giving the results up-to-date and mentioning the Union's recommendations which were being incorporated in the Charter of the new world organisation. He also discussed the future plans of the Union. The Branch is not satisfied with its present membership, but new members last year did slightly exceed losses from death and other causes.

The Mayor was in the chair and the Bishop of Croydon supported at CROY-

DON'S Annual General Meeting, when Dr. Bryn Thomas spoke on "San Francisco and After."

BOURNEMOUTH AND DISTRICT COUNCIL report that the improvement in the international situation has led to increased interest and activity in the Branches in that area. This has been conspicuously evident in the interest shown in the socials held during the winter months, in the course of lectures given by Mr. H. Hall, B.A., and in the Annual Meetings of the Branches. Though the passing of many old members has reduced membership, new members have been enrolled.

At the monthly luncheon arranged by our MONTAGUE BURTON BRANCH, Mr. A. Creech Jones spoke on the post-war Colonial Problem. The outstanding feature of the past 50 years had been the adoption of the Mandates System. Nevertheless a better system, he thought, could be achieved through the International Labour Office. The I.L.O. was taking a big hand in these developments and was flooding the light on the backward areas.

At LEYSIAN MISSION, there was a full bill for the recent meeting, as is usual with all gatherings arranged by Mr. Southall. Mr. Barry gave a lantern lecture, followed by an address by Mr. Catterall.

WEMBLEY BROTHERHOOD, which has had many talks on world affairs, continued the tradition when Mr. Catterall spoke on the San Francisco Conference. So much interest was aroused that Mr. Catterall was invited to complete his story at a return visit in the near future.

HIGHAMS PARK BRANCH made an auspicious fresh start at a well attended meeting presided over by Colonel Mallinson. After Mr. Aldous had spoken on the San Francisco Conference, the Branch officers and local clergy made strong appeals for active membership. Twenty-five new members enrolled on the spot.

One of our SPALDING members, who is turned 82 but still manages to get about on a bicycle, writing to renew her foundation membership, tells us that the news she receives monthly makes her feel glad to belong to the League of Nations Union.

LONDON CALLING—

It was indeed a lucky day for the Pulmore Branch when Mrs. Smith became its Honorary Secretary. Not that anyone had the smallest conception of this when the Chairman introduced her—small, pale and frail—to members of the Executive Committee, and explained that Mrs. Smith had agreed to take office. The thought uppermost in the minds of most was that it wasn't much good making such an appointment because nobody could do any good anyway, and certainly no progress could be expected in Union affairs at that time.

You will think from this that the Branch had drifted into a thoroughly depressed and defeatist attitude—and you would be right.

However, they were reckoning without the new secretary, for Mrs. Smith had ideas. She had imagination too, and most blessed gift of all she had a way of getting past that hard crust of determination not to take on responsibilities which exists on certain Committees. You know the kind of thing. There is a piece of work to be done, or a delegate to be appointed. The Committee agrees, and volunteers are asked for, after which there is complete and absolute silence while a positive wall of resistance settles down on the atmosphere.

Mrs. Smith had a way of getting in before the hard wall had had a chance to develop, and gaps were filled with the ease of a conjurer filling empty glasses. Collectors were recruited, delegates appointed, promises secured to do visitation of ministers and clergy and such other distinguished people as it was felt could be a strength as Vice-Presidents. Meetings also were arranged. At first the Treasurer complained that the Branch couldn't afford to run meetings, but he discovered, to his surprise, that good publicity meant well-attended meetings, and that the resultant collections could more than cover expenses. Also, that enrolments were made after a platform appeal, and that such increases produced revenue as well as members.

Pulmore Branch is now on a firm footing. Did you murmur "lucky Pulmore"? Well, perhaps you too have a Mrs. Smith somewhere in your area!

M. G. S.

CALLING THE SERVICES

OUR ALLESLEY BRANCH is another of the Coventry Branches which are doing more than hold their heads up above the ruins. The Branch obtained the addresses of all local men and women in the Services and mailed them a circular letter. The cost of postage made a hole in the funds—still, the move seemed good propaganda even if "nothing happened."

