

OF POLITICAL AND
ECONOMIC SCIENCE
10 SEP 1945
LIBRARY

51083

HEADWAY

The Journal of the League of Nations Union

No. 72

SEPTEMBER 1945

PRICE 3d

VICTORY AND PEACE



THE FRUIT OF ALL THEIR LABOURS

"The reward of one duty is the power to fulfil another."

GEORGE ELIOT.

EDITORIAL

FORWARD INTO THE PEACE

So, with another of those swift turns of fortune which have characterised World War No. 2, the official end of hostilities has come. None, when HEADWAY last went to press, would have been bold enough to prophesy this sudden reprieve from slaughter and destruction, this lifting of ever present anxieties from the minds of millions. We have had our VJ-days, though with a sterner undercurrent to our jubilation than in 1918. The transition from war to real peace, as all must be soberly aware, will be a long, difficult and arduous business, beset with problems that will tax alike the good will of statesmen and the patience of peoples. Still, the last member of the Axis has been overthrown. That heartens us for the task of clearing the ruins and building anew.

The Finishing Touch

Japan's capitulation is inseparable from another event, which preceded it by a few days packed with drama as intense as any experienced during the six years of war. That event was the first—and we may hope the only—wartime use of the atomic bomb, on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. It was an event so tremendous as to throw the whole finish of the war out of perspective. Japan was already doomed and this most powerful of all scientific weapons merely hastened the imminent collapse of the enemy.

Japan's part in the war, from beginning to end, was inglorious. Treachery and surprise enabled her to win initial victories as cheap as they were spectacular. Only could they have been in any degree permanent if the United States, Great Britain and the Commonwealth had gone down to a quick knock-out blow. That feat—beyond the powers of Germany—never looked like being within the capacity of Japan. She was able to enjoy tenure of her conquests only so long as the Allies lacked immediate resources that could be diverted to the war in the East. Once, however, Britain and the United States got into their stride, the fundamental weakness of the Japanese

position was exposed. Her stretched communications made her vulnerable. Strategically and tactically she found herself out-generalled at every turn. Her navy suffered crippling blows that did much to wipe out the bitter memory of Pearl Harbour. Her aircraft were swept out of the skies. Even in the grim art of jungle fighting her land forces slowly had to yield supremacy. Without the shock of the atomic bomb, disaster and retribution were inexorably overtaking the first of the inter-war aggressors.

War Knows No Law

Should the new weapon, in these circumstances, have been used at all to hasten the end? Controversy on this serious moral question has been raging in the Press and in private discussion. The argument will continue for many a day. But the central fact remains—that, for good or ill, the release of atomic energy is now a dominating factor of which account must be taken in all our post-war planning.

In the urgency of war, mankind has achieved in a short space of years what might otherwise have occupied a century of research. And, granted the state of international lawlessness which existed, small blame can attach to British and American statesmen—still less to their scientists—for pressing forward along this particular line. It was known that the Germans were feverishly pursuing the same end. They would not have scrupled to use any weapon, however terrible, to annihilate this country. In total war, ordinary standards ruthlessly go by the board, and "each for himself" is the only possible watchword.

Lessons of History

Sooner or later, in all probability, the release of atomic energy had to come. There are two things to remember in connection with its use as a weapon of war. First, the conscience of mankind has been similarly shocked by every new warlike discovery and invention. Gun-powder, to the knights of old, put an end



ATOMIC REASSURANCE POLICY

to the age of Chivalry, the only world that they knew. Dire forebodings have attended every fresh development up to the present day. Secondly, nothing in the whole course of history gives the slightest ground for the belief that war will ever stop just because it has become too terrible to contemplate. Nobel, the inventor of dynamite and Peace Prizes, harboured that illusion. Contrary to his expectation, war did not automatically cease on the day that two armies found that they could annihilate each other. Neither will it cease simply and solely because whole nations, if they choose the wrong path, now have the means of indulging in mutual self-destruction on a scale that baffles the imagination.

Equally, whatever private views one may hold about the atomic bomb, useful

discussion must start from acceptance of its existence. After the last war, misgivings regarding the latest developments in warfare were current, just as they are to-day. Speaking on air power, then still in its infancy, Air Chief Marshal Sir Hugh Trenchard (as he was then) declared:—"I feel that all the good it may do in civil life cannot balance the harm that may be done in war by it and, if I had the casting vote, I would say, 'Abolish the air.'" But with scientific discovery it is impossible to put the clock back. The air is with us, and so is the discovery of atomic energy.

The Constructive Line

The more constructive line is to recognise frankly that everything depends upon the use which men make of the vast

powers which science has put into their hands. If they misuse the secrets wrested from nature, it is true, they are capable of destroying their species and civilisation as we know it. But the same powers, if used for right ends, can open up before us a new vista of human progress.

The truism that we must abolish war or perish now sounds so trite that to belabour it in these columns would be superfluous. We all know it; but that knowledge will not of itself abolish war. Human nature is resilient. Men and women in the war have suffered frightful agonies of body and mind, but already we are seeing that the effects of fear are transitory in their relation to human conduct. The lives of men, and especially of the best men, are certainly not governed by fear.

A positive purpose is the answer to the atomic bomb. Scientific discoveries are in themselves neither good nor bad. They have brought harm to the human race only because man's inventive genius has outrun his capacity for order and organisation.

This common purpose must be firmly implanted in the minds of men and women of all nations. With wisdom, foresight and courage, the United Nations born at San Francisco can be made the instrument of world organisation—all the more urgent if atomic energy is to be controlled and developed for the benefit of mankind. Machinery, as our movement is never tired of stressing, will not be enough. Will is infinitely more important. And one of the main objects of the United Nations Cultural and Educational Organisation—which is to be set up by the London Conference in November—must inevitably be to create some such will and common purpose.

