

"Oaks" Proposals Democratic

CONFERENCE THEME IN PLEA FOR SUPPORT

MANY conferences and other meetings are being held these days for consideration of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals.

Among the largest of these recently was an all-day conference of six major peace and religious organizations in New York on November 10.

The conference was held under the auspices of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, the Church Peace Union, the National Peace Conference and the World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches, the League of Nations Association, and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Active Support Pledged

A resolution adopted pledged "hearty support of these proposals, and at the same time express our determination to go on with our discussion of ways and means by which those matters that were left over for the future conference can be completed. In particular we urge a full recognition of the smaller nations."

It further asked for more emphasis on human rights and ways and means to "influence individual nations to grant justice to their minority groups." The resolution appealed to "all peace-loving people in our country" to join in making the campaign on behalf of the principles of peace a successful reality.

In its resolution the conference pointed out that "it seems important for the nations to give greater attention to the needs of people in dependent and backward areas. We urge that the whole scheme of mandated territories and the continuance of colonial systems be brought under close scrutiny and better control by the international organization."

The establishment of an "International Bureau of Education" was recommended to "serve as a clearing-house for all questions pertaining to education, information and cultural relations. This should include such questions as the use of the radio, freedom of the press, the control of news gathering agencies and other press services. Hope for the success of any kind of world organization will be strengthened by opening channels for the freer flow of accurate information from nation to nation."

The resolution also asked that churches and synagogues assist in gaining the support of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, "as the next concrete step toward the establishment of a more perfect system of world organization."

Gerig Address

Benjamin Gerig, assistant chief of the Division of International Security and Organization, said in a major address at the conference:

"I would like to stress the essentially democratic character of the proposed international organization. I realize that there is some discussion that in one major respect the Organization, by reason of the fact that very special and heavy responsibilities for the maintenance of peace and security are laid upon the Great Powers, departs from this democratic basis.

"The maintenance of security must inevitably be a

special responsibility of those states which have the capacity and the will to contribute effectively to it. The Security Council, therefore, would be organized in such a way that enforcement action may be taken promptly and effectively.

"The place of the permanent members of the Security Council is not one of *domination* but rather one of *leadership and responsibility* flowing from the position of these powers in the world.

Machinery Well Defined

"I think it will be generally agreed that in the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals the security machinery is much more fully developed and laid out in a more detailed and well-defined manner than in any previous plan. Promptness of action is rendered more likely by placing responsibility for action in one organ alone without the possibility of shifting it to another venue, as for example, the General Assembly.

"Furthermore, in developing a Military Staff Committee composed of the Chiefs of Staff of the permanent members of the Security Council there is an extension of the experience which has proved, even in a limited way, to be so successful in this war. And finally, by making it possible to utilize regional arrangements or agencies for enforcement action taken under the authority of the Security Council there is a further promise that the security objectives of the new Proposals can be more successfully and efficiently carried into effect.

"A third feature of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals is the wide scope which is given to machinery and activity for the creation of the conditions which in the longer view will make for greater prosperity and well-being and thus take away the occasion for war. Repressive measures alone would not appeal to the moral conscience or the intelligence of mankind. Positive and constructive forms of international cooperation for the benefit of all have long been regarded by all the principal faiths of the world as essential to an orderly and civilized world.

All Have Full Share

"While responsibility for maintaining peace is equally shared by all states, not all states are in an equal posi-

(Continued on Page 4)

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(Continued from Page 3)

ceeded in the establishment of another agency of the United Nations.

On the last day of the conference an incident took place which may indicate a greater sense of international responsibility and self-abnegation upon the part of nations. India, containing at least one-sixth of the earth's population and of great potential importance, failed to secure enough votes for a place on the council of twenty-one. Norway then offered to yield her place to India. Whereupon Cuba yielded so that Norway and India could both have seats in the council. The Cuban delegate said that his government's interest would be adequately protected by other Latin American countries on the council. Such a spirit of self-abnegation and sacrifice for the larger interest of the world community is the most encouraging example for the conduct of nations at future conferences.