In fact, the response has been amazing. Mrs. Cole, the Branch Secretary, has been snowed under with work, reading and answering the replies. The L.N.U. *News Sheet* will be mailed regularly to all with whom the Branch thus establishes contact.

Other Branches may be interested to see the letter which has done the trick. Here it is:—

"We know you fighting men have no time for day dreams. We know that you know that the cessation of hostilities will not in itself bring what we all want—Peace for all time and a fair chance for all humanity to live its life in a better world. We, like you, are a practical folk; we are behind you while you fight; we would like to feel that you will be behind us in our "fight." We stand behind you because without your fight being won ours can never go on. We want you behind us because without our "fight" being won yours will have been in vain.

"We are the League of Nations Union, working in favour of the Moscow Four Power Declaration, the Atlantic Charter, Relief and Reconstruction, and Dumbarton Oaks.

"All shades of political thought are among our members and all religions too. If you are interested, I as Secretary of your own Branch will write you occasionally and tell you what we in Allesley are doing."

L.R.F.

BUFFET LUNCHEON

MISS K. D. COURTNEY:—

"I was at San Francisco"

Tuesday, July 17

Y.W.C.A. Headquarters:

Refreshments (2s.) 1 p.m.

Talk at 1.25 p.m.

WORLD AFFAIRS IN PARLIAMENT

THE UNITED NATIONS SECRETARIAT

By OWEN RATTENBURY

In the regrettable absence of Mr. Eden through his severe illness, questions in the House of Commons on Foreign Affairs have been answered by Mr. Richard Law. He was Minister of State, but is now Minister of Education. He has, of course, no responsibility for Foreign Affairs, though he has some knowledge of the background through his period of assistance to Mr. Eden—first as Parliamentary Secretary and afterwards as Minister of State. Probably Mr. W. Mabane, who has been appointed as his successor, would have made these answers if he had not gone to San Francisco in his capacity as Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Food before the Caretaker Government was formed.

There was one question which Mr. Law answered which called for criticism by Lord Perth in his speech in the House of Lords on June 14. That will appear later in this article.

The really important statements on Foreign Affairs were made by the Prime Minister who has been acting in Mr. Eden's absence. They were statements that were not discussed and were really of such a nature that perhaps it is better I should not deal with them. The first was his statement about Syria and the Lebanon in reply to General de Gaulle. The other was on the question of the withdrawal of permission to eight British scientists to be the guests of the U.S.S.R. after they had actually been inoculated in anticipation of their journeying away at once. That seems inexplicable.

Lord Cecil's Motion

I will confine my article, therefore, to Lord Cecil's motion in the House of Lords on June 14. The Noble Viscount was dealing with the proposal at San Francisco with regard to the Secretary-General and Deputy Secretaries-General of the new international organisation. The Secretary-General is to be eligible for re-

election after three years, but there is no such eligibility provided for the four Deputies. Lord Woolton in his reply said that it was not expressly stipulated that they should not be eligible for re-election, but Lord Cecil was surely right in thinking that if it is expressly stated in the case of the Secretary-General and not stated in the case of the others it is pretty obvious that it is not intended that they shall be allowed to be re-appointed.

As Lord Cecil said, it is obvious that we shall want very able people. Men of great ability and independence of character are required. They must not be mere officials of the Governments of the countries to which they belong, who will go back to official appointments there. They ought to be servants of the new organisation. The work of the Secretariat of the League of Nations was admirably carried out. With their great ability, they did achieve impartiality and the opinion of the Secretary-General was immediately accepted because of that. The only exceptions were the Italian and German officials, because they always spoke as representatives of their Governments and not of the organisation.

If the limit is three years, there will not be much future for them. One of two things will happen. Either you will get a second-rate type of person, or they will look to their future not as servants of an international organisation but as employees of a Government. In either case you will not get the kind of man you want for such a job.

