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MESSAGES TO THE COUNCIL

"Please convey to the Council a message of my sincere good wishes for the success of the meeting."

Rt. Hon. C. R. ATTLEE, M.P.

"I should like the Council to know that I wish the Union every success."

Rt. Hon. the VISCOUNT CRANBORNE.

"My interest and belief in the Union and League have never abated during the dark days and I am thankful that we are now going to have another period of usefulness."

Rt. Hon. SIR HENRY SLESSER.

"I fully realise the importance of the occasion, and rejoice to think that, although the gathering at Dumbarton Oaks disclosed a new perspective of consultation and combined action by great and small nations, its deliberations in no way heralded the extinction of the League of Nations, but rather the opening of a new life for it under broader and happier conditions."

Most Hon. the MARQUESS OF CREWE, K.G., G.C.V.O.

OUR COUNCIL AND DUMBARTON OAKS TAKING UP THE CHALLENGE

When, at the end of 1943, the General Council of the League of Nations Union came together in London, the Moscow Four-Power Declaration had just been published at a happy moment to give direction and incentive to the discussions. Owing to "D Day," a year was to pass before the next Council meeting. By this time the Dumbarton Oaks proposals had come to the fore, as a measure of the progress that had been achieved in the interval.

The Council meeting, held in the Conway Hall on November 30 and December 1, reflected the widespread interest aroused in our Branches by the Dumbarton Oaks scheme. It was by far the largest and most representative Council held by the Union in war-time. All parts of England, including remote areas from which we had scarcely heard in recent years, as well as Scotland and Wales, sent delegates. The seriousness with which they accepted the challenge of events and their zeal to have a hand in shaping the policy of the Union were remarkable. In general, they wanted to talk about two things to the exclusion of all else—the Dumbarton Oaks policy and the Union's part in helping to make it a really effective barrier against war.

Just because all realised that it was "now or never" for the Union to make its influence felt, just because of the eager anxiety to do something really useful at a crucial moment in history, a warmth of feeling was generated in some of the debates which made it by no means an easy Council to preside over. The duties of chairmanship were shared by Dr. Gilbert Murray, O.M., and Viscount Cecil.

Dr. Murray's Welcome

DR. MURRAY, in his message of welcome, said that the Council was meeting at an extremely interesting and important time, when we were on the verge of victory for two causes which all present had most at heart—the war and the other cause which

we called "the League." The outsider was disaffected towards the phrase, because he thought the League was an experiment that had failed. We could correct him. That cause had gone up and down. When the war came all kinds of other suggestions had been put forward, some of them quite fantastic. Now the Great Powers were putting forward a Charter along the lines of the Covenant and in spirit exactly like the Covenant. Dumbarton Oaks was a League of Nations plan, to which the Union had been faithful—with improvements which the Union had proposed and supported. At the same time we had to realise that the war was not yet won, and our organisation was not yet established. Dangers to both still had to be faced. In the matter of the new international organisation the forces of isolation and cynicism were strong, though they had largely gone underground. Not many people would dare to say that they were against a world organisation altogether—the attacks would be made more subtly, on detail. This should be a lesson to us. By all means let us make suggestions for getting the Dumbarton Oaks scheme improved, but do not let us give the impression that we were quarrelling with the whole thing.

Lord Cecil's Presidential Address

Having acclaimed Lord Cecil's suggestion that a telegram of congratulation on his 70th birthday should be sent to the Prime Minister, the Union's Honorary President, who treated his position very seriously, the Council listened intently to the Presidential Address.

Speaking of the "new chapter" which was beginning, LORD CECIL said that the preface was announced in the Dumbarton Oaks conclusions. The verdict of history, he thought, would be that the first effort through the League had been more successful than some of the critics were wont to credit. The work of the League and of

its co-partner, the I.L.O., had been of enormous importance for various economic, social and economic causes. But the League did not prevent, did not retard, the outbreak of this war. This desolating war had happened because the machinery of the League was not employed. He was prepared to admit that there were faults in the Covenant; but the real cause of the trouble had been that there was not sufficient power in the public opinion of the world to compel Governments to take action in time to prevent war. There had not been an attitude of mind that put the maintenance of peace in the front rank.

Would the new proposal remedy that primary deficiency? Lord Cecil thought there was every chance, granted that the necessary support of public opinion could be mobilised.

Outlining the machinery set out in the Dumbarton Oaks scheme, Lord Cecil gave it his broad approval. With regard to the Security Council, he welcomed this altogether in that it imposed the responsibility for protecting the peace squarely on the shoulders of the Great Powers; but if it were decided that nothing could be done without the unanimous consent of the Great Powers a dangerous position would be created. It would be perilously near to the proposition that the Great Powers were to be outside the law. Still, he thought that some system could be devised by which the position of the Great Powers could be respected, while preserving respect for the law.

Summing up, Lord Cecil said: "Let us support Dumbarton Oaks and ask for improvements." Though there might be no open opposition to the conception of the organisation of peace, we should make a great mistake if we supposed that all our old opponents had been converted. They would set ambushes and booby-traps. They would use the plausible argument that what was proposed was so short of what they desired that they must oppose it. To avoid playing into their hands we must make it perfectly clear that, if we suggested improvements, we were not in favour of dropping the whole scheme.

Youth and a new spirit, continued Lord Cecil, were urgently needed in the Union's campaign. For this reason he had come to the conclusion that he ought to make way for new blood by resigning the posi-

tion as President. However, the Executive did not agree at all, and it was certainly not his wish to add to their difficulties in a great and essential task. Therefore he was content to "hold on" until the end of the war.

New International Organisation

Then came the debate on the Future International Organisation and International Security. Opening it with what he called an "irrelevant sentence," DR. MURRAY remarked that, whatever Lord Cecil might say, he gave something to our cause that nobody else of any age or youth could give.

