

Last issue of Headway

A letter from the Chairman
to all Members.

LEAGUE OF NATION'S UNION

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

1st October, 1945.

The work of the League of Nations Union was brought virtually to an end by the outbreak of war. But the war has shown more clearly than ever that if civilisation is to survive there must be a strong League, under whatever name, and that it must be supported by public opinion. The Governments have therefore decided to set up the United Nations and our Union has formed a "UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION of Great Britain and Northern Ireland". The Association will bear the same relation to the United Nations as the League of Nations Union bore to the League of Nations and will work for the support by the British people of this new machinery for international co-operation.

We could not change our name by a mere resolution, as similar societies in many other countries have done, because our name was incorporated in a Royal Charter. Instead we had to promote the formation of a separate Association and will devote our resources to supporting it until such time as the two bodies can be merged into one under a new Royal Charter.

The new Association will hold its first great National Demonstration at the Albert Hall on October 10th at 7 p.m. when the speakers will include the Prime Minister, Mr. Eden, Mr. Noel-Baker, Lady Megan Lloyd-George and Lord Cecil.

Thereafter it will be necessary to hold public meetings throughout the country as part of a national campaign.

The officers of the Union have become the officers of the Association, the Branches of the Union will become the Branches of the Association, and all members of the Union will be deemed to have become members of the Association unless they have expressed their unwillingness to do so before October 31st.

This letter requires no answer. I am only writing to tell you how much I hope that we may count upon your active support now that we have this second great opportunity. Unless you let me know to the contrary you will henceforth be deemed to be a member of the United Nations Association and you will continue to receive the literature and services to which your subscription entitles you.

Lytton

UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

OBJECTS

1. To work for friendship and understanding between the peoples of different countries and for their co-operation in the tasks of peace and reconstruction.
2. To foster among the people of this country a conception of national obligation to world interests and a sense of loyalty to the international community.
3. To secure the acceptance and support by the British people of the *United Nations* organisation.
4. To advocate the full development of the *United Nations*, the International Labour Organisation and other specialised agencies brought into relationship with the *United Nations* so as to bring about
 - (a) the final prevention of war
by removing its political, economic and social causes ;
by the just and peaceful settlement of international disputes, and if necessary,
by the use of collective force ;
 - (b) the safeguarding of human rights and freedoms, the promotion of the moral and material welfare of all peoples, and
 - (c) the building up of an agreed code of international law applicable to all nations great or small.

RATES OF SUBSCRIPTION

All persons of sixteen years of age and upwards who signify their general agreement with the objects of the Association and willingness to pay a minimum annual subscription of 2s. 6d., are eligible as full Members of the Association. Associate Members may be enrolled upon payment of a subscription of 1s. 0d.

- (a) Members who make a single payment of NOT LESS THAN £25 are described as LIFE MEMBERS and are entitled to receive the monthly journal of the Association, regularly by post, as well as pamphlets and similar literature issued by the Association.
- (b) Members whose annual subscriptions are NOT LESS THAN £1 are described as FOUNDATION MEMBERS and are entitled to receive the literature to which Life Members are entitled.
- (c) Members whose annual subscriptions are less than £1 but NOT LESS THAN 5s. 0d. are described as REGISTERED MEMBERS and are entitled to receive the monthly journal of the Association.
- (d) Members whose annual subscriptions are less than 5s. 0d. but NOT LESS THAN 2s. 6d. are described as SUBSCRIPTION MEMBERS and are entitled to receive copies of the News Sheet in alternate months, or monthly if distributed by the Branch to which they are attached.

Supplement to the Chairman's Letter.

As a Supplement to the Chairman's letter the following detailed information is sent to all members

Aims. The objects of the United Nations Association are set out overleaf.

Payment of Subscriptions. When your subscription to the Union becomes due for renewal it should be paid to the United Nations Association instead, unless you pay your subscription under deed of covenant. The rates of subscription to U.N.A. are set out overleaf.

Subscriptions paid under deed of covenant should be paid to the Union (which will transfer them to U.N.A. to cover membership of the Association) until U.N.A. is recognised by the Commissioners of Inland Revenue for rebate of income tax.

Until such time as the Union can be finally merged in the United Nations Association under a new Royal Charter it will be necessary to keep the Union in existence for the purpose of supporting the Association. Everyone who is a member of the Union to-day will therefore have the right to remain a member of the Union for so long as the Union continues to exist independently of U.N.A. and will be deemed to be a member until he or she is known to have resigned or died. The Union as such will not, however, ask for any further membership subscriptions as these should in future be paid, as explained above, to the body that will be doing the active work—the United Nations Association.

As a member of the Union you will be grouped *for purposes of record* in one or other of the following sections, according to your place of residence

London Branch and Metropolitan District Council,
Northern Ireland Regional Council, English National Council (for all extra-metropolitan areas), Scottish National Council, Welsh National Council.

But as a member of the *active* body, the United Nations Association, it is hoped that you will belong to a Branch of U.N.A. in your own town or district and help to make this Branch a strong and vigorous instrument for carrying out the objects of the Association.

Management of the Union. The affairs of the Union, which will now chiefly consist of arrangements for supporting the United Nations Association, will be managed by a much smaller Executive Committee and General Council to be elected by Voting Members.

Voting Members will be those who have at some time in the past paid £25 to be enrolled as Life Members of the Union, members still subscribing under deed of covenant and any other members who pay a special subscription of 1s. 0d. a year for this purpose. Until other arrangements are made any member of the Union wishing to be enrolled as a Voting Member should send his or her 1s. 0d. to the Secretary at 11 Maiden Lane, London, W.C.2. and should state clearly that it is the fee for registration as a Voting Member of the Union.

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The Journal of the League of Nations Union

No. 73

OCTOBER 1945

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THE PRIME MINISTER

The Hon. E. R. STETTINIUS

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(Minister of State)

Rt. Hon. ANTHONY EDEN, M.P.