Thus it seems reckless to decide now the details of the appointment of the Secretariat. Surely the right thing is to decide on the Secretary-General as the pivotal man and he should hold office for as long as is necessary to set the organisation going. Three years is much too short for that. But the choice and details of the offices of the men to serve under him should be settled by the organi-

sation itself in the light of the circumstances prevailing when they take up their duties.

Lord Perth Agrees

Lord Perth entirely agreed with Lord Cecil. To whom would these four Deputies be responsible? To the Secretary-General, who is apparently neither to choose nor appoint them, or to the organization itself, or to the Governments of the countries to which they happen to belong? He hoped the answer would not be number three. The position of these four gentlemen will be difficult. With only three years' tenure they are bound to look to their Governments for their future. His Lordship remembered one occasion when as Secretary-General of the League of Nations he had to oppose certain suggestions made by the British delegation. But could one of these deputies, bound by their three years' limit, take up such a position? It was very important that they should be completely independent.

Then the Secretary-General must be master in his own house. The Axis Powers proposed in the League of Nations that there should be administration by a college of five—the Secretary-General being *primus inter pares*. Their object was to weaken the League by attacking the loyalty of the Secretariat as an international service. It was overwhelmingly rejected. But it seemed to be making a re-appearance in a new form at San Francisco under the aegis of the five Great Powers.

Will the Secretary-General be able to bring before the Security Council or Assembly any problem that he may think likely to disturb international relations? Will he do it on his own initiative or will these four Deputies have to be consulted? It is a matter of considerable importance. He hoped that Lord Woolton would not take the line taken by Mr. Law as follows:

"There is a good deal to be said for the argument that it is important that people in the international organization who hold really important posts should have been, at some fairly recent date, in active contact with the world of men, so to speak, and not live in an abstraction of their own."

That was a travesty of facts, and the Minister of Education needed to educate himself on this point. In the League of

Nations, members of the Secretariat were not in any sense isolated.

Lord Woolton Replies

Lord Woolton promised that Lord Cranborne would no doubt take full note of the observations of the Noble Lords. He would see they are conveyed to him. The recommendation was the joint agreement of the representatives of the Big Five after taking note of their respective points of view, and were intended to give a helpful lead to the Conference. It was thought that the four delegations had in mind the anxiety of many countries represented at the Conference that the senior positions in the Secretariat should not be monopolized for too long by the representatives of particular countries who happened to be elected in the first place. The rotation of the offices of Deputy Secretary-General would have the advantage of refreshing contacts between the Secretariat of the World Organization and the world of international affairs with which it would be dealing. The Secretary-General would be able to build up the rest of the staff, and so would have the opportunity to build up a strong and permanent team of expert officials in the Secretariat which, as is agreed, is essential for the successful working of the Organization.

Lord Cecil was not satisfied. He remembered too much experiences of attempts of certain people to organize the election of people to such positions. Lord Balfour felt that such things were a much greater danger to the League than the great questions of policy that were discussed. He begged the Noble Lord to urge on our delegation that it was an absolute condemnation of their scheme to throw away the power to choose again men who had been serving for three years. It would be an incitement, if not to corruption, at any rate to a non-altruistic way of dealing with the great questions that would arise.

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ALL-PARTY CONFERENCES**HULL**

The Rt. Hon. Richard Law, M.P., was a great attraction at the All-Party meeting convened by the local branch of the League of Nations Union at the Guildhall, Hull. The other speakers were Mr. R. W. G. Mackay (prospective Labour candidate for N.W. Hull) and Mr. Roger Fulford (prospective Liberal candidate for Holderness). The Lord Mayor (Councillor J. D. L. Nicholson), who presided, was supported on the platform by the sheriff (Councillor K. Percival) and other responsible citizens, including other candidates, and Mr. H. Shoosmith (chairman) and Mr. George Godfrey (secretary of the Hull branch of the L.N.U.).

