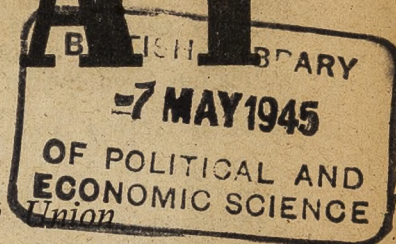


HEADWAY

IN WAR-TIME

The Journal of the League of Nations



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SAN FRANCISCO

By VISCOUNT CECIL

(Moving the Resolution on the "San Francisco Conference on World Organisation" at the Union's General Council Meeting.)

The first paragraph of the resolution speaks of congratulations; and congratulations to the Government are indeed well deserved. We are far further advanced towards a Peace Settlement than we were at a similar period in the last war. Then the conception that Peace might be secured by an International Organisation was quite a new one. No one even knew what was the precise attitude of the United States. The French Government had barely considered the question and most of the other Governments not at all. Even the British Government had not gone further than a general—and rather hesitating—approval of the idea.

That was the position down to our arrival in Paris in January, 1919, two months after the armistice. Now, while the fighting is still going on, the principal allies, including Russia and America, till the present time doubtful supporters of the League, have agreed on a general acceptance of a scheme for a new International Organisation, mainly on the lines which our Union had already elaborated. That is a great achievement—a very great achievement on the part of our Government and all who took part. Without the assent of the Yalta Powers, together with France and China, no peace edifice can be securely built. No doubts of ours about some of the actual proposals should blind us to that essential fact or make us half-hearted in our support of this immensely important renewal of a Great Experiment.

Conference Prospects

The resolution, secondly, welcomes the calling of a conference of all the United Nations at San Francisco to consider the Crimean proposals. That is an excellent thing; and we shall particularly rejoice at the statement by Mr. Stettinius, the American Foreign Minister, that he hopes the proceedings of the Conference will be in public. That will enable World Opinion to follow not only what is decided but also what are the reasons for the decisions. In any controversy the Conference will not be at the mercy of interested rumours spread by one side or the other—a most important aspect of publicity. I see it also stated that each country will have one vote. I do not quite understand that. I suppose it means that the proposals for the new organisation will be drafted in accordance with the views expressed by the majority of those present. But of course each country will be free to give or withhold its final acceptance of the document so drafted. It is, however, very much to be hoped that the Conference will reach a unanimous decision, not only on the terms of the Charter, as it is to be called, but also—and still more—on a convinced and enthusiastic support of its provisions.

In another respect we shall all feel encouraged as to the prospects of the Conference by the names of the British Delegates. It would not be easy to suggest three Ministers who are more personally qualified or more fully representative than

Mr. Eden, Mr. Attlee and Lord Cranborne. May we in this Union not add that we are specially glad that one of them who used to be a member of our Executive Committee has been chosen?

Present Action and Future Peace

The last paragraph of the Resolution draws attention to the amendments to the Dumbarton Oaks scheme, which you have been discussing at this meeting, and asks for their favourable consideration. I am naturally not going over again what has already been discussed. But there are just one or two general observations which I should like to stress. The main business at San Francisco will be to erect a barrier against war. A few people are saying that the horrors we have seen in the last five or six years will prevent any movement for a renewal of such a war as we are now experiencing. That has often been said at the end of great wars. It has never, so far, proved true. There will always be States whose ambition or discontent will be more powerful than their memories. Nor do I believe that social and economic reform—of enormous importance as it is—will by itself secure peace. It may help, but history and our experience with the League show that the forces that lead to war will not be restrained by social or economic reasons only. Still less, do I believe that mere punishment of Germany will exorcise the war spirit from her people. I believe that the best hope for lasting peace lies in the prevention of war, if necessary by force, and the utilisation of the tranquillity so secured in rooting out the false doctrines on which war depends. Now there is only one way of rooting out false doctrines, and that is by implanting a better doctrine. That may be done by propaganda, by preaching, if you will, but that is a difficult job.

We shall accomplish little by words unless our actions accord with them. We must set up and maintain an international system based on Freedom, Truth and Justice. In the peace settlement we must avoid weak sentimentalism on one side and mere revenge on the other. Every action that is planned, every change that is proposed, must be judged solely by its probable effects on future peace. Take, for instance, the suggestion that we should cut up Germany into a number of smaller

states. I am against, that because it can only be made lasting either by the consent of the Germans, which is not contemplated, or by the continued occupation of Germany by foreign troops, including, no doubt, our own. Such an arrangement would never endure and would only serve to increase German nationalism just as did the occupation of Germany for six years by Napoleon. A far better use of force would be to compel and maintain a real and effective disarmament of our present enemies.

Or take the much discussed treatment of German War Criminals. I am and always have been in favour of punishing Germans guilty of the horrible crimes of cruelty and barbarism of which we read in the newspapers. And I think the ruling Nazis, Hitler and his gang, are just as guilty as the torturers and hangmen that they employed. But I want them all to be tried first, not only to make sure that we have got hold of the right people, but also to convince the World and even the Germans that those horrors have, in fact, been committed and that it is for that reason and not because the accused are our enemies that we are proceeding against them. Hence I should equally be opposed to the hanging or shooting of such men without trial. Only their condemnation by an authoritative court can re-establish and strengthen the rule of law in international affairs without which we can have little hope of permanent peace.

Power and Responsibility

And when we come to the machinery of the new organisation, the Charter, let us be very certain that its provisions are in accordance with those principles of Freedom and Justice which we have professed. You will remember that in the Moscow Resolutions the new organisation was to be based on the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states and that is recognised as the basis of the Charter in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. Sovereign equality does not mean that all states are to be treated as having an equal responsibility for the maintenance of peace. Obviously they have not and the Charter properly recognises that fact. It gives the five permanent members of the Security Council a special position of influence, since it is clear that without Great Power co-opera-

tion, aggression cannot be prevented or arrested. It was the failure by the Great Powers in the League to accept this duty that caused the so-called failure of the League. Not only did they refuse to resist aggression but some of them—the Axis Powers—were the chief aggressors. So far, therefore, I see no objection to the proposed Charter. But to go further and to give to each of the Five Powers a veto on any coercive action against itself if it should be an aggressor seems a strange way of increasing international power to stop aggression. It is surely wrong on general principles, for no one should be a judge in his own cause, and also for the practical reason that it is only aggression by a Great Power that constitutes a real danger to World Peace. I am, therefore, glad that we are recommending that this proposal may be reconsidered at the San Francisco Conference. But that does not mean that if it remains the scheme should be dropped.