Air Vice-Marshal D. BENNETT, C.B.
(formerly A.O.C. Pathfinders)

The Lady MEGAN LLOYD GEORGE, M.P.

Rt. Hon. the Viscount CECIL

Chairman : Rt. Hon. the EARL OF LYTTON, K.G.

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PAID 10

EDITORIAL**OUR FRESH START**

THE UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION of Great Britain and Northern Ireland is now ready for action. The League of Nations Union, having given its blessing at the General Council meeting in London, gladly makes way for its younger and more vigorous successor. A forward looking policy and solid support in all parts of the country—these are the essentials to which we are looking for success. As a spring-board we have the Charter of the United Nations and the new World Order foreshadowed at the San Francisco Conference.

What U.N.A. has to offer is a reasonable chance—but the only chance—that World War No. 3 can be stopped before it starts, if only the Charter be made to work. It will not work unless U.N.A. and United Nations Societies in other countries go all out to make people understand it and back it with everything they've got.

"We strive," Mr. Attlee told the Trades Union Congress at Blackpool, "to build up a society of free nations, freely co-operating together in the interest of all. . . . A new world order cannot be made by Governments but only by peoples. It is the peoples and the peoples alone who can save civilisation from destruction. . . . I appeal to you to rise in peace as in war to the height of the occasion."

The Prime Minister, no doubt, will reinforce the urgency of that appeal at the National Demonstration which the United Nations Association is organising at the Royal Albert Hall on the evening of October 10. Side by side with him Mr. Stettinius, the Minister of State, Mr. Eden, Bennett of the Pathfinders, Lady Megan Lloyd George and Lord Lytton in the chair will add their own compelling arguments.

We want the man in the street, his wife, and his sons and daughters at this demonstration. We want them to go forth, fired with an enthusiasm that no temporary setbacks or disappointments can quench. We want the message from the Albert Hall to spread like wildfire throughout the land. This must be in every sense the launching of a national and nation-wide movement. October 10 must be a red letter day for

U.N.A. and the gateway to a proud and confident future.

The United Nations

Meanwhile, in London, the new United Nations organisation is taking shape. The Executive Committee of the Preparatory Commission, set up at San Francisco, is making good progress with its work. Wisely it is doing its best to take the public into its confidence. That is not easy when matters of machinery and organisation are under discussion. The innumerable details that have to be thrashed out inevitably seem dull and tedious to the onlooker. But the Press is being kept informed of all that is being done, and they were especially invited to watch a typical day in the life of the Committee which gave a good idea of the way in which the United Nations Organisation is gradually being built up.

To us, nothing is more encouraging than the prominent part which Mr. Noel-Baker, the Minister of State, is taking in these labours. Nobody there knows better than he the reasons for the very large measure of success which the League of Nations enjoyed and the rocks on which it finally foundered. Further, his enthusiasm to get the best possible successor to the League is infectious.

It now seems likely that the Executive Committee will have its proposals ready by the beginning of November, to enable the full Preparatory Commission to be convoked by November 15. We may well witness the first constituent meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations before the end of the year.

IS THIS YOURS?

A BROOCH was found on the floor after the General Council Meeting. The owner can have it on giving a description.

A PARCEL addressed to *T. G. Hopkinson, Esq.* is waiting to be claimed at this Office. As the sender had used an L.N.U. label, it was returned here when the G.P.O. was unable to deliver. Will any claimant please describe the contents?

THE UNION "CHANGES ITS SKIN"**CLOSE-UP OF COUNCIL MEETING**

By LESLIE R. ALDOUS

Sketches by FARR

Delegates began to assemble early for the General Council Meeting of the League of Nations Union on the morning of September 6. Long before the chairman's bell rang for silence, they were converging on the Conway Hall, gathering in animated groups in the lobby, and asserting squatters' rights on the seating accommodation. The packed hall, when the proceedings began, testified to the interest aroused up and down the country in this historic gathering. For, as more than one speaker was to remark, it signified the end of one chapter and the beginning of another. At this meeting, the League of Nations Union would put itself into cold storage but, far from closing down, launch out anew through the United Nations Association. Hence the eagerness to be "in at the death"—and at the "rebirth."

Only in one respect was there a notable gap in the attendance compared with the wartime meetings of the Council. Among the visitors, we had got accustomed to welcoming at Roll Call many of our friends from the countries now happily no longer "occupied." Having gone back for service in their own lands, they could not be with us, though some sent greetings. We rejoiced to know that, in more than one European country, fellow workers were waiting for a lead from our General Council to go ahead with their own United Nations societies.

Dr. Murray's Welcome

"We have to thank Heaven that we have reached victory at last," said DR. GILBERT MURRAY, O.M., in his welcome from the chair. "But we have not yet reached either peace or security. Not peace, because the years ahead are full of difficult trials. Not security, because the world is full of dangers."

However, despite a certain prediction by Lord Baldwin concerning "one more war in the West," our civilisation had not fallen with a crash, and we had survived. In the task of our salvation, our Society had done

its duty just like other people. Facing the common peril, people had thought about one another, and that was the spirit to which our Society was devoted.

Now we were trying again. In 1919, he remembered, there was a great wave of enthusiasm and much scepticism. Now



LORD LYTTON

there was no enthusiasm but little opposition.