Nevertheless, however we view it, the task is still too great for any official organ. With the old League of Nations, now to be absorbed into the United Nations, the margin between success and failure (as

Lord Cecil has pointed out) was narrow indeed. The scales could have been tipped, at critical moments in the League's history, by overwhelming support from an educated and understanding public opinion. The League of Nations Union and its sister societies in other countries fought a difficult uphill battle against ignorance and apathy. Their only regret can be that they did not strive quite hard enough. Now, after the marking time of war years, the battle is being resumed. Henceforth the United Nations Association will carry the standard first raised by the League of Nations Union. United Nations societies are getting to work in other countries. The United Nations and all its offshoots are looking to them to mobilise, this time, a really effective—nay, decisive—force of public opinion. To provide this help, by rousing British public opinion, is U.N.A.'s first task.

OVERSEAS

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION IN TASMANIA reports that recently its activities have been expanding considerably and membership has increased. Distinguished speakers, including the Prime Minister, have addressed the weekly Lunch Hour Forum, the attendances at which have often taxed the full seating accommodation. Dr. Evatt and the Chinese Minister are among those who have spoken at public meetings.

News has reached us from the LEAGUE OF NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF IRAN, which has kept in existence throughout the war. Dr. Matine Daftary, the Secretary-General, is eager, now that conditions are easier, to re-establish contacts with societies in other countries. As examples of the educational work which the Association is doing, he sends copies of articles on the San Francisco Conference contributed to *Ettelaat*, the most important newspaper in Teheran.

WORLD AFFAIRS IN PARLIAMENT

MR. BEVIN'S DÉBUT

By OWEN RATTENBURY

It had, of course, been generally anticipated that Mr. Ernest Bevin's first speech as Foreign Secretary in Parliament would be an interesting occasion. Would there be revealed any divergency of policy between him and his predecessor? It did not seem likely, for Mr. Bevin was a leading member of Mr. Churchill's Cabinet and a man apt to say what he thought anywhere and anywhen. Serious differences would have been revealed if they had occurred.

World Survey

On August 20, in the Debate on the Address, the opportunity came. Mr. Bevin made an interesting world survey of problems and conditions. He referred to the close military co-operation forged by war. A tremendous comradeship! Military operators it was true! But also men who, in common with other people in their countries, had no love for war for its own sake. Losses had been heavy—those of Russia terrifically heavy. China almost completely disorganised. Smaller allies with the task of complete rebuilding of their economic life in front of them. The worst situation was in the countries lately occupied and now liberated. All people taught to resist authority. Lawlessness that was difficult to eradicate with the new liberation. And sabotage and "go slow" tactics hard to eliminate from the habits of the people. The transition, said Mr. Bevin, would need tolerance, patience and determination.

The problem of displacement he put before the House in quotation from Field-Marshal Montgomery about the British zone in Germany, from which 1,100,000 displaced persons have already been evacuated; 300,000 west bound, and over 600,000 Russians to the east and 200,000 Italians have begun to go south. 1½ million are still housed in camps and probably 500,000 still at large. By autumn it is hoped only 645,000 will be left of whom 500,000 will be Poles. To restore civil life people must get back to their ordinary oc-

cupations, and in our zone 800,000 have gone back to agriculture. Those imbued with the diabolical ideas of Nazism are a very disturbing element.

He had wise words to say on elections. They cannot be measured by British elections. Nazis and Fascists, for instance, are so detested that it is becoming common to dub people with no tendencies in that direction as actually Nazis and Fascists for the purpose of winning power by the absence of influential opposition. The shortage of food, of essential goods, of transport, all aggravate the general difficulties of the position.

Russia's Good Faith

Mr. Bevin turned to Potsdam and decisions made and negotiations that took place. He spoke of promises from Russia in regard to Poland and mentioned very specific undertakings made by Marshal Stalin. The Russian troops will be withdrawn with the exception of a small number required to maintain the communications necessary for the Russian troops in Germany. Other similar things were promised by Poland. So far as Russia's promises are concerned, Mr. Churchill had made the point in the previous week that the declaration of war on Japan occurred on August 8, exactly three months to the day after the end of the war in Europe. Stalin had promised it in three months and he was as exact in carrying out that promise as he had been according to Mr. Churchill with regard to every other promise he had made. Are Poland's promises as safe? That, of course, remains to be seen. Mr. Bevin urged on all Poles the value of their returning to their native land, and the Poles in the Government promised them safety.

Greece's Opportunity

On Greece, I thought Mr. Bevin was very careful in his words. No difference was revealed between the new Government's policy and that declared to be the old Government's policy. They wanted a

free election in which all parties should take a part. They wanted it to be free and open, and in order that this might be secured, they were urging the release of all prisoners, emptying the gaols. The number is about 80,000—the most vital and energetic of the left wing parties. He did not specifically mention the 4,000 or so prisoners from the navy who are detained in Egypt, but one presumes they were included.

Mr. Eden stressed the great figure made by the Archbishop who is regent, "who possessed a physical stature, a mental stature and other gifts as well which made him the largest figure in Greece." It is hoped that he will come to London to discuss the situation.

