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THE  
UNITED NATIONS  
TO-DAY AND  
TO-MORROW



UNITED NATIONS INFORMATION ORGANISATION

SIXPENCE NET

Published for the  
United Nations Information Organisation  
by His Majesty's Stationery Office  
1945



# Who are the United Nations ?

## CHAPTER ONE

**T**HE UNITED NATIONS are an association of independent and sovereign peoples and governments, brought together by a common aim : to overcome the greatest threat in history to their individual freedom as nations and to the freedom of all mankind.

Thus, principally, the United Nations are a fighting team. But, beyond victory on the battlefronts of to-day, the United Nations have a second great aim : to preserve the peace they are now fighting to win, and to solve problems such as those which led to the present war and the one that began in 1914. Thus, in the long view, the United Nations are also a working team, for the purpose of developing a more stable world, organised for the maintenance of peace and security.

Because victory over the Axis nations must be attained before all the more far-reaching problems of peace can be dealt with, the basic United Nations team consists of those actually at war. In the early stages this fighting team, though not then known as the United Nations, consisted of only a few nations ; as the war

developed and involved new lands, the number grew.

The United Nations are, however, actively supported by a number of other nations who have associated themselves with members in some of the common work, such as the improvement of the world's food supplies and provision for relief and rehabilitation after the war.

### 26 United Nations Sign the Declaration

The formal birth of the United Nations was the adoption in Washington, D.C., on January 1, 1942, of the " Declaration by United Nations." Twenty-six governments signed the declaration and, having subscribed to a common programme of purposes and principles embodied in the Atlantic Charter (see Chapter 5), pledged themselves to employ their full military and economic resources against all common enemies, in co-operation with the other United Nations, and not to conclude separate peace or armistice agreements.

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The 26 nations which then signed this pact were :—

U.S.A.	Greece
United Kingdom of	Guatemala
Great Britain and	Haiti
Northern Ireland	Honduras
U.S.S.R.	India
China	Luxembourg
Australia	Netherlands
Belgium	New Zealand
Canada	Nicaragua
Costa Rica	Norway
Cuba	Panama
Czechoslovakia	Poland
Dominican Republic	South Africa
El Salvador	Yugoslavia

Representatives of two other countries are generally added to this first list of the United Nations, for they have been fighting in the common team against the common enemies. They are :—

France  
Denmark

In the case of France, because the fight has been carried on by the French authorities reconstituted in London and later in Algiers, that country has, from the early days, been regarded as one of the United Nations. Her Provisional Government, now established in liberated Paris, has subsequently received full recognition, and on January 1, 1945, the Provisional Government signed the United Nations Declaration.

In the case of Denmark, her King and Government having been held under duress in the homeland, the Danish Minister in Washington signified the adherence of all Danes in the free world to the common cause.

Since January, 1942, the following other countries have adhered to the Declaration on the dates indicated and have thus become members of the United Nations team :—

Mexico ... ..	June 5, 1942
The Philippines ... ..	June 10, 1942
Ethiopia ... ..	July 28, 1942
Iraq ... ..	January 16, 1943
Brazil ... ..	February 8, 1943
Bolivia ... ..	April 27, 1943
Iran ... ..	September 10, 1943
Colombia ... ..	December 22, 1943
Liberia ... ..	February 26, 1944

This brought the number of signatories of the Declaration to 36 and the total of the United Nations fighting team to 37.

Eight other countries have broken off relations with the aggressor powers and co-operate with the United Nations in some of their work.

They are :—

Chile	Peru
Ecuador	Iceland
Egypt	Uruguay
Paraguay	Venezuela

Thus in June, 1944, the United Nations team together with the co-operating nations numbered 45 nations in all.

### The Strength of the United Nations

One of the most fantastic facts of the 20th century is that so many countries, constituting 82 per cent of the world's population and controlling the vast preponderance of the world's resources, should have found themselves, many for the second time in one generation, in danger of loss of liberty and all that mankind holds sacred. This situation was due to the actions of three countries : Germany, which had also been the offender in the First World War, Japan and Italy.

It is indeed extraordinary that the victorious Allies of 1918, especially the great democracies, allowed a beaten Germany to rise again to power and to bring them, in the summer of 1940, to the brink of a catastrophic defeat. However, this lack of foresight and determination need not be a source of discouragement for the future, provided that the lessons of past experience are well and truly learned. Democratic nations, and it is to their credit, find it hard to believe that certain nations are capable of planning aggression or even world domination, as was the case with the Axis Powers, above all Germany and Japan.

The democratic nations had to learn the hard way, and the lesson they learned is twofold : on the one hand that their combined might, when developed to the full, can overcome any powers on earth ; and on the other hand that the only way to prevent a recurrence of such tragedies is for the democratic nations to stand together in peace as they have in war.

When war broke out, the bulk of the land and of the natural and industrial resources of the United Nations was devoted to turning out peace-time goods. Unlike the Axis nations, who had been systematically diverting their own powerful production towards rearmament, many of the United Nations had no large and organised



# DECLARATION BY UNITED NATIONS

## DECLARATION OF CONSCIENCE

A. NAME, RESIDENCE, AND OFFICE OF SIGNER.  
 B. SIGNATURE, NAME, GRADE, AND ADDRESS.  
 C. DATE AND PLACE OF SIGNATURE.  
 D. NAME, GRADE, AND ADDRESS OF SIGNER.  
 E. NAME, GRADE, AND ADDRESS OF SIGNER.  
 F. NAME, GRADE, AND ADDRESS OF SIGNER.  
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 Y. NAME, GRADE, AND ADDRESS OF SIGNER.  
 Z. NAME, GRADE, AND ADDRESS OF SIGNER.

The Government of the United States of America.

Having subscribed to a common program of purposes and principles embodied in the Joint Declaration of the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland dated August 14, 1941, known as the Atlantic Charter.

Being convinced that complete victory over their enemies is essential to defend life, liberty, independence and religious freedom, and to preserve human rights and justice in their own lands as well as in other lands, and that they are now engaged in a common struggle against despots and brutal forces seeking to enslave the world, DECLARE:

(1) That Government pledges itself to employ its full resources, military or economic, against those members of the Tripartite Pact and its adherents with whom such Government is at war.

(2) That Government pledges itself to cooperate with the Governments of all other nations who are not in such a complete attitude of peace with the enemies.

The foregoing declaration may be altered by any other action which may be taken by the United Nations and shall not be subject to any other action which may be taken by the United Nations.

Don M. Williams  
 January 1942

by the United States of America

by the United States of America

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arms and munitions industry in operation. Most of them had to start converting their peace-time factories into armament plants almost overnight ; for many of them the danger approached too fast, and they were overrun before they succeeded in making the change.

But with the heroic defence of the British Isles against Germany in 1940-41, with the epic stand of the U.S.S.R. in the winter of 1941-42, and with the entry of the United States into the war at the end of 1941, the picture was changing. Slowly at first, then more rapidly, as more and more of the United Nations were able to turn their efforts towards production for war, they began to catch up with the aggressor powers and soon surpassed them in output. Full use was made of the increased production through the development of Mutual Aid.

### **The Allies' Strength Lies in the People**

But it should never be forgotten that however vast their industries and resources, it is the peoples who are in fact the United Nations and who give the United Nations their real strength, the peoples who make up the armies of the United Nations, who sail their ships, work in their factories and mines, and till their fields and meadows.

Altogether the United Nations to-day comprise about 1,500 million men, women and children—nearly three-fourths of all the inhabitants of the earth. They include men of every colour and race, of every level of cultural and economic development. They speak hundreds—perhaps thousands—of different languages and dialects. The population of a single one of the United Nations, the U.S.S.R., uses nearly 200 languages, dialects and scripts.

The peoples of the United Nations belong to a great number of different religions and creeds. Yet all are joined in the common determination laid down in the Declaration by United Nations to achieve "complete victory over their enemies . . . and to preserve human rights and

justice in their own lands as well as other lands . . . against savage and brutal forces seeking to subjugate the world . . ."

Psychologically as well as industrially, the peoples of the United Nations were generally unprepared and untrained for war when it came. Unlike the inhabitants of the aggressor countries, the majority of whom had been trained for war from childhood, they had grown up in the hope that the world would avoid war and that they themselves would be able to live out their lives peacefully in the pursuit of their personal and national welfare. But as the peoples of the United Nations converted their industries and agricultural production, so they converted themselves.