It was a great advantage that 50 nations had agreed again to form a world organisation, which would start with greater and more world-wide conviction and would have behind it better material force. But we must not deceive ourselves. The actual

situation of the world was more dangerous than in 1918. As General Smuts had warned us, we must not imagine that war was extinct—it was still “somewhere in the air.” The real remedy, he thought, was the practice of co-operation, and the United Nations Charter made preparation for this by the immense amount of work that it put on the Economic and Social Council. Then another essential thing would be good co-operation with Russia. “We shall have



MISS COURTNEY

to be extra generous, extra considerate,” said Dr. Murray. “The winning of Russia into a system of co-operation is one of the main immediate objects. It is only by co-operating that people learn to co-operate.” “Our chief enemy is sheer fatigue,” Dr. Murray added. “Our Society must aim at keeping concord among ourselves and work for reconciliation. Unless we can reach it, our great aim is not won.”

Routine Business

Not at once did the Council plunge into the most important business confronting it. Routine items, however, were speedily

handled. LORD LYTTON, as Chairman of the Executive, reported on what had been done with the resolutions passed at the last meeting. A large number of our suggested amendments to the Dumbarton Oaks proposals had been accepted at San Francisco. “Our labours are not in vain,” said Lord Lytton, “and sometimes we are listened to with respect.”

MISS K. D. COURTNEY, Vice-Chairman, presenting the *Annual Report for 1944*, remarked that it took a “live fish” to swim against the stream. We had done that and were all the better for the hard exercise. Now developments were shaping in the direction in which we had been working.

MR. H. S. SYRETT then gave his report as Treasurer. Although membership subscriptions had fallen off slightly and expenditure had increased, we had been able to keep our end up in a remarkable way. Other organisations had had to shut up shop, but we had carried on. He drew the Council’s attention to the large increase of expenditure which was contemplated under the fresh start. We should be a self-supporting body, and the justification must lie with the Council.

At the Roll Call MR. C. W. JUDD, Secretary, added a new category to the list—those who had “travelled all the way” since 1919. A surprisingly large number of Council members, in response, rose to their feet.

Lord Cecil’s “Good-bye”

For the last time LORD CECIL addressed the Council as its President. His speech was of such interest and significance that it is reproduced in full in this number. (See pp. 10-11.)

It drew from LORD LYTTON a tribute that must have echoed the feelings of everybody present.

“Lord Cecil,” began Lord Lytton, “is trying to say good-bye to us. Between Lord Cecil and the League of Nations Union there can never be any divorce. We cannot allow him to lay down the office which he has filled so long and with such distinction without telling him what an honour he has conferred on the Union. His place in our hearts he cannot resign and no one can fill it. We must love him, honour him and be grateful to him. We shall be grateful for any continuance of help that he may be able to give in future. He can

resign nothing else but the title of President.”

Lord Cecil was still as wise, far-seeing and statesmanlike as he had ever been. “Whatever we may or may not call you,” Lord Lytton assured him, “you can never leave us. We thank you not for what you have been but for what you are—our leader, example and inspiration.”

Mr. Noel-Baker

MR. P. J. NOEL-BAKER, who snatched an hour away from his duties as Minister of State to visit the Council, followed with another glowing tribute to Lord Cecil. “Lord Cecil,” he said, “is a great idealist of our age. But we see now that the great idealists were the realists of the years between the wars. The choice of our generation lay between the Covenant and war. It is my belief that no statesman since Mr. Gladstone has had so great a personal following in this country as Lord Cecil had at the time of the Peace Ballot. His following was no less throughout the civilised world. He will go down to future generations as the man with the greatest record of practical achievement between the wars.”

“Lord Robert,” continued Mr. Noel-Baker, “made the League of Nations.” His work laid the foundations. He made the League in Paris, he made it in Geneva by bringing paper institutions into life. He turned the Assembly into a strong, coherent Parliamentary institution. Still more important, he made its moral ethos. He adjured the Council to be just and fear not. He insisted that publicity was the life-blood of the League. He always preached that peace could only be built on the rule of law, and that must be based on the consent of the peoples.

“The great lesson which emerges,” said Mr. Noel-Baker, “is that the League worked while it was tried. But Lord Cecil not only made the League of Nations. I venture to say that he has made the United Nations organisation, which will take on where the League left off. The Charter is founded on principles Lord Cecil made and proved, and it is only so far as they adhere to those principles that the United Nations will succeed.”

Lord Cecil had also made the League of Nations Union, which had achieved tremendous practical results and done a tremendous work of education. The climax

of his work happened in the Peace Ballot. For him to describe his efforts as “worth while” was a masterly understatement.

“This time,” concluded Mr. Noel-Baker, “we shall not fail. His inspiration will go on. Thanks to him and his immortal work, we shall not fail.”

The United Nations

LORD CECIL, in making his speech, had also moved the resolution welcoming the



MR. NOEL-BAKER

formation of the United Nations and urging H.M. Government to use their influence to promote the full development of this new league. That left the field clear for MISS COURTNEY, as seconder, to give the Council an eye-witness account of the San Francisco Conference. She elaborated many points that she made in her recent HEADWAY article. The amendments submitted by the various nations, she said, filled a tome quite as fat as the London Telephone Directory. The period of “short-sleeve diplomacy,” when these were being licked into shape by the various commissions and sub-committees, was really hard work, and must not be regarded as time

wasted or of dissension. It was remarkable that so much was done at San Francisco in the time. Apart from the veto business, which was the price that had to be paid for getting a Charter at all, it was a very good Charter.

"I do hope," added Miss Courtney, "that we are going to put our backs into supporting the Charter." It would not be easy. We were not going to get the kind of support that we got for the League in 1920. There would be less enthusiasm and warmth. In our uphill task we must use the Charter as our jumping off place. "Can we not make people feel that there is nothing but international organisation to save us? We've got a second chance. Are we going to take it?"

Moving an amendment to the third paragraph, the DEAN OF CHICHESTER urged the Council to make a stand on a question of principle. The right kind of international organisation was vital to the future. We mustn't think that any kind of international organisation would do the trick. We must be careful to avoid laying all our stress on this particular organisation. He was not so much interested in urging H.M. Government as in converting the people of Britain. By saying "and welcoming" instead of "Welcomes," he wanted to make this a dependent clause. Then the word "States" should not be qualified by "peace-loving"—it begged the question. Acceptance of the rules should determine the right to be a member.

The first change proposed by the Dean was accepted without argument, but a keen discussion took place on the word "peace-loving." DR. MURRAY pointed out that the phrase had been used throughout at San Francisco and, although leaving much to be desired as a definition, did show the general aims of the Organisation. It would be a great error if we went on record as having passed a half-hearted resolution. The DEAN intervened to say that he was not opposed to the United Nations, but he thought we should all realise that there was a profound difference between its underlying purpose and that of the League. AIR VICE-MARSHAL BENNETT put in a plea for making the new League all-embracing. We could give real support by being constructive and not lagging behind. Finally, by a narrow majority, the Council decided to retain the word "peace-loving."

MR. SHELTON, on behalf of the Northants



Federal Council, asked for consideration of ways in which greater emphasis might be laid on moral and spiritual factors in future work for the development of the United Nations. The human structure must be underpinned. Those who spoke in general support of this idea included MR. J. HALL TODD and DR. MAXWELL GARNETT. On the suggestion of LORD LYTTON, an appropriate form of words was added to the resolution.

The Atomic Bomb

Like the House of Lords and the House of Commons during the debates on the Charter, our General Council never had the Atomic Bomb far from its thoughts. A talking point was provided by the urgency motion submitted by the Executive.

LORD LYTTON, in presenting it, reminded the Council that a completely new situation had been created. The subject required careful thought and study rather than hasty pronouncement. Yet the Executive realised that such intense interest and deep emotion, such feelings of horror and anxiety, had been aroused that the members would be looking for some guidance. The Executive had decided to invite leading scientists to meet them and give the fullest information possible on the destructive and creative possibilities of atomic energy. But, without waiting for that knowledge, certain conclusions were plain. First, any hope that scientific research could be arrested and the secret destroyed and forgotten was illusive. Any attempt to confine the knowledge would be fraught with the greatest danger. Secondly, it would be equally futile to hope to control its use by trusting to international conventions. That brought us to the third conclusion, that the only possible safeguard was the abolition of war itself. That was the Union's business, and the new discovery would compel us to revise our ideas on a great many subjects. Lord Lytton referred to his grandfather's book, "The Coming Race," written 73 years ago, which had foreseen, in terms of electricity, unlimited power of destruction by atomic energy. When written, that was a dream, now it was actual reality. It was an absolute necessity to get together and devise some means of saving our civilisation. We knew now that this second chance was the last chance.

A number of amendments had been put

down, and the Council set about discussing what form of composite resolution would be generally acceptable.

TYNE DISTRICT COUNCIL, demanding through MR. EVANS something practically and psychologically valuable now, strongly urged that the secret should be placed at the disposal of the Security Council and shared immediately with Russia and other



THE DEAN OF CHICHESTER

permanent members thereof. LORD CECIL argued that it would be a mistake for us to detail all the measures that ought to be taken. DR. MURRAY thought that we should refrain from giving advice to the Government on the political action that should be taken at the moment. MISS FRED A WHITE opposed the amendment on the ground that it would reinforce the position of the Bi Five to an extraordinary degree. The combined weight of these arguments impressed the Council.

On the other hand, MANCHESTER DISTRICT COUNCIL received support for the idea that the Security Council should possess the fullest powers of inspection in relation to the development or application of atomic energy. MR. L. F. BEHRENS agreed that it was quite true that we should never be safe unless we abolished war, but in the meantime we ought to have some sort of a policy on the matter. LADY PARMOUR'S

addendum, asking for an appropriate international agency for the development of atomic energy in the interests of mankind,



MR. L. F. BEHRENS

was also approved. The text of the resolution as finally passed appears on p. 12.

Other Resolutions

MISS NANCY STEWART PARNELL (L.R.F.) eloquently moved the resolution on the Private Manufacture of Arms. DR. GARNETT and the REV. GWILYM DAVIES shared chief honours in an effective debate on the United Nations Educational and Cultural Organisation. DR. GARNETT, too, was in his element in commending the World and Stars as the emblem of the United Nations Societies.

Formation of U.N.A.

It fell to MISS COURTNEY to introduce the motion welcoming the formation of a United Nations Association of Great Brit-

ain and Northern Ireland. Her grasp of detail and skill in steering the Council through a maze of amendments enabled the Council not to waste too much time over the unimportant things but to concentrate on matters of substance.

MR. C. G. HAWKINS (Scottish National Council), seconding, said that we needed a new name not because the old name was wrong but because the public was so stupid. A fresh start was impossible without a new name. Youngsters could not be interested in the L.N.U.

The REV. GWILYM DAVIES said that in Wales they were accepting the new United Nations in order to better it. They wanted to be recognised as the Welsh National Council of U.N.A., though he foresaw trouble with the new name in Welsh! We could prepare the way for the coming of a creative peace, and the best thing that could be said about any of us was that we had helped to do it.

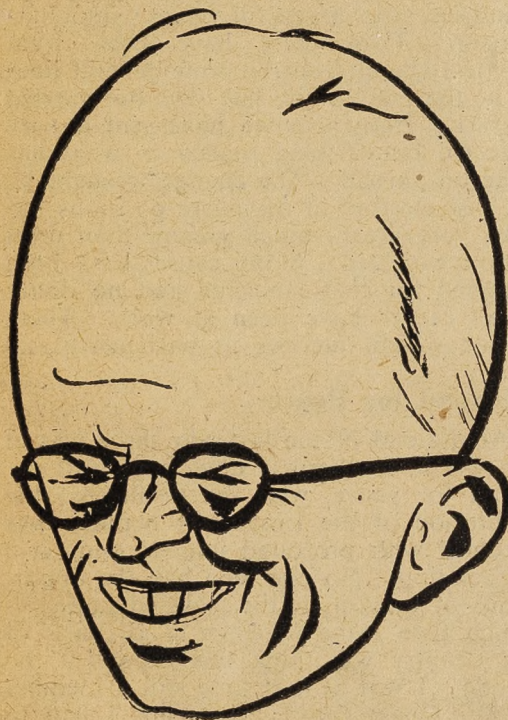
An amendment moved by the DEAN OF CHICHESTER aimed at putting in the forefront the great principles to which we wished to convert our fellow countrymen. We should be an association for advocating the right use of the United Nations. The United Nations could be used as the instrument for a policy of appeasement. Our job was to see that it was not.