Mr. Law said that one of the great tragedies of the years between the two wars was that the issues of foreign policy, which should have been above party, had been thrown into the field of party conflict. In future, he hoped, these tremendous issues would be kept above party battles. During the past five years, in the all-party Government, there had been a complete unity of purpose and ideals on matters of foreign policy, which he hoped would be maintained in the future. Speaking of the League of Nations Union, he added that between the two wars it had been performing most valuable work in trying to educate public opinion upon the great issues which were facing the country in those days. He hoped it would continue to do that job and to improve upon it.

At the end Mr. Shoosmith contributed a most valuable summing-up. The *Hull Daily Mail* gave an almost verbatim report of the speeches and added a leading article commending a study of foreign politics to all readers.

RUGBY

A meeting was held in the Rugby School Temple Speech Room on June 1st, 1945, at which representatives of all the political parties, including two of the three candidates at the forthcoming election, were in-

vited to define their parties' attitude to the new world organisation. About 950 people attended, and the speakers all made full use of the fifteen minutes allotted to them. It was significant that without exception they deplored the failure of the nations to make adequate use of the opportunities offered by the creation of the League, and with the same unanimity welcomed the new organisation coming into being at San Francisco. They also agreed in stressing the need, in the future as in the past, for an enlightened and active public opinion. This fact, and the general attitude of the large audience, suggest that the British United Nations Association (if that is to be its name) will be able to count on the earnest support of a great majority of the electorate throughout the country.

DIARY OF EVENTS

May.

28. *War Crimes Conference in London. Allied meeting in London for setting up of emergency economic committee for Europe. Capture of William Joyce (Lord Haw-Haw).*

June.

1. *General de Gaulle's Statement on Syria.*
3. *French withdrawal from Damascus.*
4. *Opening Meeting of Arab League Council.*
5. *Four-Power Declaration assuming Supreme Authority in Germany.*
11. *Three Allied Landings in N. Borneo.*
12. *Three-Power Talks with Poles reopened.*
13. *World Food Conference, London.*
14. *British Government's Statement of Policy on India.*
20. *Governor's Conference with Burmese Leaders.*
21. *Japanese Resistance on Okinawa ceases.*
22. *Polish Agreement reported.*
25. *Viceroy's Conference with Indian Leaders.*
25. *General Election: Nomination Day.*
26. *President Truman's concluding address at San Francisco.*

July

5. *General Election: Polling.*

LEAGUE PUBLICATIONS

ECONOMIC STABILITY IN THE POST-WAR WORLD. (League of Nations Publications, Allen and Unwin, 40, Museum Street, W.C.1. 319 pp. 10s.)

This second part of the Report of the League Delegation on Economic Depressions is a sequel to "The Transition from War to Peace Economy" published a couple of years ago. The Delegation's task was to consider the measures that might be employed for preventing or mitigating economic depressions. In this concluding volume it is concerned with the long-term problem of securing economic stability and the fullest use of productive resources once the latter have been re-adapted to peace-time requirements. One section gives a general description of the nature and mechanism of depressions, and a second deals with policies for securing a high and stable level of employment. Throughout the Report, the Delegation insists on the international nature of depressions; thus a good deal of space is devoted to the influences of policies adopted in one country upon economic activity in another. "We should have failed wholly in our purpose", declare the authors, "had we put forward proposals which might reduce employment in one area only at the cost in increasing unemployment elsewhere."

REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE LEAGUE, 1943-44. By the Acting Secretary-General. (League of Nations Publications. 100 pp. 2s.)

This record describes in detail how the League of Nations has been working with a view to preparing for the resumption of far-reaching international co-operation. As Mr. Sean Lester shows, from the moral standpoint the maintenance of the League, especially in the darkest hours of the war, constituted an act of faith in the re-establishment of a World Organisation. What is essential is that international collaboration should be rapidly resumed in all spheres and with new vigour. Since 1920 the League has been the chief centre of international collaboration and has been woven closely into the texture of international life. There is hardly any inter-

national problem which, during the past twenty-five years, has not been considered at League meetings. Thus the knowledge and experience which it can hand on to its successor is unique and unrivalled. The new machinery, says Mr. Lester, will have a very real importance, but "even more important will be the readiness to make sacrifices for peace, the progressive materialisation of the world's passionate desire for justice—social and political—the growth of confidence between nations, and the establishment of common moral standards of action. . . . Peace can be none other than a continuous collective creation, and security in all spheres can result only from constant national and international effort."