Now, the land, sea and air forces of the United Nations far outnumber those of the Axis. On dozens of battlefields all around the world—in Europe, Asia and Africa, from the Solomons and New Guinea, to China, Russia, North Africa, Italy and all parts of Europe—millions of soldiers of the United Nations have met and are now meeting the test and have proved themselves, man for man, the equal of, if not better than, Axis troops trained for war all their lives. And behind them stand millions more, ready to take the field.

It is these tens of millions of fighting men, and the hundreds of millions of workers, farmers and business men who stand behind and supply them, who are the spearhead of the United Nations as a fighting team. Their task is to accomplish the first of the aims of the United Nations and all their associates : victory in the field.

After victory will come the second task, the task which the United Nations have undertaken as a working team : to achieve "a continuing peace wherein all men may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want." They can bring to that task 1,500 million men, women and children, of every race, creed and colour—the greatest team ever assembled in the history of mankind.



## Forerunners of the United Nations

### CHAPTER TWO

**A**LTHOUGH the official birthday of the United Nations was January 1, 1942, some of the methods of united action by which they are carrying on the common war effort against the Axis were in operation before that date. Some of the peacetime elements of the United Nations idea go back still further: to the end of the last great war and beyond. And the basic idea of "common action for the common good" is almost as old as the history of organised government itself: it had found expression through centuries in treaties, agreements, and understandings between two or more independent governments.

The oldest example of this idea functioning today is, perhaps, the Swiss Confederation: a union for the common good and for the common defence of many separate cantons, diversified in culture and religion, and speaking four different languages—French, German, Italian, and Romansh. This union has continued for 900 years.

Another, more modern example of common action for the common good was the confederation of the 13 North American colonies

which later became the United States of America. By the Articles of Confederation of 1781, a number of independent states agreed to pool their efforts to achieve a common aim. The Confederation, however, had still so little power that the states continued to act like independent countries. Consequently a new Constitution was soon adopted, under which each state had to give up some of its individual independence and sovereignty, thereby creating a more perfect union.

A third modern example is the British Commonwealth of Nations, wherein the mother-country and Dominions are now independent equal nations, which, nevertheless, stand together in voluntary common agreement in war and peace on certain fundamental principles and for mutual security and freedom.

Other examples of the United Nations idea are the international conferences of the 19th century, the conventions signed at them, and the machinery set up to carry out their provisions. These, unlike the confederation of the thirteen American colonies, the British Commonwealth or the Swiss Confederation, were



international rather than national and devoted to specific problems of common concern. Participation was open on a voluntary basis to all nations and governments, regardless of size or form.

### **Early International Organisations**

Perhaps the earliest and most notable example of international organisations was the Universal Postal Union (1874), whose members agreed on the co-operative and uniform handling of mail, parcel post and money orders passing from one country to another. Some instances of international co-operation agreed upon at international conventions were the stamping out of the international slave trade (1884-85), the establishment of international standards of weights and measures (1875), and the definition, at the first Hague Conference (1899) for humanitarian purposes, of certain "Laws of War."

Most ambitious of all efforts at international organisation before the first world war was the second Hague Peace Conference of 1907, called by Czar Nicholas II of Russia, at the suggestion of President Theodore Roosevelt, to establish international co-operative machinery for the prevention of war. Although the conference failed in its main purpose, it did succeed in setting up, at the Hague, a Court of Arbitration to which disputing nations might bring their differences for voluntary arbitration and settlement.

These are examples of international co-operation, open to all nations. Mention should also be made of the development of certain regional associations open to a limited number of nations. One of the most notable was the Pan-American Union. Beginning with a Commercial Bureau set up in 1890, this gradually developed into a general agreement between the republics of the Americas to consult and co-operate with each other in all matters affecting the interests and security of several or all of them.

Thus far all the various international organisations which had been developed had one thing in common: they were limited either in their objectives, as was the Universal Postal Union, or in their membership, as was the Pan-

American Union. Thus they were not fully comparable to the present-day United Nations, which is, in its ultimate concept, universal in scope both as to membership and objectives. Furthermore, none had tackled the problem of "collective security" that is, of forming a permanent organisation which would aim to ensure peace by concerted action against aggressors. This all-important matter was left to each nation as best it could, through alliances, treaties and agreements between two or more nations. But the first quarter of the 20th century brought an event that was to give a new impulse to all thought on this subject.

On June 28, 1914, in a small Balkan city named Sarajevo, an Austrian Archduke and his wife were shot by a young Serbian student. Few people in the United States, Great Britain, China or even in many parts of Continental Europe itself had ever heard of Sarajevo, or of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand. Yet, within a month, Austria had declared war on Serbia, which it held responsible for the shooting—and, in the following years one by one nearly every country on earth, directly or indirectly, became involved.

### **The World War Affected Everyone**

Before that war ended, over eight million five hundred thousand soldiers of a score of nations had been killed or had died from wounds; twenty-one million two hundred thousand more had been wounded, and millions had been crippled for life; thirty or forty million civilians had died from disease or hunger or had been driven from their homes, some never to return; millions of children had been permanently weakened by hunger and deprived of their education; and property worth millions of pounds had been lost, destroyed, blown up or sunk in the seven seas. Even in the victorious nations, tens of millions of men, women and children were never to recover from the effects of the war.

For the first time in history, it could be said that there had been a war which had truly affected, in one way or another, every one of the two hundred million men, women and children on earth—often to their utter ruin. And so, for



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the first time, it was brought home to people in all parts of the earth that *any* war *anywhere* might affect them, and that the only way to avoid personal suffering from war was to act together to prevent war from the breaking out again, anywhere on earth.

### **The League of Nations Aimed at Security**

It was in response to this strong universal feeling that there came into being the most recent and most immediate forerunner of the United Nations: the League of Nations, with its two companion bodies—the International Labour Organisation (I.L.O.) and the Permanent Court of International Justice (World Court), an improvement on the previous Hague Court. These three with membership eventually open to all nations were to provide a practical, permanent machinery designed to improve world conditions and to prevent war. They also, through the International Labour Office, and the League's many bureaux, committees and sections were to give the peoples and nations of the world a means whereby they could study and solve problems which affect the general well-being of mankind, problems which in the past had so often helped to bring wars about.

These agencies did not, however, succeed in their main objective—the prevention of another World War. On the day on which the League was officially born (January 10, 1920), there were still several conflicts hanging over from the World War. The League aided in settling several of these, and, for a time, gave promise of settling other disputes as they arose—such as the Mosul Oil dispute and the dispute following the Italian attack on the Greek island of Corfu.

But when, in 1931, Japan made an open, unprovoked attack upon China, the other League Members did not exercise their powers in order to prevent Japan from occupying Manchuria. Within the next six years, Japan seized several additional portions of China, and finally went to war against the whole of the Chinese nation (1937).

Italy, meantime, attacked and conquered Ethiopia (1935-36) and Albania (1939); and Germany remilitarised the Rhineland (1936) in

breach of the Treaty of Versailles and annexed, one by one, Austria (1938), Czechoslovakia (1938-39) and a portion of Lithuania (1939). Germany's example was followed by Hungary and later by Bulgaria. In the case of the Japanese and Italian aggressions, the League protested, and in the latter case actually applied sanctions; but the guilty nations merely withdrew from the League and went ahead with their conquests. Germany, herself, had withdrawn from the League in 1933, before starting on her career of aggression and conquests.

And finally, on September 1, 1939, the boom of heavy guns and the roar of German dive bombers over Poland announced the beginning of the final catastrophe—another World War and the eclipse, for the time, of the ideal of peaceful settlement embodied in the League.

### **The League Lacked Sufficient Powers**

Many and varied reasons have been given for the failure of the peace machinery, created after the First World War, to prevent the disintegration which finally culminated in the Second World War. Although the League had been originally proposed by President Wilson, the United States did not become a member, nor was Russia a member for the first fourteen years. Thus, from the very start the League lacked the strength and authority which it would otherwise have commanded, and the member nations became much more cautious in their support. They were naturally hesitant as to either taking decisions or using their armed forces in a world not strongly united and completely organised for peace.

While the League failed in attaining its main purpose, the prevention of war, it did succeed, together with the World Court and the International Labour Organisation, in providing invaluable experience for the organisation and maintenance of peace in the future. It also accomplished much work of a permanent value in other fields. Some of this work, in which non-member nations including the United States have been associated, is still going on to-day, even in the midst of war, and will undoubtedly become part of the foundations on which the United Nations will build.