Mr. Noel-Baker, in his reply, recalled the fact that he was with Dr. Nansen in Athens in 1922 when Greece had suffered a defeat from the Turks. 1½ million refugees flooded on a nation which numbered 4½ millions. It was as if 12 million came to Britain. Penniless, ragged, without clothes or food or means of earning. The Greeks took them in. The peasant drew a line across the floor and two families lived in his single room. Then from Asia Minor came 100,000 Armenians, whose ships had gone from shore to shore in the Mediterranean and none would let them in. The Greeks opened their doors and gave them an equal share in everything. An astounding story of generosity! Then came stories of Greek resistance to Germany. Outnumbered by 10 to 1, 500 of them held Fort Perichori till not one man remained alive. Truly he proved his theme that the Greeks are capable of greatness. Now was the time for them to show it—for patriotic toleration, for reconciliation, for generosity, for self-restraint. Now, by a great united effort, they could return from ways of violence to the democratic freedom which Greece first gave the world.

APPROVING THE CHARTER

Two-day debates in both Houses of Parliament, on August 22 and 23, resulted in endorsement, without open opposition, of motions to approve the Charter of the United Nations.

In the Lords, the Lord Chancellor raised the subject. He paid tribute to Mr. Eden and Lord Cranborne for their work

at San Francisco, and to Lord Cecil "who had done more than any other Englishman to make the Charter possible." Whilst the Charter was not a perfect instrument, it gave real promise of fulfilling the hopes and expectations enshrined in it. The atomic bomb had made it imperative that the Charter should be brought into practical effect as soon as possible.

Lord Cranborne believed that the Charter provided the means by which war could be prevented if the nations of the world were willing to work it. In the Charter they were being given one more chance of putting their affairs upon a better basis.

Lord Cecil, who hoped that the Charter would prove one of the turning points in the history of mankind, appealed for plenty of publicity for the new world organisation, which would need the emotional support of the peoples.

"We, the Peoples"

In the House of Commons, Mr. Aitlee discussed the provisions of the Charter in some detail. The opening words, "We, the peoples," was an endeavour to put into practical effect the deep feelings of all the peoples, including the fighting men who had made it possible to have a Charter at all. On the security provisions, he emphasised that collective security was not merely a promise to act when emergency threatened, but active co-operation to prevent emergencies occurring. Continuous discussion of international affairs was needed more than spasmodic action at times of crises. The Economic and Social Council had now been made a principal organ of the United Nations. At San Francisco the British delegation had fully demonstrated its belief in the I.L.O. as an instrument for raising standards and bettering conditions of workers throughout the world. Referring, as so many speakers did, to the coming of the atomic bomb, he put the naked choice as between world co-operation and world destruction.

Mr. Eden, too, stressed that with all the development of science it was inevitable to have some form of world organisation to deal with problems as they arose. If they could apply this workable instrument promptly enough, there would be no need to worry about the atomic bomb. The "veto," he claimed, was not dictation by the Great Powers.

An interesting maiden speech was that of Mr. Wilson Harris, one time Editor of HEADWAY, who thought that the fact that the Charter had been commended with fervour and conviction from both front benches was a good omen for the future of the organisation and the association of this country with it. He raised a number of useful questions concerning the efficient running of the organisation.

Sir Arthur Salter said that the control of the atomic bomb and the restarting of European economy were indispensable conditions if the Charter was to achieve its purpose. This Charter would succeed if the great victors in the war established, as they alone could, the conditions of success. Mr. Lipson urged handing over the secret of the atomic bomb to the Security Council.

Miss Wilkinson, speaking not as President of the Board of Education but as one of the British delegates at San Francisco, nevertheless stressed the importance of education for world peace. We desired to see the I.L.O. formally associated with the new organisation. To meet constitutional difficulties, she understood, certain changes were being considered. She hoped that the nations would put spirit and energy into

the work of international economic co-operation.

Organised Public Opinion

Mr. Bevin, in his concluding speech for the Government, cleared up a number of points which had been raised in debate. Though the League of Nations had not done all that was expected of it, it had not failed, and much of the League had therefore been preserved. But for the Covenant there would not have been the real advance in the new Charter. If the Charter was worked in the right spirit, he foreshadowed, the "veto" would slip into the background. But, to give the United Nations life and vigour, it was not the Governments alone that must act. It must have behind it organised public opinion. He would like to see the main terms of the Charter reproduced in a form which could be displayed in every church, in every parish hall, trade union centre and place of public assembly, to remind people of their obligation. There was, he concluded, no party difference on this matter and no national difference. There was among the fifty signatories of the Charter a resolute determination to make it work.

PRESIDENT TRUMAN SAYS

(President Truman has personally sent the following message to Mr. Clark M. Eichelberger, Director of the American Association for the United Nations. His recognition of the importance of voluntary organisations—such as the American Association and UNA—is notable.)

White House, Washington.

The ratification of the Charter of the United Nations by the Senate is not so much an end as a beginning. The Senate has done its work, and done it wisely and promptly and with courage. It remains now for the people of the United States to see to it that the Charter works, in so far as it lies within their power to make it work.

Only if they understand what the Charter is and what it can mean to the Peace of the World will the document become a living reality. We must all hope that the people of this country will inform themselves of the possibilities which the Charter open to them, and will make the Organisation of the United Nations their common instrument to achieve their common purpose.

Organisations and individuals working toward the fullest possible understanding of the Charter of the United Nations deserve the gratitude and support of us all.

HARRY S. TRUMAN.

UNRRA'S TURNING POINT

By HENRY DEACON

The third meeting of the Council of UNRRA, which took place in London last month, gave new impetus, new responsibilities, and new resources to the organisation in its essential task of bringing to the nations of the world the primary help which they need if they are to rebuild their economy. It was in many respects an important turning point. After months of preparation, in face of shortages of shipping, supplies, transport, and personnel, which meant a struggle every inch of the way, UNRRA finally began effective operations in the Spring of this year, and up to June 30 it had shipped a total of approximately 1,250,000 tons of supplies valued at some £74,000,000.