In case anyone is inclined to be pessimistic over the fact that the aviation conference could not achieve complete agreement, he should be reminded that in the last war no attempt was made to create agencies of world cooperation until the Peace Conference. The steps that the United Nations have taken when the end of the war is not yet in sight, for the building of the agencies of human welfare for the future is amazing indeed. What is needed now is for the central United Nations body to be created. Every reason dictates the setting up of the United Nations organization outlined at Dumbarton Oaks at the earliest practical moment.

(Continued from Page 2)

tion to discharge this responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security. But when it comes to facilitating solutions of economic, social, and other humanitarian problems, particularly in the field of educational and cultural activity, the distinction between large capacity and power and smaller capacity and power tends to disappear.

"I should like to call your attention to a phrase which will deserve your steadfast interest, namely, that the Organization should 'promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.' It has now become apparent to almost everyone that the present conflict is, in a very important degree, the result of a denial of those human rights and fundamental freedoms without which political liberty and the human conscience must ever be stultified. Territorial considerations will have their important place in the eventual peace settlements but who can doubt that such a peace would be ephemeral so long as human beings were denied those rights and freedoms which are necessary to life itself and which we, as Americans, will always regard as the very basis of our national existence?"

"The implementation of this provision will be slow and undoubtedly difficult and it would be impossible to forecast at this time all the ways and means for carrying it into effect. Its implementation must vary according to circumstances and places. States are rightly jealous of their domestic jurisdiction. The experience of the League of Nations with the minorities treaties shows how difficult it is to apply regulations which are not by treaty universally applicable. The American Law Institute in this country has attempted to foreshadow the content of what might be called an international 'Bill of Rights' by which minimum standards might be agreed to by all subscribing nations.

"The determination of the best machinery for the application of this principle is left for the future but just as some of the sentiments in the Preamble of the Constitution of the United States proved to be so far-reaching in our history so it may well be that the doctrine of promoting respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms may emerge as one of the chief cornerstones of the new edifice."

Step Towards World Air Force?

WHILE commentators' statements that the 20th Air Force was indeed a world air force were exaggerations, it is a fact that control of the 20th is rather close to the Allies' Combined Chiefs of Staff.

In a letter to CHANGING WORLD, Major Richard G. Elliott, special assistant, Air Forces Group, wrote:

"The Twentieth Air Force is an instrument of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and, we believe, this fact probably occasioned the reference to 'some sort of international control.' World-wide conduct of the war is, of course, directed by the Combined Chiefs of Staff, and the American part of the worldwide effort is directed by the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Subject to the policies of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Twentieth is directed by its Commanding General, General H. H. Arnold, who also is Commanding General of the Army Air Forces.

"The Joint Chiefs of Staff include Admiral Leahy, General Marshall, Admiral King, and General Arnold.

"Ground and air crews assigned to the B-29 include only personnel of the Army Air Forces."

First Blow at U.S.

Joseph C. Grew, Under Secretary of State, said recently:

"Army and Navy leaders are agreed that if any aggressor again attempts world conquest, this nation will be attacked first of all. We shall be hit suddenly, by surprise, and hard. We can never again expect that other nations will take the first shock and hold off the enemy until we can arm."

Dallas and Salina

Dallas played host to the thirty-fifth in a series of Institutes held in principal cities throughout the country. Sponsored by ten national and forty local organizations, The Texas Institute on World Peace Problems based its program on the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals. Religious leaders, educators, industrialists and two representatives of the State Department, were among the speakers at the meetings on December 12 and 13.

In reporting the meetings, the Dallas Morning News said in part: "As a result of the institute a good many people have a better idea of the problems that confront us in the establishment of a permanent peace and what needs to be done to meet them."

Under the title, "Kansas Council for the United Nations," a statewide organization was formed December 15, following an all-day Institute held at Salina. Dean Francis W. Palmer is Director of the Council, which will work for wholehearted support of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals.