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LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF A SPECIAL MEETING OF THE
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 11
MAIDEN LANE, LONDON, W.C.2. ON
THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 20ND, 1946 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Mr. W. Arnold, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Lord Cecil, Dr. H. Clark, Miss K.D. Courtney, Miss P. Fawcett, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Lady Hall, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Mr. J. Macdonald, Sir Geoffrey Mander, Dr. Gilbert Murray, Mr. Nowell C. Smith, Mr. Alan Thomas, Professor Basil Williams, and Mr. Judd.

49. DEATH OF SIR WALTER NAPIER. The Executive placed on record their very deep regret at the death of Sir Walter Napier who had been one of the pioneers of the Union and for many years a most valued and respected member of the Executive Committee. The Chairman was asked to send a message of condolence from the Committee to Lady Napier.
50. APPEAL TO TRADES UNIONS. It was reported that Mr. Bullock and Mr. Gillinder had expressed their readiness to write personally to the Secretaries of Trades Unions, inviting their societies to become Affiliated Members of the Union and to subscribe generously to its funds so that it might resume its work on a much larger scale. The letters would be written on the Union's headed notepaper and the draft would be shown to Lady Hall and the Secretary before action was taken. The proposal was approved and the Secretary was asked to convey the Committee's thanks to Mr. Bullock and Mr. Gillinder.
51. RUSSIA AND POLAND. The memorandum as redrafted by the Chairman in the light of discussion at the last meeting was placed on the table. The Chairman said that, after considering the points made by the Committee, he had thought it best to recast the form of the memorandum and to give it the more general title of "Some Issues arising out of the gradual liberation of Enemy-occupied Countries". Lord Lytton added that, in order that the memorandum might appear in the March number of HEADWAY, it had already been sent to the printer but the Editor had been asked to make it clear that it was a document submitted to the Executive Committee.
- After discussion, during which one small amendment was agreed upon, the memorandum was approved and adopted in the attached form (S. 1214a).
52. DUMPARTON OAKS PROPOSALS. The Executive had before them the report of the sub-Committee, appointed on December 7th, to consider the proposals of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, including the draft of a covering letter to be sent to the Foreign Secretary and of a memorandum with certain additional suggestions and comments (~~copies filed with these minutes~~). The Committee also had before them amendments suggested by Dr. Garnett to the sub-Committee's Report (S.1217) and an explanatory "Note on Alterations and Amendments suggested to the Dumbarton Oaks Tentative Proposals" by Miss Courtney (S.1216) (copies filed with these minutes).

The Executive examined the report paragraph by paragraph

-2-

and, after various amendments had been discussed and the Covering Letter, memorandum and paper by Miss Courtney had been considered, it was

- RESOLVED: (1) "That the report of the sub-Committee be approved and adopted in the attached amended form (S.1220)".
- (2) "That the Foreign Secretary be invited to receive a deputation from the Executive as soon as convenient in order to discuss the proposals".
- (3) "That it be left to the Chairman, Miss Courtney and the Secretary to decide the exact form in which the various matters raised in the Covering Letter, the memorandum and Miss Courtney's paper should be presented (a) to Mr. Eden and (b) to the Branches, and to prepare the necessary documents incorporating the points made in the draft letter, the memorandum and Miss Courtney's paper, together with other matters agreed upon in the Executive Committee's discussion of these papers."

H. D. Courtney
CHAIRMAN
March 15, 1945

19.2.45.
S.1214a

Some Issues arising out of the gradual
liberation of enemy-occupied countries

In most of our discussions during the war-years of issues connected with the post-war settlement we have assumed that hostilities would cease before the many difficult problems created by the war would have to be solved, and that their solution would be debated at a conference of all the nations that had been united in war against the Axis Powers. It has recently become clear that this assumption was fallacious. The insistence on the unconditional surrender of the enemy means that there will be no armistice stage as at the end of the last war. There will therefore be no definite moment when war will cease and peace will begin. The gradual liberation of countries hitherto occupied by Germany, the collapse of resistance in the satellite countries such as Italy, Hungary, Bulgaria and Roumania, and the progressive occupation by allied forces of Germany itself are creating problems which properly belong to the stage of peace, but which have to be dealt with while hostilities continue.

The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union has been watching with considerable anxiety the emergence of these problems and the way they are being dealt with, and they feel that the time has come to inform their Branches of their views on some of them.

In the interest of the future peace of the world we think it essential that territorial adjustments should rest either on the consent of the parties concerned or on the authority of a collective decision. Neither of these conditions can be fulfilled during the war. None of the Governments of the countries that have been occupied rests upon popular election or has the necessary authority to pledge the consent of its people to territorial changes. The machinery for obtaining collective authority for such changes does not exist and cannot be created till after the war. We have no wish to postpone decisions because they are difficult or controversial. The sooner these questions can be settled the better for peace. But the conditions for a satisfactory settlement after investigation by qualified experts and full discussion do not exist.

The opinion which we represent, and which looks to us for guidance, is the opinion of ordinary people who may not understand the intricacies of diplomatic negotiations, the complexities of racial problems or the economic needs of other countries, but who have a very shrewd sense of right and wrong, of what is ethically just or unjust. If they are to support an international organisation, if they are to defend a peace settlement, or fight for a cause, they must be satisfied that these things are broadly just and right. These people have welcomed the Atlantic Charter because the principles therein stated are generally understood to satisfy this test. What they will not understand is if a document purporting at the beginning of the war to define the principles we are fighting for is disregarded in any settlement made at the end of the war.

The proposals made at Dumbarton Oaks aim at the establishment of a security authority which will maintain peace in the future against any intending aggressors. We welcome these proposals, we think they can be improved, and shall be submitting our suggestions for their improvement. But however perfect this instrument may be made we would again remind our Branches that it can never be more than an instrument. Its effectiveness will depend on the will to

use it. We must learn from the experience of the League of Nations. That instrument was not effectively used to make changes by negotiation owing to too great a fear of change in itself: neither was it used to resist the first stages of aggression through a fear of war and a latent sympathy with the claims of the aggressors. That must not happen again.

In order that the chances of securing an enduring peace may not be lost before the war is won, we urge H.M.C. to pursue the following objectives in all their negotiations with allied Governments.

- (1) That, whatever Governments in countries recently occupied by the enemy may be temporarily recognised either by themselves or by any other of the United Nations, they will use all their influence to secure the ultimate realisation of what the Prime Minister described in the House of Commons on January 18th as "Government of the people, by the people, for the people set up on a basis of free universal suffrage. Elections with secrecy of ballot and no intimidation." In some cases a large number of the population has been forcibly removed during the war. As many of these people as possible should be brought back to their own countries before the new elections are held.
- (2) That in the meanwhile, and as liberation proceeds, they will make every effort to secure - as in Italy, France, Belgium and Greece - Provisional Governments as representative as possible of all sections of the population other than those who have collaborated with the enemy or who have Nazi or Fascist sympathies.
- (3) That on all questions involving alterations of frontiers, the transfer of territories and the movement of populations, no final decisions should be made, and no action by any other country should be recognised as final, until hostilities have ceased, and a meeting of the duly constituted Governments of all the United Nations can be held.
- (4) That in considering what action they will themselves advocate or support at the Conference which will decide these issues, they will adhere to the principles of the Atlantic Charter which have been accepted by all the United Nations and were reaffirmed at the Yalta conference; and that, if any departure is made, or seems to be made, from the terms of the Charter, they will make it clear why such departure is considered necessary in the interest of the peace of the world. We recognise that the interpretation of each separate point of the Charter must be subordinated to its object as a whole which is stated to be the establishment of "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."

We think that if the various problems as they arise are dealt with on these lines such temporary measures as may be taken during the war will not prejudice the justice or stability of the final settlement. We gladly recognise that the official report of the Crimea Conference gives ground for believing that the decisions there taken were in general conformity with what we have advocated, and we rejoice to learn that agreement has now been reached between all parties in Greece.

The DUMBARTON OAKS Proposals:

Some suggestions from Dr. Maxwell Garnett for amending the Sub-Committee's Report

	Proposed Amendment	Comment
Passim	Lower case initial letters should be used for <u>member</u> and for <u>state</u> .	The word 'member' is printed with a small letter in both British and American versions. State has a small letter throughout the American version.
Preamble	The title should be The United Nations (with a capital T)	How can the principle of Freedom govern international relations? Nations must not be free to do as they wish when they want to do harm to The United Nations as a whole. Freedom in international, as in personal relations should be a consequence of harmony of purpose or likemindedness.
	b) From the proposed Declaration omit <u>Freedom</u> in para. 1.	
	Omit the second paragraph of the Declaration.	<u>Territorial integrity</u> may need to be impaired, e.g. by the extra-territorialisation of the seat of The United Nations or aerodromes or harbours for its use. Moreover the Charter itself will diminish political independence, and the subsequent development of the U.N. will do so more and more as political interdependence grows.
Ch. I	Delete <u>and</u> from end of para 3; add <u>and, in general</u> at end of para 4; and add (5) <u>To serve as an instrument for the creative evolution of world order.</u>	This amendment would make more explicit what is already implicit in the Dumbarton Oaks scheme: that the post-war League is to be dynamic not static; it is to alter the <u>peace settlement while preserving peace whenever justice requires a change.</u>
Ch. III	Omit the addition proposed by the Sub-Committee	The additional words add nothing to the meaning.
Ch. IV	Omit the proposed addition to para 1. Then para 3 should read: <u>All proceedings of the General Assembly, of the Security Council, and of the various agencies and committees, including the Economic and Social Council should, unless otherwise decided, be in public.</u>	It is surely a mistake to put the Economic and Security Council on a level with the General Assembly and other Principal Organs because that would widen what difference there is between the Economic and Security Council and the I.L.O., the I.E.O., and the other international economic, social, and other specialized agencies which should all be co-ordinated by the U.N. as 'the keystone of the order.' Compare clause B (8) of Ch. V.
	A small consequential amendment.

Ch. VIII A(3)	Retain the original text.	Many minor disputes which cannot be settled easily need not be settled at all: they may be by-passed.
A(4)	Retain the original text of the first sentence (but omit, as proposed, the second).	As before
A(5)	Retain the original text.	As before
C(3)	Insert after 'or by regional agencies', the words <u>or by other groups of members of the Organisation.</u>	This amendment would tend to prevent the regular meetings of the Foreign Secretaries of the U.K., the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. (agreed at the Crimea Conference) from exercising a concurrent jurisdiction with The United Nations and so damaging its authority, prestige and effectiveness.

Of the additional points mentioned in the draft covering letter to the Foreign Secretary, I should

Omit the first point; or, at least, its last sentence.

Mr. Eden cannot tell the Americans at San Francisco that a plural designation like The United States ought not to be used, as it always is in official American parlance, to describe a single organism!

Omit the second point; if, as I have suggested, the second paragraph is omitted from the Declaration in the Preamble

S.1216.
20.2.45.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

(For consideration at the Special Meeting of the Executive Committee on Thursday February 22nd, 11 a.m.)

NOTE ON ALTERATIONS AND AMENDMENTS SUGGESTED TO THE DUMBARTON OAKS TENTATIVE PROPOSALS
by Miss K.D. Courtney.

[At the last meeting of the Dumbarton Oaks Committee, Miss Courtney was asked to prepare a paper which would explain briefly the Committee's principal proposals.

It was suggested that such a paper might possibly take the place of the covering letter to the Foreign Office, leaving the lesser points in that letter to be mentioned in an Appendix.

It was also suggested that the General Council should be asked to approve this paper and to give only "general approval" to the full report.]

1. In every case in which proposals are made for bringing about the settlement of international disputes, these are defined as "disputes which may lead to a breach of the peace." Our Committee suggests that the purpose of the organisation should be "to bring about by peaceful means adjustment or settlement of international disputes", whether or not they are deemed likely to "endanger the maintenance of international peace and security." This requires amendment to Chapter I 1 and to Chapter 8 A 1, 3, 4.
2. In view of the very great importance of the Economic and Social Council we suggest that it should be included in the enumeration of the principal organs of the organisation under Chapter 4. We also propose that in this chapter a clause should be added stating that "all proceedings of the General Assembly and the Security Council, the economic and social Council and the various agencies and committees should, unless otherwise decided, be in public."
3. Our Committee is of opinion that the General Assembly should retain the right of general discussion on matters concerning the maintenance of peace and security even when these are being dealt with by the Security Council. We therefore suggest that the last lines of Chapter V B 1 should read: "The General Assembly while retaining the right of general discussion should not on its own initiative etc..."
4. The question of voting procedure in the Security Council has been the subject of much discussion. Our Committee makes the following proposals; (here follow the proposals under Chapter VI C 1,2,3.) It will be seen that whatever the majority required for a decision it is provided that no member shall be entitled to vote if a party to the dispute.
5. It appears to us that the arrangements in Chapter VIII, B.5 under which the Security Council is to be able to call upon the armed forces, etc. of the member states requires some further elucidation. We suggest that the special agreements suggested should not be concluded amongst the members themselves, but should be negotiated by the Security Council with all members as soon as possible. Further we propose that the urgent military measures thus provided for should not necessarily be regarded as a full discharge of the obligations of the signatory states. They should also undertake to carry out such further measures as may be required for full enforcement of the organisations' purpose.

6. The Committee does not feel at all satisfied about the clause which takes disputes described as "arising out of matters which by international law are solely within the domestic jurisdiction of the state concerned" outside the provisions by which the Security Council is to maintain international peace and security. Many matters within the domestic jurisdiction of states may well give rise to dangerous international situations. The Committee suggests that excepted disputes should be only those "arising out of matters which are solely the domestic concern of the state in question".
7. The Committee is of opinion that regional arrangements and regional agencies might be set up for dealing with matters concerned with international, economic and social co-operation.
8. We have several comments to make on Chapter IX A - Arrangements for international, economic and social co-operation -

Chapter IX. A We are glad to note that the official Commentary (paragraph 47) emphasises the importance of promoting respect for "human rights and fundamental freedoms". We realise that the rights of the individual cannot be secured by merely making a list of them and getting that list accepted in principle by the Governments of many nations. What is needed is effective means of redress when they are violated. Such redress must in the main be provided by the process of law in each country. We think however that the starting point of any guardianship of human rights by an international organisation is an acceptable statement of such rights as can and should be protected. We therefore hope that the Assembly will endeavour to secure the embodiment in the form of an international convention on such matters as freedom of worship, freedom of speech and writing, freedom of association, equality before the law with safeguards against arbitrary arrest and imprisonment; and that it will further be at pains to ensure that such rights and freedoms are secured by legislation and enforced by courts of law in the countries the governments of which have ratified the convention. Lastly, the existence of such an international convention would by making them of international concern justify the intervention of the Assembly in cases of extreme or sustained violation of these human rights and freedoms by administrative action, or the denial of them by legislation.

Chapter IX. C (b) and (c) and D (1). We understand these clauses to mean that the Economic and Social Council will discharge, in relation to the various economic and social activities of the United Nations organisation, the functions which used to be carried out by the League of Nations Council, such as receiving reports, and making suggestions for the organisation and co-ordination of the expert committees. The "Recommendations on its own initiative" of the Economic Council would, we assume, be of the nature of suggestions to the Assembly or to the expert bodies, not that of engaging on its own initiative in technical activities which its membership could not be qualified to fulfil, the most important existent body of the sort described in (c) (c) is the International Labour Organisation. We are anxious that the autonomy of the I.L.O. should be preserved, particularly in regard to its present practice of communicating directly with Governments such matters as the Draft Conventions and Recommendations adopted at its Annual Conferences. We have already proposed that the Economic and Social Council should be made one of the principal organs of the United Nations Organisation, and, subject to what we have said above, we think that the I.L.O. is one of the organs of international co-operation which should be brought within the sphere of its functions.

The Economic and Social Council will in the same way be concerned with the work of any technical organisations, such as the Health Section, which may be taken over from the League of Nations, other official international bodies which exist or may be set up to deal with specific problems such as U.N.R.R.A., the Food and Agriculture Commission, and educational and financial organisations,

all of which should be brought under the Aegis of the United Nations Organisation. In every case, the best method - as was amply proved by League of Nations experience - is to allow the utmost degree of expert and functional independence to the special bodies set up for specific problems; combined with a necessary degree of technical co-operation, to weld related activities together and to prevent overlapping or rivalry. This should in our view be the task of the Economic and Social Council as determined by the discussions of the Assembly.

We should also like to suggest that the Economic and Social Council should set up an expert and impartial committee whose work should be a) to assume the duties of a permanent mandate commission and b) to receive and publish reports from regional bodies established for colonial co-operation between the States ruling colonial dependencies.

9. Lastly we should wish to see the arrangements for securing and maintaining justice somewhat more developed. It has been suggested that in the case of political disputes an ad-hoc committee might be set up to make proposals for a decision on an equitable basis.

DUMBARTON OAKS CONVERSATIONS
ON WORLD ORGANISATION

Proposals by the League of Nations Union Executive
Committee

The text of the "Statement of Tentative Draft Proposals" is set out below.

Where the Committee desires to suggest an amendment the official text is set out in the left-hand column and the suggested amendment in the right-hand column.

Certain Notes are attached and the clauses to which these refer are indicated below by reference numbers inserted in the text and a mark in the margin.

Proposals for the Establishment of a General
International Organisation

There should be established an international organisation under the title of The United Nations,⁽¹⁾ the Charter of which should contain provisions necessary to give effect to the proposals which follow.

There should be established an international organisation under the title of The United Nations,⁽¹⁾ the Charter of which should contain provisions necessary to give effect to the proposals which follow and should begin with the following Declaration:

"THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES,
declaring that

1. The principles of Freedom, Justice and Good Faith should govern all international relations;
2. Subject to any alterations made by agreement of the interested parties or under the provisions of this Charter, the territorial integrity and political independence of all nations should be respected;⁽²⁾
3. Fundamental human rights and freedoms should be secured and respected;

have decided to establish an international organisation under the title of The United Nations."

Chapter I - Purposes

The purposes of the Organisation should be:

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(1) To maintain international peace and security; and to that end to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace and the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace,</p> <p>and to bring about by peaceful means adjustment or settlement of international disputes which may lead to a breach of the peace.</p> | <p>and to bring about by peaceful means adjustment or settlement of international disputes.</p> |
| <p>(2) To develop friendly relations among nations and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace;</p> | <p>(2) To develop friendly relations among nations and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace and to promote instruments of international co-operation;⁽²⁾</p> |
| <p>(3) To achieve international co-operation in the solution of international economic, social and other humanitarian problems; and</p> | |
| <p>(4) To afford a centre for harmonising the actions of nations in the achievement of these common ends.</p> | |

Chapter II - Principles

In pursuit of the purposes mentioned in Chapter I the Organisation and its members should act in accordance with the following principles:-

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>(1) The Organisation is based on the principle of the sovereign equality⁽³⁾ of all peace-loving States.</p> | <p>(1) The Organisation is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all States members of the Organisation.</p> |
| <p>(2) All members of the Organisation undertake, in order to ensure to all of them the rights and benefits resulting from membership in the Organisation, to fulfil the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the Charter.</p> | |
| <p>(3) All members of the Organisation shall settle their disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security are not endangered.</p> | <p>(3) All members of the Organisation shall settle their disputes by peaceful means.</p> |
| <p>(4) All members of the Organisation shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the Organisation.</p> | |
| <p>(5) All members of the Organisation shall give every assistance to the Organisation in any action undertaken by it in accordance with the provisions of the Charter.</p> | |
| <p>(6) All members of the Organisation shall refrain from giving assistance to any State against which preventive or enforcement action is being undertaken by the Organisation.</p> | |

The Organisation should ensure that States not members of the Organisation act in accordance with these principles so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Chapter III - Membership

Membership of the Organisation should be open to all peace-loving States.

Membership of the Organisation should be open to all peace-loving States who are prepared to comply with the principles laid down in this Charter.

Chapter IV - Principal Organs

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(1) The Organisation should have as its principal organs:-</p> <p>(a) A General Assembly;
(b) A Security Council;
(c) An International Court of Justice; and
(d) A Secretariat</p> | <p>(a) A General Assembly;
(b) A Security Council;
(c) An International Court of Justice;
(d) An Economic and Social Council; and
(e) A Secretariat.</p> |
| <p>(2) The Organisation should have such subsidiary agencies as may be found necessary.</p> | <p>(3) All proceedings of the General Assembly and of the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and the various agencies and committees should, unless otherwise decided, be in public.</p> |

Chapter V - The General Assembly

(A) Composition

All members of the Organisation should be members of the General Assembly and should have a number of representatives to be specified in the Charter.

(B) Functions and Powers

- (4) (1) The General Assembly should have the right to consider the general principles of co-operation in the maintenance of international peace and security including the principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments; to discuss any questions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security brought before it by any member or members of the Organisation or by the Security Council; and to make recommendations with regard to any such principles or questions. Any such questions on which action is necessary should be referred to the Security Council by the General Assembly either before or after discussion.

The General Assembly should not on its own initiative⁽⁵⁾ make recommendations on any matter relating to the maintenance of international peace and security which is being dealt with by the Security Council.

The General Assembly, while retaining the right of general discussion, should not on its own initiative⁽⁵⁾ make recommendations on any matter relating to the maintenance of international peace and security which is being dealt with by the Security Council.

- (2) The General Assembly be empowered to admit new members of the Organisation upon recommendation of the Security Council.

- (3) The General Assembly should, upon recommendation of the Security Council, be empowered to suspend from the exercise of any rights or privileges of membership any member of the Organisation against which preventive or enforcement action shall have been taken by the Security Council.

The exercise of the rights and privileges thus suspended may be restored by decision of the Security Council.

The exercise of the rights and privileges thus suspended may be restored by the Security Council who shall forthwith report any action they have taken to the Assembly.

The General Assembly should be empowered upon recommendation of the Security Council to expel from the Organisation any member of the Organisation which persistently violates the principles contained in the Charter.

- (4) The General Assembly should elect the non-permanent members⁽⁶⁾ of the Security Council and the members of the Economic and Social Council provided for in Chapter IX. It should be empowered to elect upon recommendation of the Security Council, the Secretary-General of the Organisation. It should perform such functions in relation to the election of the Judges of the International Court of Justice as may be conferred upon it by the Statute of the Court.
- (5) The General Assembly should apportion the expenses among the members of the Organisation and should be empowered to approve the budgets of the Organisation.
- (4) (6) The General Assembly should initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of promoting international co-operation in political, economic and social fields and of adjusting situations likely to impair the general welfare.
- (4) (7) The General Assembly should make recommendations for the co-ordination of the policies of international economic, social and other specialised agencies brought into relation with the Organisation in accordance with agreements between such agencies and the Organisation.
- (8) The General Assembly should receive and consider annual and special reports from the Security Council and reports from other bodies of the Organisation.

(C) Voting

- (1) Each member of the Organisation should have one vote in the General Assembly.
- (2) Important decisions of the General Assembly, including recommendations with respect to the maintenance of international peace and security; the election of members of the Security Council; election of members of the Economic and Social Council; admission of members, suspension of the exercise of the rights and privileges of members, and expulsion of members; and budgetary questions, should be made by a two-thirds majority of those present and voting. On other questions, including the determination of additional categories of questions to be decided by a two-thirds majority, the decisions of the General Assembly should be made by a simple majority vote.

(D) Procedure

- (1) The General Assembly should meet in regular annual sessions and in such special sessions as occasion may require.
- (2) The General Assembly should adopt its own rules of procedure and elect its president for each session.
- (3) The General Assembly should be empowered to set up such bodies and agencies as it may deem necessary for the performance of its functions.

Chapter VI - The Security Council

(A) Composition⁽⁶⁾

The Security Council should consist of one representative of each of eleven members of the Organisation. Representatives of the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Republic of China, and in due course France, should have permanent seats. The General Assembly should elect six States to fill the non-permanent seats.

These six States should be elected for a term of two years, three retiring each year. They should not be immediately eligible for re-election. In the first election of the non-permanent members three should be chosen by the General Assembly for one-year terms and three for two-year terms.

These six States should be elected for a term of three years, two retiring each year. They should not be immediately eligible for re-election. In the first election of the non-permanent members two should be chosen by the General Assembly for one-year terms, two for two-year terms, and two for three-year terms.

(B) Principal Functions and Powers

- (1) In order to ensure prompt and effective action by the Organisation, members of the Organisation should by the Charter confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security and should agree that in carrying out these duties under this responsibility it should act on their behalf.
- (2) In discharging these duties the Security Council should act in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Organisation.
- (3) The specific powers conferred on the Security Council in order to carry out these duties are laid down in Chapter VIII.
- (4) All members of the Organisation should obligate themselves to accept the decisions of the Security Council and to carry them out in accordance with the provisions of the Charter.
- (5) In order to promote the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security with the least diversion of the world's human and economic resources for armaments, the Security Council, with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee referred to in Chapter VIII, Section (B), paragraph 9, should have the responsibility for formulating plans for the establishment of a system of regulation of armaments for submission to the members of the Organisation.

(C) Voting

Note - The question of voting procedure in the Security Council is still under consideration.

- (1) Decisions or recommendations of the Security Council on matters relating to the Pacific Settlement of disputes (Chapter VIII A) shall be taken by a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting, provided that no member shall be entitled to vote if a party to the dispute.
- (2) Should a dispute be found by the Security Council to constitute a threat to the maintenance of international peace and security, decisions or recommendations by the Security Council on matters relating to the settlement of the dispute (including action to be taken thereon under Clauses (3) and (4) of Chapter VIII B) shall, subject to the exception set out in the following paragraph, be taken by the agreement of all the members present and voting, provided that no member shall be entitled to vote if a party to the dispute.

Questions relating to procedure, including references to the International Court of Justice, shall however be decided by a simple majority of the members present and voting, but no member shall be entitled to vote if a party to the dispute.

- (3) Should the Security Council decide that a measure of the nature set out in Clauses (3) and (4) of Chapter VIII B, shall be applied, such decision shall at once be communicated to the members of the Organisation with a reminder that every member is bound to take such action as the Security Council, in accordance with the provisions of Chapter VIII B(2), regards as necessary in each case.

(D) Procedure

- (1) The Security Council should be so organised as to be able to function continuously and each State member of the Security Council should be permanently represented at the headquarters of the Organisation. It may hold meetings at such other places as in its judgment may best facilitate its work.

There should be periodic meetings at which each State member of the Security Council could, if it so desired, be represented by a member of the Government or some other special representative.

There should be periodic meetings at which each State Member of the Security Council should be represented by a member of the Government or some other special representative. Similar provision should be made in the case of any emergency arising.

- (2) The Security Council should be empowered to set up such bodies or agencies as it may deem necessary for the performance of its functions, including regional sub-committees of the Military Staff Committee.
- (2) The Security Council should be empowered to set up such bodies or agencies as it may deem necessary for the performance of its functions, including regional sub-committees of the Military Staff Committee and impartial tribunals, when required, to investigate disputes and give advice as to equitable solutions.
- (3) The Security Council should adopt its own rules of procedure, including the method of selecting its President.
- (4) Any member of the Organisation should participate in the discussion of any question brought before the Security Council whenever the Security Council considers that the interests of that member of the Organisation are specially affected.
- (5) Any member of the Organisation not having a seat on the Security Council and any State not a member of the Organisation if it is a party to a dispute under consideration by the Security Council should be invited to participate in the discussion relating to the dispute.

Chapter VII - An International Court of Justice

- (1) There should be an International Court of Justice which should constitute the principal judicial organ of the Organisation.
- (2) The Court should be constituted and should function in accordance with a Statute which should be annexed to and be a part of the Charter of the Organisation.
- (3) The Statute of the Court of International Justice should be either (a) the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, continued in force with such modifications as may be desirable, or (b) a new Statute in the preparation of which the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice should be used as a basis.
- (4) All members of the Organisation should, ipso facto, be parties to the Statute of the International Court of Justice.
- (5) Conditions under which States not members of the Organisation may become parties to the Statute of the International Court of Justice should be determined in each case by the General Assembly upon recommendation of the Security Council.

Chapter VIII - Arrangements for the Maintenance of International Peace and Security, including Prevention and Suppression of Aggression

(A) Pacific Settlement of Disputes

- (1) The Security Council should be empowered to investigate any dispute, or any situation which may lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute, in order to determine whether its continuance is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security.
- (1) The Security Council should be empowered to investigate any dispute, or any situation, (9) which may, in its opinion, lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute in order to determine whether its continuance is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security.
- (2) Any State, whether member of the Organisation or not, may bring any such dispute or situation to the attention of the General Assembly or of the Security Council.

- (3) The parties to any dispute the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security should obligate themselves, first of all, to seek a solution by negotiation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement, or other peaceful means of their own choice. The Security Council should call upon the parties to settle their dispute by such means.
- (4) If, nevertheless, parties to a dispute of the nature referred to in paragraph 3 above fail to settle it by the means indicated in that paragraph, they should obligate themselves to refer it to the Security Council. The Security Council should in each case decide whether or not the continuance of the particular dispute is in fact likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security and, accordingly, whether the Security Council should deal with the dispute, and, if so, whether it should take action under paragraph 5.
- (5) The Security Council should be empowered at any stage of a dispute of the nature referred to in paragraph 3 above to recommend appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment.
- (6) Justiciable disputes should normally be referred to the International Court of Justice. The Security Council should be empowered to refer to the Court for advice legal questions connected with other disputes.
- (7) The provisions of paragraphs 1-6 of Section (A) should not apply to situations or disputes arising out of matters which by international law are solely within the domestic jurisdiction of the State concerned.
- (3) The parties to any dispute should obligate themselves, first of all, to seek a solution by negotiation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement, or other peaceful means of their own choice. The Security Council may call upon the parties to settle their dispute by such means.
- (4) If, nevertheless, parties to a dispute fail to settle it by the means indicated in paragraph 3, they should obligate themselves to refer it to the Security Council.
- (5) The Security Council should be empowered at any stage of a dispute to recommend appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment.
- (7) The provisions of paragraphs 1-6 of Section (A) should not apply to situations or disputes arising out of matters which are solely the domestic concern of the State in question.

(B) Determination of threats to the peace or acts of aggression, and action with respect thereto.

- (1) Should the Security Council deem that a failure to settle a dispute in accordance with the procedures indicated in paragraph 3 of Section A, or in accordance with its recommendations made under paragraph 5 of Section A, constitutes a threat to the

- maintenance of international peace and security, it should take any measures necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Organisation.
- (2) (10) In general the Security Council should determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression and should make recommendations or decide upon the measures to be taken to maintain or restore peace and security.
- (3) The Security Council should be empowered to determine what diplomatic, economic or other measures not involving the use of armed force should be employed to give effect to its decisions, and to call upon members of the Organisation to apply such measures. Such measures may include complete or partial interruption of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio and other means of communication and the severance of diplomatic and economic relations.
- (4) Should the Security Council consider such measures to be inadequate, it should be empowered to take such action by air, naval or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such action may include demonstrations, blockades and other operations by air, sea or land forces of members of the Organisation.
- (5) In order that all members of the Organisation should contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, they should undertake to make available to the Security Council, on its call and in accordance with a special agreement or agreements concluded among themselves, armed forces, facilities and assistance necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security. Such agreement or agreements should govern the numbers and types of forces and the nature of the facilities and assistance to be provided. The special agreement or agreements should be negotiated as soon as possible, and should in each case be subject to approval by the Security Council and to ratification by the Signatory States in accordance with their constitutional processes.
- (5) In order that all members of the Organisation should contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, they should undertake to make available to the Security Council, on its call, armed forces, facilities and assistance necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security. A special agreement or agreements governing the numbers and types of forces, and the nature of the facilities to be provided, should be negotiated by the Security Council with all members as soon as possible, and should in each case be subject to ratification by the signatory States in accordance with their constitutional processes.
- (6) In order to enable urgent military measures to be taken by the Organisation, there should be held immediately available by the members of the Organisation national Air Force contingents, for combined international enforcement action. The strength and degree of readiness of these contingents and plans for

their combined action should be determined by the Security Council, with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee, within the limits laid down in the special agreement or agreements referred to in paragraph (5) above.

The urgent military measures thus provided for should not necessarily be regarded as a full discharge of the obligations of the signatory States. They should also undertake to carry out such further measures as may be required for full enforcement of the Organisation's purpose.

- (7) The action required to carry out the decisions of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security should be taken by all the members of the Organisation in co-operation or by some of them as the Security Council may determine. This undertaking should be carried out by the members of the Organisation by their own action and through action of the appropriate specialised Organisations and agencies of which they are members.

- (8) Plans for the application of armed force should be made by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee referred to in paragraph (6) below.

- (9) There should be established a Military Staff Committee, the functions of which should be

- (9) Subject always to the overriding responsibility of the Security Council, there should be established a Military Staff Committee, the functions of which should be

to advise and assist the Security Council on all questions relating to the Security Council's military requirements for the maintenance of international peace and security, to the employment and command of forces placed at its disposal, to the regulation of armaments and to possible disarmament. It should be responsible under the Security Council for the strategic direction of any armed forces placed at the disposal of the Security Council. The Committee should be composed of the Chiefs of Staff of the permanent members of the Security Council or their representatives. Any member of the Organisation not permanently represented on the Committee should be invited by the Committee to be associated with it when the efficient discharge of the Committee's responsibilities requires that such a State should participate in its work. Questions of command of forces should be worked out subsequently.

- (10) The members of the Organisation should join in affording mutual assistance in carrying out the measures decided upon by the Security Council.
- (11) Any State, whether a member of the Organisation or not, which finds itself confronted with special economic problems arising from the carrying out of measures which have been decided upon by the Security Council should have the right to consult the Security Council in regard to a solution of those problems.

(C) Regional Arrangements

(C) Regional Security Arrangements

- (1) Nothing in the Charter should preclude the existence of regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with such matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action, provided such arrangements or agencies and their activities are consistent with the purposes and principles of the Organisation. The Security Council should encourage settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies either on the initiative of the States concerned or by reference from the Security Council.
- (2) The Security Council should, where appropriate, utilise such arrangements or agencies for enforcement action under its authority but no enforcement action should be taken under regional arrangements or by regional agencies without the authorisation of the Security Council.
- (3) The Security Council should at all times be kept fully informed of activities undertaken or in contemplation under regional arrangements or by regional agencies for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Chapter IX - Arrangements for International Economic and Social Co-operation

(A) Purpose and Relationships

- (1) With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations, the Organisation should facilitate solutions of international economic, social and other humanitarian problems, and promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. Responsibility for the discharge of this function should be vested in the General Assembly and under the authority of the General Assembly in an Economic and Social Council.
- (2) The various specialised economic, social and other organisations and agencies would have responsibilities in their respective fields as defined in their statutes. Each such organisation or agency should be brought into relationship with the Organisation on terms to be determined by agreement between the Economic and Social Council and the appropriate authorities of the specialised organisation or agency, subject to approval by the General Assembly.
- (3) Regional arrangements might also be made and regional agencies might be set up for dealing with matters concerned with international economic and social co-operation.

(B) Composition and Voting

The Economic and Social Council should consist of representatives of 18 members of the Organisation. The States to be represented for this purpose should be elected by the General Assembly for terms of three years. Each such State should have one representative, who should have one vote. Decisions of the Economic and Social Council should be taken by simple majority vote of those present and voting.

(C) Functions and powers of the Economic and Social Council

The Economic and Social Council should be empowered:-

- (a) To carry out, within the scope of its functions, recommendations of the General Assembly.
- (b) ⁽¹³⁾ To make recommendations on its own initiative with respect to international, economic, social and other humanitarian matters;
- (c) ⁽¹³⁾ To receive and consider reports from the economic, social and other organisations or agencies brought into relationship with the Organisation, and to co-ordinate their activities through consultations with, and recommendations to, such organisations or agencies;
- (d) To examine the administrative budgets of such specialised organisations or agencies with a view to making recommendations to the organisations or agencies concerned;
- (e) To enable the Secretary-General to provide information to the Security Council.
- (f) To assist the Security Council upon its request; and
- (g) To perform such other functions within the general scope of its competence as may be assigned to it by the General Assembly.

(D) Organisation and Procedure

- (1) ⁽¹³⁾ The Economic and Social Council should set up an Economic Commission, a Social Commission, and such other Commissions as may be required. These Commissions should consist of experts. There should be a permanent staff which should constitute a part of the Secretariat of the Organisation.
 - (2) The Economic and Social Council should also set up an expert and impartial committee whose work should be
 - (a) to assume the duties of the Permanent Mandates Commission; and
 - (b) to receive and publish reports from regional bodies established for colonial co-operation between the states ruling colonial dependencies.
- (3) ^[Original 2] The Economic and Social Council should make suitable arrangements for representatives of the specialised organisations or agencies to participate without vote in its deliberations and in those of the commissions established by it.
- (4) ^[Original 3] The Economic and Social Council should adopt its own rules of procedure and the method of selecting its president.

Chapter X - The Secretariat

- (1) There should be a secretariat comprising a Secretary-General and such staff as may be required. The Secretary-General should be the chief administrative officer of the Organisation. He should be elected by the General Assembly on recommendation of the Security Council, for such term and under such conditions as are specified in the Charter.
- (2) The Secretary-General should act in that capacity in all meetings of the General Assembly, of the Security Council, and of the Economic and Social Council, and should make an annual report to the General Assembly on the work of the Organisation.
- (3) The Secretary-General should have the right to bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten international peace and security.
 - (4) The Secretary-General should arrange for the publication and registration of all international treaties and agreements. No treaty should be considered binding which is not so published, with the exception of treaties, such as those dealing with military matters, especially allowed to remain secret by the Security Council.

Chapter XI - Amendments

Amendments should come into force for all members of the Organisation when they have been adopted by a vote of two-thirds of the members of the General Assembly and ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by the members of the Organisation having permanent membership on the Security Council and by a majority of the other members of the Organisation.

Chapter XII - Transitional Arrangements

- (1) Pending the coming into force of the special agreement or agreements referred to in Chapter VIII, section (B), paragraph (5), and in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 5 of the Four-Nation Declaration, signed at Moscow, the 30th October, 1943, the States parties to that declaration should consult with one another and as occasion arises with other members of the Organisation with a view to such joint action on behalf of the Organisation as may be necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security.
- (2) No provision of the Charter should preclude action taken or authorised in relation to enemy States as a result of the present war by the Governments having responsibility for such action.

NOTES

1. Title

The phrase "The United Nations" does not seem to us the most appropriate title for a permanent international organisation. During the war this phrase has been used to describe the nations allied in war against the Axis Powers, and whilst these nations will no doubt constitute the original members of the new organisation, a phrase less definitely associated with that alliance would seem to us more appropriate for a body which will eventually include both neutral and ex-enemy States.

2. Whilst we agree with what is said in paragraph 16 of the official Commentary about the undesirability of stabilising the status quo for all time, we think nevertheless that some further provision is required in the Charter to enable the Security Council to take cognizance of threats to or attacks on the political independence of member States. We have therefore inserted here a modified form of Article 10 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, substituting the word "respected" for "preserved", thus making it a general directive rather than a specific undertaking.

At the same time we welcome every provision of the Charter which will make more effective the political "interdependence" of the member States. We have for that reason proposed in I(2) the addition of words to suggest that these separate, independent sovereign States should use the Organisation to foster the growth of a greater unity in the future.

3. Chapter II (1)

The words "sovereign equality of all peace-loving States" are in our opinion too vague. Neither "sovereign equality" nor "peace-loving" are capable of precise definition. We presume that what is meant is that membership of the Organisation shall be confined to such States as indicate their love of peace by accepting the objects and principles of the Charter, and that the sovereignty of all States-members shall be equal, i.e. they will be equally entitled to the benefits and equally subject to the obligations of the Charter.

4. Chapter V B(1)

We suggest that paragraphs 1, 6 and 7 of the Section might with advantage be brought together as they appear to be closely related.

5. Chapter V B(1)

The words "on its own initiative" are not quite clear. We presume that it is not intended to deprive the Assembly of the right of discussing any question affecting the maintenance of international peace even when it is being considered by the Security Council, but only to debar it from making recommendations for a settlement unless invited to do so by the Council.

6. Chapter VI A

We suggest that in order to meet unforeseen circumstances greater flexibility might be desirable in the arrangements for permanent and non-permanent members of the Council, and that it might be more satisfactory if these arrangements could be altered, if so desired, in accordance with some special provision inserted in the Charter for that purpose, rather than by the more cumbersome method of amending the Charter itself.

One difficulty in particular seems to us likely to arise, when we remember what happened in the early days of the League, if no provision is made for Powers of middle size to be re-eligible. We therefore suggest that a fixed proportion of the non-permanent members might be made eligible for immediate re-election.

7. and 8. Chapter VI.D Procedure

We wish to draw attention to the danger that a permanent representative at the headquarters of the Organisation may tend to be regarded as a subordinate diplomatic agent. We think it is improbable that "experienced and well-known statesmen" (as suggested in the official Commentary) will be found to reside permanently at the headquarters of the Organisation.

The words we propose to add to this section are due to our wish to emphasise the importance of Ministers of Cabinet rank attending all the meetings of the Security Council whenever matters of real importance are likely to be discussed and not only the regular periodic meetings.

9. Chapter VIII A(1) Pacific Settlement of Disputes

As this clause is drafted, it is not stated who is to decide whether any dispute or situation "is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security". We suggest therefore that the Security Council itself should be the deciding authority.

10. Chapter VIII B(2)

It is not clear to us why this paragraph is necessary as it seems only to repeat in different words what has already been said in B(1).

11. Chapter VIII B(5) and (6)

See "Principal Suggestions concerning the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals".

12. Chapter IX A (1)

See "Principal Suggestions concerning the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals".

13. Chapter IX C (b) and (c) and D(1)

See "Principal Suggestions concerning the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals".

CONFIDENTIALLEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 11 MAIDEN LANE, LONDON, W.C.2. ON THURSDAY, MARCH 15TH, 1945 AT 2.15 P.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton, (in the Chair), Mr. W. Arnold, Mrs. Beale, Professor Brodetsky, Lord Cecil, the Dean of Gloucester, Miss Courtney, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Rawcett, Dr. Garnett, Lady Hall, Miss Hansell, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Mr. T. Lodge, Sir Geoffrey Mander, Dr. Murray, Lord Perth, Mr. Seton-Watson, Mr. Nowell Smith, Professor Basil Williams, Mr. Carey Wilson and Mr. Judd.

53. MINUTES Minutes of the meeting of February 15th, and of the Special Meeting of February 22nd, were confirmed as circulated.

54. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES

On Minute 46 - Future of the Union: Albert Hall Meeting. It was reported that the Albert Hall was not available on June 14th but that a provisional booking had been taken for June 12th.

55. SPECIAL MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL (a) Agenda. The Executive had before them an uncorrected proof of the Agenda for the General Council's Meeting on April 5th and 6th, containing draft resolutions prepared by the Chairman on (1) Proposals of Dumbarton Oaks Conference and (2) San Francisco Conference. After discussion, the resolutions were approved and adopted for submission to the Council in the following amended form:

Proposals of Dumbarton Oaks Conference.

The General Council, having considered the report of the Executive Committee on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals (see Appendix A) endorses the Committee's recommendations for submission to H.M. Government.

San Francisco Conference on World Organisation.

The General Council of the League of Nations Union

(1) Congratulates His Majesty's Government on having come to an agreement at the Crimea Conference with their principal Allies to give general approval to the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals for the establishment of a General International Organisation;

(2) Welcomes the decision taken at that Conference to submit these proposals to a meeting of all the United Nations at San Francisco on April 25th, and trusts that those Nations will give their support to a General International Organisation on the lines of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals.

(3) The Council further desires to draw the attention of H.M. Government to certain suggestions

for amending the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals which the Union has drafted, and trusts that H.M. Government will give the suggestions their favourable consideration.

It was agreed that the resolutions on "Issues arising out of the gradual liberation of enemy-occupied countries" which the Executive, on February 15th, had decided to submit to the Special Meeting of the General Council should be adjourned for consideration by the Council at its Annual Meeting in June or July.

(b) Procedure Committee. On the motion of Lord Cecil, it was

RESOLVED: That the Procedure Committee consisting of Lady Hall, Mr. A.E.W. Thomas and Mr. Leonard Behrens be re-appointed for the purpose of dealing with any matters which may arise during the meeting of the General Council on April 5th and 6th.

56. DUMBARTON OAKS PROPOSALS: DEPUTATION TO MR. EDEN. Lord Lytton reported that on March 13th a deputation consisting of Lord Cecil, Lord Perth, Dr. Murray, Miss Courtney, Dr. Garnett and himself had discussed with Mr. Eden the Executive Committee's recommendations regarding the proposals of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference. The Chairman dealt briefly with the main points raised at the deputation and said that, apart from the question of voting procedure, the other principal recommendations contained in the Committee's report were all being considered by H.M. Government. With regard to voting, Lord Perth had suggested that an alternative method would be not to have any voting procedure at all in regard to sanctions, while Lord Cecil had suggested that the present formula should be regarded merely as a temporary arrangement which would be amended and improved when the peace had been re-established.

Mr. Judd reported that a number of letters were being received from Branches, enquiring about the Executive's attitude to the voting procedure and some of these expressed considerable alarm in regard to the Yalta decisions.

57. FUTURE OF THE UNION. Lord Lytton reported on a meeting of the Special Committee held that morning when an interim Report prepared by the Secretary had been considered. The principal recommendations had been reported to the Executive after each of its meetings and, on the proposal of the Chairman, it was agreed that the Report should be submitted to the forthcoming Meeting of the General Council as from the Special Committee appointed by the Executive to consider the future aims, organisation, work, staff and financial arrangements of the Union, copies of the Report would be circulated to the Executive before the next meeting.

58. CRIMEA CONFERENCE. Reference was made to the debates which had taken place in Parliament on February 27th, 28th and 29th on the Report of the Crimea Conference. Lord Cecil stated that a further debate would probably take place in the House of Lords on March 23th when questions arising out of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals and the San Francisco Conference would be raised.

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59. MR MILLS. The Chairman reminded the Committee that Mr. Mills was first appointed to the Union's Staff as an Assistant Secretary in 1919 and had remained in that office until he had resigned in order to take a commission in the R.A.F. in 1940. Mr. Mills expected soon to be released from the Air Force on account of his age and wished to return to the service of the Union. After the Chairman had reported on discussions that had taken place in the Special Committee and on correspondence with the Hon. Treasurer and Secretary and with members of the Committee, it was unanimously
- RESOLVED: (1) That Mr. Mills be informed that the Committee will be glad to reappoint him as an Assistant Secretary so soon as he is free to return and at his former salary, the question of war bonus being left over for discussion with the Hon. Treasurer.
- (2) That the Secretary be asked to inform Mr. Walker that the Committee is completely satisfied with his work and that his status will be in no way affected by the return of Mr. Mills, and so far as possible to take into account Mr. Walker's own wishes in arranging for a redistribution of the work.
60. C.E.W.C. (a) Deputation to Minister of Education. Dr. Murray reported that it had been necessary to postpone the deputation to the President of the Board of Education but he had received a most friendly letter from Mr. Butler, in which the Minister had expressed the hope that the United Nations Organisation for Educational and Cultural Reconstruction might soon be established.
- Dr. Garnett drew attention to a statement which Mr. Butler had since made to the effect that, so soon as the San Francisco Conference had taken place, he hoped to bring forward the question of ratification by H.M.G. of the proposals in regard to the U.N.O.E.C.R.
- (b) Relation of the C.E.W.C. to the Union. Since Mr. Nowell Smith and Dr. Murray had already left the meeting, it was agreed that discussion of the future relation of the C.E.W.C. to the Union, which was on the Agenda, should once more be remitted to the Special Committee.
61. SAN FRANCISCO CONFERENCE. It having been reported that a number of organisations were seeking permission to send observers to the San Francisco Conference, the Secretary was asked to make inquiries with a view to application being made for a Union representative to attend the Conference as an observer. The Chairman added that it might be necessary to raise a special fund to cover the expenses involved.
62. COMMUNICATION FROM THE NATIONAL PEACE COUNCIL. An extract from Mr. Judd's circular letter to Branch Secretaries, regarding the Petition organised by the National Peace Council, was read, together with a letter written by Mr. Gerald Bailey, complaining that

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Mr. Judd's letter had misrepresented the policy of the N.P.C. The Executive took the view that, if Mr. Bailey had reason to think that the Secretary's letter misrepresented the policy of the N.P.C. it was open to him to have written a letter to HEADWAY (the L.N.U. channel of discussion) as suggested by the Secretary.

63. LONDON INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY. Miss Courtney reported on a meeting between the L.I.A. and representatives of the British Commonwealth of Nations Conference, when the subject of Regional Security had been discussed. It had been generally agreed by those present that, in so far as any regions were set up, they would have to be within the orbit of an International Organisation.
64. TIME OF EXECUTIVE MEETINGS. A proposal by Lord Cecil that the Committee should revert to its earlier practice of meeting at 11 a.m. was considered, and attention was drawn to the alteration lately made in the time of meetings at the House of Commons. After discussion, the Committee were generally of opinion that, since many members had to travel long distances, it would be undesirable to make any change at present. If, however, Lord Cecil so desired, they would be very glad to discuss the matter further.
65. FEEDING OF CIVIL POPULATIONS IN LIBERATED COUNTRIES. The Committee had before them a resolution adopted by the Executive of the Manchester District Council on February 23rd. After a statement by Mrs. Dugdale, it was agreed that the resolution should be adjourned for consideration in the light of the debate which it was understood would take place in the House of Commons during the following week when Mr. Attlee would report on his recent visit to France, Holland and Belgium.
66. CORPORATE MEMBERSHIP. The Hyde Chapel Women's Society was admitted as a Corporate Member of the Union and the fixing of the Union's seal to the certificate was authorised.
67. DATE OF NEXT MEETING. It was agreed that the next meeting should take place on Thursday, March 22nd at 2.15 p.m., instead of on March 29th (the day before Good Friday).
68. CLOSING OF OFFICE FOR EASTER. It was

RESOLVED: That the office be closed from Thursday night, March 29th until Tuesday morning, April 3rd; and that all members of the staff be given an additional day's leave to be taken by individual arrangement with the Secretary.

H. D. Courtney,
CHAIRMAN
22nd March 1945.

CONFIDENTIALLEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE
COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 11 MAIDEN LANE,
LONDON, W.C.2. ON THURSDAY, MARCH 23RD,
1945 AT 2.15 P.M.

PRESENT: Miss K.D. Courtney (in the Chair), the Dean of Chichester, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Fawcett, Dr. Garnett, Lady Hall, Miss Hansell, Mr. Howe, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Mrs. Prior, Mr. Svrett, Mr. Alan Thomas, Professor Basil Williams and Mr. Judd.

69. MINUTES. Minutes of the meeting of March 15th were confirmed as circulated, subject to the substitution of the words "tentative draft" for "uncorrected proof" in line 2 of minute 55.

70. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 54 - Albert Hall Meeting. it was reported that the Albert Hall had now been let for June 12th, but would be available for the Union either on June 11th or June 14th if a definite booking were made immediately. It was then, nemine contradicente,

RESOLVED: That a definite booking of the Albert Hall be made for the evening of Thursday, June 14th.

The Secretary was requested to inform Lord Lytton of the alteration in date of the Meeting and to ask him to proceed with his inquiries regarding a speaker.

On Minute 55 - Special Meeting of General Council, the Dean of Chichester regretted the Executive's decision not to submit to the special meeting of the Council the resolutions dealing with issues arising out of the gradual liberation of enemy occupied countries, since the matter was so vitally related to the San Francisco Conference and would almost certainly be raised during the Council debates.

71. COMMUNICATION FROM PAISLEY BRANCH. A communication dated February 21st was reported from Paisley Branch, expressing disappointment with the apparent failure of U.N.R.R.A. Consideration of this matter was adjourned pending the debate on U.N.R.R.A. which it was understood would take place in the House of Commons during the following week.

72. FUTURE OF THE UNION. (a) Special Committee. Miss Courtney read a report of the Special Committee's meeting on March 20th when the following matters had been discussed:- (1) Interim Report of Special Committee; (2) Inauguration of, and initial expenditure for, the United Nations Union; (3) C.E.W.C.; (4) S.F.I.C. and Youth Groups.

On (2), Miss Courtney reported a letter which Lord Cecil had received from Lord Stamford, and stated that the name of the new organisation had in no sense been finally settled.

On (3) it was agreed to adjourn consideration of the report on the C.E.W.C. until the next meeting at which Mr. Nowell Smith and Dr. Carnett could both be present.

Miss Courtney stated that, following on the decision of the Executive at its last meeting, the Interim Report of the Special Committee was now being printed for submission to the General Council in April. The Council would not be asked to adopt this Interim Report but it would be before them as a basis for discussion. It was

RESOLVED: That the following resolution be moved in the name of the Executive Committee:-

"The General Council welcomes the proposals of the Special Committee to meet the need for a change of name by setting up a new organisation. It authorises the Executive Committee to take all necessary steps to this end, including the use of the Union's funds, on the understanding that the relations between the Union and the new organisation will be determined by the Council at its next meeting.

In reply to a question from Mrs. Prior, Miss Courtney said that it would be open to any member of the Council to move amendments to the resolution and the Special Committee would welcome the views of the Council on its Interim Report and give full consideration to these views in drawing up its final recommendations.

(b) Report of Campaign Committee. Lady Hall reported as follows on the work of the Campaign Committee:-

All-Party Conferences. A selected number of Branches covering the whole country had been invited to organise All-Party Conferences at which the Member of Parliament and the Opposition Candidates, together with a representative of the Union, would be invited to state their views on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. Seven Branches had already arranged to hold such Conferences during March and April; other Branches had arrangements in hand; and it was likely that some 25 Conferences would take place during the next few months. In four instances the Conservative Member of Parliament or Conservative Party Organisation had declined the Branch's invitation to take part in a Conference, and it was suggested that representations on the subject should be made either to Mr. R.A. Butler or to Mr. Ralph Assheton. The Campaign Committee had recommended, and the Special Committee had, with the concurrence of the Hon. Treasurer, endorsed, the expenditure of a sum not exceeding £250 for the purpose of assisting Branches where necessary in the organisation of All-Party Conferences or large public meetings to revive the Union's work.

Speakers. The Reverend Dr. Bryn Thomas (Rector of Kemble) had offered his services as speaker at meetings arranged by the L.N.U. for three months after Easter, and would be available from Tuesdays to Fridays inclusive in each week and, if necessary, on one Sunday a month. Dr. Bryn Thomas had asked only for his expenses to be defrayed; these would include 30/- to £2 per week for a locum, and an additional five guineas if and when he was absent from his parish on

a Sunday. This was one of the special arrangements the Committee proposed to make pending the appointment of a full-time speaker.

Speakers Courses. It was hoped to arrange during the coming months week-end courses for the purpose of training and refreshing Union speakers, e.g. at Jordans, Holywell Manor, Oxford, and the Peak District. Mr. Howe reported that the L.R.F. had booked accommodation at Jordans for a week-end Conference in June, and if H.Q. found any difficulty in obtaining accommodation there during the next few months the L.R.F. would gladly consider transferring their booking to H.Q.

Assistant Regional Organisers. Consideration had been given to reports received from Captain Morton and Miss Parnell regarding the present unsatisfactory state of many of the Union's local organisations, and Lady Hall felt that, if a successful nation wide campaign of meetings was to be undertaken, it would be necessary to appoint a few Assistant Travelling Organisers who would follow up the work being done by Captain Morton and Miss Parnell and be available to give assistance to Branches in the actual organisation of Public Meetings. It was suggested that in some parts of the country the services of local people might be secured for the payment of honoraria only. At the suggestion of Mr. Syrett it was agreed to postpone further consideration of this matter until precise proposals, including an estimate of the cost of putting such proposals into operation, could be submitted.

The report and recommendations of the Campaign Committee were approved and adopted.

(c) Proposals by Dr. Garnett. The Executive had before them proposals by Dr. Garnett for action to be taken by the Union within the next six months in order to secure the support of the British people for the post-war League (S.1227, copy filed with these minutes). The proposals had already been before the Special Committee and the Campaign Committee.

On (1) and (2), it was pointed out that the deputation from the Executive which had recently waited on the Foreign Secretary had spoken of the Union's anxiety to do all it could to win public support for the new International Organisation. Mr. Judd had discussed with Professor Webster the suggestion that the Ministry of Information and the B.E.C. should do more to popularise the proposals of Dumbarton Oaks, and reference was made to the series of talks arranged by the B.E.C. on the subject. Reference was also made to a reply given by Lord Cranborne in the House of Lords on March 1st in which he had promised to pass on to the Minister of Information suggestions for securing greater publicity, apart from purely official channels, for the Dumbarton Oaks proposals.

On (3) Lady Hall reported that the Campaign Committee had recommended that any approach to national organisations should be deferred until after the San Francisco Conference. But in the meantime it had been suggested that Branches of the Union should be asked to invite local organisations of national bodies in their district to hear an address by a Union speaker on the new international organisation. The Executive felt that this

-4-

should not preclude the Secretary from taking any opportunities that might occur to suggest to the religious and other national bodies that they might do more to remind their members of the great importance of the San Francisco Conference.

On (4) the Executive noted that the Mayors and Town Clerks would be asked to give their support to the All Party Conferences and other public meetings now being organised by the Campaign Committee.

On (5) the office was asked to take any action that seemed necessary to secure further publicity for the Union's views on the San Francisco Conference.

73. INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION FOR EDUCATION. On the proposal of Dr. Garnett it was

RESOLVED: That the Secretary be asked to write to the Minister of Education informing him of the pleasure with which the Committee has read his recent pronouncement regarding the early establishment of a permanent international organisation for education.

74. COUNCIL FOR EDUCATION IN WORLD CITIZENSHIP. Miss Luffman reported on a meeting organised by the C.E.W.C. in the County Hall on the previous evening which had been attended by 500 young people from London Youth clubs and schools, as well as representatives from many allied countries. An address on "Make this the last War" had been given by the Rt. Hon. Sir Archibald Sinclair, and a presentation of token gifts for relief and educational equipment had been made by British youth to young people from China, France, Holland, Jugoslavia and U.S.S.R. The proceedings at the meeting had been recorded for use on the Overseas Service of the B.B.C.

Regret was expressed that many members of the Executive had not been given an opportunity of attending this meeting and Miss Luffman was asked, when arranging similar meetings in future, to send announcements to all members of the Executive.

75. SPECIAL MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL. The Executive had before them the Agenda for the Meeting of the Council on April 5th and 6th, and it was agreed to ask members of the Executive to deal with the motions as follows:

Dumbarton Oaks Proposals. Miss Courtney to move and Lord Perth to second.

San Francisco Conference. Lord Cecil to move.

Future of the Union. Lord Lytton to move and to present Interim Report of Special Committee.

Attention was drawn to the tea party which was being arranged at the Livingstone Hall at 4.30 p.m. on April 5th, and the Secretary was asked to write to all the members of the Committee expressing the hope that as many of them as possible would be present to meet members of the Council. It was agreed that, in order

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to facilitate contact, members of the Executive should be asked to wear a distinguishing badge.

76. BRANCH RECOGNITION A new Branch of the Union at Salt-coats and District was formally recognised, and the fixing of the Union's seal to the certificate was authorised.
77. CORPORATE MEMBERSHIP. The Young People's Fellowship, Congregational Church, Handsworth, was admitted as a Corporate Member of the Union and the fixing of the Union's seal to the Certificate was authorised.



CHAIRMAN
April 19th, 1945

16.3.45.
S. 1227.

Proposals by Dr. Garnett for action to be taken by the Union within the next six months in order to secure the support of the British people for the post-war League.

- (1) That Mr. Judd or some other representative of the Union should immediately visit the Foreign Office, explain the following plan of action and, if it appeared to be welcome, he should
- (2) Visit the Ministry of Information and ask for all the help they might be willing to give. Then he should
- (3) Call upon the headquarters of as many as possible of the nation-wide organisations that might be willing to help, such as the Assembly of the Church of England; the other Christian denominations; other social and religious bodies; educational bodies; industrial and commercial associations; and so on; and ask them in particular
 - a. to devote a session of their next meetings - many such bodies meet in the month of May - to hearing a speech and, if possible, to a discussion on how they could best win the support of their members up and down the country;
 - b. to insert an article in their journal;
 - c. to take any other action they might think helpful, especially through local branches.
- (4) Send out a letter asking all the branches to visit the Mayors and Town Clerks and get them to call a meeting in each Town Hall for the purpose of commending the post-war League to the public.
- (5) Endeavour to obtain signed articles from leading members of the Union, including Lord Cecil, Lord Lytton, Professor Murray, Lord Perth and Vernon Bartlett, and try to secure as wide a publicity for these articles as possible in national and local newspapers.

In all the plans for this campaign emphasis might well be laid upon Lord Cranbourne's speech in the House of Lords when he linked the League of Nations with the Dumbarton Oaks proposals saying that "Surely the right line... was represented by the League of Nations and the Dumbarton Oaks proposals".

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNIONCONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 11 MAIDEN LANE, LONDON, W.C.2. ON THURSDAY, APRIL 19TH, 1945 AT 2.15 P.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Mr. W. Arnold, Professor Brodetsky, Lord Cecil, Miss K.D. Courtney, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Pawcett, Dr. M. Garnett, Lady Hall, Miss Hansell, Lady Layton, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Mr. J. Macdonald, Lord Perth, Mrs. Prior, Miss P. White, Professor Basil Williams and Mr. Judd.

78. MINUTES. Minutes of the meeting of March 22nd, 1945 were confirmed as circulated.
79. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.
- 70 - 54 - Albert Hall Meeting. the Chairman reported that he had written to the Prime Minister, inviting him to address a United Nations Meeting in the Albert Hall on June 14th.
80. DEATH OF PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT. The Chairman reported that he had already, in the name of the Executive, sent a telegram of condolence to Mrs. Roosevelt, and telegraphed a message of sympathy to Mr. Eichelberger, Secretary of the American L. of N. Society.
81. DEATH OF EARL LLOYD GEORGE OF DWYFOR. The Committee placed on record their deep regret at the death of Earl Lloyd George, a Vice-President of the Union. The Chairman was asked to send a message of condolence to Countess Lloyd George and Lady Megan Lloyd George.
82. DEATH OF MR. SAMWAYS. The Executive learned with much regret of the death of Mr. David Samways, who had for many years been the Secretary of the Welsh National Council. The Secretary was asked to convey the condolences of the Committee to Mrs. Samways.
83. AIR VICE-MARSHAL BENNETT. Copies of a recent book, "Freedom from War", by Air Vice-Marshal Bennett, containing proposals for the complete elimination of all national forces and the establishment of a single International Law Force, were given to members of the Committee. On the proposal of the Chairman it was decided to invite Air Vice-Marshal Bennett to discuss his scheme with the Committee at the next meeting.
84. SAN FRANCISCO CONFERENCE. (a) Churches. The Secretary reported that, in accordance with minute 72 (c) of the last meeting he had been in communication with the British Council of Churches who had arranged to hold a Public Service of Intercession for Reconstruction in St. Paul's Cathedral on the eve of the San Francisco Conference in which the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland and the Moderator of the Free Church Federal Council would take part

The hope was expressed that some members of the Executive would attend the Service.

The Secretary further reported that, in response to inquiries by several Branches, he had been in communication with the Archbishop's Chaplain regarding special Prayers in Churches on the Sunday preceding the San Francisco Conference. A letter was read from the Archbishop stating that he was "putting out a short notice calling attention to the Christian duty to pray for the San Francisco Conference and the others which would no doubt follow it". The hope was expressed that similar action would be taken by the Leaders of other denominations. Professor Brodetsky expressed his willingness to mention the matter to the Chief Rabbi, and the Secretary was asked to communicate with the Archbishop of Westminster's Chaplain.

(b) L.N.U. Observer. After reports had been made by the Chairman on his recent correspondence with Mr. Eden and by the Secretary on enquiries he had made at the M. of I., and after Miss Courtney had expressed her willingness to go to San Francisco, it was unanimously agreed that everything possible be done both in this country and with friends in America to secure the attendance of Miss Courtney at the Conference as a representative of HEADWAY. The Union would be responsible for Miss Courtney's expenses.

In the meantime, it was suggested that some of the journalists already on their way to San Francisco might be willing to contribute articles for HEADWAY on the opening stages of the Conference.

85. SPECIAL MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL. The Committee had before them a report of the Special Meeting of the General Council held on April 5th and 6th, 1945 (copy filed with these minutes). The Chairman stated that, immediately after the meeting, he had instructed the Secretary to send the resolutions dealing with San Francisco to Mr. Eden, and the Secretary reported that, in response to requests, the Council's decisions had also been communicated to the American, Uruguayan and Columbian Embassies. After discussion, it was agreed to send the resolutions to the Allied Governments interested in the work of the London International Assembly.

The Executive were reminded that, at the Council Meeting, it had been suggested from the platform that a summary of the discussion on the Voting Procedure in the Security Council should be forwarded to H.M.G. The Committee felt, however, that no useful purpose would be served by so doing.

Lord Lytton reported that the Ealing Branch had asked him for a considered reply to the series of amendments to the Dumbarton Oaks recommendations which the Branch had tabled for the Council but some of which had not been moved on the understanding that they would be considered by the Executive later. The Committee felt that, in present circumstances, no useful purpose would be served by calling another meeting of the Dumbarton Oaks sub-Committee to consider the Ealing amendments, and it was left to the Chairman to write to the Branch Secretary.

86. FINANCE COMMITTEE. In the absence of the Hon. Treasurer, Miss Courtney presented the minutes of a meeting of the Finance Committee held on April 4th (copy filed with these minutes). The minutes of the Finance Committee included (1) Staff, (2) Accounts, (3) Recommendations of the

Special Committee, (4) Cheques for payment, (5) Hooper Estate, (6) Opening of the Office on Saturdays. The recommendations of the Finance Committee were approved and adopted.

Arising from Minute 3, the Chairman said that the Special Committee that morning, with the concurrence of the Hon. Treasurer, had decided that the time had now arrived to spend a substantial part of the Union's resources in order once more to increase its membership and income from subscriptions. He felt that the Union owed a great debt to Mr. Syrett for the masterly way in which he had met all the liabilities with which the Union was faced in 1939 and, by means of severe economies in which the Office had fully co-operated, had managed to gather resources that would now be of the utmost value in any policy of expansion. The Special Committee fully agreed with Mr. Syrett that additional expenditure should be reasonable and controlled and that they should proceed step by step towards their goal. It was unanimously

RESOLVED: That the Committee places upon record the great debt it owes to the Hon. Treasurer for the manner in which he has conducted the financial affairs of the Union during the war.

The Chairman then presented the detailed recommendations of the Special Committee (copy filed with these minutes) which included (1) the appointment of an Appeals Officer, as a member of the Staff, to raise the Campaign Fund of £100,000, the appointment to be reviewed in the light of results, (2) provision for the appointment of five new Regional Officers (including salaries, rent of offices, travelling expenses and wages of clerks) and for equivalent expenditure in Scotland which for these purposes would be treated as a sixth region, (3) provision for the appointment, already agreed upon in principle, of a Publicity or Public Relations Officer, (4) provision for the appointment of Mr. Mills, already agreed upon, (5) provision for certain additional expenditure in the office on temporary staff, additional accommodation, etc., at an agreed rate for six months, to be reviewed after the appointments referred to in 3 and 4, and (6) provision for clerical and other assistance to the Publicity or Public Relations Officer, and Mr. Mills, from the time of their appointment.

In reply to questions, the Chairman said (a) that the Regional Officers must in the first instance be responsible only to the Secretary and that their relations with Regional Councils would be a matter for consideration by the Special Committee and Executive when those Regional Councils had been formed, (b) that it was not proposed to appoint five or six Regional Officers immediately. Enquiries for suitable candidates would be made by the Secretary in the Army Bureau of Current Affairs, the Ministry of Information and probably the Public Relations Divisions of other Government Departments; and he agreed that in any advertisements it should be stated that applications would be considered from suitable candidates engaged on national service and not yet available to take up work for the Union.

The recommendations were approved and adopted.

87. FUTURE OF THE UNION. (a) Report of Special Committee (see also Minute 86 above) The Chairman reported on the discussion which had taken place in the Special Committee that morning regarding the name of the new organisation and explained why it had not been possible

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for more rapid progress to be made in the matter. Lord Cecil expressed the hope that the Committee would consider very carefully before it selected the title of "United Nations Union" for the new organisation.

(b) C.E.W.C. In the absence of Mr. Nowell Smith, consideration of the Special Committee's report on the C.E.W.C. was further adjourned. The Chairman agreed that this matter should be considered without waiting for a meeting at which both Dr. Garnett and Mr. Nowell Smith were present if they were able to submit agreed recommendations.

88. FEEDING OF CIVIL POPULATIONS IN LIBERATED COUNTRIES AND U.N.F.P.A. The Executive had before them communications from Manchester District Council and Paisley Branch (adjourned from previous meetings). Having regard to the debates which had recently taken place in both Houses of Parliament on this subject, the Executive felt there was no further action they could take. But the Secretary was asked to enquire of the local organisations whether, in the light of the information given in the Parliamentary debates, they wished to express any further opinion or to suggest any action.
89. ANNUAL MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL. It was agreed that the Annual Meeting of the Council should be held on Thursday and Friday, July 12th and 13th.
90. C.E.W.C. In the absence of Dr. Murray and Mr. Nowell Smith the report on the work of the C.E.W.C. was adjourned until the next meeting.
91. REGIONAL CONFERENCE Mrs. Prior reported on the Regional Conference for East Anglia held at Chelmsford on March 20th at which addresses had been given by Miss Courtney and Mr. Judd and at which representatives of many of the Essex Branches had been present.
92. ALL-PARTY CONFERENCES. Reports on "All-Party Conferences" held at Southampton on April 12th and St. Albans on April 16th were given by Miss Courtney and Mr. Walker. The Executive were encouraged to hear of the highly satisfactory arrangements which the St. Albans Branch had made for their Conference and asked that a message of congratulation and thanks should be conveyed to them.
93. NEW PUBLICATIONS. The necessary permission for reproduction having been secured, it was agreed that the talk on "Justice among the Nations" recently given by the Dean of Chichester in the B.B.C. Series "People Matter", and the report of a B.B.C. discussion on Dumbarton Oaks in which Lord Winster, President Hambro and Sir Arthur Salter had taken part, should be reprinted as Union pamphlets.
94. BRANCH COMMUNICATIONS. (a) Framlingham. A letter was reported from the Secretary of the Framlingham Branch stating that any persistence along present lines of putting force first and justice second would make it extremely difficult for him and many other Branch Secretaries to continue to hold their positions. The Chairman pointed

-5-

out that what the Union had always advocated was force behind justice, and never force at the expense of justice.

(b) Bournville Works Branch. A resolution was reported from the Bournville Branch containing a message of congratulation and thanks to the Executive and staff for the form in which the Agenda for the Special Council Meeting was presented.

(c) Dartmouth Branch. A resolution adopted by the Dartmouth Branch on the subject of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals was reported.

95. CONFERENCE ON ETHIOPIAN AFFAIRS. The attention of the Committee was drawn to a Conference on Ethiopian Affairs to be held on April 20th in the Alliance Hall, S.W.1. Lady Layton stated that Miss Sylvia Pankhurst would address the Conference on her experiences during the three months she had recently spent in Ethiopia, and hoped that some members of the Executive would attend.

Layton

CHAIRMAN.

May 3rd 1945.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED, NONE CONTRADICTORY, BY THE GENERAL COUNCIL AT ITS SPECIAL MEETING, ON 5TH AND 6TH APRIL, 1945, AT THE LIVINGSTONE HALL, LONDON, S.W.1.

A. Policy

1. The General Council

Having considered the report of the Executive Committee on the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, the Council endorses the Committee's recommendations, as amended, for submission to H.M. Government.

2. The General Council of the League of Nations Union

- (1) Congratulates His Majesty's Government on having come to an agreement at the Crimea Conference with their principal Allies to give general approval to the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals for the establishment of a General International Organisation;
- (2) Welcomes the decision taken at that Conference to submit these proposals to a meeting of all the United Nations at San Francisco on April 25th and trusts that those Nations will give their support to a General International Organisation on the lines of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals.
- (3) The Council further desires to draw the attention of H.M. Government to certain suggestions for amending the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals which the Union has drafted, and trusts that H.M. Government will give the suggestions their favourable consideration.

B. Organisation

3. The General Council

Welcomes the proposals of the Special Committee to meet the need for a change of name by setting up a new organisation. It authorises the Executive Committee to take all necessary steps to this end, including the use of the Union's funds, on the understanding that the relations between the Union and the new organisation will be determined by the Council at its next meeting.

By a large majority it was resolved that the following words be added to this motion:

"But the Council regrets that in section 5 of the Interim Report it is proposed to change the rates of subscription."

APPENDIX A.

DUMBARTON OAKS CONVERSATIONS ON WORLD ORGANISATION.

*Recommendations by the League of Nations Union Executive Committee.**

The text of the "Statement of Tentative Draft Proposals" (Cmd. 6560) is set out below.

Where the Committee desires to suggest an amendment the official text is set out in the left-hand column and the suggested amendment in the right-hand column.

Certain Notes are attached and the clauses to which these refer are indicated below by reference numbers inserted in the text and an asterisk in the margin.

PROPOSALS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A
GENERAL INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION.

There should be established an international organisation under the title of The United Nations,⁽¹⁾ the Charter of which should contain provisions necessary to give effect to the proposals which follow.

There should be established an international organisation under the title of The United Nations,⁽¹⁾ the Charter of which should contain provisions necessary to give effect to the proposals which follow and should begin with the following Declaration:

"THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES, declaring that:

1. The principles of Freedom, Justice and Good Faith should govern all international relations;
2. Subject to any alterations made by agreement of the interested parties or under the provisions of this Charter, the territorial integrity and political independence of all nations should be respected; ⁽²⁾

3. Fundamental human rights and freedoms should be secured and respected;

have decided to establish an international organisation under the title of The United Nations."

* A summary of the Principal Suggestions made in these Recommendations with a commentary thereon, will be found in Appendix B.

CHAPTER I.—PURPOSES.

The purposes of the Organisation should be :

- (1) To maintain international peace and security ; and to that end to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace and the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace,

and to bring about by peaceful means adjustment or settlement of international disputes which may lead to a breach of the peace.

and to bring about by peaceful means adjustment or settlement of international disputes.

- (2) To develop friendly relations among nations and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace ;

(2) To develop friendly relations among nations and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace and to promote instruments of international co-operation ;⁽²⁾

★

- (3) To achieve international co-operation in the solution of international economic, social and other humanitarian problems ; and
- (4) To afford a centre for harmonising the actions of nations in the achievement of these common ends.

CHAPTER II.—PRINCIPLES.

In pursuit of the purposes mentioned in Chapter I the Organisation and its members should act in accordance with the following principles :

- (1) The Organisation is based on the principle of the sovereign equality⁽³⁾ of all peace-loving States.

(1) The Organisation is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all States members of the Organisation.

- (2) All members of the Organisation undertake, in order to ensure to all of them the rights and benefits resulting from membership in the Organisation, to fulfil the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the Charter.

- (3) All members of the Organisation shall settle their disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security are not endangered.

(3) All members of the Organisation shall settle their disputes by peaceful means.

- (4) All members of the Organisation shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the Organisation.

- (5) All members of the Organisation shall give every assistance to the Organisation in any action undertaken by it in accordance with the provisions of the Charter.

- (6) All members of the Organisation shall refrain from giving assistance to any State against which preventive or enforcement action is being undertaken by the Organisation.

The Organisation should ensure that States not members of the Organisation act in accordance with these principles so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security.

CHAPTER III.—MEMBERSHIP.

Membership of the Organisation should be open to all peace-loving States.

Membership of the Organisation should be open to all peace-loving States who are prepared to comply with the principles laid down in this Charter.

CHAPTER IV.—PRINCIPAL ORGANS.

- (1) The Organisation should have as its principal organs :

- (a) A General Assembly ;
(b) A Security Council ;
(c) An International Court of Justice ;
and
(d) A Secretariat.

- (a) A General Assembly ;
(b) A Security Council ;
(c) An International Court of Justice ;
(d) An Economic and Social Council ;
and
(e) A Secretariat.

- (2) The Organisation should have such subsidiary agencies as may be found necessary.

(3) All proceedings of the General Assembly and of the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and the various agencies and committees should, unless otherwise decided, be in public.

CHAPTER V.—THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

(A) Composition.

All members of the Organisation should be members of the General Assembly and should have a number of representatives to be specified in the Charter.

(B) Functions and Powers.

- (1)⁽⁴⁾ The General Assembly should have the right to consider the general principles of co-operation in the maintenance of international peace and security including the principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments ; to discuss any questions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security brought before it by any member or members of the Organisation or by the Security Council ; and to make recommendations with regard to any such principles or questions.

Any such questions on which action is necessary should be referred to the Security Council by the General Assembly either before or after discussion.

★ The General Assembly should not on its own initiative⁽⁵⁾ make recommendations on any matter relating to the maintenance of international peace and security which is being dealt with by the Security Council.

The General Assembly, while retaining the right of general discussion, should not on its own initiative⁽⁵⁾ make recommendations on any matter relating to the maintenance of international peace and security which is being dealt with by the Security Council.

(2) The General Assembly be empowered to admit new members of the Organisation upon recommendation of the Security Council.

(3) The General Assembly should, upon recommendation of the Security Council, be empowered to suspend from the exercise of any rights or privileges of membership any member of the Organisation against which preventive or enforcement action shall have been taken by the Security Council.

The exercise of the rights and privileges thus suspended may be restored by decision of the Security Council.

The exercise of the rights and privileges thus suspended may be restored by the Security Council who shall forthwith report any action they have taken to the Assembly.

The General Assembly should be empowered upon recommendation of the Security Council to expel from the Organisation any member of the Organisation which persistently violates the principles contained in the Charter.

★ (4) The General Assembly should elect the non-permanent members⁽⁶⁾ of the Security Council and the members of the Economic and Social Council provided for in Chapter IX. It should be empowered to elect upon recommendation of the Security Council, the Secretary-General of the Organisation. It should perform such functions in relation to the election of the Judges of the International Court of Justice as may be conferred upon it by the Statute of the Court.

(5) The General Assembly should apportion the expenses among the members of the Organisation and should be empowered to approve the budgets of the Organisation.

★ (6) The General Assembly should initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of promoting international co-operation in political, economic and social fields and of adjusting situations likely to impair the general welfare.

★ (7) The General Assembly should make recommendations for the co-ordination of the policies of international economic, social and other specialised agencies brought into relation with the Organisation in accordance with agreements between such agencies and the Organisation.

(8) The General Assembly should receive and consider annual and special reports from the Security Council and reports from other bodies of the Organisation.

(C) *Voting.*

- (1) Each member of the Organisation should have one vote in the General Assembly.
- (2) Important decisions of the General Assembly, including recommendations with respect to the maintenance of international peace and security; the election of members of the Security Council; election of members of the Economic and Social Council; admission of members, suspension of the exercise of the rights and privileges of members, and expulsion of members; and budgetary questions should be made by a two-thirds majority of those present and voting. On other questions, including the determination of additional categories of questions to be decided by a two-thirds majority, the decisions of the General Assembly should be made by a simple majority vote.

(D) *Procedure.*

- (1) The General Assembly should meet in regular annual sessions and in such special sessions as occasion may require.
- (2) The General Assembly should adopt its own rules of procedure and elect its president for each session.
- (3) The General Assembly should be empowered to set up such bodies and agencies as it may deem necessary for the performance of its functions.

CHAPTER VI.—THE SECURITY COUNCIL.

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(A) *Composition* ⁽⁶⁾.

The Security Council should consist of one representative of each of eleven members of the Organisation. Representatives of the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Republic of China, and in due course France, should have permanent seats. The General Assembly should elect six States to fill the non-permanent seats.

These six States should be elected for a term of two years, three retiring each year. They should not be immediately eligible for re-election. In the first election of the non-permanent members three should be chosen by the General Assembly for one-year terms and three for two-year terms.

These six States should be elected for a term of three years, two retiring each year. They should not be immediately eligible for re-election. In the first election of the non-permanent members two should be chosen by the General Assembly for one-year terms, two for two-year terms, and two for three-year terms.

(B) *Principal Functions and Powers.*

- (1) In order to ensure prompt and effective action by the Organisation, members of the Organisation should by the Charter confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security and should agree that in carrying out these duties under this responsibility it should act on their behalf.

- (2) In discharging these duties the Security Council should act in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Organisation.
- (3) The specific powers conferred on the Security Council in order to carry out these duties are laid down in Chapter VIII.
- (4) All members of the Organisation should obligate themselves to accept the decisions of the Security Council and to carry them out in accordance with the provisions of the Charter.
- (5) In order to promote the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security with the least diversion of the world's human and economic resources for armaments, the Security Council, with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee referred to in Chapter VIII, Section (B), paragraph 9, should have the responsibility for formulating plans for the establishment of a system of regulation of armaments for submission to the members of the Organisation.

(C) *Voting.*

(NOTE.—The question of voting procedure in the Security Council is still under consideration.)

[Since the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals were published, President Roosevelt, Marshal Stalin and Mr. Churchill, at the Crimea Conference, have agreed upon the following formula :

- (1) Each member of the Security Council should have one vote.
- (2) Decisions of the Security Council on procedural matters should be made by an affirmative vote of seven members.
- (3) Decisions of the Security Council on all other matters should be made by an affirmative vote of seven members, including the concurring votes of the permanent members; provided that, in decisions under Chapter 8, section A, and under the second sentence of paragraph 1 of Chapter 8, section C, a party to a dispute should abstain from voting.]

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NOTE:—

Having regard to the decisions on voting in the Security Council arrived at by the Crimea Conference, the General Council of the League of Nations Union insists that the broad principle that no one should be judge in his own cause is of grave importance, and urges that the Crimea formula on voting procedure be not regarded as definitive and unalterable but be further considered at San Francisco. If, however, the Crimea formula is adopted at San Francisco, the League of Nations Union hopes that the arrangement will be reviewed from time to time in the light of experience gained.]

(D) *Procedure.*

- (1) The Security Council should be so organised as to be able to function continuously and each State member of the Security Council should be permanently represented ⁽⁷⁾ at the headquarters of the Organisation. It may hold meetings at such other places as in its judgment may best facilitate its work.
- ★ There should be periodic meetings ⁽⁸⁾ at which each State member of the Security Council could, if it so desired, be represented by a member of the Government or some other special representative.
- (2) The Security Council should be empowered to set up such bodies or agencies as it may deem necessary for the performance of its functions, including regional sub-committees of the Military Staff Committee.
- (3) The Security Council should adopt its own rules of procedure, including the method of selecting its President.
- (4) Any member of the Organisation should participate in the discussion of any question brought before the Security Council whenever the Security Council considers that the interests of that member of the Organisation are specially affected.
- (5) Any member of the Organisation not having a seat on the Security Council and any State not a member of the Organisation, if it is a party to a dispute under consideration by the Security Council, should be invited to participate in the discussion relating to the dispute.

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CHAPTER VII.—AN INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE.

- (1) There should be an International Court of Justice which should constitute the principal judicial organ of the Organisation.
- (2) The Court should be constituted and should function in accordance with a Statute which should be annexed to and be a part of the Charter of the Organisation.
- (3) The Statute of the Court of International Justice should be either (a) the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, continued in force with such modifications as may be desirable, or (b) a new Statute in the preparation of which the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice should be used as a basis.
- (4) All members of the Organisation should, *ipso facto*, be parties to the Statute of the International Court of Justice.
- (5) Conditions under which States not members of the Organisation may become parties to the Statute of the International Court of Justice should be determined in each case by the General Assembly upon recommendation of the Security Council.

CHAPTER VIII.—ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY, INCLUDING PREVENTION AND SUPPRESSION OF AGGRESSION.

(A) *Pacific Settlement of Disputes.*

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| <p>(1) The Security Council should be empowered to investigate any dispute, or any situation which may lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute, in order to determine whether its continuance is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security.</p> <p>★</p> | <p>(1) The Security Council should be empowered to investigate any dispute, or any situation which may, in its opinion, (9) lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute in order to determine whether its continuance is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security.</p> |
| <p>(2) Any State, whether member of the Organisation or not, may bring any such dispute or situation to the attention of the General Assembly or of the Security Council.</p> | <p>(3) The parties to any dispute should obligate themselves, first of all, to seek a solution by negotiation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement, or other peaceful means of their own choice. The Security Council should call upon the parties to settle their dispute by such means.</p> |
| <p>(3) The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, should obligate themselves, first of all, to seek a solution by negotiation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement, or other peaceful means of their own choice. The Security Council should call upon the parties to settle their dispute by such means.</p> | <p>(3) The parties to any dispute should obligate themselves, first of all, to seek a solution by negotiation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement, or other peaceful means of their own choice. The Security Council may call upon the parties to settle their dispute by such means.</p> |

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| <p>(4) If, nevertheless, parties to a dispute of the nature referred to in paragraph 3 above fail to settle it by the means indicated in that paragraph, they should obligate themselves to refer it to the Security Council. The Security Council should in each case decide whether or not the continuance of the particular dispute is in fact likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security and, accordingly, whether the Security Council should deal with the dispute, and, if so, whether it should take action under paragraph 5.</p> | <p>(4) If, nevertheless, parties to a dispute fail to settle it by the means indicated in paragraph 3, they should obligate themselves to refer it to the Security Council.</p> |
| <p>(5) The Security Council should be empowered at any stage of a dispute of the nature referred to in paragraph 3 above to recommend appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment.</p> | <p>(5) The Security Council should be empowered at any stage of a dispute to recommend appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment.</p> |
| <p>(6) Justiciable disputes should normally be referred to the International Court of Justice. The Security Council should be empowered to refer to the Court for advice legal questions connected with other disputes.</p> | <p>(7) The provisions of paragraphs 1-6 of Section (A) should not apply to situations or disputes arising out of matters which are solely the domestic concern of the State in question.</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>L in the opinion of the Security Council</i></p> |
| <p>(B) <i>Determination of threats to the peace or acts of aggression, and action with respect thereto.</i></p> <p>(1) Should the Security Council deem that a failure to settle a dispute in accordance with the procedures indicated in paragraph 3 of Section A, or in accordance with its recommendations made under paragraph 5 of Section A, constitutes a threat to the maintenance of international peace and security, it should take any measures necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Organisation.</p> <p>(2) (10) In general the Security Council should determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression, and should make recommendations or decide upon the measures to be taken to maintain or restore peace and security.</p> <p>★</p> <p>(3) The Security Council should be empowered to determine what diplomatic, economic or other measures not involving the use of armed force should be employed to give</p> | <p>(7) The provisions of paragraphs 1-6 of Section (A) should not apply to situations or disputes arising out of matters which are solely the domestic concern of the State in question.</p> |

effect to its decisions, and to call upon members of the Organisation to apply such measures. Such measures may include complete or partial interruption of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic and economic relations.

- (4) Should the Security Council consider such measures to be inadequate, it should be empowered to take such action by air, naval or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such action may include demonstrations, blockade and other operations by air, sea or land forces of members of the Organisation.

(5) In order that all members of the Organisation should contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, they should undertake to make available to the Security Council, on its call and in accordance with a special agreement or agreements concluded among themselves, armed forces, ⁽¹¹⁾ facilities and assistance necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security. Such agreement or agreements should govern the numbers and types of forces and the nature of the facilities and assistance to be provided. The special agreement or agreements should be negotiated as soon as possible, and should in each case be subject to approval by the Security Council and to ratification by the Signatory States in accordance with their constitutional processes.

- (6) In order to enable urgent military measures to be taken by the Organisation, there should be held immediately available by the members of the Organisation national Air Force contingents ⁽¹¹⁾ for combined international enforcement action. The strength and degree of readiness of these contingents and plans for their combined action should be determined by the Security Council, with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee, within the limits laid down in the special agreement or agreements referred to in paragraph (5) above.

The urgent military measures thus provided for should not necessarily be regarded as a full discharge of the obligations of the signatory States. They should also undertake to carry out such further measures as may be required for full enforcement of the Organisation's purpose.

- (7) The action required to carry out the decisions of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security should be taken by all the members of the Organisation in co-operation or by some of them as the Security Council may determine. This undertaking should be carried out by the members of the Organisation by their own action and through action of the appropriate specialised Organisations and agencies of which they are members.

- (8) Plans for the application of armed force should be made by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee referred to in paragraph (9) below.

(9) There should be established a Military Staff Committee, the functions of which should be

(9) Subject always to the over-riding responsibility of the Security Council, there should be established a Military Staff Committee, the functions of which should be

to advise and assist the Security Council on all questions relating to the Security Council's military requirements for the maintenance of international peace and security, to the employment and command of forces placed at its disposal, to the regulation of armaments and to possible disarmament. It should be responsible under the Security Council for the strategic direction of any armed forces placed at the disposal of the Security Council. The Committee should be composed of the Chiefs of Staff of the permanent members of the Security Council or their representatives. Any member of the Organisation not permanently represented on the Committee should be invited by the Committee to be associated with it when the efficient discharge of the Committee's responsibilities requires that such a State should participate in its work. Questions of command of forces should be worked out subsequently.

- (10) The members of the Organisation should join in affording mutual assistance in carrying out the measures decided upon by the Security Council.

- (11) Any State, whether a member of the Organisation or not, which finds itself confronted with special economic problems arising from the carrying out of measures which have been decided upon by the Security Council should have the right to consult the Security Council in regard to a solution of those problems.

(C) Regional Arrangements.

(C) Regional Security Arrangements.

- (1) Nothing in the Charter should preclude the existence of regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with such matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action, provided such arrangements or agencies and their activities are consistent with the purposes and principles of the Organisation. The Security Council should encourage settlement of local disputes

* The word "Security" is inserted here in order to emphasize in Chapter IX A. the importance of establishing regional agencies for international economic and social co-operation.

through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies either on the initiative of the States concerned or by reference from the Security Council.

- (2) The Security Council should, where appropriate, utilise such arrangements or agencies for enforcement action under its authority but no enforcement action should be taken under regional arrangements or by regional agencies without the authorisation of the Security Council.
- (3) The Security Council should at all times be kept fully informed of activities undertaken or in contemplation under regional arrangements or by regional agencies for the maintenance of international peace and security.

CHAPTER IX.—ARRANGEMENTS FOR INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CO-OPERATION.

(A) Purpose and Relationships.

- (1) With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations, the Organisation should facilitate solutions of international economic, social and other humanitarian problems and promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.* (12) Responsibility for the discharge of this function should be vested in the General Assembly and under the authority of the General Assembly in an Economic and Social Council.
- (2) The various specialised economic, social and other organisations and agencies would have responsibilities in their respective fields as defined in their statutes. Each such organisation or agency should be brought into relationship with the Organisation on terms to be determined by agreement between the Economic and Social Council and the appropriate authorities of the specialised organisation or agency, subject to approval by the General Assembly.

- (3) Regional arrangements might also be made and regional agencies might be set up for dealing with matters concerned with international economic and social co-operation.

(B) Composition and Voting.

The Economic and Social Council should consist of representatives of 18 members of the Organisation. The States to be represented for this purpose should be elected by the General Assembly for terms of three years. Each such State should have one representative, who should have one vote. Decisions of the Economic and Social Council should be taken by simple majority vote of those present and voting.

(C) Functions and powers of the Economic and Social Council.

The Economic and Social Council should be empowered:

- (a) To carry out, within the scope of its functions, recommendations of the General Assembly.

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* The attention of H.M. Government is especially invited to the detailed suggestions in Note 12, pp. 22 + 23

- ★ (b) (13) To make recommendations on its own initiative with respect to international, economic, social and other humanitarian matters.

- ★ (c) (13) To receive and consider reports from the economic, social and other organisations or agencies brought into relationship with the Organisation, and to co-ordinate their activities through consultations with, and recommendations to, such organisations or agencies.

- (d) To examine the administrative budgets of such specialised organisations or agencies with a view of making recommendations to the organisations or agencies concerned.

- (e) To enable the Secretary-General to provide information to the Security Council.

- (f) To assist the Security Council upon its request; and

- (g) To perform such other functions within the general scope of its competence as may be assigned to it by the General Assembly.

(D) Organisation and Procedure.

- ★ (1) (13) The Economic and Social Council should set up an Economic Commission, a Social Commission, and such other Commissions as may be required. These Commissions should consist of experts. There should be a permanent staff which should constitute a part of the Secretariat of the Organisation.

- (2) The Economic and Social Council should also set up an expert and impartial committee whose work should be

- (a) to assume the duties of the Permanent Mandates Commission; and

- (b) to receive and publish reports from regional bodies established for colonial co-operation between the States ruling colonial dependencies.

- (3) (Original 2). The Economic and Social Council should make suitable arrangements for representatives of the specialised organisations or agencies to participate without vote in its deliberations and in those of the commissions established by it.

- (4) (Original 3). The Economic and Social Council should adopt its own rules of procedure and the method of selecting its president.

CHAPTER X.—THE SECRETARIAT.

- (1) There should be a secretariat comprising a Secretary-General and such staff as may be required. The Secretary-General should be the chief administrative officer of the Organisation. He should be elected by the General Assembly on recommendation

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of the Security Council, for such term and under such conditions as are specified in the Charter.

- (2) The Secretary-General should act in that capacity in all meetings of the General Assembly, of the Security Council, and of the Economic and Social Council, and should make an annual report to the General Assembly on the work of the Organisation.
- (3) The Secretary-General should have the right to bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten international peace and security.

- (4) The Secretary-General should arrange for the publication and registration of all international treaties and agreements. No treaty should be considered binding which is not so published, with the exception of treaties, such as those dealing with military matters, especially allowed to remain secret by the Security Council.

CHAPTER XI.—AMENDMENTS.

Amendments should come into force for all members of the Organisation when they have been adopted by a vote of two-thirds of the members of the General Assembly and ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by the members of the Organisation having permanent membership on the Security Council and by a majority of the other members of the Organisation.

CHAPTER XII.—TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS.

- (1) Pending the coming into force of the special agreement or agreements referred to in Chapter VIII, Section (B), paragraph (5), and in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 5 of the Four-Nation Declaration, signed at Moscow October 30, 1943, the States parties to that declaration should consult with one another and as occasion arises with other members of the Organisation with a view to such joint action on behalf of the Organisation as may be necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security.
- (2) No provision of the Charter should preclude action taken or authorised in relation to enemy States as a result of the present war by the Governments having responsibility for such action.

NOTES.

1. TITLE.

The phrase "The United Nations" does not seem to us the most appropriate title for a permanent international organisation. During the war this phrase has been used to describe the nations allied in war against the Axis Powers, and whilst these

nations will no doubt constitute the original members of the new organisation, a phrase less definitely associated with that alliance would seem to us more appropriate for a body which will eventually include both neutral and ex-enemy States.

2. Whilst we agree with what is said in paragraph 16 of the official Commentary about the undesirability of stabilising the *status quo* for all time, we think nevertheless that some further provision is required in the Charter to enable the Security Council to take cognizance of threats to or attacks on the political independence of member States. We have therefore inserted here a modified form of Article 10 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, substituting the word "respected" for "preserved," thus making it a general directive rather than a specific undertaking. At the same time, we welcome every provision of the Charter which will make more effective the political "interdependence" of the member States. We have for that reason proposed in I (2) the addition of words to suggest that these separate, independent sovereign States should use the Organisation to foster the growth of a greater unity in the future.

3. CHAPTER II (1).

The words "sovereign equality of all peace-loving States" are in our opinion too vague. Neither "sovereign equality" nor "peace-loving" are capable of precise definition. We presume that what is meant is that membership of the Organisation shall be confined to such States as indicate their love of peace by accepting the objects and principles of the Charter, and that the sovereignty of all States members shall be equal, *i.e.*, they will be equally entitled to the benefits and equally subject to the obligations of the Charter.

4. CHAPTER V, B (1).

We suggest that paragraphs 1, 6 and 7 of the Section might with advantage be brought together as they appear to be closely related.

5. CHAPTER V, B (1).

The words "on its own initiative" are not quite clear. We presume that it is not intended to deprive the Assembly of the right of discussing any question affecting the maintenance of international peace even when it is being considered by the Security Council, but only to debar it from making recommendations for a settlement unless invited to do so by the Council.

6. CHAPTER VI, A.

We suggest that in order to meet unforeseen circumstances greater flexibility might be desirable in the arrangements for permanent and non-permanent members of the Council, and that it might be more satisfactory if these arrangements could be altered, if so desired, in accordance with some special provision inserted in the Charter for that purpose, rather than by the more cumbersome method of amending the Charter itself.

One difficulty in particular seems to us likely to arise, when we remember what happened in the early days of the League, if no provision is made for Powers of middle

size to be re-eligible. We therefore suggest that a fixed proportion of the non-permanent members might be made eligible for immediate re-election.

7. and 8. CHAPTER VI, D.—*Procedure.*

We wish to draw attention to the danger that a permanent representative at the headquarters of the Organisation may tend to be regarded as a subordinate diplomatic agent. We think it is improbable that "experienced and well-known statesmen" (as suggested in the official Commentary) will be found to reside permanently at the headquarters of the Organisation.

The words we propose to add to this section are due to our wish to emphasise the importance of Ministers of Cabinet rank attending all the meetings of the Security Council whenever matters of real importance are likely to be discussed and not only the regular periodic meetings.

9. CHAPTER VIII, A (1).—*Pacific Settlement of Disputes.*

As this clause is drafted, it is not stated who is to decide whether any dispute or situation "is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security." We suggest therefore that the Security Council itself should be the deciding authority.

10. CHAPTER VIII, B (2).

It is not clear to us why this paragraph is necessary as it seems only to repeat in different words what has already been said in B (1).

11. CHAPTER VIII, B (5) and (6).

See "Principal Suggestions concerning the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals."

12. CHAPTER IX, A (1).

See "Principal Suggestions concerning the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals."

13. CHAPTER IX, C (b) and (c) and D (1).

See "Principal Suggestions concerning the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals."

APPENDIX B.

Principal Suggestions concerning the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals.

I. DECLARATION.

In order that the Charter may set forth at the outset the fundamental ideas of The United Nations we suggest that it should begin with a Declaration; and we believe that the inclusion of such a Declaration would be of value in securing for the new Organisation the support of public opinion upon which its success must ultimately depend.

2. GROWTH.

We believe that the individual, separate sovereign States should use this Organisation to foster the growth of a greater unity in the future. We, therefore, suggest an addition to Clause (2) of Chapter I; and we suggest below (N) that the national armed contingents at the disposal of the Organisation should so work together in peace that they may not only be effective in suppressing aggression but lead eventually to the formation of an international force.

CHAPTERS I AND VIII.

3. In every case in which proposals are made for bringing about the settlement of international disputes, these are defined as "disputes which may lead to a breach of the peace." We suggest that the purpose of the Organisation should be "to bring about by peaceful means adjustment or settlement of international disputes, whether or not they are deemed likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security." This would require amendment of Chapter I (1) and to Chapter VIII A (1), (3), (4) and (5).

CHAPTER IV.

4. In view of the very great importance of the Economic and Social Council we suggest that it should be included in the principal organs enumerated in Chapter IV.

5. We also propose that in this chapter a clause should be added stating that "all proceedings of the General Assembly and the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and the various agencies and committees should, unless otherwise decided, be in public."

CHAPTER V.

6. We trust it is intended that the General Assembly should retain the right of general discussion on matters concerning the maintenance of peace and security even when these are being dealt with by the Security Council, and we therefore suggest that the last lines of Chapter V, B (1) should read: "The General Assembly, while retaining the right of general discussion, should not on its own initiative, &c. . . ."

CHAPTER VI.

7. Suggestions for voting procedure in the Security Council were drafted by the Union's Executive for submission to the General Council of the Union before the proposals of the Crimea Conference on the subject were announced. Having considered the proposals of the Crimea Conference, the General Council passed the resolution contained in the Note on Chapter VI (C), page 10.

8. In this Chapter (Section D) we wish to emphasise the importance of Ministers of Cabinet rank attending all the meetings of the Security Council whenever matters of real importance are likely to be discussed, and not only the regular periodic meetings. No doubt care will be taken to ensure that the arrangements made at the Crimea Conference " for regular consultation between the Foreign Secretaries " of the principal allied powers do not conflict with the jurisdiction of the Security Council. Indeed, we hope that the meetings of the Security Council, when it is established, might normally provide the opportunity for such consultation.

CHAPTER VIII.

9. It appears to us that the arrangements in Chapter VIII B (5) under which the Security Council is to be able to call upon the armed forces, &c., of the member States requires some further elucidation. We suggest that the special agreements suggested should not be concluded amongst the members themselves, but should be negotiated by the Security Council with all members as soon as possible. Further, we propose that the urgent military measures thus provided for should not necessarily be regarded as a full discharge of the obligations of the signatory States. They should also undertake to carry out such further measures as may be required for full enforcement of the Organisation's purpose.

We trust that the armed forces mentioned in this paragraph—the air forces, and also when practicable the sea and land forces—will in peace-time arrange for such co-operation, by means of exercises, manoeuvres, &c., as will enable them to act speedily and effectively should an international crisis necessitating their employment arise. We also express the hope that the successful employment of co-operating national contingents may ~~before long lead to~~ the creation of a genuinely international force, recruited by, paid by, and under the orders of the Organisation itself.

(to be applied
at the earliest
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We assume that, pending the creation of an international force, the national contingents referred to in this paragraph would be available for immediate use without the special consent of the countries concerned.

10. We notice that clause (7) would place outside the provisions by which the Security Council is to maintain international peace and security all disputes described as " arising out of matters which by international law are solely within the domestic jurisdiction of the State concerned." We do not feel that this would be satisfactory. Many matters within the domestic jurisdiction of States may well give rise to dangerous international situations. We therefore suggest that the excepted disputes should be only those " arising out of matters which are solely the domestic concern of the State in question."

CHAPTER IX.

11. We believe that regional arrangements and regional agencies might, with advantage, be set up for dealing with matters concerned with international economic and social co-operation.

12. We are glad to note that the official Commentary (paragraph 47) emphasises the importance of promoting respect for " human rights and fundamental freedoms " (Chapter IX, A). We realise that the rights of the individual cannot be secured by

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merely making a list of them and getting that list accepted in principle by the Governments of many nations. What is needed is effective means of redress when they are violated. Such redress must in the main be provided by the process of law in each country. We think, however, that the starting point of any guardianship of human rights by an international organisation is an acceptable statement of such rights as can and should be protected. We therefore hope that the Assembly will endeavour to secure the embodiment in the form of an international convention of such matters as freedom of worship, freedom of speech and writing, freedom of association, equality before the law with safeguards against arbitrary arrest and imprisonment; and that it will further be at pains to ensure that such rights and freedoms are secured by legislation and enforced by courts of law in the countries the governments of which have ratified the convention. Lastly, the existence of such an international convention would, by making them of international concern, justify the intervention of the Assembly in cases of extreme or sustained violation of these human rights and freedoms by administrative action, or denial of them by legislation.

13. We understand clauses C (b) and (c) and D (1) to mean that the Economic and Social Council will discharge, in relation to the various economic and social activities of the United Nations organisation, the functions which used to be carried out by the League of Nations Council, such as receiving reports, and making suggestions for the organisation and co-ordination of the expert committees. The " Recommendations on its own initiative " of the Economic and Social Council would, we assume, be of the nature of suggestions to the Assembly or to the expert bodies, not that of engaging on its own initiative in technical activities which its membership could not be qualified to fulfil.

The most important existent body of the sort described in C (c) is the International Labour Organisation. We are anxious that the autonomy of the I.L.O. should be preserved, particularly in regard to its present practice of communicating directly with Governments such matters as the Draft Conventions and Recommendations adopted at its Annual Conferences. We have already proposed that the Economic and Social Council should be made one of the principal organs of the United Nations Organisation and, subject to what we have said above, we think that the I.L.O. is one of the organs of international co-operation which should be brought within the sphere of its functions.

The Economic and Social Council will no doubt in the same way be concerned with the work of any technical organisations, such as the Health Section, which may be taken over from the League of Nations, other official international bodies which exist or may be set up to deal with specific problems such as U.N.R.R.A., the Food and Agriculture Commission, and educational and financial organisations, all of which should be brought under the aegis of the United Nations Organisation. In every case, the best method—as was amply proved by League of Nations experience—is to allow the utmost degree of expert and functional independence to the special bodies set up for specific problems; combined with a necessary degree of technical co-operation, to weld related activities together and to prevent overlapping or rivalry. This should in our view be the task of the Economic and Social Council as determined by the discussions of the Assembly.

14. We should also like to suggest that the Economic and Social Council should set up an expert and impartial committee whose work should be (a) to assume the duties of the Permanent Mandates Commission and (b) to receive and publish reports from regional bodies established for colonial co-operation between the States ruling colonial dependencies.

CHAPTER VI.

15. Lastly, we should wish to see the arrangements for securing and maintaining justice somewhat more developed. We have suggested that in the case of political disputes an *ad hoc* committee might be set up to make proposals for a decision on an equitable basis.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 11 MAIDEN LANE, LONDON, W.C.2. ON THURSDAY, MAY 3RD, 1945 AT 2.15 P.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Lord Cecil, Dr. Hilda Clark, Miss K.D. Courtney, Miss P. Fawcett, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Miss Hansell, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Mr. J. Macdonald, Dr. Gilbert Murray, Mrs. Prior, Professor Seton-Watson, Mr. Nowell C. Smith, Mr. H.S. Syrett, Mr. Alan Thomas, Miss Freda White, Professor Basil Williams and Mr. Judd.

96. MINUTES. Minutes of the meeting of April 19th, 1945 were confirmed as circulated.

97. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

- 80 - Death of President Roosevelt, messages of thanks for the Union's condolences were read from Mr. Eichelberger and Mrs. Sargent Florence.
- 81 - Death of Mr. Samways, a letter thanking the Executive for their message of sympathy was read from Mrs. Samways.
- 84 - San Francisco Conference - Churches, enquiries had been made of the Archbishop of Westminster's Chaplain who had stated that at the request of the Pope all devotions in May would be offered up throughout the world for universal peace.
- 85 - Special Meeting of General Council, a letter was read from the Foreign Office, acknowledging with thanks the resolutions adopted by the General Council on the San Francisco Conference and Dumbarton Oaks Proposals. A request had since been received from the Foreign Office for additional copies of the Council's decisions for communication to every member of the British delegation.

The Chairman reported that he had written to the Ealing Branch commenting in detail on the amendments to the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals which they had tabled for the General Council.

98. SAN FRANCISCO CONFERENCE - L.N.U. PRESS REPRESENTATIVE. The Executive were delighted to hear that, with the help of the Foreign Office, arrangements had been concluded for Miss Courtney to attend the San Francisco Conference as a representative of HEADWAY, and that she would leave on the following day. The Chairman expressed to Miss Courtney the Committee's great appreciation of her courage and energy in undertaking the journey at such short notice, and their best wishes for the success of her mission.

In reply to Miss White, the Secretary said it was hoped that Miss Courtney would be able to secure for the Union copies of all the documents issued to the World Security Conference. He was also in communication with the United Nations Information Office on the subject.

99. FINANCE COMMITTEE. (a) Opening of Office on Saturdays. Mr. Syrett reported that, in accordance with the decision taken at the last meeting, the office would in future be open on Saturday mornings, and that a rota would be prepared providing for members of the staff to attend the office on one Saturday in three. On the suggestion of Mr. Syrett the Secretary was authorised to make such arrangements as would enable members of the staff with household responsibilities to have alternative time for shopping when they were called upon to work on Saturday mornings.
- (b) Annual Leave. It was agreed that the minimum scale of annual leave in operation before the war (three weeks) should be restored; and after further discussion the Executive recommended for Mr. Syrett's consideration that senior members of the staff should be granted four weeks annual leave.
100. V.E. DAY. It was agreed that the office be closed on V.E. Day and the day following, and that members of Committees be informed that any meetings due to be held on either of those days would be abandoned.
101. AIR VICE MARSHAL BENNETT. Lord Lytton, on behalf of the Executive, warmly welcomed Air Vice Marshal Bennett and said what immense pleasure and gratification it had afforded the Committee to know that the cause of the abolition of war and the establishment of permanent peace had the support of a Serving Officer of such high rank and reputation. Questions on various aspects of the Air Vice Marshal's scheme were submitted to him by the Chairman and many other members of the Committee, to all of which he replied in detail. He was cordially thanked by the Chairman for having given the Executive the opportunity of discussing the proposals with him, and Lord Lytton promised that the Committee, at its next meeting, would carefully consider the proposals and the possible action which the Union might take in regard to them.
102. ALBERT HALL MEETING. The Chairman reported a telegram from the Prime Minister regretting his inability to address the proposed Albert Hall Meeting on June 14th. The Special Committee had discussed the matter at great length earlier in the day, particularly having regard to the short interval of time left for publicity and organisation, the probability that the San Francisco Conference would still be in session on June 14th, and the impending General Election. Several members were, in all the circumstances, reluctant to proceed with the Albert Hall Meeting, while others felt that such a unique opportunity for enlisting public support for the new international organisation ought not to be lost. After considerable discussion, it was finally agreed to invite Mr. Eden to address a Meeting in the Albert Hall on June 14th. The Chairman was asked to communicate the invitation to the Foreign Secretary immediately and to ask him to be good enough to let the Committee have his reply before the next meeting on May 17th.
103. C.E.W.C. (a) Constitution. After Dr. Garnett, Dr. Murray and Mr. Howell Smith had spoken, it was agreed that the following proposals for the amendment of the C.E.W.C. Constitution be submitted to the Management Committee:
- To modify the second numbered paragraph (on Membership) to give the Union five representatives instead of one on the C.E.W.C.
- To provide in the third numbered paragraph (on Management Committee) for the Management Committee to include not less than two of the Union's

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representatives on the C.E.W.C.

(b) Activities. Miss Luffman reported on recent Conferences which the C.E.W.C. had held in Edinburgh and in Sheffield. Further Conferences were due to take place in Kingston and Oxford in the near future, and a number of International Friendship Concerts, with artistes from foreign countries, were also being arranged.

104. WOMEN'S ADVISORY COUNCIL. EDUCATION IN H.M. FORCES. Consideration of a suggestion from the W.A.C. regarding education in H.M. Forces was adjourned until definite proposals could be submitted to the Committee.
105. ALL-PARTY CONFERENCES. Reports were given on All-Party Conferences held at Bury on April 6th, Leeds, on April 21st and Derby on April 28th.
106. M. RUYSSSEN. The Secretary drew the attention of the Committee to an interesting letter received from M. Ruyssen, former Secretary General of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies.
107. AUSTRALIAN L.N.U. A NEWS LETTER published by the Victorian Branch of the Australian L.N.U. was brought to the notice of the Committee. It included a statement on "The Peace Settlement with Germany" and reproduced the Executive Committee's memorandum on that subject, as well as the Committee's resolution and the proposals of the London International Assembly on the Trial and Punishment of War Criminals.
108. CORPORATE MEMBERSHIP. The Railway Clerks Association (292) Liverpool No. 1 Branch was admitted as a Corporate Member of the Union and the fixing of the Union's seal to the Certificate was authorised.
109. FUTURE OF THE UNION: Selection Committee for New Appointments. It was agreed that, during Miss Courtney's absence, Mr. A.E.W. Thomas be invited to take her place on the small Selection Committee responsible for new appointments.

Lytton
CHAIRMAN
May 24^H 1945.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE
COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 11 BALDWIN LANE,
ON THURSDAY, MAY 24TH, 1945 AT 2.15 P.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Mr. W. Arnold, Lord Cecil, the Dean of Chichester, Dr. Hilda Clark, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss P. Fawcett, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Lady Hall, Miss Hansell, Mr. A.J. Howe, Lady Lavton, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Mr. J. Macdonald, Dr. Murray, Lord Perth, Mrs. Prior, Professor Seton-Watson, Mr. Nowell C. Smith, Mr. H.S. Syrett, Mr. Alan Thomas, Professor Basil Williams and Mr. Judd.

110. MINUTES. Minutes of the meeting of May 3rd, 1945 were confirmed as circulated.

111. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 9B - San Francisco Conference, the Committee were glad to learn of Miss Courtney's safe arrival in San Francisco.

On Minute 102 - Albert Hall Meeting, the Chairman reported that he had telegraphed to Mr. Eden in San Francisco inviting him to address a Meeting in the Albert Hall on United Nations Day, June 14th. An interim reply telegraphed by the Foreign Secretary and a letter written after his return to this country were placed before the Committee (copies filed with these minutes), and it was agreed that, in view of Mr. Eden's reply and of the forthcoming General Election, arrangements for an Albert Hall Meeting on June 14th be abandoned. Dame Adelaide Livingstone conveyed the Committee's decision immediately to the Albert Hall authorities and secured a pencilling for Tuesday, October 2nd and Wednesday, October 10th.

112. GENERAL ELECTION. The Committee discussed action which might be taken during the General Election. It was agreed that a Questionnaire should be prepared and that Branches and members should be invited to submit it to Candidates in their constituencies and to give wide publicity to the replies received. It was also suggested that, wherever possible, Branches should be urged to hold Public Meetings at which all their Candidates should be invited to speak on the Questionnaire. Lord Cecil hoped that it would be possible to carry out this work in the name of the new society, the British United Nations Association, which it was proposed to form. It was then

RESOLVED: That a sub-Committee, consisting of Lord Cecil, Dr. Murray, Lord Lytton, Mrs. Dugdale and Mr. Macdonald, be appointed to draw up a Questionnaire for submission by Branches and members of the Union to Parliamentary Candidates in their Constituencies, and to recommend what other action might be taken during the

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Election in order to increase interest in the new International Organisation.

Specimen questions drafted by Lord Cecil were placed before the Committee and, after certain amendments had been suggested, were referred for consideration by the sub-Committee.

Lady Hall spoke of the All-Party Conferences which many Branches of the Union had already held on the proposals of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, and more of which were being arranged in the coming weeks. She suggested that, during the Election, a special effort should be made to get All-Party Meetings held in some of the larger towns and cities, e.g. Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, Liverpool, etc.

Dr. Garnett drew attention to the popularity of Pains Trust meetings and suggested that some Branches might prefer to hold this type of meeting for Candidates.

113. FUTURE OF THE UNION.

(a) BRITISH UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION. The Executive had before them a resolution adopted by the Special Committee at its meeting on May 17th concerning the formation of a new society, together with Counsel's written opinion dated May 16th, and a copy of a letter written by the Lord President of the Council (Mr. Attlee) to Lord Lytton on February 27th (copies filed with these minutes). The Executive also had before them supplementary proposals of which Dr. Garnett had given notice.

After discussion, in which many members of the Committee took part, it was, by acclamation,

- RESOLVED: (1) To form a new society to ensure the whole-hearted support of the British people for a United Nations Organisation with such subsidiary agencies as may be found necessary
- (a) for the just and peaceful settlement of international disputes and the use, if necessary, of collective force to prevent or suppress aggression;
 - (b) for promoting the moral and material welfare of all peoples and endeavouring to remove economic, political and social conditions which may lead to conflicts;
 - (c) for defending human rights and freedoms, developing, together with patriotism, a sense of the duties of World Citizenship* and ultimately liberating mankind from war and the fear of war.

* Dr. Garnett suggested that the words "fostering the greater unity of all the world" should be inserted here.

It was also

- RESOLVED: (2) That the new society should be an unincorporated body with trustees;
- (3) That the name of the new society should for the time being, be the BRITISH UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION.

After the above resolutions had been adopted, members of the Executive present at the meeting formally accepted membership of the BRITISH UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION.

It was further

- RESOLVED: (4) That the Special Committee of the L.N.U. be requested to draft proposals for the Constitution and Rules of the BRITISH UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION and for the relations between the L.N.U. and B.U.N.A., and for these purposes to take such legal advice as might be required.

The Secretary was asked to inform Branches immediately of the action taken by the Executive.

(b) Report of Special Committee. Lord Lytton reported that the Special Committee had re-examined its Interim Report in the light of recommendations sent in by Branches and certain amendments were being drafted. The amended report would be submitted to the Executive as soon as possible before being communicated to the General Council.

114. EDUCATION IN H.M. FORCES. Suggestions from the Hon. Sec. of the Women's Advisory Council (see minute 104) were considered (copy filed with these minutes). These suggested action that might be taken to ensure that men and women in the Forces prior to demobilisation and on their return to civilian life, were interested in international affairs and the new United Nations Organisation. The Executive decided not to take any action on suggestion A, and to reconsider suggestions B. and C after the General Election.
115. INTERNATIONAL LAW FORCE: AIR VICE MARSHAL BENNETT'S PROPOSALS. A brief discussion took place on the proposals contained in Air Vice Marshal Bennett's book FREEDOM FROM WAR, and Lord Cecil expressed the view that, although the Union could not go so far as to advocate the scheme, there were certain preliminary steps which might be taken, as for instance, the establishment of (a) a flag for the new organisation and (b) ceremonial guards. On the motion of Mr. A. E. W. Thomas it was

RESOLVED : That Air Vice Marshal Bennett be invited to join the Executive Committee; and that, in his letter of invitation, the Chairman be asked to inform Air Vice Marshal Bennett that, although in principle the Committee shares his views, it doubts the practicability of his proposals at the present time and could not therefore pledge itself to undertake a campaign in favour of those proposals.

116. DEAN OF CHICHESTER. At the invitation of the Chairman, the Dean of Chichester reported some of his experiences during recent visits to France and Eire.

It was understood that the name of the society would be reconsidered when the San Francisco Conference had decided upon a name for the new international organisation.

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117. ANNUAL MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL. In view of the General Election the desirability of postponing the Council Meeting was considered, but after discussion it was agreed that the Meeting should, as at present arranged, be held on July 12th and 13th.

(a) Agenda. The Committee decided that the Agenda for the Council should include resolutions by the Executive on (1) the Report of the Special Committee; (2) B.U.N.A. and its relation to the L.N.U.; and (3) the San Francisco Conference.

(b) Procedure Committee. It was

RESOLVED: That Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Mr. J. Macdonald and Mr. A.E.W. Thomas be invited to serve on the Procedure Committee; and that Lady Hall be appointed an ex officio member and be invited to take part in the Procedure Committee's work whenever she finds herself free to do so.

(During the above discussion Lord Lytton had to leave the meeting and the Chair was taken by Dr. Gilbert Murray.)

118. C.E.W.C. Mr. Nowell Smith reported that the amendments in the C.E.W.C. Constitution recommended by the Executive at its last meeting had been considered by the Management Committee who had postponed its decision until the L.N.U. had assumed its new name and constitution. He also reported that, since Miss Luffman was now acting as Secretary and Assistant Secretary of the C.E.W.C., she was unable to continue as Secretary of the Student Federation for International Co-operation. Mrs. Brown, Secretary for Youth Organisations, would take over this work until other arrangements could be made in the autumn.

Mr. Nowell Smith drew attention to a circular letter which Miss Luffman had written to affiliated organisations in the C.E.W.C. outlining the Council's activities, and it was agreed that copies of the letter should be communicated to members of the Executive for their information.

119. ALL PARTY CONFERENCES. An oral report was made on All-Party Conferences held at Skipton on April 26th and Hull on May 18th.
120. APPLICATION FOR CORPORATE MEMBERSHIP. The Flottergate Women's Meeting, Grimsby, was admitted as a Corporate Member of the Union and the fixing of the Union's seal to the Certificate was authorised.
121. DATE OF NEXT MEETING. It was agreed that the next meeting of the Committee should be held on Thursday, June 7th at 2.15 p.m.

Lytton
CHAIRMAN

June 7th 1945

S

Telegram to Mr. Eden

WE HAVE BOOKED ALBERT HALL FOR UNITED NATIONS DAY
JUNE 14 AND HOPED WINSTON MIGHT SPEAK ON SAN FRANCISCO
CONFERENCE STOP HE HAS SENT ME GOOD WISHES BUT CANNOT
SPEAK AND WE THINK SPEECH FROM YOU WOULD REALLY BE
MORE APPROPRIATE STOP IF YOU WILL HONOUR US BY USING
THIS OCCASION FOR GIVING LEAD TO COUNTRY ON THIS
"GREATEST OPPORTUNITY IN ALL HISTORY" WE SHALL BE SO
HAPPY STOP IF NOT WE MAY CANCEL MEETING STOP GRATEFUL
IF YOU WILL LET ME KNOW BEFORE MAY 12

LYTTON

Mr. Eden's Reply

MANY THANKS FOR THE INVITATION TO SPEAK AT THE UNITED
NATIONS DAY CEREMONY ON JUNE 14 STOP I SHOULD LIKE TO
DO THIS IF AT ALL POSSIBLE BUT PLANS ARE SO UNCERTAIN
THAT I REALLY CANNOT PLEDGE MYSELF AT THIS STAGE STOP
MAY I LET YOU KNOW DEFINITELY ON MY RETURN

Telegram to Mr. Eden

AM DELIGHTED WE MAY HOPE FOR YOUR PRESENCE ON JUNE 14
STOP POSTERS MUST GO TO PRINTERS AT LATEST ON MAY 22
STOP MAY WE HEAR DEFINITELY FROM YOU AS SOON AS
POSSIBLE AFTER YOUR RETURN NEXT WEEK

COPY

The Foreign Office,
S.W.1.

18th May, 1945.

My dear Lord Lytton,

Many thanks for your letter and for what you say about my work at the Conference. Unfortunately on my return I find a mass of work awaiting me and for the moment I am simply overwhelmed. I am afraid therefore that it would really be impossible for me to speak at the meeting on June 14th. I am so sorry and I hope this decision will not cause you great inconvenience. I am sure you will understand how I am placed.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) ANTHONY EDEN

P.S. Moreover future plans are so uncertain in respect of meetings of Heads of Governments and Foreign Secretaries that I have been compelled to undertake no engagements.

S.1240
18.5.45

SPECIAL COMMITTEE

At its meeting on May 17th the Committee had before it a note of an interview between the Hon. Solicitor and Mr. F.A. Sellers, K.C. Counsel's written opinion was received after the meeting and is attached.

The following resolution was adopted:

"That the Executive Committee be recommended to promote the formation of a new society to support the world organisation now being formed at San Francisco;

That the new society should be an unincorporated body with trustees;

That the name of the new society should for the time being be THE BRITISH SOCIETY FOR THE SUPPORT OF THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION;

That when the society has been formed the Inland Revenue Authorities be asked to recognise it as an educational charity."

Dr. Garnett gives notice that he may move the following supplementary proposals:

1. The new society should take the form of an unincorporated society (with trustees) of members of the League of Nations Union who signify in writing their wish to join it.
2. The individual liability of its members or its governing body can be avoided by its having no funds of its own but having all its activities paid for by the League of Nations Union (in the exercise of the Union's power "to support kindred societies or movements")
3. In order that the new society may benefit, as a tax-free charity, from 7-year covenants, its supporters should make such covenants with the League of Nations Union.
4. By means of a single membership form, new members should be enrolled simultaneously in the new society and in the L.N.U.
5. The Executive Committee and Staff of the new society should be those of the League of Nations Union.
6. The League of Nations Union's principal function for the time being should be the maintenance of the new society: the new society should neither keep nor publish separate accounts, but should have its own Annual Meeting (at the close of the L.N.U.'s annual meeting, when the proceedings should be purely formal).
7. The General Council of the L.N.U. should become also the General Council of the new society; and its articles of association should so provide.

- 2 -

8. (In view of 6 above) The Branches of the L.N.U. would also function as Branches of the new society.
9. (In view of 1 above) The existing members of the L.N.U. (instead of transferring their membership to the new society) should be asked, when renewing their subscriptions, to sign a form of (subscription-free) membership of the new society; and all receipts for subscriptions should show that they are to be used for the support of the new society.

60
S.1239

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

OPINION

In all the circumstances we are of opinion that the best course to follow is that outlined in Mr. Attlee's letter of the 27th February 1945.

We are of opinion that a new unincorporated body should be constituted with an appropriate name such as the United Nations Organization or Association. This body would be governed by a set of Rules providing for the enrolment and qualifications of members, a Governing Body (e.g. an Executive Committee), Trustees etc. Probably the Rules under which the League of Nations Union was governed before a Charter was obtained could be used as a guide. The Rules would provide that all property belonging to the new Body should be vested in the Trustees, and they would be the persons with whom members would enter into covenants to subscribe. The Rules would of course set out the objects, care being taken to see that such objects were charitable. Individual liability of the Governing Body or of the officials who actually entered into contracts or gave orders could not be avoided, but members would not incur any liabilities as such.

We are of opinion that it would not be advisable to attempt to create a body which was or purported to be a branch of or to have any legal connection with the League of Nations Union. The new Body should be entirely distinct and separate although of course the officials of the Union could occupy similar positions in the new Body.

So far as possible members of the Union should be encouraged to become members of the new Body and recruiting new members of the Union should cease, so that by the time it becomes possible

- 2 -

to obtain a new Charter there should be a flourishing unincorporated Body and a more or less moribund League of Nations Union.

F.A. Sellers

(signed)

J.V. Nesbitt

16 May 1945.

A copy of the letter of 27th February, 1945 from Mr. Attlee, referred to in the first paragraph of Counsel's Opinion is attached.

Copy

S.1241

Privy Council Office,
Great George Street, S.W.1.
27th February, 1945.

Dear Lord Lytton,

I am sorry to be so late in replying to your letter of the 9th February, but I was anxious to go into the matter with some care before replying.

I much regret that the proposed changes in the name and purposes of the Union are fundamental, and therefore it would be inappropriate to try to make them by means of a Supplemental Charter. It is clearly difficult to devise a satisfactory solution, but the following ingenious proposal has been made to me.

Under the present Charter the Union has power:-

- (a) to support kindred societies or movements (paragraph 4 (1)), and
- (b) to make or carry out any arrangement for joint working or co-operation with any other Society or Body, whether incorporated or not, carrying on work similar to any work for the time being carried on by the Union (paragraph 4 (1)).

If you and your associates would form a new society (unincorporated for the present) for advocating "the full development of the United Nations so as to bring about such a world organisation as will guarantee the freedom of nations, etc", that would clearly be a kindred society or movement within paragraph 4 (1) of the Charter. The Union, being unable in the events which have happened, to advocate the full development of the League of Nations, could then justifiably devote its funds to supporting this new kindred society. It would probably be advisable for the decision to devote funds to the support of the new society to be affirmed by the General Council and for members to be informed of the decision. If those steps were taken, I cannot think that any member of the Union could have any legitimate complaint.

Then, if and when the new United Nations organisation is established, this new Society could be incorporated by Charter and in due course the Union could be dissolved.

I do not know what assets the Union has, but presumably the subscriptions would be substantially absorbed in paying current expenses and in supporting the "kindred" association; there would be a very small (if any) balance outstanding at the time of dissolution. There should therefore be no difficulty about dealing with the Union's funds, unless, of course, some are held upon some special trusts which do not permit application in supporting the new Society.

If this solution commends itself to you, I suggest you should consult your own legal advisers on it. For my part I can say that as Lord President of the Council I should raise no objection in view of the very exceptional circumstances of the Union's position. It would have to be clearly understood that only exceptional circumstances, such as undoubtedly exist in this case, would justify such a departure from customary procedure.

Yours sincerely,

(signed) G.R. ATTLEE.

draft suggestions for securing the interest of some of the men and women in the Forces prior to demobilisation and afterwards.

Prior to demobilisation

This question arose out of various interviews on behalf of the W.A.C. and in respect of possibly interesting women in the Forces.

It was made clear by certain women connected with education among Service women that interest in international affairs existed to some extent, but that many gaps in spreading this interest remained to be filled, it was suggested, by some, that if an educational effort were made it should include men also.

Certain points to be investigated were obvious:-

- A. (1) The need for speed and how to achieve it.
- (2) The necessity for consulting the Educational Heads of the Services with regard to the gaps in such an educational effort; the facilities that already exist to fill these gaps in respect of speakers, training for speakers, lectures and discussion groups.
- (3) The method of approach preferred by the Forces - e.g. discussion groups taking precedence over set lectures, or the reverse.

The first step suggested in order to clarify the above points is that:-

An invitation be sent to the Educational Heads of the three Services to take part in an informal discussion with Lord Lytton, Dr. Murray, Miss Courtney and Dame Rachel Crowdy (there was some doubt as to whether the invitation should go out from the Union; but it seems obvious that it must do so).

- B. During and after demobilisation, in order to interest men and women returning to industry.

It was proposed that interviews should be obtained with certain leading industrial organisations to get their advice on how best to approach their members when the time came.

Speakers

- C. Assuming that more speakers will be needed in London and in the regions, it is suggested that a first attempt be made in London by holding, as a start, once a month an informal discussion group composed of a small number of young men and women - drawn from various appropriate sources - who should have in due course a certain amount of spare time, and should prove their ability to speak or lead discussions.

P.T.O.

- 2 -

For the first six months or so the main subject for study by the above group would be the new international organisation and how to create the right public opinion. It is proposed that there might be the same chairman throughout, who should have understanding of youth and the best methods of approaching them.

The discussion leader for each meeting might be arranged according to the subjects to be discussed.

Note should be taken at each meeting of potential speakers, for whom smaller group meetings could perhaps be held between the monthly meetings. These smaller meetings might be run entirely by the members themselves.

Note

A convenient meeting place might be the International Youth Centre, 30 Pont Street, S.W.1, where a room to hold 15 - 20 can be hired for about 5s.6d. an hour, and where tea can be obtained at 8d. a head; or there may be facilities for evening meetings.

CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 11 MAIDEN LANE, LONDON, W.C.2. ON THURSDAY, JUNE 7TH, 1945 AT 2.15 P.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Mrs. Beale, Lord Cecil, Dr. Clark, Miss Fawcett, Dr. Garnett, Lady Hall, Mr. A.J. Howe, Lady Layton, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Mr. J. Macdonald, Dr. Murray, Professor Paton, Lord Perth, Miss E. Rathbone, Professor Seton-Watson, Mr. Nowell C. Smith, Mr. H.S. Syrett, Professor Basil Williams and Mr. C. W. Judd.

122. MINUTES. Minutes of the meeting of May 24th, 1945 were confirmed as circulated.

123. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 115 - Air Vice-Marshal Bennett, the Chairman reported the letter he had written to Air Marshal Bennett and read his reply. The Committee were delighted to learn that the Air Vice-Marshal had accepted the invitation to join the Executive.

On Minute 117 - Annual Meeting of General Council, having regard to the fact that for certain constituencies Polling Day in the General Election would fall on July 12th and in at least one constituency on July 19th, the Committee considered alternative dates for the Annual Meeting of the General Council. After discussion, in which many members took part, it was

RESOLVED: (1) That the Annual Meeting of the General Council be postponed until Thursday and Friday, September 6th and 7th.

(2) That Branches and members of the Council be informed that, unless any objection is raised, the term of office of the present Officers and Executive Committee will be extended until the Annual Meeting of the Council in September.

On Minute 111 - Albert Hall Meeting, after the Secretary had reported a letter from the Manager of the Albert Hall concerning the provisional pencilling of October 2nd and 10th for a Meeting, it was agreed that if a definite booking were requested it should be for Wednesday, October 10th.

124. GENERAL ELECTION. The Executive had before them a report from the Election sub-Committee which had met on the previous day (copy filed with these minutes). After discussion, the Questions for submission to Parliamentary Candidates were approved and adopted in the following amended form:-

1. Do you believe that the greatest interest of our country and the world is the preservation of a lasting peace based on freedom, justice and good faith, and that a world organisation for peace and security and for the promotion of the social and economic welfare of the peoples is essential for that purpose?

2. In the event of such a world organisation being established and H.M. Government becoming a member of it, would you be prepared to support it?
3. Would you also support the International Labour Organisation, whether it is incorporated in the world organisation or not, in promoting the highest standard of living conditions for all?
4. Do you agree that loyalty to the world organisation by this country as a Member State is essential to its success and quite consistent with the highest national patriotism?

The remainder of the sub-Committee's report was approved and adopted, and Lord Cecil read to the Executive the letter he proposed to send to the local press drawing attention to the importance of electors ascertaining the views of their candidates on international issues. He added that, after further consideration, he felt that no useful purpose would be served by writing to the Prime Minister as suggested in the sub-Committee's report.

125. APPOINTMENT OF LIBRARIAN. Mr. Nowell Smith reported on a meeting of the Selection Committee held on the previous day when seven candidates had been interviewed. The Committee had recommended the appointment of Miss Marion Varco, B.A., F.L.A. at a commencing salary of £300, rising by two annual increments to a maximum of £350. Questions were put to Mr. Nowell Smith concerning Miss Varco's present salary, past experience, interest in international affairs and willingness to assist, as and when required, in the research side of the Union's work, and after discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That Miss Varco be invited to accept appointment as Librarian, and that if, after further inquiries, Mr. Nowell Smith and the Secretary consider it desirable, a commencing salary of up to £350 (with no war bonus) be offered to Miss Varco."

126. LONDON INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY. The Secretary reported on a special meeting of the L.I.A. held on Friday, 1st June, when M. Rene Cassin had spoken on "France To-day".

Dr. Kunosi, who was shortly returning to Czechoslovakia, had asked that his greetings be conveyed to the Executive together with an expression of his very cordial thanks for all the help the Union had given him during his stay in Great Britain. He hoped, on his return to Czechoslovakia, to take soundings with a view to building up a United Nations Association in his own country.

A letter from Madame Bakker von Bosse, on behalf of the Netherlands Association for Peace and the League of Nations, was reported, stating the Association's intention to resume international contacts as soon as possible and asking for information regarding the present position and work of the Union.

127. MISS COURTNEY. Messages received from Miss Courtney on the proceedings in San Francisco were circulated to the Executive (copy filed with these minutes).
128. GRUDEN LEGACY. The scrip for £1100 three per cent. Savings Bonds having been received, the Executive gave authority for the seal of the Union to be used on the Transfer Form in respect of the portion of the legacy (£550) to be transferred to the Glasgow Branch.

129. CORPORATE MEMBERS. The Victoria Park Church Women's Guild and the Joicey Road Methodist Church, Low Fell, were admitted as Corporate Members of the Union, and the fixing of the Union's seal to the Certificates was authorised.
130. FUTURE OF THE UNION (UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION). The Executive had before them a Report of the Special Committee's Meeting of May 31st (S.1245 copy filed with these minutes) including recommendations on the Name and Objects of the new society, Members, Finance, Constitution and Rules, Relations between the Union and the new Association, and Interim Arrangements.

It was agreed to recommend to the new Association that its name be the UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

The Executive then discussed at some length the Objects of the new Association. They finally agreed to invite the Association to adopt the following revised statement of Objects prepared by the Special Committee, with such further amendments as are incorporated below and subject to any improvement of the actual wording that Dr. Murray might later be able to suggest.

- (i) to work for continued and increasing friendship between the peoples of all the United Nations and for their co-operation in the tasks of peace and reconstruction.
- (ii) to ensure the whole-hearted and continued support of the British people for an international organisation
 - (a) to prevent war in the future by endeavouring to remove its economic, political and social causes, by the just and peaceful settlement of international disputes and by the use of force if necessary to prevent or suppress aggression;
 - (b) to defend human rights and freedoms and to promote the moral and material welfare of all peoples;
 - (c) to develop a code of international law applicable to all nations great or small;
 - (d) to foster, together with patriotism, a sense of World Citizenship and so lead eventually to the greater unity of all the world;

as well as for the International Labour Organisation and any bodies that may be associated with the general international organisation.

The remainder of the Special Committee's report on these matters was approved and adopted, with the exception of (1) recommendations concerning the appointment of Officers and Committee for the new Association and (2) General Election.

The Special Committee's recommendations on Regional Organisation were next considered and it was agreed that certain grants be paid to the Scottish National Council, as recommended by the Special Committee, on the understanding that the Finance Committee is satisfied that

such payments come within the general scheme for regional development already approved.

Arising from this part of the Special Committee's report Mr. Howe reported on a joint meeting of representatives of the Special Committee and of the London Regional Federation concerning the appointment of Miss Parnell as Regional Officer for London, combined with work in one of the neighbouring Regions or part of it, the appointment to take effect from September 1st. These recommendations were approved in principle, subject to the agreement of the Finance Committee with the financial proposals involved.

(At this point in the proceedings Lord Lytton left the meeting and the Chair was taken by Lord Cecil)

131. APPEAL BY SUDETEN WORKERS. Miss Rathbone drew the Committee's attention to an appeal signed by Wenzel Jaksch, Eugen de Witte and Franz Katz against the possible transfer of German and Magyar minorities in Czechoslovakia (copy filed with these minutes). After discussion the Secretary was requested to inform the Czechoslovak Embassy that the matter had been brought to the notice of the Executive who would welcome any further information the Embassy might be able to supply.

CHAIRMAN
June 21st 1945.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A SPECIAL MEETING OF THE ELECTION SUB-COMMITTEE
HELD AT 11 MAIDEN LANE, W.C.2, ON WEDNESDAY, JUNE 5TH, 1945,
AT 2.30 P.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the chair), Lord Cecil, Mrs. Dugdale,
Lady Hall, Mr. J. Macdonald and Mr. Judd. Captain
Morton and Miss Parnell were also present.

1. **MEMBERSHIP.** Lord Lytton said that he had invited Lady Hall to join the Committee, and she had kindly agreed to do so, as the All-Party Conferences upon which her Campaign Committee was principally engaged would be an important element in the Election Committee's work and there seemed little point in the Campaign Committee sitting separately to organise these.
2. **QUESTIONS FOR SUBMISSION TO CANDIDATES.** The following questions were agreed upon as suitable questions to be addressed to candidates:
 - (i) Do you believe that the greatest interest of our country and the world is the preservation of a lasting peace based on freedom, justice and good faith and the welfare of the peoples and that a world organisation for peace and security is essential for that purpose?
 - (ii) In the event of such a world organisation being established and H.M. Government becoming a member of it, would you be prepared to support it?
 - (iii) Would you also support the International Labour Organisation, unless and until it is incorporated in the world organisation, in promoting the highest standard of living conditions for all?
 - (iv) Do you agree that loyalty to the world organisation by this country as a member state is essential to its success and quite consistent with the highest national patriotism?
3. **ORGANISATION OF THE WORK.** Mr. Judd reminded the Committee that there are now large tracts of the country in which no effective L.N.U. organisation remains. He did not think it would be wise to count upon more than 60 to 100 Branches taking effective action in response to a written request. Tuesday, June 26th, less than three weeks ahead, would be the last day for sending to local newspapers replies from candidates to be published before the Election. In these circumstances he proposed to ask Miss Parnell and Captain Morton to devote the major part of their time to this work and Miss Parnell to act as Secretary of the Committee.

It was decided that a letter accompanying the draft questions should be sent to all District Councils and Branches inviting them to use these, or similar questions, in order to ascertain the views of the Candidates on a future world organisation with a view to publication in the local papers. Where no active Branch exists Captain Morton and Miss Parnell were to endeavour to find suitable people who could approach the candidates by way of a deputation, or ask questions at meetings or sponsor the sending of a questionnaire. It was also agreed to pay the expenses of voluntary workers who might help to find suitable local people for the above purposes. It was suggested that Party Organisations might sometimes be able to suggest names of suitable people who would help us.

P.T.O.

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4. **OTHER METHODS OF ASCERTAINING THE VIEWS OF CANDIDATES.** While All-Party Conferences were considered most effective it was agreed that the organisation of these could not be pressed too far between now and the Election. Impartial deputations and questions at meetings were also to be recommended to Branches.
5. **OTHER BUSINESS.** Lord Cecil undertook to draft a letter to be sent to the local press drawing attention to the importance of the electors ascertaining the views of their candidates on international issues. He also promised to consider approaching Mr. Winston Churchill with a request that he should include some reference to the world organisation in his forthcoming political broadcasts.

It was suggested that Mr. Judd might get in touch with Mr. Eden's personal Private Secretary to ascertain if the Foreign Secretary was likely to be broadcasting in the Election series and to say how much the Union hopes he will, in that event, make some reference to the new world organisation.

Messages received at Office from Miss Courtney:

Cable received by Mr. Aldous, May 22nd.

NAME NOT YET DISCUSSED ALMOST CERTAINLY U-N POSITION
IMPROVED WEEKEND AGREEMENT REGIONS TRUSTEESHIP PROBABLE
DIFFICULTIES VETO CONTINUE PROBABLY LEAVING FRISCO
ABOUT JUNE 5TH TELL OTHERS

Letter dated May 29th to the Secretary.

"Last night the meeting arranged by Mr. Eichelberger for former representatives of League of Nations Societies took place. All of those invited were not able to come, owing to Committees etc., and amongst them was Vaclav Benes, whose opinion would have been helpful.

The following were present:-

Rolin, Dupuy, Pelt, Eichelberger, a Chinese, (whose name I can't recall), Malcolm Davies, Staermose (a Dane).

There was a general feeling that it was going to be exceedingly difficult to organise popular support for the new International Organisation. This was said to be partly due to a widespread feeling of scepticism; even more to the nature of the organisation now being created here. The Dane said emphatically that it would not be possible to work up a popular movement in Denmark. He is a young man, member of their parliament and one of the organisers of the Danish Underground, but not, I think, experienced in the organisation of public opinion. Rolin, Dupuy and Pelt all said that the old leaders of the League of Nations Organisations in their respective countries would not be the right people to lead the movement in support of a new international organisation, even if they were still alive, tho' Dupuy said there was still a small nucleus in France. They all spoke of the complete lack of information about what has been happening and said that before any organisation can be formed some knowledge of the facts must be available. This led to a practical suggestion i.e. that a leaflet or pamphlet should be written here, printed in U.S.A. where paper shortage is not acute, and taken back to Europe by members of the Delegations. Rolin agreed to write this with the assistance of Dupuy and I trust he will have time to do it, so that it can be printed before everyone has gone home.

As to further practical suggestions; they all agreed that it would be desirable to form a new organisation, and not merely to continue the old. This raises the technical question as to how the funds etc. of the Int. Fed. can be made available for the new organisation. Could you get this looked into? Have we got a copy of the document setting up the Int. Fed.? Could Figures help on this?

They want some kind of provisional Committee to be set up in London. I said the L.N.U. had not got the funds or the staff to do this, and asked whether U.S.A. would be able to help. To this, I got no definite reply; the question of the funds now at Geneva was raised, and perhaps if we are planning what to do with the Int. Fed. it would be legitimate to use those funds.

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Another suggestion made was that an informal meeting should be held in Europe as soon as possible consisting of representatives of as many countries as could be got together. It was thought however that such a meeting would be of no use until the Charter has been ratified by the countries concerned. Pelt was definite on this subject. He said no useful propaganda of any kind could be done, until the Charter had been ratified by a number of states. (I must say, I don't think this applies to England).

As to the proposals that we should appoint someone to travel around, Dr. V. Benes pointed out to me on another occasion that this would be too difficult at the present time with all the various rules and regulations about moving from place to place. I don't know how far that operates in the Western liberated countries. It may be that Benes had in his mind the difficulties that such a visit to Czecho would meet from the U.S.S.R.

I think that was really about as far as we got. There was a very friendly feeling and it was pleasant to be once more in a League group.

I am rather disposed to think that after this new document has been distributed the next thing might be to get the informal conference together. The question is whether London would be the best place? - or Paris? or perhaps Brussels?

I saw Sweetser today. He is emphatic that the new organisation must be made to work and thinks there has been too much emphasis on the difficulties and drawbacks. He doesn't take the veto as seriously as most other people and I don't think he sees quite how difficult it is going to be to "put over". Here in U.S.A. it has some advantages, as it will help with the Senate.

The Veto is still the question which is holding everything up here. I enclose a copy of a statement made by Evatt at a Press Conference yesterday which will show you the point of view of the leaders of the opposition party. Evatt was asked whether Australia would refuse to sign if his proposals were not agreed to. He replied that he would cross that hurdle when he came to it. It is generally believed (rightly or wrongly) that the small countries will swallow the Veto rather than lose the Charter. Russia, at the time of writing, has not yet replied as to whether she will agree to free discussion and consideration of any question without a Veto. If she does it is believed that that is as far as she will go. That means there can be no investigation on the spot, and not even a recommendation for peaceful settlement of a dispute between two countries without the possibility of veto by one of the big five. I think its going to be difficult to make this acceptable to the British public.

I think one of the most dangerous things that has been put into the Charter is the provision about Regions, agreed to for the benefit of Pan-America. The Arabs are already hot on the trail; and if a number of other "Regions" were formed, I think the whole basis of this fabric would be shaken.

I had been planning to leave here on the 2nd, but am changing (probably to the 5th) as I don't want to leave before the veto crisis is passed. This is just about the most critical moment of the Conference I think. I will wire when

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anything is settled. I imagine with the election campaign in full swing, the L.N.U. will not be so busy this month as we expected. I am now going to call upon M. DeJean, and after that to a party given by the British Delegation, where I hope to meet some people. All the Delegates here are overworked in the pressure to get the business through. It is maddening that Russia should be able to hold things up for days by not sending answers, and I can't help wondering whether we might not call the bluff by saying that we shall go on with the Committee work on a certain day whether or not Russia's reply has been received. We are really letting Russia have the last word on everything.

I will write again shortly.

Cables received by the Secretary

June 3rd

LEAVING FIFTH BOSTON WASHINGTON NEW YORK PROBABLY
FOURTEENTH SAILING DEPENDS TRANSPORT TELL FRIENDS
SITUATION HERE CRITICAL

June 5th

COMPLETE DOCUMENTS AVAILABLE VIA DELEGATIONS
SUGGEST CABLE BRITISH HERE STOP POSITION EDUCATION
DOUBTFUL SUGGEST CONTACT ALLIED MINISTERS LONDON

League of Nations Union
Special Committee

S. 1245 'on,

REPORT OF A MEETING HELD ON THURSDAY, MAY 31ST,
1945

The Committee held its fifteenth meeting on Thursday, May 31st. There were present: Lord Lytton (in the chair), Dr. Garnett, Lady Hall, Mr. A.J. Howe, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Mr. James Macdonald, Sir Geoffrey Mander, M.P., Mr. Nowel Smith, Mr. H.S. Syrett, Mr. A.E.W. Thomas, Mr. Judd and Mr. Walker.

The Chairman reported that Mr. Eden had been unable to accept the invitation to speak on June 14th and that the Executive had therefore postponed the Albert Hall meeting and secured a pencilling for October 2nd and 10th.

Counsel's written opinion on the questions referred to him had been received after the last meeting and submitted to the Executive. Copies were before the Committee and it was resolved to ask the Hon. Solicitor, Mr. Tildesley, to accept for himself and to convey to Mr. F.A. Sellers, K.C., the Committee's most grateful thanks for their assistance.

The Committee then considered the decision of the Executive Committee to form a British United Nations Association (Minute 113) and to ask the Special Committee to draft proposals both for the constitution and rules of the new society and for the relations between that society and the L.N.U. A memorandum (S.1243) prepared by the Secretary was taken as a basis for discussion and thereon it was decided to make the following recommendations to the Executive:

× NAME AND OBJECTS

That the name and objects should be stated as follows in the Constitution and Rules:

1. The name shall be the

UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION
of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

2. The objects of the Association are

- (i) to work for continued and increasing friendship between the peoples of all the United Nations and for their co-operation in the tasks of peace and reconstruction.

- (ii) to ensure the whole-hearted support of the British people for an international organisation in order

- (a) to prevent war in the future by endeavouring to remove its economic, political and social causes, by the just and peaceful settlement of international disputes and by the use of force if necessary to prevent or suppress aggression.

- (b) to defend human rights and freedoms and to promote the moral and material welfare of all peoples.

- (c) to initiate a code of international law applicable to all nations great or small.
- (d) to develop, together with patriotism, a sense of the duties of World Citizenship and so lead eventually to the greater unity of all the world;

as well as for the International Labour Organisation and any bodies that may be associated with the general international organisation.

MEMBERS

1. That a letter be sent to each member of the L.N.U. Executive not present at the meeting of that Committee held on May 24th, informing them that all the members of the Executive who were present on that occasion formally accepted membership of the new Association, expressing the hope that they also will become members and intimating that it will be assumed they agree unless they notify the Secretary that they are unable to do so.
2. That any big national drive for members and funds for the new Association should not now be launched before the autumn when it may be possible for the new Association to hold the Albert Hall meeting and when, if the General Council in July approves, the whole machinery of the Union's organisation of Branches, etc., can be fully employed.

FINANCE

1. That, in order that the new Association may be, as advised by Counsel, "entirely distinct and separate from" the Union, it should open its own banking account into which should be paid all monies received by the Association by subscription or otherwise.
2. That the Executive should make a first grant of £200 to the new Association to cover initial expenses.

CONSTITUTION AND RULES

- ※ 1. That this Special Committee of the L.N.U. Executive (or such of its members as accept membership of the new Association) would be willing to act also as a Special Committee of the new Association and to draft for its consideration a detailed constitution and rules governing rates of subscription, division of subscriptions between branches, regions, national work, etc.; organisation of Branches and Regional Councils, etc. - all of which are treated in the Committee's Interim Report.
2. That the Secretary be asked to prepare a first draft and to assume for this purpose that the Committee has now adopted all the proposals, including a number of tentative suggestions, included in its Interim Report - subject only to such amendments as it has made at the request of the General Council or on the basis of replies received to the Questionnaire issued to Branches, and to further consideration of the rates and allocation of subscriptions which should for these purposes be clearly marked in the draft.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNION AND THE NEW ASSOCIATION

That the Constitution and Rules of the new Association be brought to the notice of the General Council of the Union at its next

meeting. And that, subject to agreement with the new Association, the Council be asked to approve the following arrangements in order that (a) the Union may be kept in legal existence by carrying out the minimum requirements of its Charter and Bye-Laws, (b) all effective work may thereafter be done through and by the new Association, until it is possible to wind up the Union and secure a Royal Charter for the new Association:

- (i) That a letter be sent to all members of the Union /to those paying 3s.6d. or more by H.Q. and to those paying less than 3s.6d. by the Branches/ explaining the formation of the new Association and of the Union's decision to use its funds to support the new Association, and stating that, unless they contract out of membership of the new Association, arrangements will be made for their membership of the Union to include membership of the new Association during the remainder of their current membership year /or in the case of those paying under covenant until the expiry of their period of covenanted membership/.
- (ii) That all members of the Union not known to have died or resigned will be deemed to be members of the Union without payment of further annual subscription, unless they wish to be Voting Members (see (v) below), and that no new members shall be invited to join the Union.
- (iii) That all members (other than those paying their subscriptions under Covenant) be invited to subscribe to the new Association when their subscriptions to the Union would normally become due for renewal.
- (iv) That efficient Branches of the Union should be invited to become Branches of the new Association.
- (v) That the present "Rules" be suspended and that there be substituted only such rules* as would be necessary to provide for

An English Branch, a Scottish Branch and a Welsh Branch (in place of the existing National, Regional and District Councils and the Branches) in one or other of which all members of the Union would be placed

A General Council to meet once a year

An Executive Committee of thirty members both to meet infrequently for formal business and to authorise such grants to the new Association from the Union's remaining funds as may appear necessary and desirable

A list of Voting Members: i.e. members who make to their Branches an annual payment of 1s.0d. /over and above any membership subscription they may or may not pay to the new Association/ in order to exercise the right of electing members of the General Council and Executive Committee (i.e. receive notices of elections, have the opportunity to nominate members and receive ballot papers).

* The Special Committee would prepare a draft

INTERIM ARRANGEMENTSStaff and Accommodation

That pending the conclusion of arrangements between the General Council and the new Association.

- (a) the Executive should second to the Association such staff as it may wish to use for its work and give the free use of office accommodation and services.
- (b) the Association be invited to make the new appointments already agreed upon, the officers appointed to be members of the Union's staff.

* Officers and Committee

That the Officers and members of the L.N.U. Executive who accept the invitation to join the new Association should decide at their meeting on June 7th whether they will themselves act provisionally as the Officers and Executive of the new Association or appoint a smaller provisional Organising Committee.

General Election

That if the new Association is asked to undertake the work in connection with the General Election as suggested by Lord Cecil and is willing to do so, then

- * (a) it should invite the leaders of the three parties to be joint Honorary Presidents and print their names on its notepaper;
- (b) Branch Committees of the Union should be authorised to act as Constituency Committees of the new Association or to appoint special Committees for that purpose.

Regional Organisation. The Secretary reported that he had been in correspondence with Mr. Pearson and had seen Mr. Hall Todd, with regard to the proposal that they should become Regional Officers. Mr. Pearson would be glad to accept such an appointment and would be prepared to move to another Region if the Committee so desired but he would wish any suggestion that he should move to come to the Warwickshire and Birmingham Federal Council from Headquarters and not from himself. Mr. Judd hoped to meet the Committee of the Federal Council in the near future.

Mr. Hall Todd would also be glad to accept appointment as a Regional Officer but owing to the difficulties of finding accommodation and, above all, his reluctance to move his children from their present school, he would probably feel unable to do so if he had to move from Northampton. He thought it possible to work the Region from Northampton. Further Mr. Hall Todd had suggested that he should gradually give up other work upon which he is at present engaged, including principally lecturing to H.M. Forces, so as to be available for full-time work for the Union at the end of, say, two years; and that his salary should be adjusted accordingly. In any case he would wish to supplement the salary offered by retaining one lecture per week for the Workers' Educational Association. The Committee took the view that from some date in the autumn when the new start is made it would

certainly be necessary for Mr. Hall Todd to devote his whole time to the Union's work if he were appointed a Regional Officer; but that he should be encouraged to continue to give, say, one lecture a week for the W.E.A. as proposed. Mr. Judd said that he would try to meet Mr. Hall Todd and his Committee in the new future.

A letter was read from Mr. C.G. Hawkins, Honorary Secretary of the Scottish National Council, referring to the offer made when he attended the Committee to treat Scotland financially as though it were one Region and to consider proposals for annual grant up to £900. Since Mr. Hawkins as full-time Honorary Secretary took the place of a salaried Regional Organiser, the Scottish National Council did not wish to ask for £900 a year until further development ensured that effective use could be made of such a grant. They would however welcome immediately grants at the rate of £250 for Glasgow "so soon as they can see their way to go ahead" and £100 for the National Council, of which £50 was urgently needed.

It was resolved that the application of the Scottish National Council for grants at the rate of £250 for Glasgow, when required, and £100 for the National Council (of which £50 should be paid immediately) be approved, and that further requests on behalf of Dundee and Aberdeen, the East of Scotland and Edinburgh (to supplement the present grant of £75 to the East of Scotland and the special arrangements for Edinburgh) be considered when recommended by the Scottish National Council.

Mr. Howe then reported suggestions (copy filed with these minutes) that he and Mr. Judd had drawn up, as requested by the Committee, for the appointment of Miss Parnell as Regional Officer for London combined with work in one of the neighbouring Regions or part of it, on the lines indicated in the Interim Report and approved by the Hon. Treasurer. The suggestions were approved and it was decided to ask three representatives of the Committee to meet three representatives of the L.R.F. with a view to drawing up final proposals on this basis. Lady Hall, Mr. Judd and Mr. Walker were asked to represent the Committee.

S. 1253

PEACE THROUGH TERROR ?

An Appeal to all Friends of Justice in the Free World

By the Parliamentary Delegation of Sudeten Labour

The undersigned freely elected representatives of 300,000 Sudeten workers are alarmed by recent announcements of the Czechoslovak Government foreshadowing indiscriminate revenge against the whole Sudeten population.

On May 11th the Deputy Prime Minister, Gottwald, called for wholesale expropriation of the German and Magyar minorities in Czechoslovakia numbering four million people. On May 14th the spokesmen of the Czech Army, General Svoboda and Harus, declared that there would be no room for Germans in Czechoslovakia except in prisons or concentration camps. On May 16th President Benes himself on his arrival in Prague expressed the intention of liquidating without compromise the four million Germans and Magyars in Czechoslovakia.

In execution of this policy the Minister of Information, Kopecky, announced that units of the Czechoslovak Army were ready to clear Czechoslovakia by force of the German and Magyar minority populations. In Prague, an official commission for the settlement of Czechs and Slovaks in the borderland has already been set up.

In view of this catastrophic development we declare before the free world:-

The mass expulsion of four million minority citizens is a continuation of Hitler's racial policy disguised as democratic retribution. It draws no distinction between the guilty and the innocent, between passive citizens and active Nazis and war criminals. It aims at the total destruction of the forces of Sudeten Democracy who fought a heroic struggle against the Henlein Movement, and who were the only faithful allies of the Czech people in their darkest hour.

We recall the testimony of a member of the present Czechoslovak Government, Dr. Hubert Ripka, who wrote in his book, "Munich Before and After", that the Democrats among the Sudeten Germans, never less than a third of the whole, were as much victims of the Munich decision as the Czech people themselves. Thus, at least one million Sudeten Germans were handed over to Hitler against their will. More than twenty thousand were

immediately thrown into concentration camps. To the best of our knowledge the victims of persecution from the ranks of Sudeten Labour and Sudeten Democracy can bear comparison in numbers with those from Belgium and Norway.

We recall the fact that the Sudeten territory with its population was ceded to Germany in 1938 by an international decision to which the Governments of Great Britain and France were partners. A just settlement of the Sudeten problem and the protection of the democratic Sudeten Germans is therefore a moral responsibility of these Powers.

We submitted adequate information on the subject to the European Commission when the expulsion plans of the then Czechoslovak Government in exile were under discussion. A decision has never been announced.

We have reason to fear that the fate of 3.2 million Sudeten Germans and 700,000 Magyars is being decided, not as it should be, at the Peace Conference, but arbitrarily, for the third time in twenty-five years. Four million people living in the heart of Europe are to be deprived of their homes, their property and their human rights, and that, after hostilities have ceased, without democratic procedure and without impartial judgment.

We call the attention of all just, peace-loving men to this tragedy, which bodes ill for the coming peace.

Wenzel Jaksch

Eugen de Witte

Franz Katz

CONFIDENTIAL

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 11 MAIDEN LANE, LONDON, W.C.2. ON THURSDAY, JUNE 21ST, 1945 AT 2.15 P.M.

PRESENT: Dr. Gilbert Murray (in the Chair), Lord Cecil, the Dean of Chichester, Dr. Hilda Clark, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss P. Fewcett, Lady Hall, Miss A.J. Hansell, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Mr. J. Macdonald, Lord Perth, Mrs. Prior, Professor Seton-Watson, Mr. H.S. Syrett, Mr. Alan Thomas, Miss Freda White, Professor Basil Williams and Mr. Judd.

131. MINUTES. Minutes of the meeting of June 7th, 1945 were confirmed as circulated.

132. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 123 - Annual Meeting of General Council, it was reported that the Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, had been booked for September 6th and 7th.

On Minute 125 - Appointment of Librarian, the Secretary reported that the post of Librarian had been offered to, and accepted by, Miss Marion Varco at a commencing salary of £350 a year.

On Minute 131 - Appeal by Sudeten Workers, copies of a pamphlet on the future of the Czechoslovak Germans by Dr. Hubert Ripka, supplied by the Czechoslovak Embassy in response to the Secretary's request for further information, were before the Executive. It was understood that, although the pamphlet was written in 1944, it still represented the policy of the Czechoslovak Government.

Mr. Macdonald reported a recent conversation with a Prague business man on the Sudeten problem; and Professor Seton Watson said that he was making certain inquiries which he hoped would produce authentic information. The Executive felt unable to take any action at the present time, but agreed to consider the matter further in the light of any information which Professor Seton Watson might be able to supply.

133. ANNUAL REPORT. The Committee had before them a draft of the ANNUAL REPORT for the year ended December 31st, 1944. On the motion of Lord Cecil it was agreed to insert a footnote on page 9, referring to the pamphlet containing the Union's suggested amendments to the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, and also to the further pamphlet which would be issued after the conclusion of the San Francisco Conference.

On the motion of Dame Adelaide Livingstone it was also agreed to insert a footnote on page 16 stating that the Report of Commission I of the L.I.A. on the Trial and Punishment of War Criminals had been published in March, 1945 and communicated to Allied Governments.

Mr. Macdonald pointed out a discrepancy between the amount of the Freshwater Memorial Fund shown on page 26 with the figure given in the Balance Sheet. It was agreed that an explanatory note should be added to the gross amount quoted on page 26.

Subject to the above, the ANNUAL REPORT was approved and adopted.

The Secretary suggested that, in future, the ANNUAL REPORT should be published as early as possible in the new year without waiting for the Balance Sheet and Statement of Accounts which could be printed separately at a later stage. The Executive expressed their general agreement, but after several members had raised the question of what would be the most convenient date to end the Union's year it was left to the Secretary to consider the matter further and to submit a proposal for consideration at a later meeting

134. GENERAL ELECTION. Miss Parnell reported on the communications which had been sent to Branches of the Union and in certain cases to individual members, regarding action during the General Election. Up to date 154 Branches had replied, 127 promising to put the questions to their Candidates and 6 of which had already sent in the Candidates' replies. 12 Branches had already held All-Party Meetings and 27 more would take place in the near future. The number of Constituencies so far covered amounted to 183 and further replies were arriving daily. Some Branches felt that the questions were too vague and would not elicit any very satisfactory replies, and several of them had drafted alternative questions for their own use.

Captain Morton stated that the Union's questionnaire was being submitted to the Candidates for Cambridge University; and Dr. Murray reported that similar action was being taken for Oxford University although arrangements for an All-Party Meeting could not now be proceeded with.

The question was discussed whether or not L.N.U. Branches should abandon All-Party Meetings if any of the Candidates was unable or unwilling to speak. The Executive generally were of opinion that it was difficult to lay down a general rule and that the matter could best be decided by local Branches according to the circumstances in their respective constituencies. But the Secretary was asked to encourage Branches to proceed with meetings in such circumstances, provided that they made it clear that such meetings were held as Union Meetings, to further the Union's objects.

It was further reported that Lord Cecil's letter had been communicated to the Editors of 1,226 local papers throughout the country: it had already been published in the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN and BIRMINGHAM POST.

135. MR. EDEN. Dr. Murray was asked, on behalf of the Committee, to send a message of condolence to Mr. Eden in the recent death of his mother, Sybil, Lady Eden.
136. WORLD INFORMATION SERVICE. A memorandum (S.1251, copy filed with these minutes) containing proposals for the establishment of a World Information Service, by Captain J. Galitzine was received with interest.
137. C.E.W.C. (a) Appointment of Assistant Secretary. Mr. A.E. W. Thomas presented a report of the Joint Selection Committee's meeting on June 13th (copy filed with these minutes) and it was

RESOLVED: "That the recommendations of the Joint Selection Committee be approved and adopted."

(b) Current Activities. Miss Luffman drew attention to the United Nations Day leaflet published by the C.E.W.C. containing a message from Lord Cecil and a broadcast talk by Mr. Vernon Bartlett. Arrangements had been made for two Schools Conferences to be held in August at a R.A.F. hostel at Alsager, near Crewe (by permission of the

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Ministry of Supply); a Student Conference would take place at Trinity College, Cambridge from July 23rd to 27th; and a further Conference would be held in London, primarily for young people from Youth Clubs and Schools, when the Rt. Hon. Walter Elliott would speak. Miss Luffman also reported that a large increase had taken place during the last few weeks in requests for overseas correspondents.

138. FRANCE. The Dean of Chichester spoke of the extreme importance of everything possible being done at the present time to encourage friendly relations between Great Britain and France. Lord Perth supported the Dean and suggested that he should write an article on the subject for HEADWAY.
139. CORPORATE MEMBERSHIP. The Weelsby Road Methodist Bright Hour, Grimsby, was admitted as a Corporate Member of the Union and the fixing of the Union's seal to the Certificate was authorised.
140. SIR ARTHUR SALTER. A letter from Sir Arthur Salter was read, tendering his resignation from the Executive during the tenure of his present office as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. The resignation was accepted with regret.
141. DR. BRYN THOMAS. A letter from Dr. Bryn Thomas, dated 17th June, 1945 was read, offering to extend until September 30th his offer to address meetings of L.N.U. Branches and other organisations on the terms laid down in Minute 72 (b). It was
- RESOLVED: "That Dr. Bryn Thomas' offer be accepted and that the thanks of the Committee be conveyed to him."
142. MILITARY CONSCRIPTION. The Secretary drew the attention of the Committee to a Statement on Military Conscription by the Religious Society of Friends.
143. MISS COURTNEY. The Executive received with much interest further letters from Miss Courtney on the proceedings at San Francisco (copy filed with these minutes).
144. NEXT MEETING. It was agreed that the next meeting of the Executive should be held on Thursday, July 12th instead of July 5th (Polling Day).

Luffman June 12.

WORLD INFORMATION SERVICE

1. International co-operation - Information Services.a. Occupied Enemy Territory

In occupied enemy territory Allied teams will be responsible for all information and propaganda services, so long as there is an army of occupation. But these teams are rapidly losing their composite national make-up and are becoming "Nationalized" according to the Power occupying their area. These teams will probably continue to have some form of common directive which gives them the internationally agreed lines on which propaganda to the conquered country should be conducted. This will probably be the last direct collaboration in the field of information and propaganda between the Allied Powers unless proposals for post-war co-operation are put forward.

b. Liberated Countries.

In liberated countries the Allied Information Services are being quickly broken up and the various National Services are being put in to replace them. Their task is to "present" or "project" their point of view to the liberated country - to try and make themselves understood and known. That this is highly desirable for the creation of a permanent spirit of goodwill between nations cannot be denied, but European nations have become very sensitive to national propaganda organizations and regard such bodies with the greatest suspicion, even if they be British or American. These suspicions might be overcome in time, but an undertone will always remain to prevent the complete understanding desired. Nations are quick to forget services rendered or co-operation in the past, but harbour the memory of mistakes made for centuries. Soon national rivalry, even between "liberator" countries on the soil of Europe, will begin to revive, in fact is already beginning, and may one day prove cause for future misunderstanding. And finally the National Information Service has a very limited means of projection at its disposal. It is forced to request the permission of the 'Host' country in which it operates for everything it does, not only as a matter of principle but in order to gain the confidence of the 'Host' country. All its material is subject to banning by the party government in power, to which there is no redress.

In fact the 'guest' National Information Services in a country are a prey to the suspicion and, even in some cases, the natural defiance of the 'host' country to national rivalry with other guest countries and to limited terms and means of operation.

2. International Understanding.

All countries are seeking an answer to the problem of preventing further world wars. Therefore the various developments in international control, achieved during this war, are at present being considered at San Francisco to see how effectively they may be used in time of peace. The principle of close international co-operation and the necessity for more mutual understanding has been recognized, but nations have not yet conceived the idea of "international team spirit" in which all elements of the human race will be embraced. If all nations genuinely desire co-operation they must be prepared to make certain sacrifices. National prejudice must be eradicated and this can only be done by a complete mutual understanding. This understanding does not exist at present between any countries, even Great Britain and the U.S.A. who at least speak the same language. It will therefore have to be created and how much more difficult will it be

between countries not only whose languages but also whose orthography are different. The question which is now being put to the world is "Can the responsibility of this task be left entirely to the good faith of individual nations?" The answer has been repeated century after century. No; it cannot; some form of international supervision and even help is necessary.

3. Propaganda Warfare.

While the necessity for international control in propaganda between nations is a matter for bitter dispute, there is an aspect on which no one can disagree. Propaganda or Psychological Warfare has developed since 1918 to such an extent that it has now come to be considered an arm of the fighting services of a nation. Germany has shown the world that the first attack of a war is made before the commencement of physical hostilities by this very arm. In fact this attack may precede a war by ten, twenty or even thirty years. This branch of the science of war must be watched by the future Body of International Control, but not only watched but absorbed and used if necessary as a weapon of the future International Security Force. Propaganda is the front line weapon of the future League of Nations. It can be used many years before even sanctions and certainly armed force are necessary. But to be used, it must have a central controlling service and it must have media at its disposal.

It is possible that the time may come when National Sovereignty is subject voluntarily to some world organization which can exercise powers of command over all the nations of the world. But this is still but a dream in the brains of some idealists. We are forced to rely on the agreement of sovereign nations bound only by a spirit of co-operation whose good faith we must test to the utmost. So it is their executive body, the future World Security Council, which must create by common agreement the future world "propaganda" organization and the media it is to have at its disposal.

4. League of Nations - Information Section.

The League of Nations of 1919-39 had at Geneva an Information Service whose sole functions were to present to the world the aims, functions and activities of the League in all their aspects. It did this by supplying correspondents with material and by broadcasting from its own transmitter; Radio Nations. But all its output was of a purely 'Local' character. Even a future League Information Section suggested in the Chatham House pamphlet "The International Secretariat of the Future" by A. Holt, the former director, does not go much beyond a modernization of the old section. The wider conception of international propaganda is not even discussed.

5. Suggested World Propaganda Control.

It is worth while examining the possibilities of complete world supervision or control of propaganda (or Volksaufklärung, as the Germans so aptly named it.) An Executive body should be formed by the members of the World Security Council which should be given the following tasks:-

a. To supervise and co-ordinate the inter-projection of information, propaganda, ideas, etc., between countries with the objection of guaranteeing the creation of goodwill and understanding between countries.

b. To organise a World Opinion Survey Service for the World Security Council.

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c. The organisation of an executive which would be responsible for Propaganda Warfare against any aggressor nation. This executive would have certain permanent media at its disposal, and in addition a charter giving it powers of control in an emergency over all propaganda media belonging to member nations of the World Security Council.

6. Organization of World Information Service.

To achieve effective control, the World Information Service (called such for want of a better name) would need a central executive situated at the seat of the World Security Council, and Regional and even Sub-Regional Offices. Thus the American Continent might be a region with the Spanish-American part one sub-region and the English-speaking North another sub-region.

The service would be organized on the following lines:

- a. Press Directorate
- b. Radio Directorate
- c. Film Directorate
- d. Publications Directorate
- e. Publicity Directorate
- f. Opinion Survey Service.

All these would be equally responsible to two sub-committees one for the projection of national information and the other for Propaganda Warfare.

a. Press Section

(i) Object.

The Section has two definite missions:

- A. To inform the press of the world of the activities, aims etc., of the World Security Council.
- B. To protect the rights of all nations to free unbiased news and to facilitate its exchange between nations.

(ii) Local News

This Section will function as originally organised in the old League of Nations. See Chatham House Pamphlet "The International Secretariat of the Future", Appx. 'A'.

(iii) Free World News

A. A permanent committee from the Section would be formed for handling international press problems. Such problems which could be solved are:-

Free signal communications between nations.
Protecting the rights of correspondents outside their own country and giving them assistance.

B. The Section should also seek to set up a world news agency parallel to all other news agencies with their same rights and privileges for the purposes of distributing free unbiased news.

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a. Press Section (Cont'd)

C. The Section should also investigate the possibility of providing a world newspaper. If regional offices of the Press Section were set up in which local press problems might be negotiated, correspondents' interests be looked after, and agency offices be established, it should also be possible to publish a newspaper for the Region from this office.

b. Radio Section.

(i) Object

A. To supply all national radio systems with material on the activities, aims, etc., of the World Security Council and arrange for the transmission of all important speeches at its meetings.

B. To create a World Radio System of neutral transmitters manned by composite teams from all the United Nations. This system would be responsible for:

Acting as a front-line weapon for the defence of peace. The network could be used to direct propaganda against any aggressor nation.

Projecting ideas from one nation to another and helping to explain countries to each other in order to increase understanding.

No broadcasts in languages other than a country's own would be permitted over the national systems. But each country would have the right to send teams and put over their own programmes in foreign languages over neutral transmitters.

(ii) Neutral Transmitters.

These transmitters would be located on national soil but would be given the same status as embassies, i.e. extraterritorial. At first it might be possible only to manufacture in such large countries as Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia and Italy. But the initial period could be got over by the formation of regional blocks in which the same language was spoken, e.g. N. America - English; S. America - Spanish; Eastern Europe - Russian or Slavic; Middle East - Arabic.

Eventually as the regional organisation of the Information Service became more defined, smaller transmitters could be brought in where the exact language or dialect of the country concerned could be used.

(iii) Frequency allotment

The present international signals board which allots radio frequencies should be absorbed into the Radio Section of the Council, and co-ordinate this service with its other activities.

(Sgd.) J. Galitzine
(Capt.) Royal Northumberland
Fusiliers,
P.W.D. S.H.A.E.F.

March. '45

REPORT OF A MEETING OF THE JOINT SELECTION COMMITTEE APPOINTED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION AND THE MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE OF THE COUNCIL FOR EDUCATION IN WORLD CITIZENSHIP, HELD AT 11 MAIDEN LANE, LONDON, W.C.2, ON WEDNESDAY, JUNE 13th, AT 3 P.M.

PRESENT: Mr. Nowell C. Smith (in the chair), Mr. A.E.W. Thomas, Miss L.E. Charlesworth, Dr. J.E. Smart, Mr. Judd and Miss Luffman.

The Committee met to select an Assistant Secretary for the C.E.W.C. in accordance with the agreed conditions of appointment set out in the following advertisement:

Copy of Advertisement

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION and COUNCIL FOR EDUCATION IN WORLD CITIZENSHIP are about to appoint an Assistant Secretary of the C.E.W.C. The Assistant Secretary will be especially concerned with the work of School Societies for the study of international affairs and with the organisation of holiday schools and conferences for boys and girls. Salary at the rate of £250 to £300 p.a. according to qualifications. Applications should be submitted as soon as possible on a form to be obtained from the Secretary, League of Nations Union, 11 Maiden Lane, London, W.C.2.

It was reported that applications had been received from 55 candidates and the following were interviewed:

Miss E.M. Aikman	Aged 34. Education Officer, A.T.S.
Miss E.M.G. Dumphreys	Aged 27. B.A. Honours, Class II, Modern History, St. Hilda's College, Oxford. Diploma in Education. Schoolmistress.
Mrs. E.B. Furness	(For qualifications see below)
Mr. I.W. Hughes	Aged 28. Y.M.C.A. Officer for North Wales. B.A., Second Class Honours, Law and Economics, University of Wales.
Mrs. Kenyon-Ormerod	Aged 24. Education Officer, A.T.S. Former secretary to Miss Luffman in C.E.W.C.
Captain G.I. Lewis	Aged 33. Captain, Royal Welch Fusiliers. B.A. Honours, University of Wales F.R. Econ.S., etc. At one time Trade Union organiser and W.E.A. lecturer.

It was unanimously

RESOLVED: "That the appointment be offered to Mrs. E.B. Furness* at a commencing salary of £275 a year, with a definite prospect of an increase to the rate of £300 a year after a satisfactory probationary period".

The Committee were very much impressed by Miss E.M. Aikman, Mrs. Kenyon-Ormerod and Captain G.I. Lewis and strongly recommend that they be considered as possible candidates for any suitable vacancies which may later arise on the staff of the Union.

*Mrs. Enid Beryl Furness, aged 25, took a Second Class Honours degree in Economics at Cambridge where she was Secretary of

the Marshall Society, Chairman of the Arts Committee and a member of the Social Science Committee of the National Union of Students, and of the Cambridge University Society of International Affairs. She was before that a member of her School Branch of the League of Nations Union.

Mrs. Furness is also a Graduate Member of the Institute of Labour Management and has had experience both of organising work and of teaching.

CONFIDENTIAL

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 11 MAIDEN LANE, LONDON, W.C.2. ON THURSDAY, JULY 12TH, 1945 (at the conclusion of the Meeting of the UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION of Great Britain and Northern Ireland).

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Mr. W. Arnold, Air Vice-Marshal Bennett, Professor Brodeur, Mr. F.M. Burris, Lord Cecil, Dr. Clark, Miss K.D. Courtney, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss P. Fawcett, Dr. M. Garnett, Miss Hansell, Mr. A.J. Howe, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Mr. J. Macdonald, Dr. Murray, Lord Perth, Mr. R.F. Shaw, Mr. Alan Thomas, Miss Freda White, Professor Basil Williams, and Mr. Judd.

145. MINUTES. Minutes of the Meeting of June 21st, 1945, were confirmed as circulated.
146. AIR VICE-MARSHAL BENNETT. The Chairman cordially welcomed Air Vice-Marshal Bennett who was attending the Committee as a member for the first time.
147. FUTURE OF THE UNION. The Executive had before them a report of a meeting of the Special Committee held on July 5th, 1945 (copy filed with these minutes) which included 1. (a) Regional Officers, (b) Public Relations Officer, (c) Appeals Officer, (d) Mr. Mills, (e) Staff; 2. L.N.U. General Council; 3. (b) Agreement between the L.N.U. and the U.N.A.; (c) Revision of the L.N.U. Rules. After considerable discussion it was

RESOLVED: That, subject to the following, the recommendations contained in the sections of the Special Committee's report enumerated above be approved and adopted:-

1. (e) Staff. It was agreed that the following should be invited to serve on the Office Committee and be given power to add to their number:

Lord Lytton (ex-officio and to attend when possible), Miss Courtney, Mr. Syrett, Mr. Howe, Mr. Macdonald, Mr. A.E.W. Thomas, and Lady Hall.

2. L.N.U. General Council. The resolutions for submission to the General Council were approved and adopted subject to the deletion in resolution (a) of the word "wholeheartedly" in paragraph three, and in resolution (b) of the words "by the Executive Committee" in paragraph one.
3. (b) Agreement between the L.N.U. and the U.N.A. The draft Agreement contained in the Report of the Special Committee was approved and adopted for submission to the General Council subject to the Objects of the United Nations Association being amended as agreed upon at the Association's meeting on July 12th.
3. (c) Revision of L.N.U. Rules. It was agreed that, subject to the Union's solicitors being satisfied of the desirability of

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shortened and simplified Rules being adopted for the purpose of keeping the Union in minimum existence and operation until its affairs could be wound up and a Royal Charter secured for U.N.A., the draft contained in the Special Committee's Report be approved and adopted for submission to the General Council.

148. FINANCE COMMITTEE. A report of the Committee's meeting held on June 27th presented by Mr. Howe (copy filed with these minutes) was approved and adopted.
149. SAN FRANCISCO CONFERENCE. It was agreed to hold a special meeting of the Executive at 11 a.m. on Thursday, July 19th, for the purpose of hearing a detailed report from Miss Courtney on the San Francisco Conference.
150. GENERAL ELECTION. The Executive received with interest an interim report on action taken by L.N.U. local organisation in connection with the General Election (S.1257 and 1257a, copies filed with these minutes).
151. LIBERATION OF ENEMY OCCUPIED COUNTRIES. The Executive were reminded of the decision recorded in minute 44 to submit to the July meeting of the General Council the resolutions contained in the Chairman's memorandum (S.1214a). Having regard to present circumstances it was agreed that the previous decision be rescinded.
152. I.P.C. (SWISS BRANCH). A communication dated June, 1945, from the Swiss Branch of the I.P.C. was placed before the Committee (Copy filed with these Minutes). The Secretary was asked to reply in terms drafted by the Chairman, stating that the Union was not contemplating an international conference of the kind suggested nor would it be willing to take part in such a conference if invited to do so.
153. DUTCH L.N.U. A communication from the President of the Dutch L.N.U. was received with interest and the Secretary reported that he had already written to Senator Serrarens and Mme. Bakker van Bosse and had sent them a small selection of books and papers on international affairs and the policy of the Union.
154. C.E.W.C. An interim statement on the International Schools Fund, and a programme of two Schools' Conferences to be held at Alsager from July 30th to August 5th and from August 7th to 11th, were placed before the Committee.
155. CHINESE ASSOCIATION FOR UNITED NATIONS. The Executive received with much interest the following cablegram from the President of the Chinese L.N.U.: "Board of Directors of our Union met June 26th and resolved changing name to Chinese Association for the United Nations. Purpose organisation personnel being unchanged. We expect establishing closer relation with you".
156. CORPORATE MEMBERSHIP. The Church of St. Michael the Archangel (City) Bristol and the firm of Messrs. H. Day and Sons Ltd. of Norwood S.E., were admitted as Corporate Members of the Union and the fixing of the Union's seal to the Certificates was authorised.

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157. RESIGNATION OF LORD CECIL. The following letter from Lord Cecil to the Secretary was read:-

7th July, 1945.

Dear Judd,

The time has come for me to complete my resignation of the Presidency of L.C.N.U. which I announced last autumn. At the request of the Executive Committee I postponed it till the end of the war and when that came and was followed by the General Election it seemed right to await the result of the latter. I propose, therefore, that it shall be now definitely placed in the hands of the Executive Committee so that they may take any steps they think necessary as a result of it before the meeting of the Council on Sept. 5. It is evident that a society like ours is more than ever necessary as a consequence of the Conference at San Francisco. All now depends on the possibility of creating a strong Public Opinion which will insist on the new Organisation becoming a reality with, it may be, such developments as may prove necessary. For this the Union in its new name will have to work hard and ought to be directed by younger men than myself.

I do not propose to sever my connection with the work and will readily give any help I can to U.N.A. but not as President or as a regular member of the Executive. Please lay this letter before the Executive as soon as possible.

Yours very sincerely,

CECIL.

Lord Cecil's resignation was accepted with very great regret, and a sub-committee, consisting of Lord Lytton, Dr. Murray, Miss Courtney, Mr. Syrett, Lord Perth, Mrs. Dugdale and Mr. A.E.W. Thomas, with power to co-opt, was appointed to consider and make recommendations to the Executive concerning consequential changes.

Lytton

19. 7. 45.

League of Nations Union
and
United Nations Association

REPORT OF A MEETING OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE
HELD ON THURSDAY, JULY 5TH, 1945

The Committee held its sixteenth meeting (its first meeting as a Special Committee of the United Nations Association) on the morning and afternoon of Thursday, July 5th. There were present: Lord Lytton (in the chair), Miss K.D. Courtney, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Lady Hall, Mr. A.J. Howe, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Mr. Nowell Smith, Mr. A.E.W. Thomas, Mr. Judd and Mr. Walker.

1. MATTERS ARISING FROM THE LAST MEETING

(a) Regional Officers.

Mr. Judd reported that he had met the Northants. Federal Council who would be prepared to release Mr. Hall Todd to become Regional Officer for Region No. 3. If Mr. Hall Todd were appointed they would try to continue their work as a County Federation within the Region, appointing someone of less experience, at a smaller salary, to succeed Mr. Hall Todd and to work under his general directions. They hoped to raise the necessary money but could not afford to make any direct financial grant to the Region. They would however lend office premises and equipment if the Regional Office, or a sub-office, could be established in Northampton. But, in their opinion, Nottingham with its University College and Regional Offices of Government Departments, or Leicester, would really be better centres for the Regional Office.

It was agreed (1) that, subject to Mr. Hall Todd's acceptance of conditions of appointment to be drawn up by the Selection Committee, he be appointed Regional Officer from September 1st, (2) that he be told that the Committee will have no objection to his continuing to live at Northampton until his children have left school, but that the Committee wishes the Regional Office to be set up in Nottingham, and that he must therefore be prepared to spend several nights each week away from home.

It was further reported that Mr. Judd had arranged to meet the Warwickshire and Birmingham Federal Council and Mr. Pearson on Sunday, July 15th, that the Executive Committee had approved the payment of annual grants recommended for Scotland in lieu of the usual arrangements for a Region, and that, with the approval of the Executive and of the London Regional Federation, Miss Farnell had been appointed Regional Officer for London and for a Region adjoining London, on terms mutually agreed, and would take up her new duties on September 1st.

(b) Public Relations Officer

The Secretary reported several conversations with Lt. Col. Birch, the chief military officer in A.B.C.A. and a former member of the Union's staff, who had offered to do anything he could to assist the Union in his spare time and had recommended two members of the A.B.C.A. staff for consideration as possible Public Relations Officer.

(c) Appeals' Officer

The Secretary reported that Mr. Roy Hopkins of the Duke of Gloucester's Appeal had been introduced to him by Sir Walter Layton and had offered to join the staff as a full-time voluntary worker in the autumn. Mr. Judd had asked Mr. Hopkins to suggest the names of a possible Appeals' Officer and two applications had now been received.

It was decided to ask Lt. Col. Birch and Mr. Roy Hopkins to meet the Chairman and, if possible, other members of the Committee.

(d) Mr. Mills

It was reported that Mr. Mills had been released from the R.A.F. and would resume his duties as an Assistant Secretary of the Union on Monday, July 23rd.

(e) Staff

It was reported that the Finance Committee had agreed that the remaining posts of Regional Officers, Public Relations Officer and Appeals' Officer, already authorised, should now be advertised and had suggested that the conditions of appointment and selection of candidates should be made by a joint committee of the Finance Committee and existing Selection Committee. The Secretary suggested that the time had now come when it would be very useful to have an Office Committee which would be responsible for all new appointments and which would institute a scheme of grading and salaries for all appointments in U.N.A.

It was agreed to recommend that an Office Committee be appointed to advise the Executive, or act for it when so authorised, in the making of all senior appointments, that the Office Committee be asked to consider a scheme of staff grading and salaries, and that one or more members of the Finance Committee be included among its members. It was also agreed that, for each appointment, the Office Committee should consider first any former members of the staff whose appointments were terminated by the war and who might wish to be considered, including County and District Secretaries as well as members of Headquarters' staff.

(f) Objects of the United Nations Association

It was reported that with certain small alterations of wording, and subject only to such further improvement of the wording as Dr. Murray might be able to suggest, the United Nations Association and the Executive Committee of the Union had approved the statement of Objects drawn up at the last meeting (see Minute 2 of the meeting of U.N.A. held on June 7th and Minute 150 of the meeting of the L.N.U. Executive held on the same day). Dr. Murray, who was detained in Oxford by civic duties, had now submitted the following revised draft:

"The objects of the Association are:-

1. To work for the continuous increase of friendship and mutual understanding between the peoples of the world and for their co-operation in the tasks of peace and reconstruction.

2. To ensure the whole-hearted support of the British people for the United Nations Organisation and its various associated organs, in a united effort for the final Prevention of War;
- (a) by removing its political, economic and social causes; by the just and peaceful settlement of international disputes; and, if necessary, by the use of Collective Force;
 - (b) by safeguarding human rights and freedoms and promoting the moral and material welfare of all peoples;
 - (c) by gradually building up an agreed code of international law applicable to all nations, great and small;
 - (d) by fostering among its Member Nations, together with patriotism, a sense of World Citizenship and of the spiritual unity of mankind."

The Chairman said that several members of the Committee had written to draw attention to the fact that this altered the sense of the statement in several places, and they wished these changes to be carefully considered: but they all agreed that they were much indebted to Dr. Murray for the great improvement in style. Lord Lytton thought, and the Committee agreed, that in any case the original statement should be revised in view of the fact that a United Nations Charter had now been signed and that it was no longer useful to say what the objects of the new international organisation should be as they had been determined by the Charter.

After long discussion it was resolved to recommend that the Objects of the United Nations Association be revised to read as follows:

"The objects of the Association are

1. To work for Continued and increasing friendship between the peoples of the United Nations and for their co-operation in the tasks of peace and reconstruction.
2. To secure the Whole-hearted acceptance by the British people of The United Nations organisation.
3. To advocate the full development of The United Nations, the International Labour Organisation and other specialised agencies brought into relationship with The United Nations so as to bring about
 - (a) the final prevention of war
 - by removing its political, economic and social causes,
 - by the just and peaceful settlement of international disputes, and if necessary by the use of collective force;
 - (b) the safeguarding of human rights and freedoms, the promotion of the moral and material welfare of all peoples, and

- (c) the building up of an agreed code of international law applicable to all nations great and small.
4. To foster among the people of this country a conception of national obligation to world interests and a sense of loyalty to an organised international community."

after the general sense of this clause had been agreed the actual drafting was left to the Chairman who has since supplied these words.

Lord Lytton suggests that the statement might be read more easily if some of the adjectives were omitted and these have been placed in square brackets, above. He does not however desire to press for the omission of the words if the Committee feels that there are, for other reasons, greater advantages in retaining them/

2. L.N.U. GENERAL COUNCIL

The Secretary submitted a draft resolution (see b, below) for the General Council, prepared in accordance with the decisions taken at the last meeting of the Committee and approved by the L.N.U. Executive and U.N.A., together with a draft resolution (see a, below) on the subject of The United Nations and the Union. It was decided to advise the L.N.U. Executive to move these two resolutions at the meeting of the General Council, in the following form:

a. The General Council

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

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

Whole-heartedly welcomes the formation of a new league of peace-loving states, to be known as The United Nations, and

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

b. The General Council

Welcomes the formation of a "UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION of Great Britain and Northern Ireland" by the Executive Committee in accordance with the resolution adopted nemine contradicente by the General Council on April 6th, 1945,

And, having studied the Objects and Rules of the Association (Appendix A), the Council

- (1) authorises the Chairman, on its behalf and in accordance with Clauses 4 (l and ll) of the Union's Royal Charter, to enter into the following Agreement with this new organisation (Appendix B),
- and
- (2) resolves that, subject to the acceptance of this Agreement (Appendix B) by the "UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION of Great Britain and Northern Ireland" the Rules of the Union be suspended and that the following rules be adopted in their place (Appendix C).

3. RULES and AGREEMENT.

The Secretary reported that he had, as requested, shown the Union's Honorary Solicitor the general decisions taken at the last meeting and that Mr. Tildesley had agreed that they were fully consistent with the advice given by Council. In accordance with those decisions Mr. Judd had drafted Rules for U.N.A., greatly shortened and simplified Rules for the Union that would keep the Union in minimum existence and operation until its affairs could be wound up and a Royal Charter could be secured for U.N.A., and an Agreement to govern the relations between the two bodies.

- (a) Rules of the United Nations Association. These had been prepared on the basis of the Union's Royal Charter, Bye-Laws and Rules, the Rules of the Union in force before the Charter was granted to it, the recommendations of the Special Committee in its Interim Report and certain experiences in the actual working of the Union. An accompanying memorandum on the financial proposals showed that, although as requested by General Council all the Branches had been invited to comment on the Interim Report, none had been able to suggest any alternative rates and division of subscriptions which would be likely to ensure that when the Union had once more enrolled 400,000 members it could as a long-range policy be reasonably self-supporting. The Committee desire that this should be made clear to U.N.A. and to the L.N.U. General Council and would recommend that from January 1st the rates of subscription should be those suggested in the Interim Report. In the meantime they agree that the rates should be those adopted by the General Council in December 1937 but never enforced, excepting only that, in accordance with the wishes expressed by the General Council at its last meeting, a class of subscribers (not mentioned in the rates adopted in 1937) subscribing only 1s.0d. should be retained but should be known as Associate Members.

There was some discussion of Rule 5 and it was agreed that Branches should normally be asked not to include in their membership returns members whose subscriptions are more than a year in arrears. After the first eight Rules had been examined and Rule 2 had been amended to include the revised statement of aims, it was decided to refer this draft Appendix A direct to the Executive, and to ask the Executive to consider especially the proposed new arrangements for Corporate Members (Rules 7 and 8) and any other principal changes from the existing Bye-Laws and Rules of the Union.

- (b) Agreement between the "League of Nations Union" and the "United Nations Association of Great Britain and Northern Ireland". It was decided to recommend this draft Agreement, with the addition incorporated in the following text (Appendix B) to the U.N.A. and to the Executive Committee of the L.N.U. for submission to the Union's General Council.
- (c) Revision of the Union's Rules. The Committee agreed to advise the L.N.U. Executive that it should recommend the Union's General Council to suspend the present Rules of the Union and to substitute the following (Appendix C).

Appendix A

DRAFT

[Words in square brackets are not part of the text but are inserted so that members of the Committee may refer to the relevant passages in the Objects and Rules of the Union as amended by the General Council of the Union in March 1923; the Royal Charter, Bye-Laws and existing rules of the Union; and other documents.

In reference notes O.R. denotes Objects and Rules of 1923.

" " " R.C. " Royal Charter, Bye-Laws and Rules]

UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION
of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

OBJECTS AND RULES

TITLE [O.R.1]

1. The name shall be the "UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION of Great Britain and Northern Ireland".

OBJECTS

[O.R.2, Minute 130 of L.N.U. Executive, and
Minute 2 of U.N.A.]

2. The objects of the Association are
1. To work for [continued and increasing] friendship between the peoples of the United Nations and for their co-operation in the tasks of peace and reconstruction.
 2. To secure the [whole-hearted] acceptance by the British people of The United Nations organisation.
 3. To advocate the full development of The United Nations, the International Labour Organisation and other specialised agencies brought into relationship with The United Nations so as to bring about
 - (a) the final prevention of war
 - by removing its [political, economic and social] causes,
 - by the just and peaceful settlement of [international] disputes, and if necessary by the use of collective force;
 - (b) the safeguarding of human rights and freedoms, the promotion of the moral and material welfare of all peoples, and
 - (c) the building up of an agreed code of international law applicable to all nations great and small.

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4. To foster among the people of this country a conception of national obligation to world interests and a sense of loyalty to an organised international community.

INCOME

3. All the Income of the Association from donations, subscriptions, or other sources will be entirely absorbed in, and devoted to, the attainment of the above objects [see R.C. p.15 and O.R.3]

MEMBERSHIP

4. All persons of sixteen years of age and upwards, who signify in writing their general agreement with the objects of the Association and willingness to pay a minimum annual subscription of 2s.6d., are eligible as full Members of the Association [see R.C. p.15 and O.R.4]. Associate Members may be enrolled upon payment of a subscription of 1s.0d.
- (a) Members who make a single payment of not less than £25 shall be described as Life Members and shall be entitled to receive the monthly journal of the Association, regularly by post, as well as pamphlets and similar literature issued by the Association [see R.C. p.20]
 - * (b) Members whose annual subscriptions are not less than £1 shall be described as Foundation Members and shall be entitled to receive the literature to which Life Members are entitled [R.C. p.20]
 - * (c) Members whose annual subscriptions are less than £1 but not less than 5s.0d. shall be described as Registered Members and shall be entitled to receive the monthly journal of the Association [see R.C. p.20]
 - (d) Members whose annual subscriptions are less than 5s.0d. but not less than 2s.6d. shall be described as Subscription Members and shall be entitled to receive copies of the News Sheet in alternate months, or monthly if distributed by the Branch to which they are attached [see R.C. p.20]
- provided that the Executive Committee shall have power to modify these rates of subscription in the case of members of Branches in Wales and Monmouthshire or in Universities, Colleges and Schools or otherwise within the public system of education. [see R.C. p.21].

4 after the general sense of this clause had been agreed, the actual drafting was left to the Chairman who has since supplied these words.

[Lord Lytton suggests that the statement might be read more easily if some of the adjectives were omitted and these have been placed in square brackets, above. He does not however desire to press for the omission of the words if the Committee feels that there are, for other reasons, greater advantages in retaining them]

- * It is recommended by the Special Committee that, as from January 1st, 1946, these rates should be increased to 7s.6d. and £1.1s.0d. as proposed in that Committee's Interim Report.

5. persons may join the Association at any time. No person shall be deemed to be a member until his first subscription has been paid. Each annual subscription shall be renewable on the first day of the month in which the first subscription is paid. [Sec O.R. 4 and R.C. p.21]
6. A member shall ordinarily be attached to the Branch nearest his residence, provided that Foundation Members whom the Association's local organisation has not enrolled or retained may be enrolled by and attached to Headquarters on condition that Branch finances do not thereby suffer. A member may be attached to more than one Branch. A member for whom no suitable Branch is available shall be attached to Headquarters until such a Branch is formed. [Sec O.R.5 and R.C. p.21].
7. Any group of persons, other than a Christian congregation, who desire to give corporate support to the Association and who promise to endeavour to secure that every member of the group shall become an individual member of the Association may be accepted as a "Corporate Member" so soon as half its members have been enrolled as members of the Union or two-thirds of its members have been enrolled as Associate Members of the Union; provided that the group promises to endeavour to secure that each of its members shall become an individual member of the Association, and that every application for admission as a Corporate Member before being granted shall be submitted to the Executive Committee, and provided also that this rule shall not apply to Wales and Monmouthshire. Any group recognised as a Corporate Member shall pay an annual subscription of £1 which shall entitle any person nominated by the group to receive the monthly journal of the Association and such other publications as are sent to annual subscribers of £1 or over. [Sec O.R.6 and R.C. page 21].

[Note: This and the following rule, as drafted, are intended to meet a point raised in the Special Committee by requiring that the present obligation to endeavour to enrol individual members shall in fact be carried out.]

8. In order to enable Christian congregations which recognise the spiritual significance of the movement for international friendship and co-operation through the United Nations, by a corporate act to take their place in that movement, the United Nations Association is prepared to accept as a Church Corporate Member any Christian congregation which undertakes:
- To make prayer for the United Nations a regular part of the worship of the Church;
 - To set forth the aims and work of the United Nations on at least one Sunday in the year;
 - to make other opportunities to give regular and definite information concerning the United Nations to the members of the congregation, and to urge them to become individual members of the Association;
 - To appoint a representative to be a link between the congregation and the Association, to make the Church's obligations as a Corporate Member of the Association his special care, and to receive for the use of the Church the monthly journal of the Association, and such other publications of the Association as are sent to Foundation Members; and

(e) to pay an annual subscription of not less than £1;

provided that all applications for admission as a Church Corporate Member shall, before being granted, be submitted to the Executive Committee, which shall not normally grant such application until a reasonable number of the members of the congregation have already been enrolled individually as Members or Associate Members of the Association; and provided also that this rule shall not apply to Wales and Monmouthshire. [Sec R.C. p.21]

BRANCHES

[Sec O.R. 7 - 15 and R.C. pp.23 - 26]

9. A Branch may be formed at any time, and will be recognised as a Branch as soon as it has received its Certificate of Constitution from the Executive Committee. It shall consist of at least ten members, exclusive of the Officers. It shall elect as soon as possible a Chairman, Secretary and Committee, whose names and addresses shall be forwarded at once to Headquarters. The Officers and Committee shall hold office until the first Annual General Meeting of the Branch.
10. Each Branch, through its General Meetings and its Committee, shall be responsible for promoting the objects of the Association in its locality by such means as recruiting new members, public meetings, lectures and discussions and other activities. It shall conduct its affairs in accordance with the Rules of the Association and with such directions as may be given from time to time by the General Council.
11. Each Branch shall, before the end of March in each year, by notice in writing to all its members, convene its Annual General Meeting. At this meeting there shall be elected a Chairman, Secretary and Committee, together with such other officers or representatives* as may be required. In electing members of the Committee the Meeting shall endeavour to ensure that the younger members are fully represented.

All officers, representatives and members of the Committee shall hold office until the next Annual General Meeting; and any casual vacancies occurring among them may be filled by the Committee. The Committee shall have power to co-opt additional members to a number not exceeding one-quarter of the number elected by the Annual General Meeting.

Each Corporate Member in the area of the Branch shall normally be invited to appoint one representative who shall attend meetings of the Committee as an Observer if that representative has not been elected or co-opted as a member of the Committee.

12. The Committee shall be responsible for the conduct of the affairs of the Branch, subject to any directions given by a General Meeting of the Branch.
13. Each Branch shall elect to the General Council one representative if its total paid-up membership does not exceed 150; two representatives if the paid-up membership exceeds 150 but does not exceed 1,000; three representatives if the paid-up membership exceeds 1,000 but does not exceed 2,000; and four if it is over 2,000.

* e.g. on the General Council and on the District, Regional or National Council, if any.

In these Rules, paid-up membership shall be taken to mean the total number of subscriptions received by the Branch and duly notified to Headquarters during the preceding calendar year, provided that no subscription shall be reckoned as duly notified unless the prescribed proportion of it has been paid to Headquarters, and provided always that the words 'during the preceding calendar year' shall not apply in the case of Branches subsequently recognised.

14. Any Branch in the area of a Regional Council (see Rule 22 below) shall elect to that Regional Council one representative; additional representatives may be elected whenever the membership of the Branch is over 100, such additional representation to be decided by the Regional Council itself; the names and addresses of the representatives shall be sent to the Secretary of the Regional Council within seven days of election.
15. If a Branch's representative is unable to attend any meeting of the body on which he represents the Branch, the Committee of the Branch may appoint a substitute who shall have the same voting power as the representative.
16. Each Branch shall render to Headquarters such return of membership as the Executive Committee may require.
17. The financial year for each Branch shall end on the 31st day of December in each year. At each Annual General Meeting the accounts for the previous financial year, after being duly audited, shall be presented.
18. Each Branch shall, before the end of April in each year, supply Headquarters with an annual statement of income and expenditure.
19. Each Branch shall retain for its own use
 - (a) half of every Associate Membership subscription of less than 2s.6d.
 - (b) one-third of every Membership subscription of not less than 2s.6d. and under 5s.0d.
 - (c) one-quarter of every Membership subscription of not less than 5s.0d.,
provided always that out of the first subscription of £1 or more paid by a Foundation Member the Branch shall be allowed to retain a further sum of 5s.0d.
 - (d) one-half of all donations received by the Branch, except such as are specifically given for other allocation;
 and shall within one month of receiving such subscription or donation forward the balance to Headquarters for use as laid down in Appendix I;

provided always that the Executive Committee shall have power to waive or modify these obligations in the case of Branches situated in Wales or Monmouthshire, and in the case of Branches formed in Universities and Colleges and Schools or otherwise within the public system of education.

20. Each Branch shall be financially self-supporting and the Association shall not be responsible for any money expended, or liability incurred, by a Branch, unless such payment or liability has been previously authorised by the Executive Committee or Secretary of the Association.

21. The Certificate of Constitution may be withdrawn by the Executive Committee from a Branch if it numbers less than ten members for a period exceeding six months, or if it fails to carry on its work in accordance with the Rules of the Association.

REGIONAL COUNCILS

[See Interim Report and cf. arrangements for District Councils, O.R.16-19 and Regional Councils O.R. 20(6), also R.C. arrangements for Regional and District Councils, pp. 26-30]

22. A Regional Council may be formed, with the consent of the Executive Committee, by the Branches in each of the following groups of counties or parts of counties:-^{*}
 1. Northumberland, Durham and North Riding of Yorkshire.
 2. West Riding and East Riding of Yorkshire.
 3. Derby, Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Rutland and Northamptonshire.
 4. Huntingdonshire, Cambridgeshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire and Essex.
 5. London and metropolitan area.
 6. Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, Berkshire, Hampshire and Isle of Wight, Dorset.
 7. Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, Somerset, Devon, Cornwall and Scilly Isles.
 - 8.
 9. Herefordshire, Worcestershire, Warwickshire, Shropshire and Staffordshire.
 10. Cheshire, Lancashire, Westmorland, Cumberland and the Isle of Man.
 - 11.
 12. Northern Ireland.

provided always that the Executive Committee shall have power to sanction arrangements for the sub-division of any region and for the temporary amalgamation of certain regions or parts of regions.

23. The Regional Council shall consist of the representatives elected by the Branches and District Councils in its area. The Regional Council shall have power to co-opt other members of its Branches and District Councils not exceeding one-quarter of the number of the elected representatives, and to accept, as further members, representatives of any organisation which is affiliated to, or represented on, the General Council of the Association or one of its Committees.
24. The Regional Council shall be responsible for forming Branches in its area, for ensuring that they work in accordance with the Rules of the Association and for assisting them in every possible way to carry out the work of the Association in accordance with the directions of the General Council and Executive Committee. The Regional Council shall support, as far as possible, any appeal made by Headquarters in its area for funds to carry on national work; but such appeal should be made as a rule only after consultation with the Regional Council concerned.
25. The Regional Council shall, before the end of May in each year, convene its Annual General Meeting. At this meeting there shall be elected a Chairman, Secretary and Committee, together with

* corresponding to the Civil Defence Regions and numbered accordingly

such other officers or representatives* as may be required. All officers, representatives and members of the Committee shall hold office until the next Annual General Meeting, and any casual vacancies occurring among them may be filled by the Regional Council or by the Committee. The Committee shall be representative as far as possible of all sections of the community.

26. Each Regional Council shall elect to the General Council not more than five members of the Association.
27. If a Regional Council's representative is unable to attend any meeting of the body on which he represents the Regional Council, that Council or its Committee may appoint a substitute who shall have the same voting power as the representative.
28. The financial year for each Regional Council shall end on the 31st day of December in each year. At each Annual General Meeting the accounts for the previous financial year, after being duly audited, shall be presented. Each Regional Council shall be financially responsible for the conduct of its own affairs and the Association shall not be responsible for any money expended, or liability incurred, by a Regional Council unless such payment or liability has been previously authorised by the Executive Committee or Secretary of the Association.
29. Each Regional Council shall, before the end of April in each year, supply Headquarters with an annual statement of income and expenditure, and shall pay to Headquarters the proportion specified in Rule 19 of subscriptions or donations paid direct to a Regional Council instead of to a Branch. This proportion should in any case be paid to Headquarters within one month of the receipt of the subscription or donation by the Regional Council.

DISTRICT COUNCILS

[See Interim Report and refer to O.R. and R.C. as for Regional Councils/]

30. The Executive Committee of the Association shall have power to recognise District Councils/ appointed by the Branches in a county or other area, in such manner and with such responsibilities and powers as the Executive Committee may approve after consultation with the Regional Council or Regional Councils principally concerned.

NATIONAL COUNCILS

[See R.C. pp. 29 and 30 and O.R.7/]

31. The Executive Committee of the Association shall have power to approve any arrangements
- (a) for the formation of National Councils for Scotland and Wales (including Monmouthshire) by the Branches and members living in these countries, provided that the financial arrangements shall correspond with those approved for a Region or that the Branches shall be responsible for the financial support of their National Council.

* e.g. the General Council and Standing Conference

/ In these Rules the term "District Council" includes Federal Councils, County Federations and other associations of Branches other than Regional and National Councils, formed in accordance with these rules in a county or other convenient area.

(b) for the representation of Scotland and Wales on the General Council of the Association acceptable to the members of the Association in these two countries.

32. The Executive Committee shall have power to make other arrangements for promoting any of the Association's objects in Universities, Colleges and Schools and within the public system of education, and to establish National Councils or to enter into any arrangements with existing bodies for these purposes.

GENERAL COUNCIL

[See O.R. 20 et seq. and R.C. p. 15 and pp.30-32/]

33. A General Council shall be appointed annually from amongst the members of the Association. The General Council shall have full power over all the affairs of the Association and shall control and direct the policy and operation of the Association, functioning through an Executive and other committees.
34. The General Council shall consist of
- (1) Representatives elected by National Councils under arrangements approved by the Executive Committee.
 - (2) Representatives elected by Branches and by all Regional and District Councils.
 - (3) The Officers of the Union, namely the Presidents, Honorary Presidents, Chairman of the Executive, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Trustees and others appointed by the Council.
 - (4) Co-opted Members.
The Council shall have power at its Annual General Meeting to co-opt any member proposed by the Executive Committee of the Union, provided that the total number so co-opted shall not exceed 25 per cent. of the elected representatives referred to in paragraphs (1) and (2) above.
 - (5) Persons specially co-opted as being representatives of some principal aspects of the national life.
The Council shall have power at its Annual General Meeting specially to co-opt on the recommendation of the Executive Committee persons, each of whom shall be representative of, and able to keep the Union in close touch with, one of the following aspects of the national life:
 - (a) Religion
 - (b) Education
 - (c) Trade and Industry:
 - (i) Employers;
 - (ii) Employed.
 - (d) Women's Organisations
 - (e) Health
 - (f) Law
 - (g) The Services:
 - (i) Serving
 - (ii) Ex-Service
 - (h) Such other interests as the Executive Committee may from time to time recommend and the Council approve;

provided that the number of representative persons specially co-opted under this clause shall not exceed 15 per cent. of the elected representatives referred to in paragraphs (1) and (2) above, and provided that the Executive Committee before recommending persons for special co-optation under this clause shall consult such standing advisory sub-committees as may exist or may hereafter be formed.

- (6) Representatives of affiliated and co-operating Bodies. The Council shall have power to recognise affiliated and co-operating Bodies under such conditions as the Executive Committee may from time to time determine, and these affiliated and co-operating Bodies, either separately or in separate groups, and in such manner as the Executive may approve, shall have power to appoint representatives as members of the Council, provided that the total number of representatives of affiliated and co-operating Bodies appointed under this clause shall not exceed 10 per cent. of the elected representatives mentioned in Clauses (1) and (2).
35. The General Council shall meet regularly at least twice a year. It shall hold its Annual General Meeting as soon as possible after the first day of May. At this meeting there shall be elected the officers of the Association together with not more than thirty members of an Executive Committee. The Officers of the Association and the members of the Executive Committee shall hold office until the next Annual General Meeting. Nominations for the Executive Committee may be sent to the Secretary of the Association by any member of the General Council or by any Branch or by any District, Regional or National Council, not less than one month before the Annual General Meeting.
36. The second regular meeting of the General Council shall be held during the month of December. At this meeting the General Council shall determine the amount to be expended by the Executive during the following year.
37. The Secretary of the Association shall give not less than three months' notice of a meeting of the General Council to Branches, to District, Regional and National Councils, and to members of the General Council. All resolutions, other than those of the Executive Committee, to be printed on the agenda paper must reach the Secretary not less than two months before the meeting. The (preliminary) agenda paper shall be issued to Branches, to District, Regional and National Councils, and to members of the General Council, six weeks before the meeting. Amendments must reach the Secretary not less than three weeks before the meeting. The agenda paper in its final form shall be issued one week before the meeting. Business which is not on the agenda paper shall not be taken unless urgency is voted by the Council.
and every Branch
38. Every National, Regional or District Council shall pay to Headquarters the sum of 10s.0d. for each person who is to represent it at a meeting of the General Council. This payment will entitle the representative to speak and vote at the meeting and should be sent to Headquarters seven days beforehand.
- The Ten Shillings Fund thus provided shall be applied by the Executive so as to reduce as far as possible the disparity between these representatives' travelling expenses, calculated at a rate not exceeding one and one-third times the third-class single railway fare to the place of the General Council's Meeting from some point within the area of the National, Regional or District Council or Branch in question
39. The first meeting of the General Council and, in case of emergency, any subsequent meeting of the General Council, may be summoned by the Chairman of the Executive Committee by a notice sent out as long before the meeting as possible.
40. The quorum at meetings of the General Council shall be twenty-five.

- * 41. In the absence of the Presidents, the Chairman of the Executive Committee shall preside at meetings of the General Council.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

[See O.R. p.7 and R.C. pp. 18, 19 and 32]

42. The Executive Committee shall be responsible for the conduct of all the affairs of the Association, subject to any directions given by the General Council.
43. The members of the Executive Committee shall be those appointed by the General Council and additional members, not exceeding twenty in number, whom these members may co-opt.
44. The Executive Committee may delegate to any sub-committee it may appoint any, or all, of its power. A sub-committee may be given power to co-opt other members of the Association but the number of members so co-opted shall not exceed one-quarter of the number appointed by the Executive Committee.
45. The Chairman of the Executive Committee shall have power to summon a special meeting of the Committee at any time by giving two clear days' notice, stating the purpose for which it is summoned.

STANDING CONFERENCE

[Based on paragraphs 2, 3 and 8 of Section 5 of Interim Report and in the light of discussions in the Special Committee, with representatives of local organisations, and in the General Council]

46. To assist the General Council and Executive Committee in promoting the objects and work of the Association throughout the United Kingdom there shall be formed, with such powers as may be delegated to it, a Standing Conference. This Standing Conference shall meet not less than four times a year and shall consist of three members appointed by each National Council, two members appointed by each Regional Council and six members appointed by the Executive Committee. The Standing Conference shall in particular be concerned with the recruitment of new members and the work of the National and Regional Offices. Subject to any general directions of the General Council and Executive Committee, it shall be responsible for the administration of the Regions' Fund (see Appendix I). The Secretary shall normally arrange for the National and Regional Officers to attend the meetings of the Standing Conference and to provide such reports as may be required on the progress of the work for which they are responsible.

The Standing Conference shall be consulted by the Executive Committee with regard to any arrangements that may be made for the representation of Regional Councils on that Committee and on any Administration Committee which may be appointed to assist the Executive Committee in its work.

- * The suggestion has been made that the General Council should elect its own Chairman, who should be eligible for re-election, from among the members of the Executive Committee or from among the members of the General Council - to be co-opted to the Executive if not already a member. The Special Committee may wish to consider this.

+ Unless the National Council is financially self-supporting.

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TRUSTEES
[See p.7 of O.R.]

47. All the property of the Union shall be vested in Trustees, of whom there shall be at least two. The Trustees shall be elected by the General Council. Any casual vacancies shall be filled by the Executive Committee. Trustees elected by the General Council shall hold office permanently. Trustees elected by the Executive Committee shall hold office till the next Annual General Meeting of the General Council.

INTERIM ARRANGEMENTS AND ADOPTION AND
SUBSEQUENT ALTERATION OF RULES

[See O.R. 26 and R.C. p.22]

48. Until the first meeting of the General Council the affairs of the Association shall be conducted by a provisional Executive Committee which shall, so far as possible, act in accordance with the draft rules set out above. At the first meeting of the General Council these Rules shall be approved or amended by a simple majority of the members of the Council present and voting. Thereafter the Rules of the Association shall only be altered by the vote of at least two-thirds of the members present and voting, at a meeting of the General Council specially convened for that purpose. The notice summoning the meeting shall be issued two months before the date of the special meeting.

FINANCIAL ARRANGEMENTS

The use to which the subscriptions paid by Members will be put is set out below:

Of each subscription of less than 2s.6d.

Half for the Branch funds

Half for the National funds, of which half would be credited to the Regions' Fund and half to the Head Office and national activities.

Of each subscription of not less than 2s.6d. but under 5s.0d.

One-third for the Branch funds

10d. for the Member for literature (News Sheet every other month by post or monthly if distributed by the Branch)

The balance for national funds, of which half will be credited to the Regions' fund and half to the Head Office and national activities.

Of each subscription of not less than 5s.0d. but under £1

One-quarter for the Branch funds

2s.6d. for the Member for literature (the monthly journal of the Association by post)

The balance for National funds, of which half will be credited to the Regions' fund and half to the Head Office and national activities.

Of each subscription of £1 or over

One-quarter for the Branch funds

7s.0d. for the Member for literature (the monthly journal of the Association and six pamphlets, by post)

The balance for National funds, of which half will be credited to the Regions' fund and half to the Head Office and national activities.

Of all moneys received by Headquarters whether from Members' subscriptions or otherwise, unless given for special allocation, one-half will be credited to the Regions' Fund, to which will be charged the salaries and expenses of Regional Officers and the rent of Regional Offices, the Regional Councils being expected to provide such additional staff and to meet such other expenses as may be necessary.

When District Councils are, with the approval of the Executive Committee, formed to supplement and assist the work of the Regional Councils, the Standing Conference will consider what assistance, if any, it may be possible to give them from the Regions' Fund.

[See Interim Report, pp. 14 and 15]

It is proposed that from January 1st, 1946, the General Council of the Association should institute the rates of subscription and divisions thereof set out in Appendix B of the Interim Report of the Special Committee (pp. 13-16).

NOTE

Existing Appendices IA (Junior Membership) and IB (Organisations of Boys and Girls and Young People) have been virtually replaced by the arrangements with the C.E.W.C.

Appendix II (National Constitution for Youth Groups) is in suspense.

Appendices III (Industrial Organisations), IV (Professional and Educational Organisations), V (Women's Organisations) and VI (Standing Orders of the General Council) might be examined with a view to the possibility of the new Association adopting these regulations.

Draft of an
AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE
LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION
 and the
UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION
 of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

[Words in square brackets are not part of the text but are inserted so that members of the Committee may refer to the relevant passages in the Royal Charter, Bye-Laws and existing Rules of the Union or other documents]

1. The Objects of the "UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION of Great Britain and Northern Ireland" hereinafter known as the Association shall be as follows: [see Minute 130 of L.N.U. Executive and Minute 2 of U.N.A.]

1. To work for [continued and increasing] friendship between the peoples of the United Nations and for their co-operation in the tasks of peace and reconstruction.
2. To secure the [whole-hearted] acceptance by the British people of The United Nations organisation.
3. To advocate the full development of The United Nations, the International Labour Organisation and other specialised agencies brought into relationship with The United Nations so as to bring about

(a) the final prevention of war

by removing its [political, economic and social] causes,
 by the just and peaceful settlement of [international] disputes, and if necessary
 by the use of collective force;

(b) the safeguarding of human rights and freedoms, the promotion of the moral and material welfare of all peoples, and

(c) the building up of an agreed code of international law applicable to all nations great and small.

4. To foster among the people of this country a conception of national obligation to world interests and a sense of loyalty to an organised international community.

† After the general sense of this clause had been agreed the actual drafting was left to the Chairman who has since supplied these words.

[Lord Lytton suggests that the statement might be read more easily if some of the adjectives were omitted and these have been placed in square brackets, above. He does not however desire to press for the omission of the words if the Committee feels that there are, for other reasons, greater advantages in retaining them]

2. For so long as the Association promotes these Objects, or such other objects as may be agreed upon between the League of Nations Union, hereinafter known as the Union, and the Association, to the satisfaction of the Union, the Union shall principally devote all its resources to the support of the Association as a kindred society within the meaning of its Royal Charter [see Clause 1, page 8 of Royal Charter and page 3 of report of last Meeting of the Special Committee held on May 31st].
3. The Association shall supply a copy of its Annual Report and Statement of Accounts for the information of the Union's General Council and shall endeavour to supply such other information on its work as may reasonably be requested from time to time by the General Council or Executive Committee of the Union.
4. The Union will immediately write a letter to all its members explaining the formation of the new Association and the Union's decision to support it and stating that, unless they contract out of membership of the new Association, they will be deemed to be members of the Association during the remainder of their current membership year, or in the case of those paying under covenant until the expiry of their period of covenanted membership, or for life in the case of Life Members of the Union.

These letters will be sent by post from the Head Office to all Headquarters' members and all other members who have paid a subscription of 3s.6d. or more in the current year and, wherever possible, Branches will be asked to send the letters to members who have paid a subscription of less than 3s.6d. in the current year.

The Association will enrol as members for the remainder of their current membership year, or in the case of those paying under covenant, until the expiry of their period of covenanted membership or for life in the case of Life Members, all members of the Union who do not contract out of membership of the Association.

The Association will supply such members with all the literature and other services to which they would be entitled if they had paid their subscription direct to the Association and the Union will reimburse the Association for all expenses so incurred.

[See Clause I and II on page 3 of report of last meeting of Special Committee]

5. From this date the Union will not seek to enrol new members but will do all that it can to assist the Association in enrolling new members. The Union will also invite all its members (other than those paying their subscriptions under covenant) to subscribe to the Association when their subscriptions to the Union would normally become due for renewal.

[See Clause iii on page 3 of last meeting of Special Committee]

6. Every Branch of the Union shall be invited to become a Branch of the Association provided that it conforms with the requirements of the Association for the recognition of Branches.

[See Clause iv on page 3 of report of last meeting of Special Committee].

7. Affiliated Members, Corporate Members and other bodies at present associated with the Union shall be invited to give their support to the Association under such arrangements as are provided for in the rules of the Association.
8. The Union and/or the Association will endeavour to support the work of the Council for Education in World Citizenship to the extent provided for in the existing Articles of Agreement with that Council and under arrangements to be agreed upon between the Union, the Association and the C.E.W.C.
9. Similarly the Union and/or the Association will endeavour to support the work of the British Universities League of Nations Society, or the Student Federation for International Co-operation which has taken the place of the B.U.L.N.S. during the war, or such other society as may be established by agreement between the Trustees of the B.U.L.N.S. and the Committees of the Union, the Association and S.F.I.C. and under conditions to be agreed between them.
10. The Union will remain responsible for meeting all financial obligations already incurred, including certain pensions to former members of its staff. At a time and under conditions to be agreed upon between the Executive Committees of the Union and the Association, the Association will take over the offices of the Union and members of the Union's staff will be invited to join the staff of the Association under conditions not less favourable than those under which they are at present employed. Until such arrangements are made the Executive of the Union will second to the Association such staff as it may wish to use for its work and give the Association free use of office accommodation and services.
- See Clause (a), top of page 4 of report of last meeting of Special Committee
11. This Agreement may be terminated at any time upon the expiry of two month's notice from either party.

Signed COUNCIL or GILBERT MURRAY
Chairman of the General Council of the
League of Nations Union

LYTTON
Acting Chairman of the United Nations
Association

Date

Appendix C

REVISION OF THE UNION'S RULES

(see pp.20-32 of L.N.U. Royal Charter,
Bye-Laws and Rules)

Note

At its meeting on May 31st the Special Committee resolved, and the Executive at its meeting on June 7th approved, that the General Council be asked to suspend the present RULES and to substitute such other rules and to make such other arrangements as would best ensure "that (a) the Union may be kept in legal existence by carrying out the minimum requirements of its Charter and Bye-Laws, (b) all effective work may thereafter be done through and by the new Association, until it is possible to wind up the Union and secure a Royal Charter for the new Association".

It is recommended that the General Council be asked to adopt the following rules in place of the existing rules.

This draft would carry out the detailed directions given by the Special Committee on May 31st (see Clauses ii and v on page 3 of enclosed report). The other directions would be carried out if the General Council and U.N.A. would enter into the Agreement suggested in Appendix B.

The words in square brackets do not form part of the text and are inserted so that members of the Committee may refer to the relevant sections of the Royal Charter, Bye-Laws and existing Rules or to other documents.

RULES

OBJECTS
(see Bye-Law 1)

1. For the achievement of its Objects see pp. 3 and 4 of Royal Charter the Union shall henceforth endeavour to ensure that, with the whole-hearted support of the British people, the aims and work of the League of Nations are in future carried out by the United Nations. And for these purposes the Union shall primarily devote itself to the support of a society see clause 1, page 3 of Royal Charter known as the "UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION of Great Britain and Northern Ireland".

MEMBERSHIP
(see Bye-Law 3)

2. (i) All members who have made a single payment of not less than £25 on or before the sixth day of September, 1945, shall be Life Members of the Union and shall be eligible to be enrolled, without further payment, as Life Members of the United Nations Association.

- (ii) All members who on or before the sixth day of September 1945, have entered into deed of covenant for the payment of an annual subscription to the Union shall be eligible for membership of the United Nations Association, without payment of further subscription for so long as they subscribe to the Union. They shall be entitled to receive from the United Nations Association such literature and other services as they would be entitled to receive if their subscription were paid to that Association. On the expiry of their period of covenanted membership they should be invited to subscribe to the United Nations Association and shall in any case be deemed to be members of the Union, without payment of further subscription to the Union, until they resign or die.
- (iii) All other members shall, without payment of further subscription, be eligible for membership of the United Nations Association until the expiry of one year from the date on which their annual subscription was last paid and should be entitled to receive from that Association such literature and other services as they would be entitled to receive if their subscription had been paid to that Association. On the expiry of one year from the date on which their last annual subscription was paid they shall be invited to subscribe to the United Nations Association and shall in any case be deemed to be members of the Union, without payment of further subscription to the Union, until they die or resign.
3. Affiliated Bodies and groups of persons, including Church Congregations, enrolled as Corporate Members of the Union on or before the sixth day of September 1945, shall be entitled to remain Affiliated Bodies or Corporate Members of the Union for one year from the date on which their last annual subscription was paid and during that time they shall be entitled to receive such literature and services from the United Nations Association as are provided for members of that Association paying a subscription of £1. At the expiry of one year from the date on which their last annual subscription was paid they shall be invited to give their support to the United Nations Association under whatever arrangements may be made by the Association.

LOCAL ORGANISATION
(See Bye-Law 4)

4. There shall be a London Branch and Metropolitan District Council, a Northern Ireland Regional Council, an English National Council for all extra-metropolitan areas, a Scottish National Council and a Welsh National Council. Members normally resident in London and the metropolitan area shall be attached to the London Branch and Metropolitan District Council; all other members normally resident in England shall be attached to the English National Council. Members normally resident in Scotland shall be attached to the Scottish National Council, members normally resident in Wales to the Welsh National Council, and members normally resident in Northern Ireland to the Northern Ireland Regional Council.

GENERAL COUNCIL
(see Bye-Laws 4, 5 and 6)

5. (1) The English National Council, the Scottish National Council and the Welsh National Council shall each be entitled to ten representatives on the General Council of the Union. The London Branch and Metropolitan District Council, and the Northern Ireland Regional Council shall each be entitled to five representatives.
- (2) Representatives shall be chosen by postal ballot.
- (3) The following shall be entitled to vote in this postal ballot and shall be known as Voting Members: Life Members of the Union and members who during the preceding twelve months have paid a subscription under deed of covenant. Other members of the Union may be registered for one year as Voting Members on payment of a subscription of one shilling to their Branch or to their District, Regional or National Council.
6. (1) The General Council shall hold its Annual General Meeting as soon as possible after the first day of May and shall hold such other meetings as may be necessary. At the Annual General meeting there shall be elected the officers of the Union,* together with an Executive Committee.
- The officers of the Union and the members of the Executive Committee shall hold office until the next Annual General Meeting. Nominations for the Executive Committee may be sent to the Secretary of the Union by any Voting Member not less than one month before the meeting.
- (2) The Secretary of the Union shall give not less than two months' notice of a meeting to all Voting Members. All resolutions, other than those of the Executive Committee, to be printed in the agenda paper must reach the Secretary not less than one month before the meeting.
- (3) In case of emergency a meeting of the General Council may be summoned by the Chairman of the Executive Committee by a notice sent out as long before the meeting as possible.
- (4) The quorum at meetings of the General Council shall be ten.
- (5) In the absence of the Presidents, the Chairman of the Executive Committee shall preside at meetings of the General Council.
- EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
(See Bye-Laws 8 and 9)
7. (1) The General Council shall at its Annual General Meeting elect an Executive Committee of ten members. Additional members not exceeding five in number may be co-opted by the Executive.
- (2) The Chairman of the Executive shall have power to summon a special meeting of the Committee at any time by giving two clear days' notice, stating the purpose for which it is summoned.

* See Bye-Law 6(ii)

ALTERATION OF RULES

8. The Rules of the Union shall only be altered by the vote of at least two-thirds of the members present and voting, at a meeting of the General Council specially convened for that purpose. The notice summoning the meeting shall be issued one month before the date of the special meeting.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

Finance Committee Meeting, June 27, 1945.

PRESENT: H. G. Syrett (in the Chair), A. J. Howe, J. Macdonald, W. T. Pritchard, C. W. Judd and H. R. Sparks.

1. The Minutes of the Meeting of April 4 were confirmed.

Arising out of the Minutes the Secretary reported:

- (a) that Miss Surrey was prevented from accepting appointment and shorthand typist to be shared with Miss Courtney had not been found.
(b) that Mr Hall Todd and Mr Pearson were willing to accept posts of Regional Representatives.

2. The Committee authorised the Secretary (a) to appoint, when suitable candidates could be found, such additional shorthand-typists as might be required, and (b) to advertise, after the General Election for an Appeals Officer, Public Relations Officer and Regional Officer for the posts still vacant.

2. ACCOUNTS. Audited and signed accounts for 1944 were presented.

3. HOOPER ESTATE. A letter from the Estate Solicitor was read to the Committee, stating that Statement of Trust Accounts up to the end of the last Trust year would be available shortly.

4. DILAPIDATIONS, 15 GROSVENOR CRESCENT. Letter from Solicitors of Waller Trust asking for £2000 in settlement received. The Committee unanimously agreed that a settlement should be made, and left it to the Treasurer to make the lowest terms possible.

5. STAFF. Salaries and wages were reviewed and after consideration it was agreed that:
(a) Captain Morton be given War Bonus of £13 p.a.
(b) That a War Bonus of 5/- per week be given to all members of the Staff whose standard salary or wage does not exceed £300 per annum, part-time employees to receive proportional amount.
Payments to operate as from July 1.

6. ADDITIONAL PREMISES. It was agreed to rent the 1st Floor of 42 Maiden Lane at a rent of £350 per annum (inclusive of Rates and Heating) provided we could get licence to partition into 4 offices. The cost would be approximately £95.

7. REGIONAL ORGANISATION. It was agreed (a) to allow Miss Parnell a personal subsistence allowance of £50 per annum and to make a grant of £350 per annum to the L.R.F. when the new arrangements already approved by the Executive Committee come into force; and (b) to make an allowance of £350 per annum to the Scottish National Council.

8. SAN FRANCISCO. The Committee agreed that 50,000 copies of the United Nations Charter should be printed.

9. CHEQUES. Cheques for £6,374.0.5 were passed for payment.

S. 1257
5.7.45.GENERAL ELECTION 1945Report on L.N.U. CampaignPreliminary Work

In the Secretary's Monthly Letter for June every Branch was invited to approach the candidates in its constituency to ascertain their attitude to a world organisation on the lines of the questionnaire drawn up by the Election Sub-Committee. All-Party Conferences were recommended as the most effective form of propaganda.

In addition to this, a special letter was sent to the National Councils and to certain District and Federal Councils inviting their help in this campaign. Letters were also sent to 208 Branches which, in the opinion of Captain Morton and Miss Farnell, were thought to be able and likely to take action if the need were impressed upon them. In constituencies where there was no Branch or an ineffective one, a number of individual subscribers were appealed to and a few of these were good enough to approach the candidates on the Union's behalf.

Response

(a) Scotland:

Mr. Hawkins made himself responsible for the approach in Scotland and we have received information that 20 constituencies have been covered by 6 Scottish District Councils or Branches.

(b) Wales:

In Wales most of the candidates had been approached by the Welsh National Council direct. Mr. Arnold reported that all the replies up-to-date had come from Liberal, Labour or Nationalist candidates and that none so far had been received from the Conservatives.

(c) England:

Only 7 Branches definitely refused to take any action, 5 on the grounds of incapacity and 2 on the grounds of policy (dislike of the questions and the alleged inopportune of intervention). A number of Branches felt that the questions were rather too vague to be of much value and a few substituted or added others of their own.

We were promised that action of some kind would be taken in 290 constituencies. Up-to-date we have received evidence (newspaper-cuttings, copies of actual replies from candidates, written or verbal reports) of activities in all constituencies, but this number will undoubtedly be larger when all the reports are to hand. We have reason to believe that some of the larger District Councils are withholding their reports until their records are complete.

The great majority of replies consist of the bare word "Yes" to all questions, but a few candidates elaborated one or more points, the most common addition being an emphasis on the need for a strongly armed Britain, generally by candidates of the Conservative Party. Only one candidate showed definite hostility to the Union and another answer indicated ignorance of the constitution of the I.L.O.

Publication of Replies

Several Branches found their local newspapers unwilling to publish the replies, but, so far as is at present known, the following were successful in this respect:-

Beddington, Wallington & Carshalton	Hitchin
Bridgwater	Holderness
Bishop Auckland	Horsham
Blackburn	Kensington
Blackpool	Leicester
Bromley	Luton
Cambridge Town	Newton
" University	Oxford City and University
" County	Putney
Chertsey (one reply published one other received too late)	Rugby
Chester	Salcoats
Clapham	South Berkshire (Hungerford Branch)
Darlington	Stafford
Exeter	Streatham
Hempstead	Totnes
The Hartlepoons	Tynemouth
Hemel Hempstead	Worcester
Heywood (answers much abbreviated)	

(35)

All-Party Conferences

28 All-Party Conferences were arranged during the election period, in addition to a dozen previously held in response to an earlier suggestion from us. A study of the list below will show that these were spread fairly widely over the country.

Held before the beginning of June:-

Bath	Derby
Birmingham (Northfield, King's Norton, and Selly Oak Branch in co-operation with Bournville Works and Bournville Town Branches)	Hertford
Bury	Hull
Cromer	Leeds
	Leicester
	St. Albans
	Southampton
	Skipton

(12)

Held from June 6th onwards:

Beverley	Penrith & Cockermouth
Exentwood	Plymouth
Bromley & Beckenham	Putney
Chelmsford	Reigate
Chester	Rugby
Cricklewood & East Willesden	Skipton
Hampstead	Streatham
West Harrow	Sutton
East Harrow	Torquay
Hendon	Walthamstow
Kensington	Westmorland
Letchworth	Wilmslow
Morecambe	Wood Green
Ongar	Worthing

(28) but others may have been held which have not yet been reported to us.

We are very much indebted to Miss Bone, Hon. Secretary of the Clapham Branch, who voluntarily came to the Office for almost the whole of the election period and did a very great deal of the detailed work involved.

S.1257a.
12.7.45.

GENERAL ELECTION 1945

Further report based on information received since Polling Day

We have now been informed that a further 44 constituencies have been covered, mainly by Federal and District Councils, and we are expecting still further news from some of them.