World Requirements

If the schedule for July and August was achieved the total rose to 1,800,000 tons. These, it should be noted, are mostly key requirements. But the Director-General explained that if the minimum requirements were to be met through the year 1946 it would be necessary to provide new resources to the amount of £375,000,000. This excludes the request subsequently received for aid to the devastated areas of the USSR, and during the session, the Council authorised aid, if asked for, to Austria, Italy, Korea and Formosa, the cost of which has not yet been estimated. And, with the end of the war in the Pacific, UNRRA's responsibilities towards China have immediately become actual. Fortunately, on the other hand, the cost of providing care for and repatriation of displaced persons in Europe will not be so great as was originally assumed, and the remaining number of those who will require assistance in the later months of 1945 when UNRRA takes over complete charge of them has been reduced by the rapid repatriation operations of the Allied Armies.

New Contributions

The Council, at the last meeting of the Session, recommended new contributions to enable UNRRA to carry forward its work. The original contributions were one per cent. of the national incomes for the

year ended June 30th, 1943, by the uninvaded countries. The Council has now recommended a second contribution of one per cent. from the same countries. If all respond, this will yield new resources of over £450,000,000, and it is fair to recognise that this is no inconsiderable burden. But even so, in face of the widespread needs, there will have to be some scaling down of the preliminary programmes in order to secure an equitable distribution of the available supplies.

Financial resources must be turned into supplies, and in several directions these are extremely difficult to get. There has been a marked deterioration, for example, in the world food situation since the last Council meeting in September, 1944, and the Combined Food Board informed the Council that the outlook for 1945-46 was grave. Conditions of stringency exist in virtually all basic foodstuffs. By substantial sacrifices in consumption and stocks, the U.S.A., Canada, the U.K., Australia and New Zealand are making available to liberated countries in Europe considerable quantities of sugar, fats and dried produce, beans and peas, and a small amount of meat. Other sources are being explored. But all the government delegates recognised what Mr. Noel-Baker described as enlightened self-interest in setting the nations of Europe on their feet again, and Mr. Noel-Baker specifically emphasised the major importance of this to a country like ours which lives on exports.

The Winter Outlook

In the months immediately ahead, the emphasis will be on the provision of food, textiles, clothing and shelter to bring the people through what looks like being a grim winter, and to do this inland transport is an urgent necessity. This is required not only for the distribution of imported supplies but also for the movement of internal supplies which already exist but, for lack of transport, cannot be sent from one part of a country to another. But the purpose of UNRRA is broader than that. It has to provide equipment and raw materials (including coal) which will revive output. A start has been made. This however has not been anything like

adequate, and many countries which could not only help themselves, but others as well, have been unable to do so through lack of such equipment. At the same time, there have been striking examples of the efficacy of rapid help from UNRRA, sometimes by air, which has saved harvests of concern to tens of thousands of people, and the receiving countries—Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia, Greece and China—one after the other told the Council how UNRRA supplies of all kinds had enabled them to cope with emergencies which they could not otherwise have done. Some of them may, in fact, be able in the coming months to produce surpluses above their own needs, and this is exactly the direction to which outside help is aimed.

British Support

Of the Council meeting in general, one feature was the full support given both by the Foreign Secretary and by the first U.K. delegate, Mr. Noel-Baker, who took a prominent share in the shaping of most of the major decisions. His skill, authority, and experience were invaluable. Mr. Bevin, who welcomed the Council to London, assured them that H.M.G. would do everything in their power to make UNRRA a success, as in their view it played a vital part in the great problem of Europe's reconstruction, and Mr. Noel-Baker declared that if UNRRA accelerated the restarting of normal international trade by a period of only three months that

would still give a big dividend on the funds expended.

In addition to the decisions already mentioned, the Council admitted Denmark and the Byelorussian and Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republics to membership. It authorised the Central Committee to admit other signatories of the United Nations Charter not now members. It added France and Canada to the Central Committee, and in the resolution providing new financial resources it decided that the Administration should be enabled to draw upon these funds for the broad programmes of operations of the Director General, as approved from time to time by the Central Committee. This seems to cover the case of the request for assistance (presumably for the Ukraine) received from USSR, which did not arise in the discussions of the Council. The resolution also contemplates that UNRRA will complete its programme in 1947.

The Administration was authorised to care, during a limited period, for displaced persons who cannot or do not wish to return to their own homes, and it is now engaged in preparing to take over full responsibility for displaced persons in Germany, on the 1st October. At the moment, there are between 4,000 and 5,000 UNRRA officials assisting the military authorities in Germany, and UNRRA Assembly Centre Teams are doing a similar task in Austria.

As a summary of the position, the words of the Director-General are apposite.

"We stand (he said) on the threshold of greater opportunity and greater success."

UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION

invites applications for an APPEALS OFFICER, a PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICER, several REGIONAL OFFICERS, and proficient SHORTHAND TYPISTS. Advertisements of these posts are appearing in the *Times*, *Daily Telegraph*, *Manchester Guardian* and one or two other papers. Particulars of each appointment and Application Forms may be obtained from 11 Maiden Lane, London, W.C.2.

YOUTH AND UNA

By IAIN C. G. DOW

When in October we launch the United Nations Association on a nation-wide scale, I hope we shall not forget what to many of us is one of the most important facts of all—the fact that, in the years immediately ahead, UNA must find its leaders and the majority of its members among young men and women, who are now for the first time in their lives awakening to an interest in world affairs. If we do not remember that and make allowances for it, we shall be dooming our new society to a future of well-meaning but ineffective existence.