We stood at a tremendous moment in history. Either wars would get worse and worse and more totalitarian, or we must make the necessary effort to rid the world of war. However you approached the subject, the inevitable answer was some such scheme as was proposed at Dumbarton Oaks. It seemed to him an enormous gain that powerful nations were willing to form an association with others on terms of sovereign equality. In the old League we had gone rather timidly to the other nations about giving up the right to war. Now there was no nonsense about it—there was to be an absolute prohibition of war. One danger had been that the world was at present so obsessed with the idea of military force that it might concentrate on this and forget other things. But in fact, under Dumbarton Oaks, a great amount of constructive work that the old League did would be carried on by the new League to a larger degree and in a stronger form. He reminded the critics that a great many things had been deliberately left by the high officials at Dumbarton Oaks for the Governments to settle—things that were too big for them to take the responsibility.

DR. MAXWELL GARNETT gave arguments in support of the view that the points of difference between Dumbarton Oaks and the League Covenant were all improvements. A number of later speakers, however, adopted a more critical attitude.

MISS ELEANOR RATHBONE, M.P., in a characteristically vigorous speech, dealt with the question of the unanimity rule and the veto on the Security Council, stressing the danger to peace if the Great Powers were to put themselves beyond the law. THE DEAN OF CHICHESTER, who on this

occasion assumed the rôle of critic in chief, wanted to move an amendment in order to give effect to the principles of the Atlantic Charter and to relate Dumbarton Oaks to the Charter. "It leaps to the eye," he said, "that the big Powers control the small Powers and are themselves unbound . . . Who is to control the big Powers?" He had never agreed with the proposition that peace was the first essential. More important things even than peace were justice, freedom and truth—and they were in greater danger to-day than ever before.

After some discussion on this point, DR. MURRAY intervened to urge the Council not to limit the Executive's power of suggestion. They wanted to suggest all ways in which Dumbarton Oaks could be improved, and not only in relation to the Atlantic Charter. Lord Lytton also suggested that what was needed was not the addition of words in respect of this or that point but a resolution to consider them all. The Dean agreed to withdraw his amendment, adding a promise to speak again on the Atlantic Charter.

MISS FREDA WHITE, making her debut as an Executive member, regretted the absence of any reference to publicity. This weapon had been one of the most potent in the armoury of the League. To-day the Civil Aviation Conference was crashing because the sound plan of Britain and the better ones of the Dominions were being defeated in secret.

From SIR WALTER LAYTON came a convincing plea for discussion of the way in which regionalism could be built into the new organisation. On the economic side, in particular, it was too much to expect that you could yet get plans to cover the whole world.

When the debate was resumed on the Friday morning, SIR GEORGE MORTON (Edinburgh) moved an addendum that, as the Dumbarton Oaks proposals were still under discussion, might yet be modified and were at present incomplete, the Executive should explore the suggestions made by any member of the Council, in order that the Union might be prepared to present, at a meeting specially convened for the purpose, its considered opinion on the whole scheme before its adoption by the Government. This was welcomed by Lord Cecil as "right, reasonable and businesslike." But for a short while the discussions be-

came so confused that Miss K. D. COURTNEY had to warn the Council against losing sight of the wood for the trees. The addendum was adopted.

Branches with amended resolutions bearing upon Dumbarton Oaks were then given the opportunity of expressing their views. GROUP-CAPTAIN R. FULLJAMES (Southampton) strongly urged that the Security Council should have an international force as suggested by the London International Assembly—on which LORD LYTTON commented that the Executive required no conversion. MR. J. GEE (Beddington), MR. L. M. FOX (Taunton), MRS. E. M. WHITE (New Commonwealth) and MR. R. E. GUNDRY (Ealing) submitted their respective proposals. All these, together with suggestions made during the general discussion, were referred to the Executive in accordance with the decision of the Council (see p. 15 of this number).

Future Treatment of Germany

Introducing the Executive report on the Post-War Treatment of Germany, LORD LYTTON stressed the impossibility of concentrating so big a matter into the narrow compass of a resolution. The subject was highly controversial. Some people thought that territorial changes at the expense of Germany were necessary to the future peace of the world, and claimed that such changes were quite consistent with the terms of the Atlantic Charter. Others said that such changes were highly dangerous, unwise and inconsistent with the Atlantic Charter. So the Executive had come to the conclusion that it would help best by issuing a statement dealing with the subject in a spirit in which it hoped the Branches would deal with it. One important consideration was that it would be useless to make arrangements now unless we could be sure that future generations would think them desirable and wise and be ready to support them by force if necessary. In the past power had not been used by those who possessed it because they had not felt a sufficiently strong moral justification. "Do not," said Lord Lytton, "make a peace the moral sanctions of which are weak."

After an interesting debate in which COLONEL CARNEGIE, MR. G. GREEN (Skip-ton), MR. H. H. ELVIN, MRS. E. M. WHITE,

MR. L. F. BEHRENS (Manchester) and the REV. H. WALKER (Framlingham) took part, general approval was given to the report.

The Atlantic Charter

THE DEAN OF CHICHESTER moved his motion on Article 2 of the Atlantic Charter on the grounds that it was intimately concerned with the whole future work of the Union. Support from the Churches would largely depend upon the Union sticking to its guns in upholding the Atlantic Charter, and Article 2 dealt with a human right to which the Churches attached the utmost importance. The attitude which was being widely taken about the occupation of the Baltic States and Poland deeply wounded the Christian conscience. The Atlantic Charter was not vague on the point, and the Tyneside amendment reminded us of things that we had to bear in mind.

After COMMISSIONER CUNNINGHAM (Salvation Army) had supported all that the Dean had said, discussion centred on whether or not the Tyneside amendment (moved by MR. G. P. EVANS) should be added. The Council decided in favour of the amendment.

Bretton Woods

MRS. E. M. WHITE, in moving her resolution on the Economic Basis of Peace, vigorously attacked the Bretton Woods agreement. It was, she said, a return to the old disastrous gold standard, only worse. It would impose restrictions on credit facilities. After painting a gloomy picture of the threatened ruin of British trade and the end of the sterling area, she asked for a strong appeal to be made to the Government not to repeat the blunders of the last post-war period.