After much discussion of the Dean's point, it was agreed to alter the order of the objects of the Association. Subject to certain amendments being made in the rules of the Association, the Council authorised the Chairman to enter into an agreement with it. The financial proposals were accepted provisionally on the understanding that they, together with the amendments tabled in the General Council's agenda, would be considered by the Standing Conference of U.N.A. and a report presented at the first General Council in December.

Lord Lytton—Joint President

Among the items of business remaining was the election of officers. LORD LYTTON,

in accepting the office of Joint President with Dr. Murray, assured the Council that he was glad and proud to serve in any capacity. He agreed to carry on temporarily as Acting Chairman of the Executive. Mr. Attlee, the Lady Violet Bonham Carter



MR. C. W. JUDD

and Mr. Winston Churchill were elected Hon. Presidents. Mr. Bevin was a notable addition to the list of Vice-Presidents.

And so came the concluding speeches. They were, said DR. MURRAY, bidding goodbye to the L.N.U. to which they were deeply attached, but lamentation was not the spirit in which to go off and convert the country. We had a new organisation in which to place our hopes and for which to work in future.

LORD LYTTON asked the Council to consider just what had been done at the meeting. "We have not," he said, "committed *hara-kiri*. We are not extinct. Like one of those animals which from time to time changes its skin, we emerge as something bigger, stronger and more beautiful than

before." Our numbers must be brought up to something much higher than they were at the peak, and to this there was now no obstacle in the name. The differences which had appeared at the Council were only a matter of emphasis. The Dean of Chichester and all of us had the same wish—to see the new organisation used in the right way. But we must have it before we could see it used in any way.

LORD CECIL agreed heartily. That we had got a great deal didn't absolve us from asking for improvement. "We must take what we can get and ask for more," he concluded, "and add to it the deep earnestness of those who are engaged in a great task."

"MARIE-LOUISE"

This, the first film from a neutral country to be released over here since the war, deeply moved a somewhat hard-boiled audience of critics at the Academy Cinema. The theme is the way in which the Swiss people brought children from the bombed areas of France to recover their health and strength in Switzerland. An extremely human story is built round the experiences of one such child, Marie-Louise—admirably played by Josiane, one of a talented team of young actors in the film and herself a refugee. Dramatically the film is strong, with its contrasts between the horror of the bombing scenes and the peace of the Swiss countryside. Psychologically it poses questions which the world must face. The Swiss themselves seemed to realise that what they could do for the children was just a drop in the bucket. Comparatively few could be helped and, moreover, was it worth while to give them refuge for a few months only to send them back to face more bombing? If child life is to be made happy and secure, there is obviously only one complete answer—the elimination of war, the root evil.

VISCOUNT CECIL'S FAREWELL AS PRESIDENT

(Many readers, we are certain, will like to have this record of Lord Cecil's last speech as President of the L.N.U. General Council).

This is the last time that I shall have the opportunity of addressing you as your President. I have resigned that position, and I hope that you will at this meeting elect my friend, Lord Lytton, as my successor. You certainly will not lose by the change and I have no doubt you will continue to him that invariable support and, if I may be allowed to say so, affection which I have been so fortunate as to enjoy.

I hope that as a Past President I may still be able to work for the cause in which we have been engaged together for the last quarter of a century. Certainly I should like to do so for I am very confident that our labours were well worth while. It is surely a matter for congratulation that, after all the criticism of the League and the bitter attacks made on its supporters, the statesmen of the United Nations found themselves driven to build their new organisation for Peace very much on the lines of the League. It is claimed that there are very great improvements. Certainly the new structure is much more elaborate. The Charter is at least four times as long as the Covenant. Whether it is four times as effective time will show. It may be so, particularly if it is not regarded as sacrosanct and impossible of useful development.

A Fresh Start

In any case we have reached the end of a chapter. I am very much impressed with the feeling that in all matters, particularly peace, we have got to make a fresh start. Let us briefly glance at the present position. We have fought a great war and gained a great victory—at tremendous cost. True the losses of this nation have perhaps not been so great as those we suffered in the last war. But that cannot be suggested of any other country. In Europe and Asia and even in America the destruction has been immense and the expenditure colossal. Above all, and worst of all, we have seen in Germany and, I fear, in other

countries also, a fearful relapse into barbarism. Then there have been great political changes on the same general lines as at the end of the last war but carried further. Here also we have had a very peaceful but striking replica of what has gone on abroad. The change wrought by the last election in the party positions has been very great—much greater than most people expected. Many causes have been assigned for that landslide and no doubt many causes have been at work. There is one which interests us particularly.

Demand for Peace

At the end of the last war there was in the world, as there is now, a general demand for peace, with the result that the institution of the League of Nations was received with profound interest and vivid expectation. No one who had the opportunity of speaking to the crowded audiences which then came together in all parts of the country will think this statement too strong. I was at that time still a member of the Conservative Party, but I had to admit that the support which many of my party colleagues gave to the League was half-hearted even where it was actually existent. This point of view had much endorsement by officials both in the civil and military public services. It was not, of course, that they disapproved of peace—who does?—but they regarded the League as newfangled, something strange and therefore disagreeable (*laughter*) and “idealistic.” Unfortunately no alternative to the League was proposed except what ultimately came to be called Appeasement. I do not wish to elaborate that or to say all I thought myself driven to believe on the subject.