“My Old Comrades”

On this point let me say a word directly to all my old comrades in the struggle in which we have been engaged for the last quarter of a century. We have nothing to regret in that struggle except that its success has been partial. We have striven for a revolution in international relations and all our main principals have been accepted. True we see that the proposals now made are not perfect. But they have great merits. They represent an honest attempt to substitute law for war and agreement for destruction. If this system, with such improvements as can be made at San Francisco, can be established and supported it will grow. All depends on the support it receives and if this is the last word I shall speak to you let it be to appeal to you to re-double your exertions to get public opinion enthusiastically behind this new effort to secure Peace.

OUR COUNCIL AND SAN FRANCISCO

Dr. Murray's Welcome

Dumbarton Oaks, San Francisco, the Future of the Union—these were the three topics uppermost in all minds at the Special Meeting of the General Council of the League of Nations Union, held in the Livingstone Hall, Westminster, on April 5 and 6. A bare three weeks ahead loomed the United Nations Conference, called by the “Big Four” to draft the Charter of the new general international organisation. Hence the need for urgency, if the Union were to be able to present its suggestions to the Government before the departure of the British delegates for San Francisco. Thus the Council had to meet a fortnight earlier than had been expected. Despite this, there was a very good attendance from all parts of the country—a few more present and the members would have been demanding *Lebensraum!* It was almost, if not quite, the biggest Council that the Union has held in war-time. Generally it gave the impression of being a rather “younger” Council than others of recent years. It was also a friendly Council. The debates were critical but constructive, keen without being acrimonious.

DR. GILBERT MURRAY, presiding at the opening session, patted the Council on the back for mustering such a good attendance. This he regarded as an indication of the really sincere and strong interest that those who had come from a distance felt in the cause. Among them he noticed some of the small and ageing band who had backed the formation of the first League. Conditions were, in some respects, a good deal worse now, not only because of the material destruction but because of the absolute destruction of anything we could call goodwill. Now anything like “neutral” feeling had gone. There was inevitably much greater stress on peace by compulsion.

In our journey towards the establishment of justice and goodwill, we were starting from a world more distracted, more suffering and more embittered. Against that, he thought, the meaning of war had been driven more into our bones than in 1918. We could hope that the world had learned its lesson.

“The thing that has set us all wrong,”

said Dr. Murray, "is war. The thing we have got to get rid of is war itself." It would be a great mistake for our society to go searching for remote economic causes. He concluded with this plea:—"If we can't get complete justice all at once, don't let us break up our co-operation with our great Allies because we can't get just what we want."

Miss Courtney's Skilful Guidance

Without more ado the Council plunged into its main business—detailed discussion of the Executive's recommendations on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. It fell to MISS K. D. COURTNEY, Vice-Chairman of the Executive, to steer the delegates through the complexities of this subject. Nobody at the Council had a more difficult task. Her explanations, point by point, went right to the heart of the matter. Her comments, when knotty questions arose, shrewdly concentrated attention on the essentials. Long before the end of the discussion, everybody present was deeply conscious of the immense debt of gratitude that the Council owed to Miss Courtney. The warm tribute to her skill and patience, voiced by MR. F. E. PEARSON and MISS ELEANOR RATHBONE, M.P.—who, regarding the debate as a whole, made invidious comparisons to the detriment of Parliament—was richly deserved.

MISS COURTNEY started by tracing the course of events since the last Council meeting which had asked the Executive to study the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. The Dumbarton Oaks committee, consisting of the officers of the Union and other eminent experts, had sat for many weeks. They had not set out to draft an ideal international organisation, but to work upon the actual basis of the Dumbarton Oaks scheme. Their suggestions were political, and politics she regarded as "the art of the possible."

She approached the matter in slightly different mood from Dr. Murray. "Cheerfulness," she said, "will keep breaking through." After all, we had escaped a most terrible fate, and she had a great feeling of hope and confidence. Were we quite thankful enough for the Dumbarton Oaks tentative proposals? Supposing there had been no agreement, what would our situation have been? "We are taking our triumphs sadly if we don't

rejoice that we have got a plan backed not only by Great Britain but by America and Russia, who weren't in last time. And, though the proposals are like the League of Nations, America and Russia—who have their own reasons for disliking the League—are backing them."

It would not be difficult for a group of like-minded people to get together and draft something better. But it was a different thing when you were dealing with a group of nations, each bringing its own point of view and ideas. Then you must have compromise. "We are not met," added Miss Courtney, "to make a declaration of faith. Let us get the new world organisation in existence, and then look to its improvement."

Seconding the adoption of the main resolution, MR. W. ARNOLD said that, although all efforts to make a lasting peace had hitherto failed, we were nevertheless nearer our goal. We had been losing the battles yet winning the campaign. A world community was developing, but there was a political time-lag. We must make up this time-lag by creating a political organisation to give security. A creative alternative to anarchy and war was needed. The Dumbarton Oaks proposals were not perfect, but we ought to accept them as a starting point. Peace had to be made every day or lost every day, bit by bit.

Amendments

A good many amendments, both to the Dumbarton Oaks resolution and to the Executive's recommendations, were down in the name of Branches and affiliated organisations. After MR. T. C. PERROTT (New Commonwealth) had moved the first, stressing the subject of an International Police Force, Miss Courtney urged the Council not to add comments on things that did not apply to immediate action under the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. Her advice was, "Leave out 'special pets' and keep to general terms." In consequence, some of the amendments were not pressed and others, judged by this yardstick, failed to commend themselves to the Council.

Voting and the Veto

The Executive's recommendations, as brought before the Council, ranged over the whole field of the Dumbarton Oaks

scheme, and obviously all the points raised were not of equal importance. Even if there were space, it would be tedious to go through them all here. Those must be selected which aroused the greatest interest in the Council.

Voting procedure in the Security Council of the general international organisation was undoubtedly the problem that caused our Council most misgiving. Because of its difficulty, it had been left over in the Dumbarton Oaks draft for further consideration by the "Big Three." Hence, as Miss Courtney explained, the Union's proposals on this subject had been made before the more recent Yalta conference had met and reached its decisions. In her opinion the Yalta compromise did represent a considerable concession on the part of Russia. There were two stages—the first when the Security Council was trying to secure a peaceful settlement; and the second, if it had failed in this aim and was deciding upon action. Regarding the first, Russia had agreed to accept a majority decision. But, at the second stage, a permanent member would have a veto, and this could not be regarded as satisfactory. It might, she thought, be worse in theory than in practice. Still, we didn't like it. However, we had to remember that Russia had been isolated and had some grounds for suspicion. The important thing was to get the organisation going and then, as Russia came more and more in touch with other countries, she would prove more amenable.

The subsequent debate, which reached a very high level, revealed a general desire to get a more satisfactory voting arrangement and yet do nothing that might prejudice the chance of getting the international organisation started. MR. H. COLLINS (Southampton) and MR. J. W. WYERS (Blackpool) were among those who stressed that it was vital that the big nations should be subject to the Law, and that the Union must give no appearance of supporting that which was wrong. MR. R. W. FAINT (Chester), too, spoke of the "alarm and despondency" into which the Yalta decision had thrown his Branch, and he believed that the Union must say clearly what it thought.

None suggested that the Union should desert its principles. What, however, was

the best course of action, that would not embarrass the Government and bring Dumbarton Oaks to nothing?

MR. F. H. HARROD (Coventry), speaking in the name of the Earlsdon Branch, had one suggestion to make—that the Crimea formula should be adopted for a first period of ten years and then revised by the General Assembly in the light of experience gained. As the Great Powers would very strenuously oppose any attempt to alter the formula, he thought that we must accept it under the force of the practical issues facing the world to-day; but we did not want it to be permanent. Supporting, MR. DUNLOP (Tyneside) emphasised the reality of the understanding between the three great statesmen who met at Yalta.

While commending these two able and persuasive speeches, DR. MURRAY asked the Council not to plunge at once without considering other solutions. MISS ELEANOR RATHBONE, M.P., didn't like the Earlsdon proposal—it was unlikely that a Great Power would give up the right of veto after ten years. She preferred what Dr. Murray had suggested in an article in *The Spectator*—that if a question of the use of sanctions arises there should be no voting procedure on the Security Council. Her chief fear was that every one of the smaller Powers would be forced into the position of being a satellite of one or other of the Great Powers.

Contending that the Crimea compromise would do no very great harm, DR. GARNETT argued that this war would never have happened if the formula had been in operation, as Germany would have foreseen, from the discussion in the Security Council, the result of her aggression on Poland. He suggested grafting Dr. Murray's idea on to the Earlsdon amendment.

When the debate had proceeded for some time, LORD LYTTON tried to sum up the different views. There were those who had spoken in favour of a principle, those who thought it best to make a bad principle temporary, and the "realists." The realists believed in something that he didn't believe in. His view of realism was not to accept bad principles, but not to force principles where you hadn't the power to do so. The Yalta principle was bad because it gave a Great Power the right to

vote in its own dispute. He objected to giving it even a temporary life. But the fact underlying the Yalta compromise was inescapable—you could not coerce a Great Power. The future depended upon the willingness of those who had the authority to use it for the common good. He would like to affirm the right principle that at no time should a Great Power have a vote in a matter in which it was a party, and leave it to circumstances whether or not the principle could be enforced.

At the end of the afternoon session on the first day, LORD CECIL suggested an amendment, insisting upon the broad principle that no one should be a judge in his own cause and urging that the matter should be further considered at San Francisco. This he hoped that the Council would think over during the night.

Next morning PROFESSOR S. BRODETSKY, supporting Lord Cecil's proposal, asked the Council not to forget the constant isolation and snubbing of Russia in the past which had helped to produce her present attitude of suspicion. The problem was how could we co-operate with a Power that had done enormously much to save civilisation. By the very force of events the fate of the world was being handed over to a few Great Powers. Their might must be converted into a trustee force for the whole world. We should do everything to encourage the development of a practical procedure now.

Other speakers welcomed Lord Cecil's amendment, a few drew attention to possible snags, and then DR. GARNETT proposed a cross between his own amendment and Lord Cecil's. This form was finally accepted by the Council (see text on p. 16).

The Name and Other Matters

The Council could not resist the fascination of trying to find a name for the new international organisation. There was a widespread feeling that "The United Nations," because of its association with a war-time coalition, was not the best choice. Nevertheless, this title found its supporters, notably MR. GEE (Wallington) and COUNCILLOR BEEVERS (Montague Burton). Alternatives suggested did not impress the Council, which decided not to make a proposal to change the name at present.

Chapter XI, on the arrangements for international economic and social co-operation, was described by Miss Courtney as "terribly important," though she hoped nobody would attempt to say all that there was to be said about it. The Social and Economic Council, and consequently the Assembly, might in due course become the most important part of the organisation. The General Council showed itself particularly interested in the Executive's suggestions for getting an assurance that certain fundamental human rights should be respected, that some provision should be made to safeguard the I.L.O., and that an expert and impartial committee should be set up to assume the duties of the Permanent Mandates Commission.

San Francisco

LORD CECIL'S speech, moving the resolution on the San Francisco Conference, took the place of his Presidential Address, to which the Council always looks forward eagerly. The text will be found on p. 1 of this number. "No further speech," commented Dr. Murray, "is necessary after what we have heard." The resolution was carried unanimously.

Lord Lytton on Future of Union

Moving the resolution on the Future of the Union, LORD LYTTON explained why it was necessary to have a resolution and not merely an interim report. The Special Committee on this subject had given special attention, as it was asked to do by the Council, to a possible change of name and possible alterations to the Royal Charter. But immediately they came up against a difficulty.

"I went myself to see Mr. Attlee, the Lord President of the Council," explained Lord Lytton. "I asked him for permission to alter our Charter, pointing out to him that throughout that Charter the words 'League of Nations' kept on occurring, and that that organisation was about to be superseded by another in relation to which we wanted to perform the same functions as we have performed in connection with the League of Nations. Mr. Attlee quite appreciated the necessity for doing this, but he made two things very clear to me. First, he said, the Privy Council have de-

cidied not to recommend the issue of any new Royal Charters during the war. They will not even consider alterations to an existing Royal Charter until the war is over. Secondly, he said:—'Your chances of getting consideration even then will depend upon whether the circumstances in which you apply are the same as those in which you obtained your existing Royal Charter.' In other words, whether a new international organisation has been set up and is in existence, and this country is a member of that organisation. Mr. Attlee said:—'If you then come and ask for permission to have a Royal Charter to set up an organisation to support that new organisation, you will have a very good chance. But you will have no chance whatever if you come and ask for a Royal Charter for an organisation with some general purpose or general object in view.'

"That," continued Lord Lytton, "settled one of the points which we discussed at our last Council meeting. There were some members of the Council who thought it would be desirable that we should be linked to a principle and not to an agency, because agencies come and go. Mr. Attlee said quite clearly:—'You will not get your Royal Charter for an organisation merely to uphold a principle. Your only chance will be to get a Charter for an organisation to support a particular agency.' Incidentally, that largely diminishes the range of choice for titles."

So the Union could not change its Royal Charter or its name. Meanwhile, it was imperative to start an active campaign. He, Lord Lytton, had next asked Mr. Attlee whether an interim title of the "United Nations Union" could be adopted, but had been told that the title in the Charter was fundamental. But Mr. Attlee had gone on to point out that it might be considered whether the Union could set up a new society, work through that society, and use Union funds for its support.

Owing to the rather complicated legal problems involved, it had not been possible to settle all the points before that Council meeting. The Executive, however, felt that the new society should be launched as soon as possible. A good time would be June 14, United Nations' Day, when the Union would be holding an Albert Hall meeting in London, and simul-

taneously Branches would be holding meetings all over the country.

Thus the matter was being brought up at this special meeting. It would be necessary to have a resolution, as they were asking to use the funds of the Union for this purpose.

Lord Lytton made it clear that he was not asking the Council to approve the interim report of the Special Committee—which, in fact, had not been either considered or approved by the Executive. There were only two things, as far as he could see, that might have to be done before the next Council meeting. The first would be to give the society a name, and the second, as we might want to enrol members, to fix the rates of subscription.

He only wanted to add one thing that was not in the report—that the Executive had confirmed Mr. Judd in the position of Secretary of the Union. And, to prevent Mr. Judd from over-working himself, it was decided also to appoint a publicity officer.

MR. HARROD (Coventry), seconding, said that if we set up a new society, we had got to get down to solid work throughout the country. It was necessary to have not only members but workers in every Branch.

What emerged most clearly from the ensuing discussion was that the majority of Branches represented at the Council were opposed to the abolition of the 1s. rate of subscription. No decision was reached regarding the name of the new society.

LORD LYTTON reiterated that the Executive was not asking the Council to accept the whole report. What they would like was that the Branches should study it and send up comments on any part of it. MR. GREEN (Skipton) said that they all understood that it was an interim report. They were pleased to see these ambitious efforts to do something bigger than in recent years, and probably bigger than we had ever done.

LESLIE R. ALDOUS.

L.R.F. BUFFET LUNCH. Tuesday, May 8, 1 p.m., at Y.W.C.A. Headquarters. JOANNA STAVRIDIS on "The Ordeal of Greece."

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

By PROFESSOR ARTHUR NEWELL

"Now he belongs to the ages."

These words were spoken the day Abraham Lincoln died by a member of his Cabinet who had opposed him with greatest bitterness. The same words can with great force be applied to proclaiming Roosevelt, his spiritual successor, 80 years later to the day. As with Lincoln, Roosevelt's greatness grew upon himself; as metal draws lightning, force shifts all opposition. Now the storms are over and "he belongs to the ages." We shall not again see his like, and he has left a great void—in his own country and throughout that "one world" to which he had dedicated his healing energy.

F.D.R.'s Double Task

No American president has ever grappled with such a colossal double task. When he rode into the arena in 1933 America lay prostrate, her internal economy crushed in a weight of depression as had never before assailed any nation. Roosevelt faced his job with energy, forthrightness and gaiety. In swift, hard, unrelenting strokes, he got across all difficulties, just as he had got across and so conquered his own physical infirmities. He began to rescue his land and people. Some of his actions failed to show their boldness; some were too hastily conceived; some were thwarted by influence too strong to be resisted; but his was an experimental government. It had to be, and so much of all he did has stood the test that we now look back and see the full measure of his genius and indomitable spirit.

For me there will always be the memory of a half-hour's unforgettable conversation which my nineteen-year-old son and I had with him at the White House in 1934. A welcoming hand, the flashing friendly eye, the far-ranging mind absorbed by the immediate problem, but always looking ahead to the next horizon. My son asked him: "What, Mr. President, of all the measures you have started these past years do you think will be of most permanent value?" Quickly came back, "Only history can answer that question, my boy:

but I'll tell you what has given me the most fun of anything I have done. It was that morning when we cleared this office and put down on the floor the biggest map of the United States we could find. I was determined to do something at once about those quarter of a million boys and young men who were tramping the roads hunting for jobs that did not exist. By night we had pin-pointed thirteen hundred camps all over America, and in 30 days those boys were off the roads doing useful work. That day was the most fun I have had since I became President."

Driving Power and Leadership

Such continuous driving power cannot be defeated. So it has been whenever he has summoned his people to their world tasks. Against all opposition and apathy, he led America and captured its mind. "We must back our friends; we must help our friends; we are millions and part of the world; we must defend the world's labours and so defend our own; this war is ours, for civilisation is at stake."

Here was leadership, far-reaching, fearless, accurately timed. I was in England when Roosevelt gave his inaugural speech in March, 1933, listening with a working-man friend of mine over the radio in his little council cottage. We heard the new President's voice ring out: "We have nothing to fear but fear itself." My friend, in his shirt sleeves, snipped off the radio, and said quietly, "That man means business; perhaps there is hope for all of us." Thus he inspired people the world over.

He leaves a void. No one man can replace him. We, the common people of America and the world, are now called upon to close our ranks and fill the gap, carrying forward his unfinished business; for it is our business, and the future of the world for life depends on whether we can face and surmount the obstacles that lie in our path—with something of the courage and gaiety that Franklin Roosevelt has left as his empowering and undying legacy.

UP AND DOWN THE COUNTRY

As we go to press Miss K. D. Courtney, Vice-Chairman of the Executive, is spending a week in Scotland, addressing a series of meetings upon Dumbarton Oaks and the San Francisco Conference. A heavy programme has been arranged for her at EDINBURGH, ST. ANDREW'S, DUNDEE and COMRIE. We hope to give a report of her tour in our next issue.