# How the United Nations came into being

## CHAPTER THREE

**T**HE SECOND WORLD WAR, which the majority of the human race has been dreading for half a generation, is often described as having had its official beginning on September 1, 1939.

Before dawn on that morning, without even a declaration of war, the German armies advanced into Poland and the German Air Force started making a shambles of Polish railways and airfields—bombing and strafing unsuspecting civilians. Within two days France and Britain, who had been trying to prevent German aggression, declared war on the aggressor as they had promised. In the course of the following days Australia, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa, and India—realising that the outbreak of war in Europe threatened their own ultimate security—joined Britain and France in their fight against the German aggressor.

Actually the war, which the leaders of Germany, Italy and Japan had determined to make upon a peaceful world, had been going on more or less openly for some time. The Japanese attacks on Manchuria, Jehol, and Central China had been part of it. So had the Italian

seizure of Ethiopia and Albania, the joint German-Italian intervention in the Spanish Civil War, the German entry into the Rhineland and her seizure of Austria and Czechoslovakia (aided and abetted in the latter case by Hungary). The beginnings of the war went back even further than these aggressions. The first step was the secret and illegal rearmament of Germany and the beginning of the world-wide campaign of espionage and fifth-column activity—of lies and propaganda—to confuse, bewilder and sow distrust among the peace-loving nations.

The Axis was aided in carrying out these plans by the fact that the non-Axis nations hated war and were determined to exhaust every effort to avoid it. This attitude finally led to the adoption of the unsuccessful policy of “appeasement” culminating in the Munich pact of 1938. By a barrage of peace propaganda, by making a pretence of good intention, by carrying on their plans in such a way that each instance of aggression seemed to have some plausible excuse and to be an isolated affair, the aggressors succeeded in pursuing the master

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plan underlying their step-by-step progress towards world domination.

Even after the war had finally broken out, and after Poland, in spite of heroic resistance, had suffered a disastrous defeat, the neutral countries in Europe clung to a belief in the repeated assurances of Germany that their neutrality would be respected. Hence, the Axis was able to continue to keep them divided, preventing them from joining in mutual defence. And across the ocean the United States remained firm in its policy of neutrality and in its belief that the Axis neither could nor would attack.

The six months after the end of the Polish campaign were a period of tense expectancy and comparative quiet while the Axis nations prepared for the next step in their plan.

When winter was over, Germany was ready and struck again.

### **German War Plans Put Into Action**

On April 9, 1940, a German army suddenly marched into Denmark, and German ships, disguised as merchantmen, poured men, tanks and guns into Norway. Allied contingents from Britain and France hastened to the aid of the quickly mobilised Norwegian army, but hastily improvised defence and co-operation with the Allies proved insufficient to meet the long-planned massive attack by Germany. In less than eight weeks the bulk of the Norwegian forces had been destroyed or forced to flee to Britain or Sweden.

Before the Norwegian towns had stopped burning, the Germans had launched another attack—this time their main attack in the West. Again three neutrals—Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands—were the first in the path of invasion. Again France and Britain sent help, but again the carefully planned German campaign proved to be too strong. The Germans poured into France.

In the south, Italy chose this critical moment to enter the war on Germany's side and thus to stab France in the back. Six weeks later the French command was forced to surrender. Although some portion of the French army made its way to Great Britain to continue the fight under General de Gaulle, Britain was left—the

only free land and bastion in Western Europe to stand against the advance of the aggressor powers.

The swift conquest of the northern and western continental European nations proves strikingly that no belief in neutrality or in isolation, or in the possibility of maintaining peace without international machinery to enforce it, can save any country from nations bent upon aggression.

To Britain escaped not only certain French forces but the governments and the remnants of the armed forces of those nations which had been overrun by the aggressors—Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway and Poland. Later came to Britain two more European governments who had chosen the hard path of resistance against Axis aggression. On October 28, 1940, Italy wantonly and without warning attacked Greece and suffered an ignominious series of defeats at the hands of the heavily outnumbered Greeks. In the spring of 1941 Germany intervened to rescue her ally. The people of Yugoslavia along the route of the invading German armies revolted and overthrew their pro-German Government. After a short but bitter struggle the German forces overran Yugoslavia and finally defeated Greece. The Greek and Yugoslav Governments with remnants of their armed forces managed to escape, and the two governments, having arranged for their forces to be organised with British assistance in the Middle East, made their way to London.

### **Joint Action Grows from Experience**

As far as military co-operation was concerned, the British and French had learned late in the First World War from bitter experience the necessity of teamwork and the pooling of resources. Thus, even before the outbreak of the Second World War, France and Britain had agreed on plans so that, should war come, they would be ready with a joint military command for defence. Subsequently, in November, 1939, they also agreed on the machinery for a common pooling of supplies—for mutual, unlimited financial assistance and the sharing of raw materials.

This concept of joint action for common aims was one step in the development of the idea of the United Nations.

Another striking example of teamwork and of the pooling of resources was the offer made by Britain to France in June, 1940, in its hour of greatest peril, to join in a total and "indissoluble" union. "France and Britain," reads the text of Britain's offer, "shall no longer be two, but one French-British union . . . Every citizen of France will enjoy immediately citizenship of Great Britain, every British subject will become a citizen of France . . . But the constitution of the union will provide for joint organs of defence, foreign, finance and economic policies . . . and the two parliaments will be formally associated." The fact that Marshal Petain's government of defeatism rejected this offer does not affect its significance.

### **Allied Governments Work Together**

The next step in the development of the United Nations concept arose out of the association in Britain of the governments of Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Yugoslavia and the Free French.

By the Allied Forces Act (August, 1940) these governments and authorities were permitted to form, train and maintain on British soil their own military units under their own officers, their own flags, and their own military law. By other laws and agreements, they were also encouraged to set up on British soil their own courts of law, their own schools, their own religious institutions and their own newspapers.

They did more, however, than live side by side—they had a common aim in the re-establishment of freedom in Europe, and they learned to work together and pool their common resources.

To the pool of men and resources created by the British Commonwealth and Empire the Allies from the nine occupied countries of Europe brought their special contributions. For example, France contributed the strategic and material resources of the free parts of its Empire; Norway contributed its merchant marine, the fourth largest in the world; Belgium

brought copper from the Congo and its considerable gold reserves; the Netherlands contributed oil and rubber from the East Indies and its merchant marine; Yugoslavia and Greece each brought ships and other resources; and Poland and Czechoslovakia brought from their longer ordeals invaluable battle-seasoned troops and pilots. Six nations of the British Commonwealth, and the representatives of nine nations of Europe, stood firm as one united team, though, at that time, the rest of the world thought it was a hopeless cause.

The first formal action of this group of nations, which might be considered a forerunner of the United Nations, was the Inter-Allied Conference at St. James's Palace, London, on June 12, 1941. Representatives of fourteen nations—of Great Britain, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, France, Greece, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland and Yugoslavia—formally vowed to fight on until victory was won and to work thereafter in union with other free peoples for an enduring peace.

As the struggle against aggression progressed, there was gradual and increasing recognition that wars in the modern world could be won only if all contributed to a common pool the sum total of their resources in men, finance and raw materials. The economic and financial agreements between Britain and France, 1939-1940, to which reference has already been made, were examples of the acceptance of this principle. The same ideas in 1940 were extended in the relations between the Allied nations gathered in London after the fall of continental Europe. In June, 1940, for example, the Belgian Government placed 105 million dollars in gold at the disposal of the British Government, then in need of ready money to continue purchases of war supplies.

### **A Common Pool of Resources**

Canada, in order to produce funds for Britain, paid off in advance the whole balance of its British-held federal debt. Later—under its Mutual Aid programme—Canada has twice in this war provided for the dispatch of a hundred million dollars worth of Canadian

## HOW THE UNITED NATIONS CAME INTO BEING

equipment, materials and foodstuffs to the United Kingdom. The Canadian Mutual Aid policy has also been extended to other countries.

Recognising the plight of China and the important role it is playing in the war, Britain and her Allies have continuously—even at the most critical periods when the very lives of the Allies were at stake—given supplies and credits to that country.