Nothing is so tragic as the apathy that one finds in the minds of so many young people at the present time. We hear a great deal about youth's ideals, its high-mindedness and its clear-sightedness—and, please God, those priceless things will always belong to the youth of this country! Yet to imagine that one can dismiss youth with a pat on the head and an encouraging word is to be unforgivably complacent, and is asking for trouble ahead. There may have been a time when youth could safely be left to work out its own future and the future of the world, its inheritance; but that time is gone.

Makers of History

In time past, the world went its way, had its wars, made its treaties, and its affairs were the direct concern of a tiny handful of men who literally were the makers of history; but that time will not return. In the world we live in now, the ordinary man has a place he never could have had in former ages. If that is his privilege, it is also his responsibility, and the responsibility is tremendous.

Now all this is obvious enough, and its corollary—that we must prepare young people to bear their new responsibility as citizens of the world—is obvious, too. If that were all, further words would be unnecessary. But it is the point that remains after these others are accepted that is really the most vital for our world at the present moment. That point is that, while many of our young people do have the heritage of ideals, high-mindedness and clear-sightedness, and the desire to make the world better than they have found it, on the other

hand there is *an appalling apathy* in the minds of many of their contemporaries—indeed, in the minds of *the great majority* of their contemporaries. This presents a frightening prospect and a colossal problem. *That* colossal problem is ours, as members of the L.N.U. and UNA.

If the reader needs any proof of the existence of the apathy I speak of, I urge him to provide himself with his own proof. Let him inquire among the young people he knows—let him ask them not simply what their own ideas are but what are the ideas of their friends.

Hard Questions

To ask a young man what he thinks is wrong with the world is not enough. That question will frequently bring an answer—with ideas sane and sound, if somewhat exaggerated. But ask the further testing question: how does the young man consider that the ordinary citizen is going to improve the world in the ways in which he would like to see it improved? The answers will be fewer and less sound. A third question, which is more nearly the vital test, will produce pitifully few answers: how does the young man himself intend to help to make the world better? And a fourth question will produce a response that, I fear, will shock any enquirer who is not prepared for a shattering disappointment: just how much, *honestly and sincerely, just how much* does the welfare of the world matter to the young man personally?

Well, these are hard questions. Perhaps the reader will feel that they are too hard; that they require too much; that he himself would not be prepared to answer them; that, anyhow, they are somewhat irrelevant.

I wish I could believe they might be irrelevant. But I am convinced they are not.

Our Concern

Maybe, in future issues of HEADWAY, the problem of what UNA can do about the situation will be taken up. Sufficient now to emphasise as strongly as possible that here is a problem that UNA must face.

We have got to destroy youth's apathy, root out youth's cynicism, restore youth's faith in the future, fire youth's imagination, draw out the best forces in youth.

Youth has found in the war something thrilling, something big and exciting, a grand adventure. Somehow we must win youth for the battle of peace—prove that peace can be far, far more thrilling than war.

And that falls to us in UNA. There is no other organisation in this country so well placed as we are to fight this battle of peace. Besides, this is what our organisation exists for. Peace is not a side issue with us. If, then, peace is what we are working for, we cannot get anywhere without the forces who will have to keep the peace. Those forces are youth's. If we lose them, we lose all.

STUDENTS AND PROBLEMS OF PEACE

From July 23rd-27th a record Student Conference was held in Trinity College, Cambridge. One hundred and thirty students attended representing over 50 colleges. The subjects under discussion were International Co-operation, Problems of Liberated Europe and the Far East. The Conference started with an address by Professor David Mitrany on "The Meaning of International Co-operation," which was followed up by a talk from Miss Courtney on San Francisco. In discussion groups the standard of discussion was very high—the serious and objective approach made a great contribution to the success of the Conference. The new United Nations Charter was scrutinised very carefully and one had the impression that the people at the Conference fully realised that the responsibility for its success rested as much with them as with the various governments which had signed the Charter.

The students then proceeded to discuss the burning question of the Far East, with able guidance from Mr. S. K. Chow, of the Chinese Consulate in Manchester, and Mr. J. Deva, the author of "Japan's Kampf." There was a strong desire to find out the truth about Japan, the mentality of her people, and the part she will be able to play in the future.

The last day of the Conference brought the students back to their own sphere with four short talks from English, Austrian, Chinese and Yugoslav students. Each gave the particular point of view of students of his or her own country. The Chinese student was particularly interesting as she had only left China six months ago and had an up-to-date picture of the position of students there. At the end of this session it was clear to all present that there is a great task ahead for students all over the world, both in their own countries and internationally. One of the most important conclusions reached was the need to try and understand students of other countries

whose lot had been different and who had suffered under enemy occupation.

The Conference ended with a talk by Dr. S. Drzewieski on "The Problems of Liberated Europe." At this session the students tried to see both the political and physical needs of the peoples of Europe. The same tolerance was shown throughout as had been shown in all other sessions of the Conference and there was an earnest desire to find out about other people and their way of life. This attitude of the Conference was one of the most cheering points of the whole week and was well in keeping with words in the Preamble to the Charter: "To practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, and to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security."

Many students came away from the Conference realising that they had much to learn, but the sincerity with which each attended the Conference bodes good for the future of the new International Organisation and for the work of the United Nations Association of Great Britain. If the good will and honesty of such students is exploited to the full the new Association in England should have no difficulty in achieving success. HILDA BROWN.