HIGHGATE BRANCH'S enterprise in holding its first public meeting since the outbreak of war was well rewarded. The Big Hall of Highgate School was full. Captain L. D. Gammans, M.P., who had recently accepted an invitation to become President of the Branch, gave an address on the problems which would confront the San Francisco Conference and the attitude of the various nations. He showed the importance of public opinion and of the peoples being willing to pay the price of peace.

The Annual Meeting of the ELIE AND EARLSFERRY BRANCH was considered one of the best in the Branch's history and several new members were enrolled. The President, the Rev. P. D. Gray, spoke of the new world organisation, stressing that there must be no slackening off after it had started. Brigadier-General Crosbie showed how encouraging, in many respects, the League experiment had been.

Mr. F. M. Burris was the speaker on the Dumbarton Oaks plan at the Annual Meeting of the HENLEAZE AND WESTBURY BRANCH. Attempts are being made to renew links with local Churches, and offers to supply speakers have been accepted by a number of organisations in the district.

It was a happy inspiration of the DUNDEE BRANCH to let the Annual Meeting take the form of a Brains Trust. Not only did the members rally round in good numbers, but many non-members came along with questions.

Very few Branches operating in a small area could show a more fruitful record than GREEN LANE (COVENTRY). Variety has during the past year been the keynote of its programme, in which a Brains Trust, a debate and social activities have been sandwiched between more formal meetings. After a debate at EARLSDON, there was a

return visit when the two Branches engaged in a competitive "Any Questions?" night. Other activities included two whist drives and a garden party. The speaker at the Annual Meeting was Mrs. van Someren of the Netherlands Information Bureau.

Thanks largely to the keenness of the Committee, CHURCH STRETTON BRANCH has had a busy year, including six public meetings and regular study activities. The Annual Report speaks of the stimulus derived from "the urgent, stirring letters from Headquarters, which have demanded immediate decisions." Miss Oakeshott, a tireless worker for so many years, has been obliged to resign the secretaryship. Her place is being taken by Miss Lucy Lee, formerly Secretary and Chairman of the Youth Group. This, it is hoped, will have the effect of roping in some of the younger people.

LINGFIELD AND DORMANSLAND BRANCH held a successful public meeting at the Lingfield School, which was addressed by Mr. J. T. Catterall. Speaking at NORTHAM, Mr. Catterall took as his subject the San Francisco Conference. Anglican, Congregationalist and Methodist Ministers supported the chairman. The Secretary writes that the speech made a deep impression and in consequence they will all be stirred to greater efforts.

Mr. C. W. Judd, Secretary of the Union, addressed a meeting in the KINGSTON Guildhall. Mr. H. H. Walker's engagements included visits to CÔSHAM, MALDON, COLCHESTER and HARROW Adult Club. Captain D. Morton had meetings at BATH, HUNGERFORD Town Hall and BERKHAMSTED.

Councillor A. E. Lauder, Mayor of Southgate, presided at a meeting of the SOUTHGATE FORUM when Mr. L. R. Aldous spoke on Dumbarton Oaks and San Francisco. Mr. Aldous also addressed the Rotary Club and the Women's International League at BURY ST. EDMUNDS, the week-end conference of the ISLINGTON COUNCIL OF YOUTH at Hoddesdon, a CHORLEY WOOD Discussion Group, and the NATIONAL SOCIETY OF WOMEN CIVIL SERVANTS, as well as the Annual Meetings of the CHESTER and SEAFORD Branches.

ALL-PARTY CONFERENCES**BATH SHOWS HOW**

Our Bath Branch was first in the field with its All-Party Conference on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. Not only so, but it provided an object lesson regarding the running of such Conferences. The venture was an unqualified success. Not a detail had been forgotten in making the arrangements. The Rev. J. R. Presland and his willing team of helpers carried everything through smoothly. A capacity audience crowded the Pump Room, and the atmosphere of expectancy in the hall brought the best out of the speakers.

During war-time it has been rare indeed for the audience to start to assemble for an L.N.U. meeting a full hour before the start. That happened at Bath. Extra chairs had to be brought in, but even so some people had to stand round the walls. There must have been some 500 present, i.e. slightly over the normal capacity of the Pump Room.

One last-minute alteration in the programme was made. When the three Parliamentary candidates were waiting in the ante-room, the view was strongly expressed that somebody should start off with a brief, objective explanation of Dumbarton Oaks. So the Editor of HEADWAY, who was representing Headquarters, took on this job. It helped the audience, and also enabled the candidates to go right ahead with their comments.

Presiding, the Mayor (Councillor Edgar Clements) stressed the importance of the occasion and said that the issue transcended party politics. When question time came, he firmly declined to put party political questions to the speakers.

After the summary of Dumbarton Oaks, the three candidates followed in the order which they had drawn by lot. None of them made the slightest attempt either to "score points" off their rivals or to make party capital out of the meeting. All backed Dumbarton Oaks, but urged improvements very much along the lines suggested by the Union. Both Mrs. Archibald (Labour) and Major Hopkins (Liberal) wanted the position of the Economic and Social Council to be made as strong as possible, with wide powers

and absolute loyalty. Mr. Pitman (Conservative) pointed out that the L.N.U. was doing for Dumbarton Oaks in this country what the State Department was doing in America, i.e. spending time and money on educating public opinion. Major Hopkins, too, spoke as an active worker for the Union over many years.

At question time, those questions addressed to a particular candidate were dealt with by him or her, and the others by Mr. Aldous. Each had a good innings! A strong appeal for membership of the Union was included.

The Mayor was delighted at having been asked to preside over such a fine meeting, and all the candidates were deeply impressed. The Union, too, enjoyed the satisfaction of having been put "on the map" so far as Bath was concerned. Also there were signs of neighbouring places being stirred. A number of visitors included Colonel Wyatt, who came over from Bristol. The *Bristol World* sent a reporter, and excellent reports appeared both in this paper and in the *Bath and Wilts Chronicle*.
L. R. A.

SOUTHAMPTON

Mr. Herbert Collins, Secretary of the Southampton Branch, writes that the All-Party Conference at the Civic Centre was a great success. All the suggestions from head office for running such a meeting were followed, except that the Branch issued tickets (free) to those who applied for them. People were asked to put their names and addresses on the back of the tickets if they wished to enrol and hand them to stewards afterwards. As a result about two dozen new members were secured, and it is thought that others may come in later.