### **America Amends the Neutrality Act**

Like most other nations, the United States, up to December, 1941, had hoped against hope that, by a policy of neutrality, it could isolate itself against the danger of war. The sympathy of the American people towards the Allies in the fight against aggressors and in defence of freedom was strikingly shown by the amendment by Congress, in 1939, of the Neutrality Act. This amendment required foreign countries purchasing munitions to transport them from the United States in their own ships; while in theory applying to all states, it in fact aided the Allies for they had control of the seas.

As the war progressed, however, and one country after another fell, America increasingly realised that the Allied forces in Britain stood between America and a threat to her own freedom. At this juncture, the British Government agreed to grant the United States the right to lease defence bases in eight specified British territories, which the U.S. Secretary of State said would "enhance the national security of the United States and greatly strengthen its ability to co-operate effectively with the other nations of the Americas in the defence of the Western Hemisphere." In return, the United States transferred to Britain 50 destroyers which helped to defend the vital supply lines to Britain.

The policy of leasing protective bases was also extended by agreements with the authorities concerned to Iceland, Greenland, Dutch Guiana, the Caribbean Sea and certain of the Latin American states.

The development of these bases was to become one of the key factors later in maintaining the lines of communication between the United Nations, and in defeating the submarine menace

which threatened the very existence of the United Nations team.

Then followed the Lend-Lease Act, setting up machinery for the pooling of resources which was later to develop into one of the United Nations major weapons, the system of mutual aid. Under this Act the United States was enabled to supply aid to those countries whose defence the President considered essential to the security of the United States. The Act signified the recognition by the United States of two principles, first that the war was global and second that defence was indivisible. In the Far East the defence of China against the aggressor, Japan, and in the West the defence of Britain and the continued fight of her Allies were deemed essential to the security of America.

### **U.S.S.R. and U.S.A. Enter the War**

On June 22, 1941, Germany and the satellite states invaded Soviet Russia. This campaign, which was to become one of the great turning points in the war, demanded an enormous effort by the Russian people: it meant huge sacrifices in men, material and finance.

In spite of its resources and highly developed industrial organisation, Russia could not alone furnish all the necessary equipment to turn the tide of the invaders, and the Allies began immediately to send help, at first in terms of aircraft and tanks and later also in terms of food, clothing and medical supplies.

A new decisive phase opened with the unprovoked Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour which brought the United States into the war. This meant, among many other things, that the great potential power of the United States could be mobilised in an all-out effort for the war. The industrial capacity of the new member of the United Nations was soon to manifest itself in a steadily increasing output of war equipment which could be joined to that of the other major Allies.

Thus, with the entry of the United States into the war, the patterns of the Allied pools, the Canadian Mutual Aid, and the U.S. lend-lease for common defence became merged into one. The new pattern under which all were to contribute everything in their power, in life, in

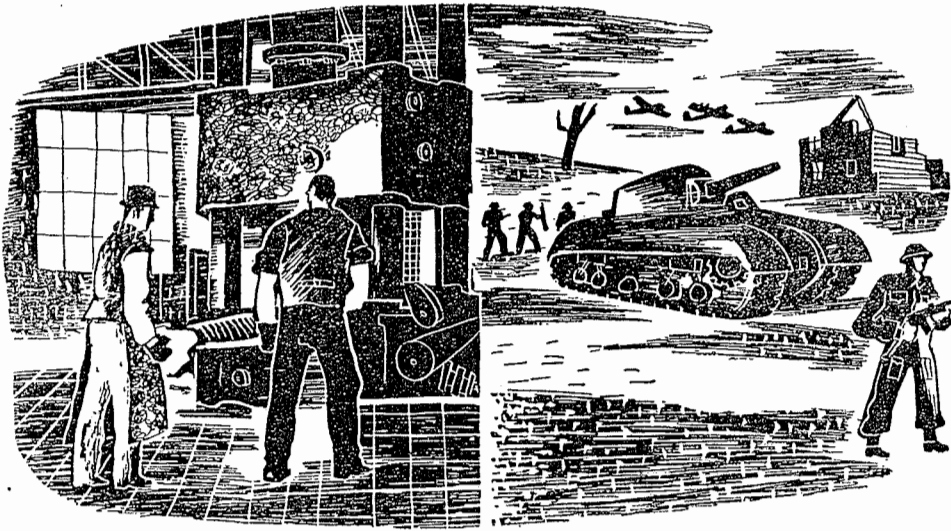
property and in endurance can best be described in the opening paragraphs of a recent report issued by the Office of Lend-Lease Administration in Washington, D.C.

**"All for One  
and One for All"**

"Lend-Lease is a plane fresh out of San Diego; roaring into battle on the Russian front; it is a fat silvery barrage balloon sent us from Britain, and now guarding the San Diego plant turning out the planes that go to Russia; it is dry skimmed milk from the dairy country of Wisconsin, giving health and vigour to British war workers producing weapons for many fronts; it is roast beef—Australian beef—piled on the plate of a Yank from Wisconsin, now stationed in the South Pacific. It is not a dull statistical book-keeping operation, but a giant interchange of war goods and war services—from us to our allies, from our allies to us. We are fighting a war of alliance. Our men swarmed ashore in North Africa from a giant flotilla—warships and transports—two-thirds of which had been provided by Great Britain. Most of the landing craft were American-built, but some had been lend-leased to Britain and were manned by British crews. American fighter squadrons flew British Spitfires and American

planes. Over half of the ground forces were American, and the air forces were equally divided. American forces mostly used American equipment from the assembly lines of American war plants, but supplies lend-leased to us by Britain included such items as four complete field hospitals, medical supplies in large quantities, more than half a million anti-tank mines and grenades, and many miles of portable airfield runways.

"Lend-lease has come to mean offensive action on the basis of all for one and one for all. It has only one object: swift and total victory over the enemies of civilisation. To-day it is helping to pack a series of hard wallops at weak spots in the enemy's armour. It is rushing the greatest amount of goods to the points where they are most needed. The question today is not dollars or debts but battles won. Who can measure the relative value of Stalingrad's magnificent resistance against the equipment we have sent to the Russian front? Who can say whether the stand of the British against the Luftwaffe in 1940 is worth more or less than the food and equipment we have sent to the United Kingdom? There has not been and there never will be developed a standard of values by which we can measure lives lost against the cost of airplanes or guns."



## How the United Nations co-operate in war

### CHAPTER FOUR

**O**N JUNE 6, 1944 "An immense armada of upwards of 4,000 ships together with several thousand smaller craft" including 1,000 merchant ships manned by 50,000 seamen brought the forces of the United Nations to the assault of Hitler's European fortress. American, British, Canadian and French troops, later to be joined by Belgians, Dutch and Poles, landed from ships manned by sailors from Belgium, Britain, Canada, Denmark, France, Greece, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland and the United States, while their operations were protected by ships and naval units from Australia, Britain, Canada, France, Greece, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, South Africa and the United States, and by air force units of America, Australia, Belgium, Britain, Canada, Czechoslovakia, France, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway and Poland.

This vast operation, characterised by Mr. Churchill as "undoubtedly the most complicated and difficult that has ever occurred," was to be followed by other combined attacks. Its way had been prepared by the campaigns in North Africa, where the British Eighth Army,

including, besides the United Kingdom troops, Australian, Czechoslovak, French, Greek, Indian, New Zealand and Yugoslav troops, had driven the German Afrika Korps of Field Marshal Rommel westward from Egypt towards Tunisia; while at the same time, a Free French Force under General Leclerc drove north from Central Africa, across the almost impassable Sahara Desert, to strike at the retreating Germans from the south. And finally, an immense force of American and British soldiers, later to be joined by considerable French forces, was landed in Tunisia from ships of eight nations, supported by the surface ships, submarines, supply ships and air forces of the United Nations, operating under a Combined Command.

The North African campaign, which in May, 1943, ended with the total destruction of all the Axis forces on the African Continent, cleared the way for the ultimate freeing of the whole Mediterranean, and made possible the Sicilian and Italian campaigns forcing the surrender of Italy; while soldiers from Britain, Canada, France, Greece, India, New Zealand, Poland,



South Africa, East Africa and the United States and, more recently, Brazil, combined to drive the Germans northwards towards their own country.

In its turn the Italian campaign made possible the Allied landings in the south of France. Thus, Allied forces, moving from the north and from the south of France, combined with the French Forces of the Interior under General Koenig, which, acting under the supreme command of General Eisenhower, had already liberated large areas from German control. And the first country to be freed from German domination owed its freedom to the concerted action of the United Nations.