LORD LYTTON, who said that he had some sympathy with the resolution in so far as it contained a criticism of the Bretton Woods proposals, yet thought that it would be rather presumptuous and unwise for the Council to pass judgment on so very technical a matter. Mrs. White's arguments, though he did not agree with them all, deserved serious attention; and there were certainly points that should be clarified. Nevertheless it would not be right for us to ask the Government not to ratify the agreement.

The Council moved on to next business.

The Union's Role

The Executive had appointed an *ad hoc* Committee on the future development and role of the Union after the war. It fell to LORD LYTTON, as Chairman of that Committee, to present an interim report on what had been done at the two meetings already held.

Speaking of the second chance which the world had been given, he said that it was with that background that the Committee had approached the Union's domestic problem. Was the Union prepared to make the most of that chance? Admittedly our actions were subject to great limitations so long as the war lasted, yet we must at once consider what we could do now to make use of our organisation to rouse the country.

After surveying the whole field, the Committee had reached the conclusion that our function with regard to the new world organisation was very much what it had been in relation to the League. We must convince people that the only way to prevent recurrent wars was to use the machinery of the international organisation. That brought us up against the fact that our influence would be measured by the extent of our membership. If we could speak in the name of millions, we would be listened to—and not only that, we should have the necessary funds. So everything we did must be done with an eye upon its effect on an increase of membership. Each step in expansion and development must justify itself in terms of membership. It had been agreed that Head Office should do more work in the field. Special attention was being given to ways in which membership could be of value to members. It was a sound principle to give the members something to do, as at the time of the Peace Ballot.

At its second meeting the Committee had discussed what could be done here and now while the war was on, leaving over long-term policy when we should be able to rely on more people to help. An immediate campaign for the education of public opinion on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals had been decided upon. To make possible the holding of meetings all over the country, it was proposed to increase to a certain extent the Union's paid speakers.

The Committee had been convinced that

it would be impossible to get large numbers of new members without alteration of the Union's name and Charter. We must aim at new membership to support a new body. The change could not be brought about in a moment, but it was realised that the matter was very urgent. Mr. Attlee had been written to, and he (Lord Lytton) could assure the Council that they were definitely contemplating the change in order that they could do for the new organisation what they had done for the League. Tentatively the Committee suggested as the new name "United Nations Association in Great Britain," but they were anxious to obtain the Council's views about it.

DR. GARNETT immediately put in a plea for the retention of the word "Union" in the new name. We had done so much together under the name "Union," and it was easier to ask people to join the "Union" than to join the "Association." Finally, after a keen discussion, Dr. Garnett's motion was carried and referred to the Executive.

Speakers in the general debate on Lord Lytton's report heartily welcomed the practical and constructive campaign which was proposed. Suggestions made included invoking the assistance of the Churches, appealing to the business man, stating the Union's case to members of the Forces, finding some way of putting that case in simple language, and arousing the interest of the working man, particularly through stressing the I.L.O.

The I.L.O.

The I.L.O., by the way, was continually cropping up in the course of various discussions. The Council had the advantage of hearing about the recent Philadelphia Conference from MR. CLIFTON ROBBINS, of the London Office of the I.L.O. To him it seemed of the utmost significance that this international meeting of 41 nations had taken place at the highest crisis of the war, so soon before D Day. The awakening of the social conscience of the world had been a striking feature during this war. The Covenant of the League was still an inspiring doctrine whatever might have happened since its adoption, and he felt the same about the Charter of the I.L.O. He laid stress on the tripartite system, which

with great technical skill the I.L.O. had got working properly. There was, he contended, no rivalry between the I.L.O. and anybody else—the I.L.O.'s wish was to co-operate.

MR. ELVIN'S resolution on an L.N.U. campaign for the I.L.O. was adopted on the understanding that it should be sent to the *ad hoc* Committee on the future role of the Union.

Other matters of interest and importance came up, but it is impossible to deal with them adequately in a short article. There was, for example, the resolution aiming at closer co-operation between the Union and the Council for Education in World Citizenship. There was the resolution welcoming the proposed creation of a United Nations Organisation for Educational and Cultural Reconstruction, the importance of which the Council was quick to appreciate. And, of course, MR. H. S. SYRETT, the Union's Treasurer, presented the budget. What was spent in 1945, he emphasised, would depend upon the policy of the Union. He appealed for more payments under deed to ensure a regular income. The Union's financial position was sound and stable, but we musn't play any tricks with it.

LESLIE R. ALDOUS.

FROM CHINA

The General Council of the L.N.U. received the following cablegram from the Chinese League of Nations Union:—

"Since the establishment of the League of Nations we supporters have endeavoured to promote international peace, security and co-operation. Although the League organisation has almost dissolved owing to the war, the League spirit has been revived at Dumbarton Oaks Conference. We sincerely urge United Nations peoples to make an earnest study of the proposals for a new international organisation and express their valuable opinions so as to expedite the realisation of our ideal of a new international organisation."

CHU CHIA-HUA

President, Chinese League of Nations Union.

Chungking.

I.L.O. MEETINGS IN LONDON

A meeting of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office has been arranged to open in London on Thursday, January 25. Mr. EDWARD J. PHELAN, Acting Director of the Office, here gives HEADWAY readers a "preview" of this and other meetings that are to be held during the month.

The session of the Governing Body will be preceded by meetings of two of its committees—the Committee on Constitutional Questions and the Committee on Employment. The sittings of these Committees will begin on January 17, and the whole of the business of the I.L.O. is expected to be completed by January 31.

In addition to these Committee reports, the Governing Body will have a number of important matters with which to deal. Among these will be measures to be taken to constitute International Industrial Committees whose establishment as part of the I.L.O. structure was authorised by the International Labour Conference held in Philadelphia last year. The problem to be worked out is whether these Committees should include representatives of Governments as well as labour and employer members. Industries for which these Industrial Committees are likely to be established are the following: European inland transport; European coal mining; iron and steel production; engineering trades, including shipbuilding, aircraft, automobile manufacturers and allied trades; textiles, including cotton and rayon, and wool.

Other questions on the agenda include social provisions in the peace settlement, regional activities of the I.L.O., and the

date, place and agenda of the next session of the International Labour Conference.