The speakers, who gave their views on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, were: Mr. W. Craven-Ellis (National Conservative), Mr. Ralph Morley, J.P. (Labour) and Group-Captain R. Fulljames, M.C. (Liberal Party Organisation). Miss K. D. Courtney was convincing, as usual, in putting the Union point of view.

ST. ALBANS "MODEL"

When people start coming into a meeting fifty minutes before time, and when eventually 350 of them pack a town hall to capacity, clearly it's no ordinary meeting. And it wasn't, for the Union's St. Albans Branch had conjured on to its All-Party Conference platform on April 16th the following prospective 'Parliamentary candidates and party representatives: the Hon. John Grimston, M.P. (Conservative Member for St. Albans), Councillor C. W. Dumpleton (Labour), Mr. James Hemming (Common Wealth), Miss Enid Lake-man (Liberal), and Mr. George Matthews (Communist). The L.N.U. was represented by Mr. Hugh Walker, its Assistant Secretary.

A less able chairman than the Mayor of St. Albans, who incidentally is a very good friend of the local Branch, could not have handled the proceedings so as to give the audience a mayoral welcome, six speeches, one vote of thanks, and the opportunity to put fifteen questions, all within two hours. Each speaker was given 12 minutes, as much less as he liked to take, but not a second more. And what a discipline—no time to introduce oneself, to perorate, or to waste anything on a political opponent. Mr. Walker led off by describing in barest outline what the Dumbarton Oaks proposals were with a word about the Union's attitude towards them. Later, at question time, he was able to enlarge upon the detailed suggestions which the Executive had made. All the party politicians were good, and, with minor reservations, gave general support to what will be attempted at San Francisco. Their speeches were sound contributions to the education of the electorate—light and not heat was the order of the evening.

The Chairman's "Any Questions?" raised the temperature appreciably. The Government's past record in foreign politics, the economic causes of war, private profit-making in arms, and a refreshingly good proportion of questions asking for more light on the D.O. Proposals, all came over in the barrage.

The arrangements both in advance of the date and on the night itself were a model of planning and execution. Everything had been thought of by Mr. Willan

(the secretary) and his committee, and their strenuous efforts were rewarded by a really first-class meeting. Amongst the ingredients of success were: an open invitation to attend, extensive and striking publicity, a model chairman who handled the time-table like a pre-war railway controller, the speeches delivered one after the other and the questions in a block at the end, a description of the Dumbarton Oaks scheme right at the outset, and firm discouragement from the chair to embroider any of the questions.

H. H. W.

HARTFORD

Our Hartford Branch, in place of an All-Party Conference, is finding it convenient to hold a series of three meetings, each to be addressed by one of the Parliamentary candidates. At the first Professor R. S. T. Chorley, prospective Labour candidate for the Northwich Division, expressed his views on "The Conduct of Foreign Affairs." He rounded off his speech with a strong appeal on behalf of the Union, which brought in some new members.

ABOVE ALL NATIONS. An Anthology compiled by George Catlin, Vera Brittain and Sheila Hodges. (Gollancz, Henrietta Street, W.C.2. 88 pp. 2s. 6d.)

It does one good to read, in this anthology, of so many instances when good instincts, a mixture of lightness and gaiety with the sadness, and the true milk of human kindness would out even in this worst of all world wars. It makes one proud of underlying human dignity and more determined than ever to insist that the Peace which is going to be built up shall at least contain, for all time, a Bill of Human Rights, a Charter of Humanity. At the same time it would be unwise to base on this evidence any equalitarian theories about Germany or facile conclusions as to her underlying political virtues. Germany's record, when acting as a mass, has been one of persistent obedience to bad leadership, and of dangerously arrested political development, which for a long time to come must evoke from the United Nations the utmost watchfulness.

WORLD AFFAIRS IN PARLIAMENT

THE DEBATES ON SAN FRANCISCO

By OWEN RATTENBURY

When the arrangement was made that, on April 17, there should be debates in both Houses on San Francisco and its programme, it was naturally expected that Lord Cranborne in the House of Lords and Mr. Eden in the Commons would wind up for the Government. This would undoubtedly have been the case but for the death of President Roosevelt. In the absence of the Foreign Secretary at the funeral in Washington, Mr. Richard Law took his place.

In both debates it was apparent that the chief cause for apprehension was the decision as to voting in the Security Council made at Yalta. Lord Samuel put the point wittily when he said:—

"It has been said that the new Organisation would be superior to the League in that it would put teeth into the Covenant. But the teeth are becoming false teeth and anyone is able to remove the denture leaving a derisory figure with toothless gums."

He trusted some modification would be possible, and immediately acclaimed the fact that Mr. Molotov would, after all, be going to San Francisco as a hopeful sign. And he hoped it meant willingness to make an accommodation on this matter as on others.

Lord Samuel was not in any way hostile to the Soviet Union nor, I think, were the others who spoke on the point in either the Lords or the Commons. He agreed, as did most of the others, that if the choice was between accepting this voting procedure and conceding the power of veto on the one hand, and on the other of foregoing the co-operation of Russia, he would accept the bad proposal rather than lose Russia's co-operation. Certain other speakers did not put the whole of the responsibility for the proposal on to Russia, but suggested that the U.S.A. also was unlikely to consent to accept jurisdiction of the new international organisation without keeping the power of veto.

Beveridge as Critic

Sir William Beveridge was very critical. The only way to a world organisation for

security, he stated, lay first in providing for an honourable, impartial settlement of all disputes between nations without war; second, certainty that force would be available to back up settlements, while preserving the internal independence of every nation; third, that force should not be used for any one nation, but only for justice. He would rather have no voting procedure than that suggested. That would mean free debate, which was good in itself. Sir William put a contrast that perhaps it is necessary we should remember. Sir Geoffrey Mander had used a phrase about hoping that war would be ended, which had been greeted with a derisive shout of laughter from the other side. But in contrast he personally found that, whenever he spoke at a public meeting and said that the first condition of a good life for all was that peace should be lasting, the audience always expressed decisive agreement.