In the liberation of Western Europe, the United Nations have carried out extensive air raids on German defences and German industries. Those air attacks have constituted a joint effort of British and American bomber fleets stationed in Britain and Southern Italy, with the assistance of Australian, Canadian, Czechoslovak, Dutch, French, New Zealand, Norwegian, Polish, and South African squadrons. The British generally have attacked at night, using the experience which they had gained in their four years of attacks on the enemy, the Americans during the day. "I am confident," wrote Mr. Churchill in October, 1943, to General Devers, then in command of the United States Army in the European Theatre of Operations, "that with the ever-growing power of the Eighth Air Force, striking alternate blows with the Royal Air Force Bomber Command, we shall together inexorably beat the life out of industrial Germany, and thus hasten the day of final victory."

## Allied Air Attacks Help the Russians

These widespread air attacks have served not only the obvious purpose of weakening German resistance to the invasion, but have also reduced the number of men and the amount of equipment which Germany could send to the Eastern Front to oppose the Russians. Furthermore, these efforts from outside the Continent have been continuously and effectively aided by underground forces of the United Nations scattered throughout the German-occupied areas.

Guerrillas and other patriots have cut railway lines and highways behind the German lines, blown up bridges and set fire to factories in a steady underground campaign that has made it even more difficult for the Nazis to maintain production and to supply their fronts. The Forces of Resistance—especially those of France, Greece, Poland and Yugoslavia—have tied down several dozen German divisions which could otherwise have been used elsewhere, and thus actively participated in the liberation of their home territories.

Examples of such common action towards victory by the United Nations may be found in the news almost daily. In general, they are of five kinds: joint action in the planning of over-all strategy, joint action in providing the supplies and weapons, joint commands in the theatres of war, joint operations and, finally, joint action with forces behind the enemy lines.

## Conferences to Plan World Strategy

Military co-operation between the United Nations has been planned in a series of conferences between the United Nations leaders—particularly between Mr. Churchill, President Roosevelt, Marshal Stalin and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and their staffs. Building on a preliminary conference in December, 1941, the conference in Washington in June, 1942, between President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill decided on the invasion of French North Africa, examined plans for a landing in France and laid down the general lines of future strategy. In August Mr. Churchill examined with Marshal Stalin in Moscow the further plans to help Russia in her gigantic task and also the Allied plan for Africa and the Mediterranean. This was followed by the Casablanca Conference between Mr. Churchill and President Roosevelt in January, 1943, at which the invasions of Sicily and Italy were planned. This important conference decided further measures against the U-boat menace; more help to Russia, including the drawing away of as many German divisions as possible from the Russian front; a Burma offensive by British and Imperial forces in India, and finally, "unconditional

## HOW THE UNITED NATIONS CO-OPERATE IN WAR

surrender of all enemies.”

In the summer of 1943, occurred further important conferences between Mr. Churchill, President Roosevelt and a representative of China at Quebec to consider questions of global strategy. After preliminary meetings of foreign ministers in Moscow, the next and most important strategy meetings occurred at Cairo and Teheran at the beginning of December, 1943.

At Cairo Mr. Churchill, President Roosevelt and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek co-ordinated strategy in the Far Eastern theatre, and at Teheran, President Roosevelt, Mr. Churchill and Marshal Stalin agreed upon a joint strategy for the European theatre. Joint strategy for the Pacific theatre was agreed at the Quebec Conference in September, 1944.

Under the direction of the heads of the United Nations the Combined Chiefs of Staff collaborate in the formulation and execution of the policies and plans decided on by those leaders at these conferences. The establishment of the Combined Chiefs of Staff Committee was announced by Mr. Churchill in the House of Commons on January 27, 1942. The work of this board concerns the strategic conduct of the war ; the broad programme of war requirements, based on approved strategic policy ; the allocation of munition resources, based on strategic needs and the availability of means of transportation ; and finally the requirements for overseas transportation for the fighting services of the United Nations based on approved strategic priority.

Integral parts of the Combined Chiefs of Staff organisation are sub-committees composed of military and civil experts, who gather the facts upon which the Combined Chiefs of Staff must base their decisions. There are, for instance, combined sub-committees for Staff Planning, for Intelligence, for Military Transport, for Communications and a Combined Meteorological Committee. Once decisions have been reached, the sub-committees assist in carrying them out, each with regard to its specialised field.

Again, supplementing the activities of the strategy planning groups, are the Combined Boards, set up in 1942 to co-ordinate further the prosecution of the war effort of the United

Nations and to promote the best use of all their available resources, considered as a single pool.

“From quarter to quarter,” said Mr. William L. Batt, U.S. Member of the Combined Raw Materials Board, in March, 1943, “we know how much we have, and we make allocations to those countries which can use the materials most advantageously. All facts in the picture are brought out, and from these facts a solution emerges. It is a good example of democracy at work.”

The Combined Boards are : the Combined Munitions Assignment Boards, the Combined Shipping Adjustment Boards, the Combined Raw Materials Board, the Combined Production and Resources Board, and the Combined Food Board. They are composed of representatives of the United Kingdom and the United States and, in the case of the Combined Production and Resources Board and the Combined Food Board, include also representatives of Canada. Provision is made for concerted action with other United Nations where matters affecting them are concerned.

### Combined Boards Control Supplies

The Combined Munitions Assignment Boards advise the Combined Chiefs of Staff on the munition resources of the United Kingdom and the United States, and where these munitions shall be assigned, according to strategic needs. The Combined Shipping Adjustment Boards aim at concerting in one policy the work of the Ministry of War Transport and the U.S. War Shipping Administration, and collaborate with other United Nations in providing for the best use of their joint shipping resources. The Combined Raw Materials Board plans the best development and use of raw material resources ; and the Combined Production and Resources Board is designed to combine production programmes and assure their adjustment to meet changing military requirements. These two Boards have various committees, including some joint ones. The purpose of the Combined Food Board is to obtain a planned and swift use of the United Nations food resources, and various committees cover different commodities.

Mr. Claude Wickard, the U.S. Secretary of

Agriculture and the U.S. Member of the Food Board, defining its terms, said "Essentially the Combined Food Board has one big job to do. That is to make plans that will cut down the tonnage used to transport food across the seas. Even in wartime food takes up 40 to 50 per cent of the tonnage used in transporting goods to the United Nations. The job of the Combined Food Board is to shrink that percentage. Every point we can shrink it means just that more tonnage for troops and munitions and raw materials for munitions." Much has been done to save shipping, and thereby outwit the U-boat, by using food in the areas where it is grown. For instance, United States troops in the South West Pacific are supplied with food from Australia and New Zealand.

The Boards have been able to save shipping in other ways also. Under the arrangement whereby the United States was to supply uniforms to British troops in the Middle East and Britain to supply uniforms to United States troops in Britain, Mr. Oliver Lyttleton, the Minister of Production, calculated that "the equivalent saving in shipping represents one voyage from here to the Middle East for every ship engaged in this traffic."

The work of the Boards is geared to the strategic planning of the Combined Chiefs of Staff, who in turn are kept informed by the Boards of production, supply and shipping possibilities.

Mr. Churchill, speaking in June 1944, summed up the rewards of such a planned policy: "Time has passed, and after the initial attack launched by an enemy after a long scheme of rearmament and of aggressive plans with well-prepared armies, and the natural suffering at the outset, we have moved on from that to a band of brother states all over the globe, all gathered against this enemy and showing that peaceful peoples, if they have time, can with their industries and their heart produce all the weapons and equipment of war necessary for this fight. Here we are now, free peoples who have shown to the world that they can put into the field men well-trained and equipped with all the necessary weapons of war."

Finally, in this connection, should be mentioned certain special regional organisations

such as the Middle East Supply Centre, the Eastern Group Supply Council and the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission. The Middle East Supply Centre has helped to make the Middle East as self-supporting as possible in war time and thus effect economy of shipping space, and its activities have developed to include consideration of such questions as irrigation and co-ordinated campaigns against the locust. The main purpose of the Eastern Supply Council is to supply troops in the Eastern Group area with war supplies drawn from that area, and to improve the organisation of war supplies to the Middle East—thus more than 1,500,000 tons of stores were sent from India to the Middle East during the North African campaigns. The Anglo-American Caribbean Commission has also assisted in schemes to save shipping space in the Caribbean area.