L.R.F.
BUFFET LUNCHEON
DR. MAUDE ROYDEN SHAW—
"The Atomic Bomb and
World Peace"

Tuesday, September 11
Refreshments (2s.) 1 p.m. Talk at 1.25 p.m.
At the Y.W.C.A. Headquarters,
Gt. Russell Street, W.C.1

"AND NOW—THE PEACE"

Warmest congratulations are due to the National Film Board of Canada for its enterprise in producing a capital documentary film, which vividly explains the new United Nations. The task of depicting post-war organisation has been tackled with human understanding and imagination. The whole business of building a peaceful and prosperous world comes alive on the screen.

We start with a flash-back to the scenes of jubilation at the end of World War No. 1. Woodrow Wilson, the prophet of peace, appears as the symbol of the hopes of the ordinary man and woman. The story passes on to the League of Nations and Geneva—but the only weapons of the League were words.

Lessons of the League's experience are recalled in glimpses of the Manchurian dispute (Lord Lytton appears at the head of his Commission), Italy's rape of Abyssinia, and the Spanish war in which the aggressors tested out their new techniques of Blitzkrieg.

And now, once again within our time and generation, the nations face a solemn challenge. How are they proposing to face up to their responsibilities?

Pictures, diagrams and maps reduce Dumbarton Oaks, U.N.R.R.A., Hot Springs and Bretton Woods to their simplest terms. We see, first, a plan to deal with aggression based not only on ideals but on sober realities. But the corollary of this is a new vision of the earth and its abundance, a new outlook on the earth's resources.

Nobody, surely, can see this film without becoming convinced of the common purpose which all nations must share in the peace. Joint aid, so essential to win-

ning the war, is as much a necessity in the great fields of reconstruction.

There are blemishes—Hot Springs could usefully have been mentioned by name to show exactly how nutrition fits into the picture—but they are trifling. In sum, a great adventure is shown in a way that stirs the imagination; and we are left with the conviction that "it can be done if only we have the will to do it."

L. R. A.

DIARY OF EVENTS

July

23. *Trial of Pétain in Paris.*
26. *Labour Victory in General Election.*
29. *United Nations Charter ratified by U.S. Senate.*
30. *Allied Control Council meets in Berlin.*

Aug.

1. *Draft Proposals for United Nations Educational Organisation published. World Zionist Conference in London.*
2. *Potsdam Conference Report issued. President Truman visits England.*
5. *Atomic Bomb used against Japan.*
7. *Council of UNRRA meets in London. United Nations Charter ratified by New Zealand.*
8. *Russia declares war on Japan.*
10. *Japanese Offer to Surrender.*
12. *Allied Reply to Japan.*
14. *Japan's Surrender announced by Mr. Attlee.*
15. *The King's Speech.*
16. *United Nations Preparatory Meeting in London.*
17. *Soviet-Polish Treaty signed.*
19. *Japanese Surrender Envoys reach Manila.*
21. *Lend-Lease ended. Trial of Quisling in Oslo.*
- 22-23. *Debates in both Houses of Parliament on Motions to approve United Nations Charter.*

Our BECKENHAM BRANCH has suffered a great loss by the death of its President, Mr. C. A. Elgood, O.B.E., J.P., K.C.C. Mr. Elgood had been President of the Branch since its inception 18 years ago.

OUR GENERAL COUNCIL

CONWAY HALL,

SEPTEMBER 6 and 7

Full Report in October Number

FROM HEADWAY'S POST-BAG

The German Schoolteacher

Sir,—From A to Z I disagree with Mr. Odell's article. For one thing, it proposes a procedure involving a wholesale travesty of justice and that could, of course, never make for peace. I need not say more, since no thoughtful reader of that article could fail to discover numerous reasons—religious, ethical and just commonsense—amply justifying A to Z disapproval.

Hull.

B. BURNE.

Sir,—I had intimate contact with German schoolteachers and to me Mr. Odell's idea of them does not represent the facts. Mr. Odell considers all German teachers are criminals. I recall intimate friends of mine who had to teach under Hitler. They were fine, courageous men. Did they openly rebel against Hitler? No; no more than I should have done. It is easy, when one is in safety, to tell those living under a ruthless dictatorship that they should rebel. When one lives under that dictatorship oneself, one changes one's mind. Concentration camp and torment for oneself, imprisonment at least for one's wife, removal of the children to strict Nazi training—I personally should not have dreamed of thus uselessly sacrificing all those I loved (nor, indeed, to be frank, of thus sacrificing myself). The brother of one of my teacher friends made, in private, a criticism of the shootings of June 30, 1934; he was informed against and instantly dismissed. No, no, under a dictatorship one becomes damned cautious. Even towards one's own children. That is so under every dictatorship. A child can quite innocently give his parents away.

But the general influence of the men I think of was a fine one, and sometimes the boys guessed they were not Nazi. To exclude them—if they still live—from the new system would be an obscurantist act of blind pharisaism.

Letchworth.

HAROLD PICTON.

From the Dowager Countess of Selborne.

Sir,—I gather from the letter by Mr. Odell in your August issue that he recommends that Nazis by creed should have their children taken away from them, lest they should teach them their own beliefs. That is surely quite contrary to English practice. We allow a man who is an atheist or a Roman Catholic, a Quaker or a Buddhist, to believe what he likes and teach his children to do so also. We surely should extend this tolerance to Communists and Nazis or Fascists, as long as they confine their teaching to

words and abstain from asking the aid of bombs or guns.

Not only would such tyrannical action be directly contrary to all we have been saying, but we should never be thorough enough in these methods. Milton rightly advised us that we could not keep the crows out of the field by shutting the gate.

London, S.W.1.

MAUD SELBORNE.