For long, as we proved by the Peace Ballot, the great majority of the people desired to support the League and would have been ready to make any sacrifices that were necessary for the purpose. But the Governments of that day—I am not speaking of any particular Government—

even when it became manifest that the Axis Powers were moving towards war, clung to the hope that, by making concessions and offering friendship, the German and Italian and Japanese militarists could be induced to abandon their deeply held ambitions. I wish—we all wish—that they had been right. But they were in fact wrong and we have seen the consequences.

I venture to recall all this because I think it is in part the explanation of the political events that we have witnessed. The electors were determined that there should be no recurrence of the policy which had had such terrible results and they were not satisfied that the party then in power had completely changed in their attitude to foreign questions. (We all know there were very great exceptions, including Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden, always supporters of the League, who deeply regretted the policy their Party carried out.) I hope they have changed. We certainly have not altered our view and it is our business now more than ever to press it forward.

Our Belief

The broad lines of our belief are clear enough. We hold that Peace is essential—more essential than ever—to the progress and prosperity of the world. We are confident that no single state or partial alliance is able to ensure the maintenance of peace and we are therefore wholeheartedly in favour of the adoption and maintenance of some such organisation as has been agreed upon at San Francisco. That does not mean that we think the Charter is perfect. I certainly do not. I cannot believe, for instance, that it is right to establish a system for enforcing peace and then to say that the Five Great Powers who, from their very strength must always be the greatest potential dangers to peace, shall not be liable to any sanctions against aggression. And there are other smaller points which require consideration. Still, here we have an International Organisation for the Prevention of War and the building up of a great system of international collaboration. Surely we can have no doubt that we must support it and equally no doubt that we must work for its improvement.

The Atomic Bomb

I cannot think that even if the position was just as I have stated it, you, ladies and

gentlemen, would have any hesitation as to your proper course. But we all know that, since the Charter was voted, an event has occurred which immensely strengthens the case for it. The discovery of the Atomic Bomb, whatever ultimate results it may have in peace matters, has revolutionised war. It seems undoubtedly true that with a relatively small number of these infernal machines whole countries can be devastated, their cities can be wiped out and their armed force slaughtered. And let us be quite frank. No state is more at the mercy of such an attack than our own. We live in a crowded country with immense aggregations of people in our great cities. We know that in this last war it was only by the heroism of our own forces, the folly of our enemies, and what we usually call the good fortune that befriended us that we escaped destruction. We have certainly no right to count on any such chance to escape the far greater dangers with which this new discovery threatens us. You will be discussing later on what partial protection can be obtained by international control or other means. But I have no doubt you will agree that *safety can only be effectively achieved by the abolition of war.* That must be the great truth which we must press on our fellow countrymen, and through them on the world, by every means in our power. The issue is tremendous. Believe me, this is no fanciful or exaggerated view of the situation. It is the plain unvarnished truth.

Turn to Youth

That is why I began by saying that we were at the end of one chapter and must enter with all our vigour into another and one still more momentous than the first. That is why I venture to appeal to you not to rely on us old men but to turn to youth for a fresh inspiration. We can give to young men and women an opportunity to help. It will be no easy task. We have been through it and know how discouraging it may be. But it can be done and it must be done. Let it never be said that this country, with its splendid traditions and great ideals which God has given us, perished from the blindness and indolence of its children.

COUNCIL DECISIONS

1. The United Nations

(a) The General Council of the League of Nations Union

Recalling that for a quarter of a century the League of Nations Union has worked to foster mutual understanding, goodwill and co-operation between peoples, to secure the whole-hearted acceptance by the British people of the League of Nations, and to advocate its full development as set forth in Clause 4 (iii) of the Union's Royal Charter,

And further recalling the statement of its Honorary President, Mr. Churchill, that "this war could easily have been prevented if the League of Nations had been used with courage and loyalty."

And welcoming the formation of a new league of peace-loving States, to be known as the *United Nations*,

Urges H.M. Government, after its ratification of the Charter of the *United Nations*, to use its influence to promote the full development of this new league, so that it may, in fact, become the guardian of international right and the supreme instrument for removing all injustices which may threaten the peace of the world.

(b) The General Council hopes that, in the carrying out and development of the Charter, consideration will be given to ways in which greater emphasis may be laid on moral and spiritual factors in future work for the development of the *United Nations*.

2. The Atomic Bomb

Recognising that the release of atomic energy has created a deadly peril to world civilisation;

Believing that any attempt to ward off the danger by secrecy will be neither desirable nor effective;

Hoping that by international action some means may be found to prevent the use of such weapons as the Atomic Bomb for national purposes;

The General Council of the League of Nations Union is, nevertheless, convinced that protection from the catastrophe with which we are threatened can only be achieved by the abolition of war, and that for that purpose the closest political and economic co-operation between States has become a necessity. To facilitate such co-operation, the Security Council should possess the fullest powers of inspection wherever the development or application of atomic energy is or may be studied or carried on.

The General Council further believes that the *United Nations* should set up an appro-

priate international agency for the development of atomic energy in the interests of mankind.

3. Private Manufacture of Armaments

The General Council of the League of Nations Union

Recognising that to continue the system of the private manufacture of armaments for profit motives will constitute a threat to the successful working of the future International Organisation,

Urges H.M. Government to press for the abolition of the private manufacture of armaments and for the international control, inspection and supervision of all manufacture of, and trade in, arms and munitions of war at the earliest possible moment, as part of any "system for the regulation of armaments" formulated by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee in accordance with Article 26 of the Charter of the *United Nations*.

4. Emblem of United Nations Societies

The General Council of the League of Nations Union

Hopes that the (blue and white) *World and Stars* emblem of the Union, as well as of many other national League of Nations Societies and of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies, will be adopted, and perhaps adapted, as the emblem of the new national and international *United Nations Societies*.

5. The United Nations Educational and Cultural Organisation

The General Council of the League of Nations Union

Believing that a just and lasting Peace can be won only by the aid of education, and

Desiring to see the *United Nations* bring up their peoples to think in world terms and to feel loyal to the *United Nations* as well as proud of belonging to that body,

Welcomes the proposal to establish a *United Nations Educational and Cultural Organisation*.

Our Address:

HEADWAY

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

Telephone:

TEMPle Bar 0961.



By Farr

UNDER CONSTRUCTION

OVERSEAS

More and more of the old League of Nations Societies in other countries, which we had lamented as among Hitler's victims, are getting in touch with us and revealing that they just refused to be killed even under German occupation. The way in which they clung to life, with everything against them, is a most hopeful augury for the future.

One of these, the old DANISH LEAGUE OF NATIONS SOCIETY, managed to keep in being throughout the war but changed its name as long ago as 1941 to the DANISH PEACE UNION. "We are," writes the President, *M. Jesper Simonsen*, "in every respect ready to take up co-operation in support of this new attempt to establish a world order based on law."

The GREEK LEAGUE OF NATIONS

SOCIETY, which was forced to suspend all its activities during the bitter years of occupation, has now re-established contact with us through its General Secretary, *M. Pierre Manopoulos*. Plans are afoot for resuming work along the new lines suggested by the *United Nations Charter*.

OFF THE MARK

COVENTRY DISTRICT COMMITTEE of the UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION is one of the first in the country to get off the mark. To support the Charter an All-Party Public Meeting is being held at the Central Hall, Coventry, on Monday, October 15, at 7.30 p.m. The Bishop of Coventry will be in the chair; the speakers from all parties will be Mr. R. H. Strickland, M.P., Mr. M. Edelman, M.P., Capt. W. F. Strickland, Mr. A. P. Young, and Mr. J. Cohen. Mr. F. H. Harrod will represent U.N.A.

LONDON CALLING

There is evidence that even before the General Council said "farewell" to the League of Nations Union, and announced the birth of the UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION, preparations were in hand to hold inaugural meetings to start Branches working under the new name.

It is felt that those organising such meetings may be glad to have some hints with which to check up on their own arrangements, and that there might also be other members who would assist in starting a Branch in their area if they could have before them some suggestions for running an inaugural meeting.

The following ten hints have been prepared, not with any idea that they form a complete guide for such occasions, but in the hope that they may prove helpful:

Try for a Hall easily accessible from all parts of the district and secure a choice of dates.

Select a speaker for one of those dates who is sound on the principles for which U.N.A. stands.

Approach the Mayor, or other important local celebrity, to act as Chairman.

Do not stint publicity; remember "It pays to advertise," and the more people who come to your meeting, the larger the collection.

Interest the local press in the formation of your Branch. The Editor may be willing to give it a write up, and/or to publish a letter urging public support for both meeting and Branch.

Approach all local churches and other organisations for an announcement prior to date of meeting, and invite each to send a representative to sit on the platform.

Ask each political party to give platform support.

Arrange for someone to link up the history of the Union with the future policy and programme for U.N.A., and make a strong but brief appeal for members and workers.

See that a collection is taken, and aim not only at defraying expenses but providing a bit over for Branch work.

Select stewards who, as well as taking the collection, will help with enrolment cards following the appeal for members.

M. G. S.

HEADWAY'S POST-BAG

"Make Peace Secure"

Sir,—Will you please permit me to make the very obvious remark that if we are to have a world at peace we must firmly resolve to make peace secure and not continue to think of the occurrence of war as, if not inevitable, at least extremely likely. This latter state of mind prevailed at the recent conference in San Francisco, the delegates there were not determined on peace and nothing but peace.

Let me in support of this assertion quote and comment upon a passage or two from Miss Courtney's article in the August HEADWAY. She refers to "the need which the U.S.A. feels for controlling strategic bases in the Pacific Ocean and elsewhere. Strategy is, in my dictionary, defined as the art of planning and directing the larger military operations of a campaign." Now, in a world effectively organized for peace there would be no campaigns, and consequently the U.S.A. would not need to be in the least concerned about her peculiar possession of strategic bases. That the Council occupied itself with the setting up of such strategic areas shows that it accepted the possibility of future wars, and was not absolutely determined upon the establishment of a thoroughly effective peace organization.

Again, Miss Courtney mentions the acceptance at the conference of a clause declaring that "nothing in the Charter impairs the inherent right of individual or collective defence" in the event of an armed attack against a member State. But an organization really effective for the preservation of peace would not allow of armed attack by anyone.

It is clear, then, that the delegates at San Francisco were not convinced, or were not determined to ensure, that the arrangements they were discussing would prevent the outbreak of war. What ought they to have done to prevent this? As war is waged by means of lethal weapons, it is axiomatic that no nation can wage war unless it possesses such weapons. To ensure peace, therefore, an international conference should have agreed upon universal national disarmament and the establishment of an international police force, suitably armed, to prevent re-armament anywhere.

The advent of the atomic bomb should convince us of the expediency, nay the necessity, of such a policy. An international organization, alone in control of this tremendous power, could, if really desirous of peace, effectively preserve it; the possession of this weapon by individual nations would involve universal destruction.

Kirriemuir.

CHAS. W. MOORE.

Total War

Sir,—I would agree with your comment in the September Editorial that "in total war ordinary standards ruthlessly go by the board," and it seems to me that this wholesale morale degradation is one of the greatest of the many curses war brings in its train.

But I would question your next comment that "each for himself is the only possible watchword." There are still standards of conduct which are demanded of moral people. The acceptance of the view you express may be held as an excuse for all kinds of atrocities! The lawlessness of modern war reaching a new climax in the recent use of the atomic bomb might well cause us to ask again whether war can be right in any circumstances.

I must add that but for this comment, the rest of the Editorial is good!

Hartford.

ERIC F. THURSTON.

"Back to Humanity"

Sir,—May I express dissent from your reviewer's assumption that the peoples are not ready to pay the price of supra-national authority?

When one reflects on what they are forced to pay in war through mass suggestion and propaganda of every sort by their Governments, it is a little ingenuous to suggest that it is the peoples not the leaders who lag behind. Ernest Raymond is right. What is needed now is bold action by the Governments.

Ditchling.

DAVID PEAT.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

IMPERIAL COMMONWEALTH

IMPERIAL COMMONWEALTH. By Lord Elton. (Collins, 14, St. James's Place, London. 544 pp. 21s.)

Lord Elton, fresh from helping St. George to confound the hundred-headed dragon, has met a very real need in condensing into 500-odd pages the story—heroic and unheroic, materialist and moral—of the British Empire merged to-day and for to-morrow in the British Commonwealth. His book is immensely readable and written with the infectious gusto of a historian who loves his subject: it is devoid of the British talent for understatement which has let so many fine and hopeful ideas go by default.

In compressing so vast an experiment in the art of governing and educating peoples, there are bound to be omissions. The trees get lost in the forest. Not enough, it may be felt, is said about the material side, or about the points of view of the dependent peoples themselves—an infinite variety. In that case students have to hand more specialised authorities—as Professors Hancock and Coupland, Lord Hailey, Margery Perham.

Personalities of potent vitality pass through the pages of this history, owing much, perhaps, to the fact that they express broad national movements and instincts in particular periods of political development. We find lucid interpretations which help us

to understand complex events. Above all, the Empire, the Commonwealth emerge as a great human experiment, growing all the time, by the process of trial and error and even catastrophe. We lost the American colonies, in the last resort, because of certain moral weaknesses in our colonial policies. But the lesson was learnt—broadly it was Burke's principle that trusteeship is the corollary of responsibility. And we proceeded to better and wiser experiments, in Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, all now completely self-governing Dominions; to prodigious and as yet unfinished achievement in India; right up to the present day with its farseeing Colonial Development plans.

In all this organic growth there has been a persistent, enduring element: something moral, ideal, heroic and hopeful. Blueprint theorists and critics, suffering from "imperial" schizophrenia, pour scorn on the very idea of moral elements underlying the passage of these events. Nevertheless, it was precisely an appeal of this kind which in two catastrophic wars forged out of the British Commonwealth a vast, united and voluntary weapon, which held the fort of civilisation and helped to save the whole world. Not the least remarkable verdict on the reality of this moral element was delivered, since Lord Elton prepared his book, at San Francisco when the United

Nations made a universal declaration on Colonial Policy, which is nothing more nor less than the existing policy of the British Government at this hour. It is Lord Elton's profound conviction that, because the Imperial Commonwealth has come to rest on the principle of service, it has something unique to give to post-war generations—a practical contribution to the welfare and progress towards self-government of dependent peoples, and for the world at large, where international cooperation has come to stay, an example of working and living unity.

GORDON DROMORE.

WAR CRIMES. By Manfred Lachs. (Stevens, 119, Chancery Lane, London. 108 pp. 7s. 6d.)

In this useful handbook a Polish lawyer has made a serious attempt to define the many complicated and difficult issues involved in apprehending, trying and punishing war criminals. He surveys both written and unwritten international law bearing upon the subject. He discusses the whole nature of war crimes. The last war, he shows, created new possibilities for treason and treacherous activities, quislingism being an outstanding example. His summary of the problem is brought up-to-date with a list of documents and statements made by the United Nations in their case against the war criminals. Something might usefully have been said about the unofficial spade-work of the London International Assembly, which has had a great influence upon official action by the United Nations. Dr. Lachs is firmly of the opinion that it would be disastrous for international law to be merely a flexible instrument in the hands of politicians. The manner in which the problem is resolved will be a tremendous

precedent. The principle that crime does not pay must become rooted in international law, the grand inspiration of which must be international morality and high moral principle.

DIARY OF EVENTS

Aug.

24. *China ratifies United Nations Charter.*
25. *General de Gaulle's Mission to Washington ends.*
26. *Russo-Chinese Treaty ratified.*
28. *Occupation of Japan begun.*
29. *First List of major War Criminals published.*

31. *Mr. Stettinius arrives in London.*

Sept.

2. *Japan signs Instrument of Unconditional Surrender.*
4. *Call to Spanish Government to evacuate Tangier.*
- 6-7. *L.N.U. General Council: Formation of United Nations Association approved.*
9. *Surrender of Japanese Troops in China.*
11. *Council of Foreign Ministers, London. Anglo-American Trade Negotiations, Washington.*
12. *Surrender of Japanese Troops in S.E. Asia.*
17. *International Food Conference, London.*
18. *Anglo-American Oil Conference, London.*
19. *Prime Minister and Viceroy broadcast on India.*

Oct.

10. *National Demonstration of United Nations Association, Royal Albert Hall.*

MAIN CONTENTS

	PAGE
Editorial: Our Fresh Start - - - - -	2
The Union "Changes Its Skin." Close-up of Council Meeting. By Leslie R. Aldous, with Sketches by Farr - - - - -	3
Lord Cecil's Farewell as President - - - - -	10
Council Decisions - - - - -	12
Cartoon: Under Construction. By Farr - - - - -	13
From "Headway's" Postbag - - - - -	14
Books: Imperial Commonwealth. By Gordon Dromore - - - - -	15

27 MAR 1946