## Regional Councils Consider Strategy

Among councils concerned with regional strategy should be indicated the Pacific War Councils, one in London and one in Washington. Another regional council of a similar nature is the Inter-American Defence Board, concerned with the defence of North, Central and South America against outside aggression. It was set up with headquarters in Washington in January, 1942, and has as its members army, naval and air officers of the 21 American republics.

The Permanent Joint Board on Defence of Canada and the United States is concerned with the safety of the United States and Canada. Its formation was agreed on in a conference between President Roosevelt and Mr. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada, at Ogdensburg, New York, on August 17, 1940, even before the United States was at war, and before the United Nations came formally into being.

This Board considers military matters of special interest to the United States and Canada, and has made recommendations to the Governments of both countries regarding such matters as the distribution of Canadian and American troops in Iceland and Newfoundland, the construction of the "Alcan" highway from the United States to Alaska through Canadian

## HOW THE UNITED NATIONS CO-OPERATE IN WAR

territory, and the construction of air bases for use by both countries on Canadian soil.

The Joint Mexican-United States and Brazil-United States Defence Commissions are further examples of regional councils. They are similar to the Joint Board on Defence, but have Mexico and Brazil as their second members in place of Canada.

### **Joint Commands Unify War Effort**

Responsible to the strategy boards are the joint commands in the theatres of war. These joint commands cover air, land and sea forces—each under individual commanders. They are created to take charge of specific campaigns, and frequently change with the changing tides of war. It is therefore not possible to give a complete list of the joint commands of the United Nations. The following, however, are a few outstanding illustrations of joint commands, with the campaigns for which they were created.

One of the first to be created was that of the United Nations forces in the South West Pacific under General MacArthur on March 17, 1942. Under his command were placed the combined air, land and sea forces of all Australian, American, British, Dutch and New Zealand forces fighting the Japanese in that area.

A second well-known example was the creation of a joint Allied Command in North Africa under General Dwight D. Eisenhower. Under him and his joint staff were placed all American, British, French and other Allied air, land and sea forces in North Africa, during the invasion of Sicily and Italy. This task completed, he was transferred to Britain and put in command of the largest of the combined United Nations forces for the invasion of Western Europe. His successor in Italy was General Maitland-Wilson, whose command was extended to cover the entire Mediterranean area and included troops of eight nations.

Under the larger joint commands are specific armies, but these also are very often joint United Nations commands in themselves. For example, the British Eighth Army, at the time of the North African campaign when it was under General Montgomery's leadership, included Australians, Czechoslovaks, French,

Greeks, Indians, Poles and South Africans, although 76 per cent of the troops were from the United Kingdom itself.

Another example was the army under General Joseph Stilwell (now succeeded by Major-General Wedemeyer) who acted also as Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's Chief of Staff. He was put in command of a Chinese-American force—to which later were added British, Indian and West African "chindits"—fighting the Japanese in North Burma. General Stilwell's command, together with British and Indian amphibious forces, became part of the joint Allied Command of Admiral Mountbatten.

Such is a brief account of the general United Nations machinery for joint action. One important theatre of war has not, however, been mentioned, namely Eastern Europe, where, in Mr. Churchill's words, "Russia is holding and beating far larger hostile forces than those which face the Allies in the West and has through long years, at enormous loss, borne the brunt of the struggle on land."

### **Over-all Planning Aids Russian Front**

Here, though it is the vast Soviet Armies and their brilliant staff which bear the burden, there has been valuable co-operation by the other United Nations. For example, all the maritime nations, under British Admiralty command, co-ordinated their efforts to maintain constant supplies through the northern route to Murmansk via the Arctic Ocean. Then again, American and British forces in co-operation with the U.S.S.R. and Iran, developed and re-organised an eastern supply route to Russia through Iran. Furthermore, with the Soviet forces themselves are a small number of Allied units such as the Czechoslovak brigades, the French Normandie Air Squadron and some Polish Divisions.

Finally, the bombing of Germany, the resistance within the occupied territories and the opening of the Italian front all played their parts in relieving pressure on the Eastern Front. In this connection mention should be made of an outstanding example of co-ordinated military activities—the tactical bombing of the key Balkan communications centres and oil fields

## THE UNITED NATIONS TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW

by Allied air forces from the south and west in support of the Soviet southern armies advancing from the east.

The greatest example of United Nations teamwork, however, is the carrying out of the grand invasion of the west, north and south of Europe co-ordinated with the Soviet attacks from the east. This is the climax of the European War, which must be followed by a similar climax in the Pacific War.

In those ultimate tests all the lessons learned

from five years of war, all the methods of military co-operation and co-ordination worked out in a dozen fields of battle, all the plans and experience of United Nations boards and agencies, civilian and military, have to be brought together and woven into a pattern for the final defeat of the aggressors.

But the question remains, can all this experience in United Nations co-operation, serving the terrible plans of total war, also teach us teamwork for plans of total peace?



## How the United Nations co-operate towards Peace

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### CHAPTER FIVE

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**T**HE GREATEST DANGER confronting the United Nations to-day is that they will win the war, but lose the peace. There has been no doubt for some time on the first score. Some fear, however, that once victory is won, the co-operation which developed between the United Nations during the war and made victories possible will be allowed to weaken or even be forgotten after the war. In that case, another war may all too easily occur.

This fear seems partly supported by the fact that the United Nations have not yet set up as many organised agencies to deal with the problems of peace as for the problems of war.

This appearance is not justified by the facts. Clearly, victory must come before peace. It is natural that more attention should at first be given to the organisation of the United Nations as a fighting team than to their equally important but subsequent role as a working team for peace. Nevertheless, this does not mean that the latter role has been overlooked, or that the United Nations have not already begun to deal with many of the problems which peace will bring.

In general, it may be said that the problems

of the post-war world will fall into three broad categories: those having to do with the immediate relief of war-stricken areas; those connected with making liberated and devastated areas once again independent and self-supporting; and those aimed at creating permanent world agencies to ensure peace and "freedom from fear and want" for future generations.

The problems of the first category are mostly short-range and will require short-range solutions. Those of the second category require medium-range solutions. Those of the last category comprise long-range problems which the United Nations can at best begin to solve by creating an appropriate world-wide machinery to deal with them as they arise. They are part of the dynamics of peace and will require adjustment as long as the human race survives.

"Before the war comes to its inevitable conclusions, the United Nations must decide the terms of surrender for Germany, Japan and the satellite powers." For the preliminary consideration of these questions as far as Europe is concerned, there has been set up a European Advisory Commission, with headquarters in



London. It consists of representatives of Great Britain, the United States, the U.S.S.R. and France and works in consultation with representatives of the governments of occupied Europe. Plans will also have to be worked out in due course for bringing to an end hostilities in the Far East.

## Problems of Liberated Areas

But even before the question of a general armistice comes up for consideration, the United Nations are liberating, one by one, the lands of Allied nations, and problems arise as to how interim local administration and free civil life can be reconstituted, pending the re-establishment of full national self-government. These problems are considered as having two phases: the first is the period when the freed lands are still combat areas; during this period, of course, supervision of civil affairs must be subordinated to military necessity and be under the control of military authorities.

The second phase begins as soon as an area ceases to be in an actual fighting zone. As this phase develops agreements are coming, and are expected to come, into force under which the various national governments concerned are able to take over and, on their own responsibility, set their own houses in order, first reconstituting the local administration and later, when their whole lands have been set free, setting up once again their own freely elected national governments.

A special problem arises as the territory of the enemy nations is conquered and occupied. For these areas, the advancing United Nations forces are accompanied by an organisation known as the Allied Military Government (AMG) composed of officers especially trained for the purpose. In the particular case of Italy, there has been set up in addition an Allied Advisory Council (superseding the former Allied Mediterranean Commission), which deals with the special problems of that area. On this Council sit representatives of Great Britain, the United States, the U.S.S.R., France, Greece and Yugoslavia.

An even more pressing problem than the setting up of reconstituted administrations in the

areas over which the war passes will, however, be that of the immediate provision for these peoples of food, shelter, clothing and medical care. This has been so after nearly every war in history, even before war became as destructive as it is to-day. It has been doubly true in this century because communities everywhere have become less self-sufficient than heretofore: whereas people once grew and manufactured locally most of the things they needed for daily life, they have now grown accustomed to obtaining much from outside their own communities. Modern mechanised warfare has been especially destructive to transportation and communication, and to trade and industry on which these necessities of life depend. Moreover, the aggressor nations, wherever they have been in occupation, have been ruthless in taking from the local populations everything of value. In Norway, for example, the German authorities confiscated not only raw materials and food, but even the clothing and blankets of civilians. In view of the ruthless and wanton destruction undertaken by the retreating Germans in the U.S.S.R. and Italy, the very means of everyday life may be completely destroyed in the areas that are being liberated.

For the purpose of meeting these problems on a medium and short-range basis, a relief agency has been set up, as will be described in the following section. During the period in which fighting is continuing in liberated areas, the relief work, for military reasons, will have to be carried out under the control of the army authorities. As soon as local national authorities have been set up, agreements will be and are being made under which they will take over responsibilities and work within the framework of that United Nations agency.

Once the immediate relief of suffering—of starvation, lack of clothes and shelter—have been met, and once the local administrations have been reconstituted in the areas over which the war passes, there will be the difficult job of trying to start the wheels of civil life turning again.

Fields must be ploughed and seed provided for planting; machinery destroyed, or carried off by the Axis, must be replaced; bombed and burned-out buildings must be rebuilt; families,



## HOW THE UNITED NATIONS CO-OPERATE TOWARDS PEACE

scattered through years of war and persecution, must be returned to their homes ; water supplies and the machinery for providing light and heat and the other utilities of life must be repaired ; business and industry must be helped to start again so that they, in turn, can produce goods for their own people and so that the country will once again be able to provide for itself instead of being dependent upon relief.

### UNRRA Set Up By 44 Nations

It was with the object of solving both the short-range problems of immediate relief and some of the medium-range problems of the first steps of rehabilitation that, after long negotiations, delegates of the United Nations and associated authorities and of co-operating governments, representing 44 countries in all, met at the White House in Washington on November 9, 1943. There they signed a formal agreement pledging their countries to co-operate, each according to its ability, in aiding the victims of aggression, and they set up a central agency for the purpose—the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA).

On the day following the signing of this agreement, the delegates moved on to Atlantic City and there held their first history-making Council meeting, attended by more than 600 delegates—diplomats, scientists, medical, economic, agricultural and administration experts.

To tell the full story of the Council meeting and of the administrative machinery of the largest international co-operative relief agency ever conceived, would require a chapter in itself.\* It may be said, however, that the Council in its three-weeks session, worked out a complete and practical plan for co-operative action in financing and administering relief to every liberated area in which the resources of the country were not sufficient. Included in the plan were measures not only for food and for relief but also for dealing with the problems of the many millions of refugees and displaced persons in Europe and Asia, and with control of the disease and epidemics that may endanger the lives of entire populations.

These tasks are vast ; they can only be accomplished, as was expressed by all at the

Council meetings, in the spirit of helping the victimised countries to re-establish themselves—their lives and their communities.

UNRRA was not, however, the first United Nations agency to deal with the problems of relief and rehabilitation after victory.

Preliminary studies had already been conducted for more than two years by an agency known as the Inter-Allied Committee on Post-war Requirements. This Committee was established in London on September 24, 1941, to study in their broadest sense all the problems of securing food, raw materials and other necessities for the post-war rebuilding of areas liberated from German occupation. Its members were delegates of the occupied countries and Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, the United Kingdom and the United States. After the conclusion of the first UNRRA Council meeting, this committee and its administration were absorbed into the greater world-wide organisation, UNRRA.

### Plans for Punishment of War Crimes

Although by far the greatest medium-range problems for the United Nations will be those of relief and rehabilitation, there will also be a number of other problems demanding the immediate attention of the United Nations as soon as the various territories are relieved and hostilities brought to a close.

All agree on the fundamental importance of the fact that on this occasion one clear lesson must be learned by the aggressors, that crime does not pay.

Aside from war casualties, the Germans, Japanese, Italians and their satellites have been responsible for the death—through murder, execution, starvation and disease—of literally untold millions of men, women and children of all races and nationalities. They have further been responsible for driving many millions of men, women and children from their homes, either deporting them for forced labour, sending

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\*A special pamphlet describing the history and development of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, entitled **HELPING THE PEOPLE TO HELP THEMSELVES**, may be obtained from H.M. Stationery Office or any bookseller, (price 4d.)

them to concentration camps, or expelling them—leaving them to save themselves as best they could.

It is too late to save the murdered and those who died from starvation, exposure and disease. But the criminals responsible for their suffering and for all the other crimes committed against humanity must be brought to trial before appropriate courts of law and punished for their acts.

To deal with these crimes, a United Nations Commission for the Investigation of War Crimes was set up in London on June 29, 1943; its members include representatives of the occupied nations and China—the chief sufferers—together with representatives of Australia, Canada, India, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, the United Kingdom and the United States. Its primary task is that of a fact-finding body, assembling evidence of atrocities and crimes committed, and its purpose is to assist the various Allied governments in seeing that retribution is exacted for war crimes.

## Re-establishment of Education Machinery

Another problem will be the re-establishment of machinery for free education in those countries which have been occupied by the aggressors.

Not only will it be necessary to rebuild schools, to gather together the remnants of the teaching profession left alive in spite of the holocaust, and to provide new text books in vast numbers to take the place of those burned and destroyed by the aggressor powers during the period of occupation, but there must also be over-all planning of educational reconstruction in a wider sense if the task is to be well done.

With these objectives in mind, there has been working in London for some time a Conference of Ministers of Education of Allied Governments—later joined by a delegation from the United States including representatives from Congress, the State Department and the Federal Office of Education. This Conference, in addition to considering the problems outlined above, has prepared a draft constitution for the setting up of a United Nations Organisation for Educational and Cultural Reconstruction, which is being placed before all the Allied and associated

governments for their consideration. This new organisation can have great influence not only in the field of medium-range relief, but even more as an organ of permanent peace and international understanding.

## Long-Range Problems of Peace

But beyond these immediate issues which will pass with the war are others which will continue for years. These long-range problems are of two kinds. First, there is the question of some kind of over-all agency to ensure peace and serve the general common interests of the freedom-loving nations of the world. Secondly, there is need for consideration of certain technical questions which are often causes of dispute between nations, such as access to raw materials, stabilisation of currencies, shipping and world trade. Whether different groups of people can or cannot attain adequate standards of living often depends on the answers to those questions, and their fair settlement can do much to prevent the birth of forces which may disrupt relations between nations and even cause war.

On the basis that there can be no permanent peace if one part of the world has food in plenty while other parts starve, one of the first long-range problems to be discussed between the United Nations was the improved production and distribution of the world's food supplies.

To discuss these problems a United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture met at Hot Springs, Virginia, in May, 1943, and was attended by representatives of 44 nations. As a result, arrangements are being made through an Interim Commission for the setting up of a permanent international organisation on food and agriculture which would constantly study and aid in the solution of the general questions involved.

A second long-range problem which is being considered to-day by the United Nations is that of multi-lateral economic co-operation. Since March, 1944, monetary experts of various United Nations governments have been meeting for preliminary discussions on how to stabilise the world's currencies. The significance of these discussions for world peace was pointed out recently in a statement by Mr. Cordell Hull,

## HOW THE UNITED NATIONS CO-OPERATE TOWARDS PEACE

# THE ATLANTIC CHARTER

**T**HE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE PRIME MINISTER, MR. CHURCHILL, representing His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the National policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.

**I** Their countries seek no aggrandisement, territorial or other.

**II** They desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned.

**III** They respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of Government under which they will live ; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.

**IV** They will endeavour, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all states, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity.

**V** They desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labour standards, economic adjustment and social security.

**VI** After the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want.

**VII** Such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance.

**VIII** They believe that all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.

14 August 1941

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT  
WINSTON S. CHURCHILL

American Secretary of State, who declared that "world stabilisation of currencies and promotion of fruitful international investment, which are basic to an expansion of mutually beneficial trade, are of first order of importance for the post-war period."

### **Conference Recommends Monetary Plan**

A draft agreement for an international monetary fund prepared by a group of experts from many countries was announced on April 21, 1944; some thirty Allied and associated nations joined in presenting the draft. Since the appropriate stage in the preliminary discussions was reached, a full United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference met on July 1, 1944, in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, U.S.A., and recommended the creation of an International Monetary Fund to stabilise currencies and to provide short-term credit facilities to member countries to enable them to overcome temporary difficulties, and a World Bank to provide facilities for long-term loans to enable a country to adjust its economy or to undertake long-term programmes of rehabilitation or industrialisation designed to raise the standard of living.