Two Essentials

Sir,—How soon can we commit ourselves to two essential ideas? The first is the vital necessity for a United Nations flag. Primitive men as we yet are, flagwagging is of far greater importance than most sensible things so far. Let us face the facts and agitate for a transference of theatrical patriotism to a higher and finer field of allegiance than the present tribal relics.

The second essential is a proper United Nations radio service for Europe right away. In this terribly tortured hotbed of war the present Americanised control of German and other transmitters, in itself neither good nor bad, is desperately inadequate. Just as the BBC kept Europe going with messages of hope during the dreadful days of the Nazi horrors, so a United Nations radio service on short, medium and long waves could build up a European consciousness which could wax strong enough to make war unthinkable in our shattered continent. One is bound to be highly suspicious of the United Nations' fine utterances unless and until this is done. The fact that Radio Nations between the wars was merely played with suggests that the League governments deliberately kept peace at bay, and their success was so complete that it was the League that fell when they were the ones who deserved to do so. Let us know our enemies this time; there will be none to save us if we are deceived by those within our gates again.

Here, then, are the two critical tests. If our organisation does not push them with all its force it will deserve the extinction it will inevitably suffer when all is lost.

Bath.

WILLIAM A. WELSMAN.

Our Address:

HEADWAY

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

Telephone:

TEMPle Bar 0961.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

BACK TO HUMANITY

In *BACK TO HUMANITY* (Cassell, 89 pp., 5s.), Mr. Ernest Raymond and his son Patrick, a pilot officer in the R.A.F., have written a moving and very lovable book. Our hearts warm with sympathy as we follow Mr. Raymond's footsteps along his appointed path, until he reaches the crowning conviction that we must, here and now, get back to humanity, both as the healing rule of conduct and as the expression of human brotherhood. Nor less do we welcome the voice of youth, in the chapter by Patrick, who has done his duty as a bomber and by a shorter route has come to the same sure belief as his father. Make no doubt about it. The World War has so undermined moral values among great masses of people, has so destroyed the dignity of human personality, that unless there is a determined, positive return to humaneness and an urgent sense of human brotherhood, humanity as a virtue and as a species is simply going to die out. Maybe zero hour has been speeded up by the unneutrality of science which, in its servitude to war, has already pitchforked us into a new Atomic Age.

So we must be up and doing. And it is here that a note of warning is needed. The full truth is that the mood of humanity is not enough by itself. There is a danger that moral sentiment may lose its vitality in vague generalities and ineffectiveness; that it may degenerate into something like "back to normalcy." Frankly, more than that is demanded. Moral sentiment, humanity, however noble and sincere, can only find their proper fulfilment if they express themselves in action. Mr. Raymond leaves action to others. But why? Why not seize the first big chance of action in this Atomic Age, which is offered the world in the San Francisco Charter?

No document in living memory has taken up so open and noble a stand for the protection of human values, for human rights, for the dignity of human personality, high or low. None has provided such detailed machinery for the translation of these principles into practice. No document, no Charter, is perfect, or

infallible; but, granted the will to act, to make it work, there exist in this Charter better and more practical ways of getting back to humanity than we have ever had before.

So let us get down into the arena. But action is not going to be easy, not nearly so easy as Mr. Raymond seems to believe at times: "The revolt of common sense," which he awaits, may be somewhat of a misleading phrase. For "common sense" means different things to vast and different masses of people in this world of ours. One meets few people here to-day, says Mr. Raymond, who are not ready to pay the price of super-national authority in all those fields where sovereignty and freedom may and often do provide calamitous temptations. In our own case it is devoutly to be hoped that this may be so. But it is most certainly not yet true in many parts of the world, for example in any of the Americas. And completely different points of view are held by the peoples at large in the countries to the East, for example Soviet Russia or China or India. Peoples' "desire for righteousness"—does it mean the same thing to Americans, to Russians, to Australians, to the peoples in the Balkans?

The ideals of humanity remain splendid, but they must be fought for until there is a measure of agreement on them. That will not come easily, "in the sudden glory of a minute" or through the pervading warmth of generous moods. There is much hard work to be done. First things must come first, without hesitations begotten of perfectionism. Here's a World Charter offered us by fifty nations—"we, the peoples." Can we not make it into a unique, positive expression of humanity in all its aspects?

GORDON DROMORE.

MY VISIT TO RUSSIA. By Clementine Churchill. (Hutchinson, 60 pp. 1s. All profits on the sale to go to Mrs. Churchill's Red Cross "Aid to Russia" Fund.)

Nothing but good can come from this simple yet wise little book about the visit to Russia of Mrs. Churchill, the founder and head of the Red Cross "Aid to

Russia" Fund, now over £7 millions. The main object was to arrange for the equipment of two hospitals at Rostov on Don as a lasting memorial to the Fund. But our warm-hearted Ambassador of peace welcomed the chance to visit other storm centres of the war—Leningrad, Stalingrad, Sebastopol, Kursk and Odessa. Wherever she went she touches the human heart of things. It may be the great Pediatric Institute and Children's Home in war-scarred Leningrad, a shining illustration of Russia's devotion to her coming generations. Or the one little Jewish girl left in Kursk; or the slave-worker who but yesterday knew herself only as a number. Or Stalingrad, with her token of agony—the common tomb called "the Brothers' Grave"; and at the same time the torch of hope aflame for the future in her new steel works which have just sent the thousandth tractor off the line, or her prefabricated village of wood, floated in sections down the Volga, to house over 20,000, or just the simple placard in the ruins, "A very fine shop is to open here soon."