MONEY AND BANKING, 1942/44. (League of Nations Publications. 224 pp. 12s. 6d.)

The new edition of this compendium of the monetary and banking statistics of the world covers Central Banks in 54 countries and Commercial Banks in 45 countries for the period 1937 to 1944. The statistics are accompanied by explanatory notes and brief summaries of recent changes in banking legislation. Owing to the fact that new Central Banks and Currency Boards, such as those of Central America, Iceland and the Middle East, are included, much of the information given is not available elsewhere. An impression can be formed of the world-wide increase in the volume of money which has taken place since the outbreak of the war.

THE MANDATES SYSTEM. (League of Nations Publications. 120 pp. 4s.)

The discussions on Trusteeship at San Francisco lend a certain topicality to this very comprehensive survey of the Mandates experiment. Successive chapters cover the origin of the system, the principles of the mandatory régime, League supervision, the moral, social and material welfare of the natives, and the population of the Mandated Territories. This is a work for serious students. It is severely factual and not easy reading.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

THE PRICE OF PEACE. By Sir William Beveridge. (Pilot Press, 45, Great Russell Street, W.C.1. 104 pp. 6s.)

After Social Security and Full Employment, Sir William Beveridge turns to International Security. His is an important contribution to the Pilot Press's "Target for Tomorrow" Series. The target in relation to peace is to discover means of replacing international anarchy—which means absence of law plus absence of morality—by international law. In writing about the lessons of experience, including the disunity of the victors after the last war which contributed to the failure of the Versailles settlement, he finds time to draw attention to some false trails to peace. These include power politics (here he gently crosses pens with Professor Carr!), refusal of international commitments, the balance of power, unchangeable frontiers, the impoverishment or dismemberment of Germany, and permanent discrimination between nations. Coming on to practicable solutions, Sir William himself is clearly at heart a federalist—one remembers his early contributions to the literature of Federal Union. Doubts about its feasibility at the present stage, however, lead him to consider what could be put into effect at the present time. One fact which he underlines is that "Peace is worth its price". The Dumbarton Oaks plan, he shows, has great merits; but whether or not the machinery will serve its purpose depends on the spirit in which it is operated.

WALTZING VOLCANO. By Francis Weiss. (Hollis and Carter, 25, Ashley Place, S.W.1. pp. viii + 238. 15s.)

With the war in Europe over, our thoughts are naturally turning to consider

the future of those small new States which fared so badly after the last war. In this book Mr. Weiss has contrived to give us a most readable and informative account of Danubian history from the heyday of the Habsburgs to the period between the wars. This he does by taking the story of his own middle-class Hungarian family and weaving round it the saga of the intellectual success and political failure that has so long been the fate of those unhappy races round the Danube. He has packed into the compass of a modern novel all the background that the amateur needs to appreciate the vexed problems that confront the post-war international authority. D. G.

THE POLITICAL FUTURE OF THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH AND EMPIRE. (Longmans, 43, Albert Drive, S.W.19. 48 pp. 1s.)

This book is based on the report of a political study group of the Royal Empire Society. Naturally a good deal of the space is taken up with the progress of the various parts of the Commonwealth and Empire. But underlying all is a realisation that moral influence will not be enough until a world order is firmly rooted in the hearts of all peoples. Thus moral influence cannot be entirely dissociated from power. We must be prepared to find international affairs making increasingly heavy demands upon the time of our statesmen. The problem of security ought to be regarded and dealt with as a world problem. The Empire as a whole, or any of its parts, cannot enjoy effective security without an international organisation carrying authority and supported by the power of the whole peace-loving community of nations acting in collaboration.

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