Sir William described his speech as that of a realist. Colonel Walter Elliot promptly answered him. He suggested imaginary cases—that the U.S.A. were subject to a dispute on immigration and the majority of the General Assembly decided that the U.S.A. must open its boundaries to unlimited Asiatic immigration. Would this country attack them to enforce a verdict of this kind? There were great international questions on which Russia, similarly, felt strongly. We wanted a peace decision, but nations were not going to be engineered into it by a sudden majority decision.

He defined the difference between these proposals and the League of Nations. The latter was formed to produce delay in certain circumstances—under the Covenant war was to be "legal" after nine months' delay. That was now ruled out. For the first time, also, we were to commit ourselves to make war on opinion in the quest of peace.

In his recent journey in Russia he had met everywhere a genuine desire to co-operate with the Western Powers. But

there were communities in Russia separated by many thousands of miles from us, and by all sorts of traditions, race, culture and language. The growth of their trust would be a slow growth, and had got to be brought along very slowly indeed.

Able Speeches

Very able speeches came from Mr. Harold Nicolson, who immediately followed Colonel Elliot, and from Mr. Ivor Thomas and Sir Arthur Salter. Speaking as one who had a prejudice in favour of the old Covenant, Mr. Nicolson, nevertheless, felt bound to say that the Dumbarton Oaks proposals represented an improvement of technique comparable only to the advance in the design of the most modern four-engined bomber over that of Blériot's original biplane. I would strongly recommend a reading of Mr. Attlee's opening statement. It was comprehensive and clear, and put the whole Government case before the House in a manner which is more impressive when read than when it was delivered. Mr. Law summed up, but could not add much to what Mr. Attlee had said.

In the Lords

But there was the debate covering a good deal of the same ground taking place in the Lords. Lord Templewood, like some of the Commoners, wanted a statement of international conduct to which all the Powers subscribed. The economic, social and moral questions connected with the re-establishment of civilisation in Europe were of the first urgency and importance.

Of the rest, I can only add a little about Lord Cecil's speech and about Lord Cranborne's. Perhaps, as an introduction, I may repeat the delightful story of Mr. Harold Nicolson told, in his Commons speech, about Lord Cecil and his brother, Lord Quickswood. "What I want to know, Bob," said the latter, "is—will your League work?" To this Lord Cecil replied, "Think again, Hugh; does a spade work?"—a pungent way of suggesting that the best machinery is valueless unless there is a will to make it succeed.

Lord Cecil, in his speech, said it would take a long time for the nations of the world to regard peace and humanity as a larger whole of which nationalism was a

part. But it was possible. We had enthusiastic Scotsmen who were good British citizens as well. He wondered if his noble friends would enjoy drawing up a scheme which would be equally acceptable to the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.

No plan for social and economic reform was worth the paper it was written on unless you had security for peace. The Bishop of Chichester had wanted a 'declaration of human rights. That was all right in general terms. You could get everybody to agree that all men ought to be free and happy and have plenty to eat. Difficulties came when you began to define the measures by which you could do it. The League had put international co-operation first and had tried to build security on it. Dumbarton Oaks reversed the process—and he thought rightly.

Lord Cranborne and the Union

Lord Cranborne admitted that the proposals in their present form were not considered perfect. The League of Nations Union had examined the proposals and were in general agreement, but thought that they needed expansion, improvement and clarification, and suggested a good many amendments. The original proposals of that body, he was glad to say, had been taken into consideration by H.M. Government at an earlier stage.

He agreed with Lord Templewood as to the necessity for a statement of principles, and thought there would have to be some such preamble. The object, he agreed, must be to concentrate power in the hands of peace-loving nations if they were to preserve peace. It meant that the Great Powers would have to keep up great armies, navies and air forces. We should have to divert a considerable proportion of our income to international defence. "We cannot buy international peace on the cheap."

He had great difficulty in accepting the veto provision, and only did so as the lesser of two evils. He was driven to the conclusion that we must accept it or drop the whole scheme. One of the chief reasons why the League of Nations failed was the absence of the U.S.A., and, in a lesser degree, the delay in bringing Russia in. Now we had the chance to bring both in, it was an opportunity not to be missed. If the Great Powers were to abuse

their privilege, the world organisation would break down. It was not necessary to assume that the privileged position would endure for all time.

The Economic and Social Council he described as in many ways one of the most vital parts of the organisation. Their task would be to co-ordinate bodies like the I.L.O. and to create other bodies for similar needs.

"It is not surprising," concluded Lord Cranbourne, "that the faith of man in man

has been utterly broken down and destroyed. . . . Men have seen patriotism and religion warped and debased; they have seen freedom of thought and speech become a crime; they have seen the pledged word of nations become a mere gambling counter in the hands of the wicked and unscrupulous; they have seen ruthless power elevated into the standard of right and wrong. So low has European civilisation sunk in these last three dreadful decades. To-day we have another chance—it may be the last—to lift humanity out of the pit into which it has fallen. We must not, we dare not, fail."

FROM HEADWAY'S POST-BAG

Bretton Woods

Sir,—May I make brief reply to the two letters in your March issue criticising my article in February on Bretton Woods?

The gold standard to which we adhered in 1925 was not the same as the gold standard of 1914. The gold standard of the Bretton Woods proposals is rather worse than the 1925 one. I should more correctly have written "return to a gold standard," not "the."

Lord Lytton is inaccurate in describing the Bretton Woods scheme as a compromise between the American plan and the Keynes plan: it is a watered down version of the American plan, and shows practically no features of the Keynes plan.

Both your correspondents seem to think that any plan is better than none. Surely "isolation" is preferable to the adoption of a plan which would doom our foreign trade to ruin. Why be afraid of a bogey word—*isolation*? And, indeed, is that the right word for membership of the Sterling Group?

The *argumentum ad hominem* is a poor weapon. If in 1925 I had protested against the deflation, Lord Lytton would presumably have said: "It is permissible to believe that Lord Cunliffe knows at least as well as Mrs. White what this plan really means." But we all know now what disaster it did really mean, and we have seen Mr. Churchill recently standing in a white sheet for his share in the disaster. The prestige of famous names is no guarantee against deplorable blunders.

I notice that neither of my critics ventures to mention the worst feature of the Bretton Woods scheme, the impossibility, once in, of getting out except at the cost of general boycott.

E. M. WHITE.

Radlett.