Still another long-range technical problem which the United Nations are facing is that of the efficient and orderly development of the world oil resources. A proposal for an international oil agreement was put forward in November, 1943, by the Foreign Operations Committee of the U.S. Petroleum Administration for War. More recently, on April 18, 1944, an Anglo-American conference to explore post-war petroleum policies opened in Washington. The preliminary discussions at this conference were concluded in a joint session on May 3. The interests of both countries in petroleum were examined in a spirit of understanding and co-operation, on the basis of broad principles looking to the orderly long-range development of oil supplies.

Further problems which the United Nations are preparing to face lie in the field of international aviation, world shipping, and world trade. Preliminary studies and discussions in these fields have been going on for some time,

and an International Civil Aviation Conference, with representatives of 54 nations, met at Chicago, on November 1, 1944, and produced four separate proposals on the future of international civil aviation, each subject to ratification by the signatory powers.

All these plans to aid the settlement of the long-range technical problems, however, will be of no avail unless over-all machinery can be set up which will ensure real peace and give to every nation, regardless of the number, race or creed of its citizens, a real chance to develop its life free from war and want, free from lawless compulsion, and free from aggression and terror. Humanity has longed for this before and still it has failed to attain its desire. New ideas, new plans and new methods will have to be considered, and the best features of older plans will have to be studied and perhaps adopted.

Several steps in the direction of setting up such a long-range over-all organisation have already been taken, far earlier indeed, than before the end of the last war.

Even in the midst of the most critical period of this war, four months before Pearl Harbour, a first definition of principle on which could be based a new world order was agreed between President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill and embodied in a document known as the Atlantic Charter, announced by them on August 14, 1941. The universality of its principles is shown by the fact that they were adopted on September 24, 1941, at a conference in St. James's Palace, London, by all the fighting Allies; they were endorsed by all the American states at a conference in Rio in January, 1942; and they were embodied in the Declaration by the United Nations of January 1, 1942.

### **Need Felt for Security Organisation**

Passing from principles to organisation; on November 1, 1943, a Joint Four-Nations Declaration was issued at Moscow, on behalf of the Governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union and China.

The declaration recognised "the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a

# DECLARATION OF FOUR NATIONS ON GENERAL SECURITY

The Governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union and China:

united in their determination, in accordance with the Declaration by the United Nations of January 1, 1942, and subsequent declarations, to continue hostilities against those Axis powers with which they respectively are at war until such powers have laid down their arms on the basis of unconditional surrender;

conscious of their responsibility to secure the liberation of themselves and the peoples allied with them from the menace of aggression;

recognizing the necessity of ensuring a rapid and orderly transition from war to peace and of establishing and maintaining international peace and security with the least diversion of the world's human and economic resources for armaments;

jointly declare:

1. That their united action, pledged for the prosecution of the war against their respective enemies, will be continued for the organization and maintenance of peace and security.

2. That those of them at war with a common enemy will act together in all matters relating to the surrender and disarmament of that enemy.

3. That they will take all measures deemed by them to be necessary to provide against any violation of the terms imposed upon the enemy.

4. That they recognise the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organization/

organization, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, and open to membership by all such states, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security.

5. That for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security pending the re-establishment of law and order and the inauguration of a system of general security, they will consult with one another and as occasion requires with other members of the United Nations with a view to joint action on behalf of the community of nations.

6. That after the termination of hostilities they will not employ their military forces within the territories of other states except for the purposes envisaged in this declaration and after joint consultation.

7. That they will confer and co-operate with one another and with other members of the United Nations to bring about a practicable general agreement with respect to the regulation of armaments in the post-war period.

*H. Roosevelt*

*Winston Churchill*

*Stalin*  
*For W. J. Shaw*

MOSCOW,

30th October, 1943.

## THE UNITED NATIONS TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW

general international organisation . . . for the maintenance of peace and security." The Senate of the United States, on November 5, 1943, passed a resolution, embodying this clause of the Moscow Declaration and calling for a post-war international organisation backed by force to ensure peace.

At Teheran on December 6, 1943, the President of the United States, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and Marshal Stalin re-affirmed their determination to establish "international peace, security and prosperity after the war, in accordance with the principles of the Atlantic Charter."

In the meantime work on practical plans had been going forward in the different countries. The Prime Ministers of the British Commonwealth of Nations examined the subject together early in May, 1944, at their meeting in London, where the presence of the Governments of a number of the European Allies had long facilitated exchanges of views. On May 29, 1944, the Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Cordell Hull, announced that he had discussed with the post-war sub-committee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee "the general principles, questions and plans relating to the establishment of an international peace and security organisation in accordance with the principles contained in the Moscow four-nation declaration, the Connally resolution and other similar declarations made in this country." He further declared his intention of proceeding

"with the approval of the President, with informal discussion on this subject with Great Britain, Russia, China and then with governments of other United Nations."

### Preliminary Proposals Agreed at Dumbarton Oaks

Finally, at Dumbarton Oaks representatives of the United States, Britain, the U.S.S.R. and China have agreed on preliminary proposals for a world security organisation for submission first to their own governments and then to a general United Nations conference.

Whether it be composed of old ideas or new, the world alliance for peace which is to follow victory must be based on the same sort of international good will and co-operation among the United Nations as that which will have made the victory itself possible. It is here that the United Nations idea—the idea of teamwork for the common good—will meet its final test.

It is here, too, that each citizen of the United Nations can contribute his share, for, in the long run, co-operative action between states can only result from the vigilance, readiness, courage and determination of individual men and women.

On whether and how citizens of the United Nations, individually and collectively, meet the test will depend not only their own fate, but the fate of their children and children's children for generations.





HOW THE UNITED NATIONS CO-OPERATE TOWARDS PEACE

UNITED NATIONS DECLARATION  
WASHINGTON, JANUARY 1st, 1942

*The governments signatory hereto,*

*Having subscribed to a common programme of purposes and principles embodied in this joint declaration of the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland dated August 14, 1941, known as the Atlantic Charter, being convinced that complete victory over their enemies is essential to defend life, liberty, independence and religious freedom, and to preserve human rights and justice in their own lands as well as in other lands, and that they are now engaged in a common struggle against savage and brutal forces seeking to subjugate the world, declare :*

*(1) Each government pledges itself to employ its full resources, military or economic, against those members of the Tripartite Pact and its adherents with which such government is at war.*

*(2) Each government pledges itself to co-operate with the governments signatory hereto and not to make a separate armistice or peace with the enemies.*

*The foregoing declaration may be adhered to by other nations which are, or which may be, rendering material assistance and contributions in the struggle for victory over Hitlerism.*

DONE AT WASHINGTON,  
JANUARY FIRST, 1942.



## JOINT FOUR-NATION DECLARATION MOSCOW, OCTOBER 30th, 1943

*The Governments of the United States of America, United Kingdom, the Soviet Union and China :*

*united in their determination, in accordance with the Declaration by the United Nations of January 1, 1942, and subsequent declarations, to continue hostilities against those Axis powers with which they respectively are at war until such powers have laid down their arms on the basis of unconditional surrender ;*

*conscious of their responsibility to secure the liberation of themselves and the peoples allied with them from the menace of aggression ; recognising the necessity of ensuring a rapid and orderly transition from war to peace and of establishing and maintaining international peace and security with the least diversion of the world's human and economic resources for armaments ;*

*jointly declare :*

*1. That their united action, pledged for the prosecution of the war against their respective enemies, will be continued for the organisation and maintenance of peace and security.*

*2. That those of them at war with a common enemy will act together in all matters relating to the surrender and disarmament of that enemy.*

*3. That they will take all measures deemed by them to be necessary to provide against any violation of the terms imposed upon the enemy.*

*4. That they recognise the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organisation, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, and open to membership by all such states, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security.*

*5. That for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security pending the re-establishment of law and order and the inauguration of a system of general security, they will consult with one another and as occasion requires with other members of the United Nations with a view to joint action on behalf of the community of nations.*

*6. That after the termination of hostilities they will not employ their military forces within the territories of other states except for the purposes envisaged in this declaration and after joint consultation.*

*7. That they will confer and co-operate with one another and with other members of the United Nations to bring about a practicable general agreement with respect to the regulation of armaments in the post-war period.*

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