The Constitutional Committee, which was set up at the last session of the Governing Body in response to a Canadian proposal at the Philadelphia Conference, will make recommendations for the future constitutional development of the Organisation. In particular it will be required to consider the relations of the I.L.O. with other international organisations, notably the general international organisation projected by the Dumbarton Oaks Conference. Its recommendations on this question, as well as others, will go before the Governing Body for further consideration.

The function of the Employment Committee is to make recommendations on employment policy for transmission to Governments and public international organisations.

MR. JEF RENS, the prominent Belgian trade unionist who has held many important posts with his own Government, has resigned his position as General Secretary of the Belgian Commission for the Study of Post-War Problems to become Assistant Director of the I.L.O. Mr. Rens is well known for his work in connection with the London International Assembly. He wrote articles in the *Manchester Guardian* strongly championing the I.L.O.

LONDON CALLING

The London Regional Federation is again endeavouring to produce slogan-posters (double crown size) at a reasonable rate. It has the following slogans ready for the printers:

Don't WORRY about the
Peace
WORK for it
Through
The League of Nations
Union,
11, Maiden Lane,
W.C.2.

Plan NOW for a New World
Free from War
Through
The League of Nations
Union,
11, Maiden Lane,
W.C.2.

We can
Make THIS the
LAST WAR.
For information apply
The League of Nations
Union,
11, Maiden Lane,
W.C.2.

Whether these can be supplied at 6d. each depends upon the number of applications received. Will you let us know at 32, Fitzroy Square, W.1, if you are interested, and the quantities required?

CANDID COUNCIL COMMENTS

(Half-a-dozen members at the L.N.U. Council Meeting were invited by the Editor to give their candid comments. Seasoned Council-goers as well as Youth are represented in this symposium, which includes views from England, Scotland and Wales.)

MR. LEONARD F. BEHRENS (Manchester)

The General Council will be remembered for two reasons, apart from the high level of speeches from the platform and from the floor, and apart from the invaluable guidance given by Lord Cecil and other members of the Executive. These are the features that we expect. The two outstanding matters were the large attendance and the insistence of the Council on its share in creating the policy of the Union.

It was evident that the Council required no reminder that this was a critical meeting; that the Union has an important part to play in the formation of national policy; and that therefore the decisions to be made could not be taken lightly. It was a natural consequence that there should be a reluctance to entrust too much to the discretion of the Executive, and what appeared to be in the nature of suspicion of the Executive was more truly an insistence by the General Council that it, and not the Executive, should govern the policy of the Union. In spite of this atmosphere the Council adopted a technique, appropriate in the existing circumstances but not without its elements of danger, the technique of treating amendments as indications of the wishes of the Council, to be considered by the Executive. Amendments were thus discussed but not put to the vote, and the Executive has undertaken to bear them in mind in any statements it makes and in any action that it takes.

The technique was successful, but it lays a heavy responsibility on the Executive, which is composed of men and women not without their own ideas and convictions; and the General Council will wait to see the result with critical alertness, but with confidence.

MISS E. P. FETHERSTON (Morecambe)

My second experience as a delegate to the General Council of the Union has revived in my mind the query as to whether the Council's time is most usefully spent in general discussion of resolutions and reports. Such discussion seems always cramped by numbers and time, and there-

fore inconclusive and to a large extent ineffectual. Could not all but very important or urgent resolutions be passed by referendum of all branches and the precious two days usually allotted to the Council be devoted to some intensive group discussions, short speeches on Union and international affairs, exchange of ideas and information between branches, and more opportunity for personal contact between delegates and members of the Executive Committee?

I was disappointed that it was found necessary to cancel the Branch Workers' Conference, which I had hoped would provide new ideas and encouragement for Branch work.

Lest it should be thought that I am merely critical, may I add that I have returned to my Branch refreshed by the renewal of old friendships, inspired by the example of our leaders, eager to carry on the work, and (speaking as one still of Youth Group age) happy to serve under our youthful leader, Lord Cecil.

MR. A. I. GRINDLEY (Aberystwyth)

The General Council had its eye on the clock throughout the proceedings. We from long distances welcomed the decision to get through the business in two days, rather than stay in London over the week-end.

The Dumbarton Oaks proposals were very much in evidence, and rightly so. On the Executive's Draft Pact for the Future International Authority, so severely criticised by the late Lord Davies, the New Commonwealth proposals introduced by the Southampton Branch were seconded by Mr. W. Arnold, the new Secretary of the Welsh National Council, who was well received. One noticed the preponderance of people who were past middle age, but who still retained their vigour. On the other hand, the few young delegates—Mr. Arnold included—also acquitted themselves well. They are our hope for the future, and may their numbers increase!

We would like to have heard more from Mr. H. Elvin and others about the cam-

paign for the I.L.O. It was disappointing that the discussion on the Future Role of the Union was confined largely to its future name, and little was said about the Union's future work.

Finally, glad as we were to do honour to the French delegation, it is a matter for regret that the usual Conference of Branch Workers had to be cancelled. Still, the Council did a lot of good work, and the long journey to London was well worth while.

MR. NEIL McMILLAN (Paisley)

I have no hesitation in saying the recent General Council Meeting held in London was the most successful I have yet attended. My definition of a "successful" conference is one which inspires the "rank and file" delegates, makes them feel proud of their Organisation, and, most important of all, gives them that feeling of determination that on their return to their respective Districts they will do all in their power to strengthen their local Branch. That's how I felt about our Council Meeting, and I feel sure I am expressing the views of all delegates who were present.

What was responsible for this inspiration? It can be stated very simply. In the past we have been on the "defensive," replying to critics (many of whom were ill-informed), accused of being dreamers, "Utopians," etc., even being accused of causing the present war. No doubt this had an effect on many of our active members, which resulted in stalemate, lack of enthusiasm, and, what was worst of all, doubts as to whether, after all, we were right in our policy. The Dumbarton Oaks scheme, so ably explained by Lord Cecil and Dr. Gilbert Murray at the General Council Meeting, was the clarion call to those people. Here we had the chief United Nations agreeing in principle to an International Organisation based on the Covenant, with certain improvements, all of which the League of Nations Union have supported. The complete reply to all our critics!