"Well-Intentioned Errors"

Sir,—In Mr. Gordon Dromore's list of well-intentioned errors committed by various people in the inter-war years, I observe one omission of importance, viz., the premature attempts to disarm the Powers on whom the responsibility of safeguarding peace necessarily depended. "Their eyes were holden that they should not see"—how sadly true this is of many of us in that fateful period! We can see now that it was altogether too soon to scrap our weapons, when it was evident that the predatory Powers were getting ready to try their luck again in the great gamble whose prizes were vast accessions of territory, wealth and might. We are foolish—and worse than foolish—if we refuse to recognise how easily we were "gulled," and how readily we succumbed to the fallacy that the possession of arms in itself makes the outbreak of war more probable. "The strong man armed keepeth his goods," by discouraging burglary.

D. E. AUTY.

Castle Douglas.

From India

Sir,—I think the enclosed note on the C.E.W.C. might be of interest to you. It is taken from VICTORY, a weekly magazine for troops in the India Command.

I might add that my mother sends on my HEADWAY every month and, in over two years, every copy has arrived safely.

G. F. WRAY

India Command.

(The cutting from VICTORY, headed "Facts about Britain," begins with this note: "During the last twelve months between 6,000 and 7,000 secondary and public-school boys have attended conferences held under the auspices of the Council for Education in World Citizenship. The Council was established in 1939 by the League of Nations Union."—Ed.)

LONDON CALLING—FOR IDEAS

It is an easy matter to find the weaknesses in any human institution, but not so simple to be constructively helpful, and by using our imaginative faculties, to find other and better methods.

The League of Nations Union is making a fresh start. Soon it will adopt a new name to match the international authority taking shape at San Francisco. After twenty-five years any organisation tends to get into a rut and to become stale in its methods and its outlook. A new start will give the opportunity the Union and its Branches need to have a spring clean; to keep the best in its system and discard those methods which have been tried and found wanting.

Branch members would do well to use this end-of-war period to do some stock-taking of their own, and see if they cannot invigorate their organisation by introduc-

ing new ideas and methods. These ideas might be useful to others, as well as to themselves.

Can you, for instance, devise a better way of collecting subscriptions? Or think of improved methods of running public meetings; or suggest new forms which such activities might take? Have you any bright ideas about a leaflet? Or can you suggest any effective wording for slogan-posters? How can we popularise our movement and ensure that our message reaches the ordinary man and woman in home and factory?

You may have suggestions to make on these points that would be extremely useful to the Union. We invite you to think about these things, and to submit any such IDEAS to us at the London Regional Federation, 32, Fitzroy Square, W.1.

M. G. S.

MR. HAMBRO ON D.O.

Mr. Carl Hambro, President of the Norwegian Parliament and of the last League Assembly in 1939, was April's visitor to the L.R.F. Lunch Meeting with the subject "The International Order of To-morrow." Mr. Hambro is a solid Geneva man right through and it was with fine pride that he reported that every Occupied Country in Europe together with Great Britain and the Dominions had uninterruptedly throughout the war contributed towards the upkeep of the League. Whether, as with the war-time sausage, you took mustard or marmalade with the Dumbarton Oaks proposals he was not quite sure. Based as they were on political expediency rather than on legal principle, the new United Nations would depend enormously upon the personal integrity and ability of those who ran the Organisation and of those who represented their countries in its General Assembly. One great advantage was the elastic nature of the proposed organisation which would enable it to adapt itself as experience showed necessary. The Security Council had cornered most of the publicity but President Hambro hoped that early League history would be repeated and that the General Assembly would assert itself. The President concluded a memorable speech by saying: "However pessimistic many people may be, they should have the perspicacity to realise the danger of allowing San Francisco to become San Fiasco?"

DIARY OF EVENTS

March.

23. Allied Bridgehead across the Rhine.
25. Mr. Churchill visits Allied Troops in Germany.
26. Death of Earl Lloyd George. Americans enter Frankfurt. American Invasion of Okinawa Is.
27. Argentina declares war on Axis.
28. Russians capture Gdynia.
30. Russians storm Danzig.

April.

1. Ruhr encircled.
4. Meeting of Empire statesmen on San Francisco. Canadian Drive into Holland. Russians storm Bratislava.
- 5—6. L.N.U. General Council.
5. Russia denounces Russo-Japanese Pact.
6. British Tanks across the Weser.
9. Königsberg falls to Russians.
10. Hanover captured.
11. Americans reach the Elbe. Death of Lord Lugard.
12. Death of President Roosevelt.
16. President Truman addresses Congress.
17. Debates on San Francisco in both Houses of Parliament.
21. Russians in Berlin Suburbs.
25. San Francisco Conference opens.

GENERAL COUNCIL DECISIONS

(a) Policy

1. The General Council '

Having considered the report of the Executive Committee on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals endorses the Committee's recommendations, as amended,* for submission to H.M. Government.
2. The General Council of the League of Nations Union
 - (1) Congratulates His Majesty's Government on having come to an agreement at the Crimea Conference with their principal Allies to give general approval to the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals for the establishment of a General International Organisation;
 - (2) Welcomes the decision taken at that Conference to submit these proposals to a meeting of all the United Nations at San Francisco on April 25th and trusts that those Nations will give their support to a General International Organisation on the lines of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals.
 - (3) The Council further desires to draw the attention of H.M. Government to certain suggestions for amending the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals which the Union has drafted, and trusts that H.M. Government will give the suggestions their favourable consideration.

On the Voting Procedure in the Security Council, it was agreed that the following recommendation should be submitted to H.M. Government:—

"Having regard to the decisions on

voting in the Security Council arrived at by the Crimea Conference, the General Council of the League of Nations Union insists that the broad principle that no one should be judge in his own cause is of grave importance, and urges that the Crimea formula on voting procedure be not regarded as definitive and unalterable, but be further considered at San Francisco. If, however, the Crimea formula is adopted at San Francisco, the League of Nations Union hopes that the arrangement will be reviewed from time to time in the light of experience gained."

(b) Organisation

3. The General Council

Welcomes the proposals of the Special Committee to meet the need for a change of name by setting up a new organisation. It authorises the Executive Committee to take all necessary steps to this end, including the use of the Union's funds, on the understanding that the relations between the Union and the new organisation will be determined by the Council at its next meeting.

By a large majority it was resolved that the following words be added to this motion:

"But the Council regrets that in section 5 of the Interim Report it is proposed to change the rates of subscription."

* The recommendations were printed in Appendices A and B of the Agenda for this Special Meeting of the General Council.

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