Two vivid impressions stand out in this human panorama. One is of the vastness of Russia—they have a word for it, *prostor*—and limitless possibilities of discovery and understanding which lie at the door. Britain seems incredibly remote; nor is there much interest in the British way of life. Time will cure this. The other is of the intuitive response which the Russian people makes everywhere to friendliness. The European war has created a very real comradeship between the two peoples in that other eternal war against pain and disease. Great beginnings have been made here of which the glory must not fade. All will echo Mrs. Churchill's own closing prayer: "May difficulties and misunderstandings pass, may Friendship remain."

M. F.

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH AND THE WORLD. By Richard Frost. (Royal Institute of International Affairs, St. James's Square, S.W.1. 74 pp. 1s. 6d.)

Based on the discussions at the recent unofficial Conference on Commonwealth problems held at Chatham House, this pamphlet does as much as can be expected to explain the unexplainable. Why, without any central authority, the British Commonwealth does confound its critics by holding together is something that mere facts and words can never explain. Here,

at least, we get a thoroughly up-to-date picture of what the Commonwealth is and how it is developing. One thing which clearly emerges is that, to understand the Commonwealth, account must be taken of the pattern of the world in which the constituent nations are situated. The war, by driving home the lesson that no nation or group of nations can by itself be either economically self-sufficient or secure from the danger of military aggression, has shown that an international organisation is essential. Although this is realised by an increasing body of public opinion throughout the Commonwealth, still there are in every country stubborn elements which are reluctant to accept the implications. The close relations between the U.S.A. and nearly every Dominion are fully described in this pamphlet. The Commonwealth, too, can serve as a bridge over which understanding can flow between the English-speaking countries and Russia. There are useful chapters on defence, economic policy, colonial policy, racial questions and migration.

MAKING A BETTER WORLD. By Carl L. Becker. With a Foreword by Herbert Agar. (Hamish Hamilton, 90, Great Russell Street, W.C.1. 190 pp. 8s. 6d.)

There is a healthy astringent tang about Professor Becker, a historian who is impatient with loose talk that is heard about uprooting "nationalism," "national sovereignty," destroying the British Empire, and the *status quo*, and about the white man's clearing out of the Far East. He produces a whole set of pungent facts which have got to be faced before the real implications of some of these words are understood. For example, "There remains in all the historically created nation-States one sentiment and one conviction which virtually all men share, the sentiment of nationality." It is the strongest force in the modern world. It has saved "our way of life" and the "American way of life," two fundamentals, mark you, of the *status quo*. It was the Axis who wanted to destroy the *status quo*. And the *status quo* has beaten them. Is it just to be blacked out? Or take "Imperialism," that easy jackboot to throw at Great Britain. Professor Becker is very blunt on the point. Who, he asks, are the States with Empires? "Let us say that Great Britain, Russia (with her millions of non-Russians in Siberia), China (who con-

quered Manchuria and Mongolia), and the United States (with Alaska, Puerto Rico, the Hawaiian Islands, Panama Zone and Philippines) are great Imperial States, since that in fact is what they are." And the white man in the Far East? Is it really likely that this great area will be denuded of British, Americans, Australians, Russians (in the Asiatic Provinces)—with China, an essentially pacific people, left alone face to face with a warlike, highly organised, defeated and embittered Japan? Let us at least talk sense in thinking out the problems of the Far East. Let us not be hypnotised, befuddled with words.

But Professor Becker is nothing if not constructive. He devotes three chapters, of special interest in the light of what has happened at San Francisco, to the kind of collectivism (towards which the trend of our time is), national and international, which can go far—and even farther, to settle those two closely related world problems, the social conflict within nations and the abatement of political and economic conflicts between them. It *can* be done. But the process will be difficult and long; and not without hard thinking and a nice sense of the value of the past. "The web of history," Lord Acton warns us, "is woven without a void." To forget this courts chaos.

M. F.

A COMMENTARY ON THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS. (H.M. Stationery Office. Cmd. 6666. 84 pp. 1s. 3d. On sale at UNA's Book Shop). To help arouse interest in the Dum-

barton Oaks proposals, the Government issued a Commentary upon them. A similar course has been adopted with regard to the United Nations Charter, but this Commentary is a more detailed and elaborate document.

Some interesting sidelights on the San Francisco Conference are given at the start. About 1,200 amendments submitted by the participating States had to be grappled with. The final text was signed in five languages. There is a complete "Who's Who" of the Conference. The Statute of the new Permanent Court is given in one appendix. Of particular interest is the comparative table setting out the Dumbarton Oaks proposals and the final Charter side by side.

The Commentary itself underlines that the Dumbarton Oaks proposals have not been substantially changed, but there are important additions, and the changes are discussed in detail. In sum, the original plan has been "amplified and much improved." There are imperfections, and some articles reveal obvious compromises between different points of view. No country at San Francisco got all that it wanted. "The final result," says the Commentary, "is one which gives the highest promise for the future. The nations of the world can now possess an International Organisation which, if rightly used, will enable them to settle their disputes, maintain international peace and security and co-operate together for the general welfare."

MAIN CONTENTS

	PAGE
Cartoon: The Fruit of ALL Their Labours. <i>By Farr</i> - - -	1
Editorial: Forward Into the Peace - - -	2
Cartoon: Atomic Reassurance Policy. <i>By Farr</i> - - -	3
Parliament: Mr. Bevin's Début. <i>By Owen Rattenbury</i> - - -	5
Approving the Charter - - -	6
UNRRA'S Turning Point. <i>By Henry Deacon</i> - - -	8
Youth and UNA. <i>By Iain C. G. Dow</i> - - -	10
From "Headway's" Post-Bag - - -	13
Books of the Month - - -	14