We rank and filers who attended the Council meeting have returned to our Districts with the "gloves off," determined to increase our membership, backed by principles which have the support of the United Nations for a cause which is the greatest known to man—"Peace on Earth, Goodwill to all Men."

MRS. E. M. WHITE (Co-opted)

Be it understood I have been asked to say what I think of the Council. The King's Fool, who had licence to speak his mind without respect of persons, was accounted a salutary institution. Maybe the Council, which does me the honour of co-opting me year by year, retains me for its own good.

I think of it then as a very timid body, afraid of responsibility, afraid of initiative, far too subservient to the platform. It accepts any humiliation at the hands of its venerable President, who, on one memorable occasion at Bournemouth, referred to it as his "instrument," after making it eat its own opinion and reverse its Resolutions of the previous day. The platform has only to intimate what it wants and the Council can be counted on to toe the line.

But it should be a lively and upstanding assembly, not only critical, which it often is, but also courageous and pertinacious, which it very seldom ventures to be. On economics as a vital factor in world peace the platform is not ashamed to admit its complete ignorance, and the Council is only too willing to follow this lead by sidetracking the subject on a proposal of "Next business."

I have known worse Councils, but certainly better ones. It did produce, this year, a doughty disputant, the Dean of Chichester.

MISS FREDA WHITE (Executive)

It was far the best conference since the war. No doubt that was because the war shows signs of ending, and the peace, which is the Union's business, signs of beginning. Anyhow, there was a large attendance and a lively membership.

I am incurably a democrat. I admire from afar the Executive members, the great ships of the line, so stately in their array; but oh! I like the little boats bobbing pertly through the tide, the Branch members who seem to be nearer the feelings of the people. And when the Executive train their guns upon the Jolly Roger flown by my namesake Mrs. White, I can scarce forbear to cheer the pirate flag.

To write soberly, the discussion was good; it turned round Dumbarton Oaks, of course, and the close texture of the debate witnessed to the habit of Union

(Continued at foot of page 10)

WELCOME VISITORS FROM FRANCE

On the eve of the Union's General Council a strong delegation from the French Federation of League of Nations Societies arrived in London from Paris by air to attend the meeting. MONSIEUR PAUL-BONCOUR, the former Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of France, was accompanied by PROFESSOR EMILE BOREL, MADAME MALATERRE-SELLIER and MONSIEUR JEAN DUPUY, respectively the President, Treasurer and Secretary of the French Federation.

The Germans, during their occupation of France, spared no effort to stamp out the Union's sister organisation in that country. Luckily there was time to destroy many of the records, including lists of names. However, when the offices in Paris were raided in 1940, everything else was taken away—even the caretaker's broom. Professor Borel still shows signs of the hardships which he had to endure as a prisoner of the Germans. His colleagues had to put up with constant police interference. But with the liberation, the French Federation has lost no time in resuming its activities. This visit to London foreshadows a continuation of that close and friendly collaboration between the British and French societies which was interrupted by the fall of France.

M. Dupuy brought greetings at a morning session of the General Council, and a

CANDID COUNCIL COMMENTS

(Continued from page 9.)

members of reading their documents. There was a coolish welcome for Dumbarton Oaks; the members accepted its constructive proposals as promising, but were doubtful of the "Gap in the Charter," the reported refusal of Russia to agree that Great Powers should be subject to third-party judgment in their disputes.

Twice the conference was deeply moved. It gave entranced attention to Lord Cecil's speech—limpid, wise, long-sighted. The Union is accustomed to sharing the thoughts of that great mind, but it is not a use which makes satiety. Each time I

special evening meeting was held to hear the other members of the French delegation. It was extremely moving to listen to them speaking of their bitter experiences and their sense of isolation from the rest of the world, of their gratitude to Britain for standing firm and making liberation possible, and their fervent hopes for the future. Great faith was expressed in the youth of France.

Subsequently talks were held between the L.N.U. Executive and the French representatives.

LORD LYTTON, in welcoming our friends from France, said: "It is not often that individuals or nations are given a second chance of repairing their mistakes and making a fresh start. Such an opportunity has been given to us and we must see that we make the best use of it.

"To know that you are now free not only to come but to return, to know that France is now re-established as one of the Great Powers of Europe on whose collaboration we can count in the future, causes us all the joy and the emotion which you so eloquently expressed yesterday. It makes us feel more than anything else that the end of our long nightmare is in sight. We have not experienced the full martyrdom which you described, but we, too, have suffered. We have had days and nights of fear and anxiety. We have been

hear him I reflect gratefully that the Devil does not have all the good tunes; and something like my amused reverence showed in all the listening faces. And there was a stirring moment when the French delegates came in; three men and a woman who had kept faith through the black darkness of the Nazi night. They looked at us with wonder, to see how people looked who had been able to say what they thought with no fear of torment or death; and we at them with wonder, to see people who had paid with daily danger—one of them with prison—for the ideas they shared with us. That they kept those ideas uncorrupted gave us a new sense that our beliefs have outlived the war, and will grow again in a freed Europe.

in deadly peril which has tested to the full the endurance and faith of our people. We never lost confidence that France would re-emerge one day stronger, purer, wiser for all that she had endured. May our common sufferings give a new value to the task which now lies ahead of us.

"Let us approach that task in a spirit of dedication.

*"There is a tide in the affairs of men
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to
fortune.*

*On such a full sea are we now afloat,
And we must take the current when it
serves,*

Or lose our ventures."

LORD LYTTON then outlined the present position of the L.N.U. and, in reply, PROFESSOR BOREL explained why the French society had got to make a completely fresh start. M. DUPUY added that they hoped for support from the old soldiers both of this war and the last, from the Trade Unions, from university students

and from young people in the resistance movement.

A frank discussion on Dumbarton Oaks followed. The surprising fact emerged that no French translation of the proposals was available. From their study of the scheme under this handicap, the French regarded it as promising, but drew attention to what they regarded as gaps and points requiring further explanation. Talks on these aspects proved, we hope, mutually helpful.

Finally the possibilities of re-establishing the International Federation of League of Nations Societies were discussed. Hopes were expressed that it might prove feasible to arrange a meeting in Paris in the spring of 1945. It was agreed that the matter should be brought before the L.N.U. Executive.

Before the return of the French representatives to Paris another meeting was arranged, at which they met members of the London International Assembly and their friends.

THE INTERNATIONAL POST-WAR SETTLEMENT. By Leonard Woolf (Fabian Publications, 11, Dartmouth Street, S.W.1. 21 pp. 6d.).

The object of this pamphlet is to outline the kind of foreign policy which the British Labour Movement should press for after this war. The problem of preventing war is to-day the problem of preventing aggression. Two changes in the international system are required—a change of heart and a change of machinery. The first has to a large extent already taken place, but desires will remain ineffective unless social organisation and machinery are also created. The League of Nations could have been made to work. In setting up a new International Authority, it will be fatal either to try to keep economic and political questions in watertight compartments or to suppose that, if we concentrate on economic reconstruction, politics will look after themselves. The Authority must have effective control of force and adequate machinery for making international law and developing international administration. It is not enough to talk in the abstract of the United Nations remaining united—permanent unity depends upon co-operation for a particular and defined common purpose.

LONDON REGIONAL FEDERATION

BUFFET LUNCHEON

Tuesday, January 9

SIR ARTHUR SALTER

on

"U.N.R.R.A. and Relief in Europe"

Y.W.C.A., Gt. Russell St., W.C.1

Refreshments (2s.) at 1 p.m.

Address at 1.25 p.m.

THIS NUMBER

This number of HEADWAY has inevitably to be a General Council number. We regret that, in the circumstances, no space is available to include certain regular features—notably letters from readers and book reviews, as well as a good deal of Branch news. These will be resumed in the next issue.

WORLD AFFAIRS IN PARLIAMENT

FREE EUROPE'S 'GROWING PAINS'

By OWEN RATTENBURY

Seldom has it been so difficult as this month to write objectively on matters which have been arousing much heat and dust in Parliament. So strongly are opinions held on what is happening in liberated countries that nothing said would satisfy everybody. However, my function is to report as fairly as I can, in restricted space, the comments both by the Government and by its critics.

Three main things have exercised the minds of the critics during the period covered by the Debate on the Address—November 29 to December 12. Apart from these, Russian-Polish affairs have gone so badly as to be beyond my comment; and the recognition of General de Gaulle's Government in France has eased the situation there.

Unrest in Belgium

The struggle in Belgium came first in time if not in importance. M. Pierlot's Government is in command and has Allied military support. The Prime Minister, on December 8, dealt with this in response to the amendment moved by Mr. Seymour Cocks and Sir Richard Acland. He took as his text the wording of their amendment, and it was remarked that his very eloquent speech was written out before they had spoken.

"On November 29," he stated, "the Belgian Government received information that armed demonstrators were on their way in lorries from Mons, and intended to attack Government offices. The Belgian Government made an official appeal for support . . . and the necessary precautions were taken by S.H.A.E.F." These consisted of orders to stop the lorries on their way and to disarm the occupants, and the placing of light tanks and armoured cars in the side streets of Brussels near Parliament House which the Belgian gendarmerie were defending for M. Pierlot's Government.

Mr. Aneurin Bevan wanted to know if General Eisenhower or General Erskine had received any information confirming the threat other than the application from

M. Pierlot, and was it not true that military authorities in Belgium were satisfied that M. Pierlot had unwarrantably asked for intervention by British troops? Mr. Churchill replied that it was hardly possible to state the opposite of the truth with more precision, and continued with an attack on those whom he cleverly described in ironical tones as "the friends of democracy." The Liberal and Labour benches returned the irony to the echo when they cheered his remark: "But I feel quite different about a swindle democracy"—referring, of course, to Left Wingers who paid lip service to democracy when wanting all the time to establish a Left Wing dictatorship. Mr. Churchill's reply was masterly as usual, and it certainly seems impossible to accept the suggestion in Mr. Bevan's question that these threats from Mons were figments of M. Pierlot's imagination.

The Italian Situation

The second subject was the Italian situation and the alleged interference with the Government's choice of Foreign Minister. In reply to questions on December 1, Mr. Eden denied that we had vetoed Count Sforza's appointment. We had only said in effect: "In our view the appointment of Mr. X to the particular post of Foreign Secretary would not facilitate the smooth working of our relations." "We do not feel," he added, "that Count Sforza would be a particularly happy choice as Foreign Secretary. He told us he would pursue a certain course on his return to Italy, but, according to our information, he has been working against the Government of Signor Bonomi, who has given us loyal support and fulfilled his obligations to us. On his return he rapidly worked against Badoglio and later he proceeded to do the same against Signor Bonomi."

On December 6, when Mr. Eden was asked about Bonomi's statement that Sforza had not worked against his Government, he replied that what Bonomi had said was: "Sforza and I are old friends and, even

when he and I have disagreed on any particular question, I have never had any reason to doubt his friendship towards me." Which, of course, was not inconsistent with Mr. Eden's statement.

Mr. Churchill, dealing with the same question on December 8, applied himself solely to reading a very definite statement signed by Sforza in a letter to Mr. Berle, in which he had stressed the paramount duty of all Italians to join in the fight against Germany and offering his full support so long as Badoglio was engaged in that task and acceptable to the Allies. Mr. Churchill said that he had gone through this letter line by line with Count Sforza who had confirmed it; but no sooner had he got to Italy that he began that long series of intrigues which ended in the expulsion of Marshal Badoglio from office. It was their feeling that they could not trust Count Sforza that had induced the British Government to give their hint to the Italians. But an embargo on his appointment could only have been done after consultation with the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.

Unhappy Greece

The ugly situation in Greece was the burden of most of the speeches made both before and after Mr. Churchill's. Whether, as Sir Richard Acland said, there are 1,000,000 members of E.A.M., or whether it is just the little faction suggested by the Prime Minister, is anybody's guess. Accusations as to who was the evil genius had

little point in view of the rapid development of events beyond the questions and debates in Parliament. The result of the division was a foregone conclusion. The 30 who voted for the amendment included Miss Rathbone, Mr. Bartlett and Mr. Driberg, with the rest Labour, Common Wealth, I.L.P. and Communist. Most of the Labour members not holding office in the Government abstained, as did Miss Lloyd George, Mr. Clem Davies, Mr. W. Roberts and Mr. Horabin among the Liberals. Conservatives and Liberal Nationals constituted the main portion of the Government vote, with eight Free Liberals.

Perhaps the most reassuring speech in the debate was that of Mr. Harold Nicolson, who spoke with considerable knowledge of Greece and its people. They, he said, would forgive us almost anything because they were the wholly exceptional nation who had gratitude and showed it. Because Byron 120 years ago had died for Greece, they had forgiven three former acts of interference with their affairs, which would probably have made any other nation in the world our bitter enemies.

Mr. Eden assured the House that H.M. Government were not interested in any case as to whether a Government emerged of the Right or the Left, or even whether the people chose to be governed by a monarchy or a Republic. Any Government except Fascist would be satisfactory when it was possible to have it democratically elected.

UP AND DOWN THE COUNTRY

At the outset of a New Year our SHAFESBURY BRANCH is one which can look back with satisfaction on the spade-work which has been accomplished in a few months. With 25 years' experience of voluntary work in London and Bournemouth behind him Mr. Malcolm Leggett set out to re-establish the Branch. In spite of severe opposition the membership now stands at over 120—a total exceeding that of the original Branch. The highlight of the revival was a fine meeting in the Town Hall, with the Mayor in the chair supported by the Rev. H. H. Coley and other prominent people. Her Grace Nina Duchess of Hamilton, who had readily

consented to become President, delivered an inspiring address, in which she stressed the need of giving practical support to things to which we gave lip service.

BEVERLEY BRANCH is delighted with the success of its recent Brains Trust, held in a local cinema, which attracted *twenty times as many people* as previous public meetings. This Mr. Walton, the Branch Secretary, attributes mainly to increased public interest, but partly to the effective advertising method of leaving packets of postcards, on which questions for the Trust could be written, in shops, clubs, offices, hostels and schools. Nearly 50 questions were thus brought in. Another interesting

sidelight was that, although every effort was made to get an anti-League member for the Trust, nobody could be persuaded to take on the task!

Recent monthly meetings have been well attended—at the last there was not a vacant seat—and membership is increasing. That is the cheering report of our SOUTHAMPTON BRANCH, which comments that “there is undoubtedly a growing public which wants to see a good peace made so that the next generation may be saved from the scourge of war.” Judging from the series of meetings arranged up to March, Southampton will do its bit to rope in that growing public.

CAMBRIDGE TOWN BRANCH, with 700 staunch supporters behind it, has offered to find at a month's notice speakers to lead discussion groups on the Atlantic Charter and subsequent important international agreements, U.N.R.R.A., the Punishment of War Criminals, the Future of Education in Allied Countries or in Germany, what the British citizen can do to help those in the more devastated countries, and the Dumbarton Oaks proposals for the future of the United Nations.

The local Press commented on the interesting and constructive atmosphere at the annual meeting of the WALSALL BRANCH. Canon A. T. Jenkins, the newly elected President, described in his address the main task before ordinary citizens as “to create the atmosphere in which peace and security can be finely conceived and bravely pursued.”

Encouraged by the success of three meetings in its winter programme, DUNDEE BRANCH is planning to hold a further series between January and March on “The New International Organisation.” Permission has been obtained from the Dundee Cinematograph Association to exhibit a slide of the Prime Minister's message to Lord Cecil in several of the large cinemas, together with an appeal for membership.

An audience of 200 at HARROW heard Mr. Norman Bower, M.P., and the Rev. G. H. Woolley, V.C., speak on “Towards a New League.” Although most were members, the Branch secured ten recruits and also a new collector. SOUTH HARROW WESLEY GUILD mustered double its usual attendance when the Editor of HEADWAY spoke on “A Peace that will Last.”

The GREEN LANE (COVENTRY) BRANCH held a highly successful meeting when Miss

Palmer, of Fighting French H.Q., spoke on the Resistance movements and current aims and ideals of the French people. Mr. J. Garvie, who took the chair, was one of the last Calais residents to be evacuated in 1940. Branch membership is now quite up to, and promises to surpass, its pre-war strength.

In an interesting survey of her country's history and its place in world affairs, given to our OXTED AND LIMPSFIELD BRANCH, Miss H. Ermantrautova (Czechoslovakia) spoke of a Central European Federation as the key to the situation after the war.

The revived EALING BRANCH followed up its recent meeting on the Union's Draft Pact with a discussion on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, opened by Mr. L. R. Aldous, who dealt with the same subject at the annual meeting of the LEISTON (SUFFOLK) BRANCH, at READING, and at the EMMANUEL YOUTH CENTRE.

Captain Banting, addressing the WEMBLEY BROTHERHOOD, stirred up interest by inviting the audience to ask questions on the problems on peace. He told them that the suggested new international organisation would be better equipped than the League to act at the earliest indication of the risk of war, and stressed his conviction that individual endeavours by everybody were of real value.

For many years the name of *Councillor A. E. Lauder* has been a byword in connection with the work of our WOOD GREEN AND SOUTHGATE CIVIC BRANCH. All the more heartily do we congratulate him on his elevation to the Mayoralty of the Borough of Southgate, knowing that he is particularly pleased to be Chief Citizen at this time of great opportunity.

One of our BANSTEAD members, *L./C. J. H. Steel*, although a prisoner of war in Germany, has not forgotten the L.N.U. At his special request his father has sent in his annual subscription. Such keenness must be a real inspiration to us all, and we sincerely hope that Mr. Steel will be able to pay his next subscription in person.

With the approval of Lord Cecil and Dr. Gilbert Murray the AUSTRIAN LEAGUE OF NATIONS SOCIETY has been revived and has resumed activity in London. Recently Mr. W. Arnold-Forster spoke on its platform on “The Future World Authority,” with Sir Ralph Wedgwood in the chair. The Hon. Sec. of the Society is Dr. E. Muller-Sturmheim, 29, Dorset Sq., N.W.1.

GENERAL COUNCIL DECISIONS

The New International Organisation and International Security.

(1) The General Council of the League of Nations Union,

Having considered the Dumbarton Oaks Scheme and the Memorandum prepared by the Executive Committee,*

Welcomes warmly the proposal to set up an International Organisation on the lines of the Moscow Declaration, in accordance with the policy always advocated by the League of Nations Union, and

Requests the Executive Committee to consider the best way of supporting the proposal, and what, if any, improvements they would suggest.

(2) That, as the Dumbarton Oaks proposals are still under consideration, may yet be modified, and are at present incomplete, the Council requests the Executive to explore the suggestions made by any member of the Council and to watch developments, in order that the Union may be prepared to present, at a meeting specially convened for the purpose, its considered opinion on the whole scheme before it is adopted by His Majesty's Government.

(3) The General Council, whilst welcoming the Commentary on Dumbarton Oaks issued as a White Paper and presented to Parliament, urges H.M. Government to take further steps to publicise as widely as possible these proposals.

Note.—Resolutions (in an amended form) submitted by the Southampton, Beddington and Taunton Branches; amendments by the Dean of Chichester and the New Commonwealth to the Executive's motion; a resolution proposed by the Ealing Branch on a World State; together with amendments and suggestions made by members of the Council during the general discussion, were all referred for consideration by the Executive Committee under (1) and (2) above.

The Atlantic Charter.

The General Council of the League of Nations Union believes that the principle embodied in Article 2 of the Atlantic Charter, that territorial changes should not be made except with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned, is sound and should be applied in conjunction with the other provisions of the Charter, subject to such exceptional arrangements as may be necessitated by particular conditions, as, for example where

(1) The population has been massacred or evicted by invading forces and the land occupied by usurpers, or

(2) An invading force has rendered the land uninhabitable by flooding or other

means, thus rendering necessary the provision of alternative territorial accommodation.

International Control of Long-Distance Aviation.

The General Council of the League of Nations Union,

In view of the grave peril to World Peace unless a strong international control is exercised in future over all long-distance aviation,

Urges H.M. Government to pursue unreservedly the policy which they have laid down, i.e.,

“That in all questions which directly affect World Security the International Authority should be subject to the Security Council of the United Nations.”

Post-War Treatment of Germany.

The Council gave general approval to the report prepared by the Executive Council and printed in Appendix E of the Final Agenda.†

Mr. Elvin expressed regret that, in subparagraph (9) of the Executive's statement the spheres in which “friendly intercourse and co-operation” with Germany were to be re-established were limited to “science, art and learning.” He hoped that “industry” would also be included. Lord Lytton agreed with the suggestion, and promised that it would be borne in mind.

United Nations Organisation for Educational and Cultural Reconstruction.

The General Council of the League of Nations Union

Welcomes the action of the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education in drafting a constitution for a United Nations Organisation for Educational and Cultural Reconstruction;

Urges that this draft constitution (accepted by the Conference on April 19, 1944) or some variation of it, should now be accepted by the Governments of the United Nations, so that this international education organisation may be brought into being and begin its work without further delay; and

Considers that the promotion of education for world citizenship should be among the main purposes of the U.N.O.E.C.R.

Report by Chairman of Executive.

The report by the Chairman of the Executive on the action taken in accordance with resolutions adopted by the Council on December 9th and 10th, 1943, and on the action taken by the Executive on behalf of the Coun-

* Printed as appendix D in the Final Agenda.

† This report will be printed in the next number of HEADWAY.

cil as a result of the cancellation of the June meeting, was approved and adopted.

Honorary President.

On the motion of Lord Cecil, it was unanimously agreed to send the following telegram to the Prime Minister:—

"The League of Nations Union in Council assembled desires to offer to its Honorary President its warmest congratulations on his birthday and to express to him its deepest gratitude for the magnificent courage and ability with which he has steered us through the greatest dangers of our history."

Budget for 1945.

The General Council authorises the Executive Committee to continue expenditure at the present rate of some £12,000 a year for so long as it finds desirable or possible, and to make such alterations in the rate of expenditure as it may think necessary.

Reconstruction of the League of Nations Union.

The General Council

Pleased to learn that the Executive Committee is at work upon plans for the reconstruction of the Union and the revision of its Royal Charter,

Considers that these plans should be submitted to the General Council at the earliest possible date, and, if need be, at a special meeting, and

Suggests for the consideration of the Executive Committee that, IF the United Nations adopt the tentative proposal from Dumbarton Oaks that the post-war League of Nations (or general international organisation) be called the United Nations, the reconstructed Union might be known as the United Nations Union.

League of Nations Union Campaign for the I.L.O.

The following resolution was adopted on

the understanding that it would be referred for consideration by the *ad hoc* Committee on the Future Rôle of the Union:—

That this General Council

Recognising that

(a) as long as Social Injustice continues, the "peace and harmony of the world are imperilled";

(b) the Atlantic Charter emphasises that "improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security" should receive "the fullest collaboration between all nations" in the post-war world;

(c) unless and until these objectives are achieved there cannot be lasting World Peace;

Directs the Executive Committee, either through the resuscitation of its own Industrial Advisory Committee, or by some other method it chooses, to inaugurate a campaign, either separately or in conjunction with any other campaign, with special emphasis upon the I.L.O., to impress upon the Government the urgent necessity for strengthening the work of the I.L.O. and of extending its scope, wherever possible, so that it may become a more effective instrument than hitherto in securing World Peace built up on firm foundations.

Council for Education in World Citizenship.

In view of the immediate necessity for an intensive educational campaign amongst young people,

The General Council requests the Executive Committee to make the utmost use of the Council for Education in World Citizenship, and, to that end, to advise Branches of the close co-operation existing between the Union and the C.E.W.C., and guide them in their efforts to co-ordinate the local work of the two organisations, so that a nation-wide result may be obtained.

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