Apparently no additional All-Party Meetings have been held, but newspaper publicity appears to have been secured in about half the above districts.

It is interesting to note that although a few Conservative candidates have expressed their dislike of answering questionnaires of any kind, no candidate of any party apparently objected to being approached by the Federal and District Councils. These, of course, cover a far wider area than one Constituency and may not (in these days of small membership) actually have any members resident in a particular division. Whether the knowledge that local newspaper publicity was to be accorded the answers made them chary of raising any objections, one cannot tell. Conceivably they imagined the L.N.U. to be much stronger in local membership than it really is.

The replies indicate that very few candidates hold pacifist views. Only one objected to our questionnaire on the grounds that it implied the use of force.

I.P.C. International Peace Campaign.
Swiss Branch
Gartenhofstrasse 7, Z ü r i c h 4

Copy

Zürich, June 1945.

Dear Friends and Co-Workers,

A motion to suggest that an international conference of peace-organisations should be held, either before or at the same time as the official Peace Conference, having been brought in and unanimously carried at our annual meeting of September 12th, 1943, we submitted this plan to a considerable number of foreign organisations the addresses of which were known to us and which, at that time, we hoped to be able to reach.

We founded our proposal firstly on our conviction that the coming peace ought not only to be a peace between governments but also between peoples, and that the peace movement ought to become the common cause of all mankind. We asked the addressees for their opinion and begged them to tell us whether they had already taken any steps in the same direction.

Only a few of our letters were answered which was not surprising, considering the difficulties of communication. The answers were all favourable though without any definite suggestions.

Meanwhile our Swiss branch of the I.P.C. has very attentively watched the post-wartime plans of the Allied Nations and studied with the greatest interest all projects for the organisation of collective security. Just now we look very hopefully towards San Francisco and the work which is being done there.

The dreadful struggle having at last come to an end in Europe we think it opportune to come into touch as quickly as possible with all peace organisations. We also consider our plan of preparing an international conference of peace as being more justified than ever and we look on its being carried out as an urgent task.

We take the liberty of enclosing a copy of the principles we laid down in 1943 in order to make our proposal more clear. Not that we look on them as a final and binding programme, but we should be happy if they could serve as a starting point in discussing the problems to be solved.

We hope and trust that you will soon be able to let us know your opinion on the subject and remain, dear friends, with kindest regards.

Yours most truly,

I.P.C.
International Peace Campaign
Swiss branch

The Chairman:

The Secretary:

(Signed) WILLI LÜSSI

(Signed) CHRISTINE RAGAZ

S. 1256
3.7.45.

Final Version.

Lines along which to work for a real and lasting peace.

Prefatory note. The Delegates' Meeting of the Swiss Branch of the International Peace Council held in Bern on 12. September 1943 decided unanimously to take the initiative in preparing an international conference of peace organisations to meet simultaneously with the official Peace Conference.

The following directives are to be submitted to the national and international organisations as a supplement to the agenda of such an international peace conference. It is hoped they may serve as a guide in the preparation of the conference.

They refer therefore less to the general work for peace in the future than to the conclusion of peace and the League of Nations Covenant to follow it, expressing the will of the governments and nations. They are not meant to be a specifically Swiss peace programme any more than they want to stand in the way of any other special programmes of this kind, such as those of political or religious organisations.

In the present form the directives may serve as a basis for and an incentive to discussion of the new peace order in the associations affiliated to the World Peace Council and maybe in some others.

I. Procedure.

1. To establish real and lasting peace is the fundamental task of the coming epoch. The fate of mankind depends on its fulfilment. The conclusion of peace must therefore not be considered exclusively as a matter for governments and states, but just as much and even more a matter for the peoples themselves to decide. Parallel with the work of the governments and their delegates there should be a great popular movement. Immediately on the cessation of hostilities an appeal must be made to the peoples of all countries. Steps to ensure this must however be taken now. Peace organisations must undertake to work up and organise this popular movement in the best way possible. This movement of the people and of the peoples is to be developed into a general unofficial peace conference at a date fixed by circumstances and not long in advance. For this purpose and for the subsequent work for peace the peace movement must create a comprehensive organisation on a supranational as well as on a national basis. This unofficial peace movement as an expression of the great popular movement must try by all means in its power to influence radically the conclusion of peace and the League of Nations Treaty both in principle and in practice.

II. Demands.

A. Aim

2. The aim of the conclusion of peace and the peace treaty and of the whole peace campaign to be kept in view with determination and tenacity must be the systematic and total abolition of war and all that belongs to it. This time the work must be done thoroughly, otherwise the same development will take place as between the first and second world war, but on a disastrously aggravated scale and leading to a more and more diabolical technique of destruction and the consequent break-up of our civilisation, and the ruin of mankind.

This abolition of war and all that belongs to it will take time to complete, and will have to be carried out in stages, but must in no case be postponed. Otherwise the memory of the horrors of war will fade and war will from manifold causes again take root.

Complete and general disarmament must be our aim now more than ever before.

B. Political demands.

3. To conquer war by means of political organisation we must establish a supranational order of justice for the relation of peoples and states to one another, which excludes the weapon of violence and arbitrary despotism. This order is to become a new and better form of League of Nations.

4. This order is to be federal i.e. it must on principle come from below - and not be imposed from above; it must be a union of peoples and not merely of states, and be based on the fundamental rights of all nations. But this federation must see to it that its aims are really carried out. Its leading principle is a new community combined with new freedom.

In accordance with this principle regional federations are advisable within the general organisation. These are above all to serve the purpose of uniting the smaller nations without detriment to their autonomy, but safeguarding and strengthening it. In the interest of peace, however, and in the spirit of a living democracy the federal union of the leading nations is desirable. The regional federations ought not to be so powerful and comprehensive that they would be able to oppose the whole organisation or be tempted to withdraw for the sake of their own special interests. The organisation of the new order on the basis of continents is accordingly not advisable, as it would be a danger to this order, besides being impracticable.

Federalism in this sense is on principle the antithesis to imperialism. Whereas imperialism spells domination, force and war, federalism means liberty, justice and peace.

5. This world federation as an organ of the supranational order of justice must in the political sphere aim at the establishment of the principles laid down in the Atlantic Charter. It must guarantee peace and justice to every nation within its framework and protect it against any violence. It is the new democracy of nations.

The so-called small and middle-sized nations may possibly not have the same duties in this federation but will have quite the same rights as the so-called great powers. Federation is their only safeguard.

6. Just as imperialism, the domination of one nation over others, is done away with by federalism, so too is particularism, expressed in the claim of each state to its own absolute sovereignty. In the world federation each nation is a member, not a body absolutely separated from the whole. It has its rights in it and the safeguard of its liberty but it has its duties towards the community as well. Its special characteristics may and should blossom forth in this framework but they must not degenerate into that collective selfishness, which as nationalism and even as egoistic patriotism (in contrast to real love of one's country) has become a curse to the whole community of nations as to the individual nations.

7. What is now called world politics must be judged by these principles. Instead of competition there must be solidarity. In each nation or group of nations there should be democratic order in the sense of federation.

The question of minorities is to be solved by complete political, cultural and economic equality of the minorities with the majorities.

The abolition of the present colonial system must on principle be aimed at. As however certain peoples are culturally backward, a period of transition seems inevitable and the mandate system of the League of Nations (perhaps in an improved form) should be applied at this stage.

C. Ethical demands.

C. All nations are on principle to be considered as of equal status and with equal rights.

The differences between the so-called races must play no part in the new organisation of the peoples of the world.

The Jewish question is to be solved by granting the Jewish people a sufficiently strong autonomous centre in Palestine, at the same time by giving and guaranteeing them complete cultural as well as political and social equality in other countries.

3. The rights of the individual must correspond to the rights of the nations. The "Rights of Man" are to be fully re-established but also to be extended. Each individual is to be guaranteed complete safeguard of his personality. His rights like the rights of his neighbours are to be extended by laws and institutions.

Above all women are to enjoy complete political, social and cultural equality with men.

First among these rights of man are freedom of speech, and freedom of the press, freedom of association and organisation, freedom of religion and political activity, as they have been proclaimed in the Atlantic Charter. This justice has as all real justice to protect the weak, the child, the old, the poor, the sick, in short all those suffering, including in a certain sense the criminal as well. The right of the foreigner, of the "alien" is to be ascertained and (in some form or other) world-citizenship created to guarantee their protection. This whole Magna Charter of the Rights of Man must be incorporated in the statute of the new League of Nations. The democracy of nations just as the democracy of a people, is based on the sacred rights of each individual.

D. Economic and social demands.

10. This new international order is founded on economic and social prerequisites (the latter being based on the former). Political peace must be founded on economic and social peace, which in its turn can only be achieved if based on a new conception of justice. Every single person, as every single nation, has on principle a right to the same share of the goods of the earth and to the same moral standing in economic life and the social life derived from it. This right of man must be secured even against the claims of vested interests. It must above all be a right for the weak. Man, his dignity and his welfare must be the centre and criterion of economic life as well. The rallying cry "Freedom from want and fear" must inspire the social order required as a basis of peace. Social security must supplement and uphold political security. Here the Beveridge Plan may serve as a symbol.

In this sense we must arrive at a world economy worthy of the name. This must first take account of the economic needs of the whole community of nations and of each member state. It must be planned economy. This does not imply centralised bureaucratic regulations.

The new economic (and in the more exact meaning of the word) social structure must rather be planned on federal lines, that is, not in the sense of bureaucratic centralisation but of free agreements and organic development; it must on principle come from below and not be imposed from above.

Care must be taken that all nations are from the economic point of view able to have access to the raw materials of the world. The dependent i.e. the needy peoples must be raised to independence by the organised assistance of those who are better off. Thus the problem of raw materials can be solved along with the establishment of a political new organisation.

These great principles cannot be worked out in detail by the conclusion of peace and the new League of Nations Treaty, but must be the object of all future work for peace. This can only be done where there is freedom of discussion. An atmosphere of freedom is needed to put these principles into practice, and to ensure that they are interpreted in the right spirit.

E. Spiritual demands.

11. It is obvious that the whole new order is based on certain ethical, cultural and even religious conditions. If it is to be based on justice, in the deepest and most comprehensive sense of the word, this in turn rests on another assumption: on a world of the spirit from which justice emanates. So if the new order is to come into being and to last, a new faith in the spirit is needed, that overcomes the belief in force and in violence, and values man as man, rather than as a member of a race or nation, or an owner of money and property.

To fulfil these conditions a new education, determined by this spirit, is necessary, but a word of warning must be given against the belief that peace and the spirit of peace can be engendered by pacifist specialism in education. A totally new emphasis on humanity, spirit and truth and education in this light is the only reliable foundation for peace. As peace cannot be treated as a problem apart but must be seen in its totality, so too must the foundation of peace be total.

But attention must be drawn on principle to the fact that these last conditions of a true and lasting peace are not in the first place the work of a peace treaty or a League of Nations Covenant, but of continuous efforts in the cause of peace. The peace treaty as well as the new League of Nations Covenant should not deal too much in detail with these things which can be least of all imposed by rules and regulations. They may be able to contribute something towards the establishment of these purely mental and spiritual conditions of true peace, e.g. by creating the machinery for intellectual cooperation, cultural solidarity and so on, but essentials they must leave to the free guidance of the spirit. They can best support and stimulate the spiritual conditions of peace by the creation of the new political and economic order itself.

III. Organisation.

12. As regards organisation we must bear in mind that many of its forms will take shape organically and gradually. On the other hand we must not forget that it need not be something entirely new, as the League of Nations in its present form should not be abandoned, and various of its institutions and regulations can be adopted.

As far as the existing organisation of the League of Nations is concerned the following recommendations are to be made: To prepare and carry out its decisions and to prosecute its general aims a Council should be appointed. This is to be composed in such a

way that the states united in the world federation are treated on an equal footing. It should be elected not only by the governments but with the collaboration of representatives of the people. The Council must be supplemented by an Assembly functioning as a world parliament. This body may eventually elect the Council. It must be composed not as in the present League of Nations of government representatives but also of representatives of the peoples, elected on democratic lines. It might be an advantage to constitute the Assembly in accordance with the federal structure of the new League of Nations on the 2 chamber system, so that one chamber should represent the whole organisation as such, the other the member states, as in the constitution of the United States and Switzerland. A President elected by the Council and the Assembly for a definite period, not too short and not too long, along with the General Secretary and the director of the Labour Office represents the aims and interests of the whole organisation outside the meetings of the Council and the Assembly. The method of passing resolutions is to be so modified as to allow for effective action of the organisation. The principle of unanimity of resolutions should be abandoned. The Labour Office and the World Supreme Court should be maintained and their powers extended. The same applies especially to the Labour Charter.

13. A League of Nations Police (or world police force) must see to it that the new order is maintained and carried out against such peoples or other powers, who oppose it or violate it by force. This world police force must as far as possible be so constituted that on the one hand it is really effective, but on the other can be controlled by the whole organisation. The member states must be ready to take part in the actions undertaken by the League of Nations police, and to support them by economic and other non-military measures. Neutrality in this matter is not permissible. The League of Nations police (or world police) should, just as the state police, avoid as far as possible the means and methods of real warfare, especially those of total warfare. These may be used only when all other means have been tried - above all economic means of coercion. For this purpose we should rely more on a real new order and shaping of the world of nations than on this control.

The League of Nations police (or world police) should be used in all great catastrophes which affect the whole world. Such acts of solidarity are the best proof that the League of Nations police is not a tool of war but of peace.

The change from national armies to world police and so from force to justice is of the utmost importance on principle and may be considered as the passing of a new milestone on the way towards the realisation of man's highest qualities.

14. As the federation applies the system of law and order to the whole of the community of nations, which had previously only held for the national state, the military system as an instrument of war, and as such outlawed, will be abolished in all countries as well as compulsory military service. National armies will be replaced by the police, acting as an agent of law and order, both in the federation of peoples and the member states. Their numerical strength is as in the former League of Nations Covenant, to be limited to what is required to ensure order and security as well as for relief work in the case of certain calamities etc.

In the case of an attempt on the part of one of the member states contrary to the new order to keep the former military system and militarism in the interest of nationalism or class-rule, all the means at the disposal of the League of Nations must be applied and an appeal for resistance must be made to the peoples themselves.

15. A federation can be best brought about by all the democratically minded peoples taking the initiative in uniting for this purpose. States which are definitely non-democratic may join, so soon as there are unmistakable signs of a change of heart.

IV. Provisions for the period of transition.

16. During the transition period from a state of war to a state of peace a temporary control may be necessary in the case of certain peoples, which may even take the form of occupation. These measures should not however go beyond the purpose of safeguarding against new aggression or against preparation for aggression. The preparation for their admission to the new Community of nations should be the final goal to be kept in mind. The troops necessary for control must be considered as a police force.

17. With regard to conscientious objectors a non-combatant service is to be arranged for the period of transition. In any case we must insist that the honourable motives for their behaviour should be acknowledged and that they should not lose their civil rights.

V. New Justice.

18. World federation will involve the creation of a new code of international law which should be much better thought out and more effective than the one previously in existence. In it crimes against the rights of man and the rights of peoples, such as concentration camps, (as punishment) shooting of hostages, deportation, annihilation of whole peoples or of the elite amongst them and so on must be stamped as crimes and punished accordingly.

For the trial of such crimes a special international tribunal must be set up as a permanent institution. It must be established beyond doubt that in the future there will be just retribution for such crimes, perpetrated by nations. In order to create a precedent certain especially hideous crimes committed during the last decade should be judged by such a tribunal. This procedure as well as the establishment of a world tribunal will demonstrate a new form of justice demanded by the moral judgment of the great majority of mankind. In this way the revenge which is otherwise to be feared may be replaced by justice, and thus a further all-important step taken towards that new world to which the conclusion of peace is to lead.

MINUTES OF A SPECIAL MEETING OF

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION and
THE UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION of Great Britain and Northern
Ireland
HELD AT NO. 11 MAIDEN LANE, LONDON, W.C.2, ON THURSDAY,
JULY 19TH, 1945, AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Mr. W. Arnold,
Lord Cecil, Dr. H. Clark; Miss K.D. Courtney,
Miss P. Fawcett; Mr. J.R. Leslie, Dame Adelaide
Livingstone, Dr. G. Murray, Miss E. Rathbone,
Mr. A.E.W. Thomas, Sir Ralph Wedgwood, Miss F.
White, Professor Basil Williams and Mr. Judd.

158. SAN FRANCISCO CONFERENCE. Miss Courtney spoke on her experiences at San Francisco and gave a general description of the working procedure adopted at the Conference. Arrangements by the Conference and its Secretariat for supplying information to press representatives had compared unfavourably with the procedure followed at League Assembly meetings, but the British delegation had held two meetings each day for the press which Miss Courtney had attended and found most valuable.

After this general introduction Miss Courtney took the text of the Charter, described in some detail the discussions which had led up to the final drafting of certain clauses, and answered questions put by members of the Executive. Dealing with the discussions on the voting procedure, Miss Courtney spoke of the extraordinary difficulty of understanding the Russian mind, and stressed the importance of everything possible being done to overcome this difficulty in future.

The Chairman drew attention to a memorandum which the Secretary had prepared, comparing the recommendations made by the Union with the actual text of the United Nations Charter and analysing the result. He suggested that this information should be made available to the Branches and it was agreed that Mrs Courtney and the Secretary be asked to prepare for members of the Union a short statement, in popular language, describing the major recommendations made by the Union and the action taken in regard to them at San Francisco. It was hoped that Miss Courtney would write a short introduction based on her experiences at the Conference.

CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF A JOINT MEETING OF
THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION and
THE UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION of Great Britain and
Northern Ireland
HELD AT NO. 11 MAIDEN LANE, LONDON, W.C.2. ON THURSDAY,
JULY 19TH, 1945, AT 1.15 P.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Mr. W. Arnold,
Lord Cecil, Dr. H. Clark, Miss K.D. Courtney,
Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Fawcett, Dr. M. Garnett,
Miss Hansell, Mr. A.J. Howe, Mr. J.R. Leslie,
Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Dr. G. Murray,
Miss E. Rathbone, Mr. Newell C. Smith, Mr. H.S.
Syrett; Miss F. White, Professor Basil Williams
and Mr. Judd.

159. MINUTES. Minutes of the meetings of L.N.U. Executive Committee and U.N.A. of July 12th were confirmed as circulated.

160. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

L.N.U. 157 - Resignation of Lord Cecil, it was reported that the sub-Committee would meet shortly and hoped to present its recommendations to the next meeting of the Executive.

U.N.A. 2 - Objects and Rules of the United Nations Association, further consideration was given to clauses 1 and 2 of the Objects of U.N.A. as re-drafted at the last meeting. It was agreed that clause 1 be amended to read as follows:-

1. To work for friendship and understanding between the peoples of different countries and for their co-operation in the tasks of peace and reconstruction.

but that it be left to the General Council to decide whether any alteration be made in clause 2.

161. ALBERT HALL MEETING. It having been decided, after discussion, that an All-Party platform should be secured for the Meeting in the Albert Hall on October 10th, it was agreed to invite Mr. Eden and Mr. Attlee (both of whom had attended the San Francisco Conference) to speak, and to ask the Chairman to consult Sir Archibald Sinclair regarding a speaker from the Liberal Party.
162. GENERAL ELECTION. A final report on the Union's campaign during the General Election was presented, showing that questionnaires were issued to candidates in 204 English constituencies, and that the Scottish and Welsh National Councils had approached all the candidates in their respective areas and had received replies from the majority. All-Party Meetings had been held in 28 divisions with audiences ranging from 150 in Windermere to 1,000 in Bromley, Chelmsford, Rugby and Worthing. Newspaper publicity had been secured for candidates' replies in 90 localities.
163. APPEAL TO TRADES UNIONS. It was reported that, in response to the appeal made to certain Trades Unions on behalf of the L.N.U. by Mr. Bullock and Mr. Gillinder (see minute 50) a sum of £265.6s.0d. had been received, £207.11s.0d. as donations and £57.15s.0d. as Affiliation subscriptions. The question of approaching the T.U.C. was now under consideration.

164. BRANCH RECOGNITION. A new Branch in the Findon Valley area of Sussex was formally recognised, and the fixing of the Union's seal to the certificate was authorised.
165. CORPORATE MEMBER. The Woodlands Park Women's Adult School, Bourneville was admitted as a Corporate Member of the Union and the fixing of the Union's seal to the Certificate was authorised.
166. GENERAL COUNCIL. The Committee having been reminded that, if the new Rules for the L.N.U. contained in Minute 147 (3) were adopted by the General Council at its Annual Meeting, the Council would be asked to elect an Executive Committee of not more than ten members, in addition to the Officers, it was agreed that the following nominations be submitted to the Council:-

Dr. Hilda Clark
 Dr. Garnett
 Miss Fawcett
 Lady Hall
 Miss Hansell } nominated by the London
 A. J. Howe } Regional Federation
 James Macdonald
 Mrs. Noel-Baker
 Lord Perth
 Miss Freda White

167. THE FOREIGN OFFICE, L.N.U., and U.N.A. The Chairman reported on a recent interview between Mr. Judd and Professor Webster and Mr. Gladwyn Jebb of the Foreign Office. The result of the interview had, in the Chairman's opinion, been so highly satisfactory that he had asked the Secretary to circulate a confidential report (copy filed with these minutes) to all members of the Committee.
168. UNITED NATIONS: RATIFICATION OF CHARTER BY H.M. GOVERNMENT. The Committee had before them the following resolution submitted by Dr. Garnett:-

"That in the opinion of the newly formed United Nations Association of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, it is highly desirable that, if the Charter of the United Nations is ratified by the United States before Parliament meets on 8 August next, His Majesty's Government's ratification should follow before Parliament rises again."

In view of the information given by the Foreign Office representatives during Mr. Judd's interview with them (see preceding minute) Dr. Garnett's resolution was withdrawn.

169. UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL ORGANISATION. The following statement was approved and adopted for circulation to the Minister of Education and the press, including educational papers:-

The United Nations Association has learned with very great satisfaction that, at the first meeting of the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education presided over by Mr. Richard Law, it was unanimously agreed that the British Government should invite the Governments of all the United Nations to send delegates to a conference in London on November 1st for the purpose of establishing a United Nations Educational and Cultural Organisation.

The United Nations Association trusts that, so soon as it is published, the tentative draft constitution for the Organisation will be studied in this and other countries by the educational authorities, teachers' associations and voluntary organisations upon which the ultimate success of the United Nations Educational and Cultural Organisation must depend."

170. CHRISTIAN EVIDENCE SOCIETY. The Secretary reported an invitation from the Dean of Westminster to a Service of Affirmation of the Christian Faith to be held in the Abbey on Sunday, September 9th. It was agreed that the invitation be accepted by U.N.A., and it was left to the Secretary to arrange for representatives to attend the Service.
171. CLOSING OF OFFICE FOR AUGUST BANK HOLIDAY. It was
RESOLVED: "That the office be closed from Friday evening, August 3rd until Tuesday morning, August 7th."

A proposal by Dr. Garnett that all members of the staff should, during the present year, be granted one week's additional leave to be taken in each individual case at a time most convenient to the office, was referred for consideration by the Office Committee.
172. DATE OF NEXT MEETING. It was agreed that the Committee should meet again on Thursday, August 2nd and should thereafter adjourn until Thursday, August 30th, unless in the opinion of the Chairman circumstances rendered it necessary to summon a special meeting.
173. BRITISH COUNCIL FOR GERMAN DEMOCRACY. A memorandum on "First Steps to be taken in the Administration of Germany", published by the British Council for German Democracy, was placed on the table for information of the Committee.

Lytton

CHAIRMAN

August 2nd 1945.

THE FOREIGN OFFICE

1. Mr. Alec Wilson telephoned to me on July 5th from the Press Department of the Foreign Office to say that Mr. Gladwyn Jebb, Head of the Reconstruction Department of the Foreign Office,* had suggested that "what is needed in this country now is some organisation that would do for the United Nations what the League of Nations Union tried to do for the League". Mr. Gladwyn Jebb had invited a group of senior people in the Foreign Office, including Professor Webster and Mr. Wilson's own chiefs, Mr. Ridsdale and Mr. Nash, to meet him on Wednesday or Thursday of the following week to consider what could best be done to set up such an organisation now that the Charter had been signed. They were all very anxious to get something formed as quickly as possible - either a voluntary organisation or possibly a body with Government support - in order to stimulate public interest.

I arranged to see Mr. Nash on July 6th and told him what we were doing. He expressed great interest and I offered to let him have a short note that he could take with him to the conference with Mr. Gladwyn Jebb. He welcomed the offer, so I hurriedly wrote the attached paper and sent it to him together with a few copies of our proof of the Charter. At the same time I sent a copy to the Chairman explaining what I had done.

2. On Friday (July 13th) Mr. Wilson telephoned on behalf of Mr. Nash to say that Mr. Gladwyn Jebb had previously had no idea that all this was afoot, that he and his colleagues were delighted to know what we were doing and preparing to do and would like to help us in any way they could, and, in particular, that they were greatly impressed by the fact that we had already printed the Charter. Mr. Gladwyn Jebb had a copy of the proof in his waistcoat pocket and had given out other copies in the Foreign Office: there was a large demand for further copies there and from the press - the Times Correspondent had already stolen one copy!

Later in the day Professor Webster telephoned and asked me to go and see him at the Foreign Office on Saturday.

3. I spent Saturday morning (July 14th) at the Foreign Office. Professor Webster told me that it was he who had asked Mr. Eden to suggest to a deputation from the Union that we should change our name. He had been very much afraid that unless we got hold of the name United Nations some group of publicists would seize upon it and in no time have half the Bench of Bishops or other notabilities on their notepaper. He wanted us to do the job and was glad we had at last got going.

We had a long talk about the Charter and the history of various clauses in it and Professor Webster especially asked me to tell Miss Courtney how very sorry he was he had not been able to see her at San Francisco. The conference business had occupied every moment of the delegates' time but he had been very glad to know Miss Courtney was there. Webster also expressed the hope that we should soon be able to get back on to the Executive Committee some of the leaders of political parties who had served in the past or find similar people; and he suggested that, among others who might serve us well on the Committee, we should consider the names of Mr. Dingle Foot and Miss Horsburgh. He had a very high regard for the work that Miss Horsburgh had done at San Francisco. She had not been concerned with the major political issues but she had a very fine grasp of the work of her own committee, had secured the adoption of every one of the British proposals and had succeeded in making other delegations think that these proposals were their own.

* Whose appointment as Interim Administrative Officer of the United Nations Preparatory Commission was announced in The Times on Saturday.

I told Webster that, looking back to the years 1940/41, we regarded the Charter as a significant achievement and were very greatly indebted to him and to the other people in the Foreign Office who had worked for it. He said that, had we seen some of the material that was circulating in the Foreign Office at that time, we should realise even better how much we owed to Mr. Gladwyn Jebb who (apart from the Secretary of State) was the one man in the F.O. who had, above all others, worked for the establishment of a new league. He then took me to meet Mr. Gladwyn Jebb.

4. Mr. Gladwyn Jebb said that Mr. Nash had taken my notes to the conference: that he and his colleagues were delighted to know what we were proposing to do, which is exactly what they would themselves have wished, that he was particularly pleased with what he called our realistic and practical approach and that he had already arranged for copies of my paper to be circulated in the office. So I explained that it was not in any sense an official communication from the Union but only some notes which I had hurriedly made on my own responsibility in order to let Mr. Nash know what we were doing and proposed to do. I said that I hoped he would be good enough to tell me if he thought our plans were on the right lines and if there was anything else he would like us to undertake. In reply he said he thought our proposals were exactly right but was mainly anxious to know whether in fact we could carry them out, in answer to which I could of course only say that we would do our best and that we should want all the help that the Government could give us.

Mr. Jebb said that he had already asked the Ministry of Information to allow us as much paper as we might need and had suggested to them that they should publish one or two popular pamphlets on the Charter in addition to the official text and White Paper (to be drafted by Professor Webster) which the Stationery Office would be publishing before long. Professor Webster was very much interested in the work that A.B.C.A. had been doing during the war and, in particular, in the very lively pamphlet on Dumbarton Oaks which had been written by Lt. Col. Birch and which he had himself vetted for the F.O. He was delighted to learn that we were trying to find from A.B.C.A. a Director for all our publicity and that we hoped to produce the same kind of material for the general public. Mr. Gladwyn Jebb did not at first see how films could be made about the United Nations but Webster told him of the admirable films that had already been made by the State Department and they promised to get copies brought over and shown to the M.O.I. Films Division.

They told me that they thought October 10th would be a very good date for the Albert Hall meeting. They still hoped that it might be possible to arrange for Parliament to ratify the Charter when it meets on August 7th, 8th and 9th even if the session had to be extended for two or three days for this purpose, but there could be no certainty as to this. I said that we had originally intended to have only one principal speech - by the Prime Minister or Mr. Eden - but that, since it had been necessary to postpone the meeting until after the General Election, my Committee might now wish to make it an all-party meeting. Gladwyn Jebb thought we most certainly ought to do this, that Mr. Eden would probably be a very big draw, and particularly so as he had not been very much involved in the electoral fight, but that whatever Government might be in power we ought certainly to have Mr. Attlee to speak as well as Mr. Eden, as Mr. Attlee had made a big contribution to the success of the San Francisco Conference.

In the course of our talk I mentioned the fact that we had originally chosen United Nations Day as the date for our Albert Hall meeting and Gladwyn Jebb and Webster both thought that it might be a good plan for one day of the year to be kept as United Nations Day: but not the anniversary of the signing of the

Atlantic Charter. Jebb said that he would speak to the Americans and Russians (with whom it was important to have agreement) about this and see if it was not possible to secure agreement to keep the anniversary of the signing of the new Charter or some such day associated with the new United Nations. He thought too that the United Nations might well have its own flag and badge and I said how interested I was to learn that the badge issued to each member of the San Francisco Conference had been a map of the world surrounded by oakleaves and therefore not altogether dissimilar from our own World and Stars badge. I gathered they were thinking of some such design for any United Nations flag and badge.

We then had a short talk about the Charter and Webster said that he thought the Union should be very pleased that so many of its recommendations had been adopted at San Francisco. I agreed that apart from some suggestions mainly of a drafting character, most of our principal recommendations had in fact been carried out. But I mentioned the veto (on which they said they had done their best), publicity (on which they said that it was certainly the intention to do as much of the work as possible in public session but that it had been thought wisser not to lay down in advance which sessions of which committees should be held in public or might in certain circumstances be held in private), and the uncertainty with regard to the I.L.O. (on which they said again that they had done their best, that it had not been possible to do all that they hoped to do but that the arrangements for specialised agencies were so designed that the I.L.O. could be brought into satisfactory relationship with the United Nations, provided that the I.L.O. as well as the Russians would agree).

At the end of our talk Jebb asked me about the pre-war strength of the Union and its present membership, circulation of "Headway", etc., and how long it would take us to get back to our maximum strength and was good enough to say that I should let him know whenever there was anything that the Foreign Office could do to assist us, directly or through any other Government department.

5. In a further talk with Professor Webster he asked me how we had managed to correct in our pocket edition of the Charter at least some of a very large number of inaccuracies that had appeared in "The Times" version. I said that, in order to check this, we had asked both the Office of War Information (as advised by Miss Courtney's cable from the U.S.A.) and the United Nations Information Organisation for copies of the Charter. Where these had in several points differed from each other we had referred to the F.O. itself. Webster said that he hoped we should keep in touch with U.N.I.O. as this might become a Public Relations Branch of the United Nations but that at present their work was sometimes inaccurate, and he was good enough to lend me for the weekend one of the two copies of the Charter then in the Foreign Office. From this I found that our text still contained a good many inaccuracies, particularly of spelling where the official text used the American form. And, as only a quarter of our copies had been printed, I am having the necessary changes made in the remainder.

I asked Webster what was likely to be the seat of the United Nations and he said that this question had deliberately been left open - as a possible source of contention - until the Charter had been safely signed. He thought there were some disadvantages as well as advantages in Geneva, but that, although the American as well as the Russians might be very reluctant, it was not impossible that Geneva might still become the seat of the United Nations because of the existence of the necessary

buildings and the great difficulty of building a new Assembly Hall and offices quickly anywhere else under present conditions. It was not impossible that a decision might be taken to use the League premises "temporarily", but Webster thought we must remember that this would be a very unpleasant arrangement for the Russians.

The British Government, had, in his view, behaved very well indeed with regard to the League through all the negotiations of the past year and had refused to contemplate its being wound up until they were certain that the new organisation would be established. I gathered there had been some disagreement about all this (with the Americans rather than the Russians) and that the British Government had insisted that the League could not be ignored but must be wound up in a dignified way; a special Assembly for that purpose would probably be held in the autumn or winter.

6. I then asked Webster if Gladwyn Jebb's appointment as Interim Administrative Officer of the Preparatory Commission meant that he might become Secretary-General or one of the principal officers of the United Nations but Webster said that he thought this was most unlikely and that he believed Jebb had a very big future in the Foreign Office. Webster felt that his own work in the Foreign Office during the war had come to an end with the signing of the Charter, and that he was too old to go into the secretariat of the United Nations. He had therefore decided to leave the Foreign Office in about a month's time and to return to the Stevenson Chair of International History in the University of London in the autumn. I suggest that we should try to make use of him in U.N.A.

C.W.J.
18.7.45.

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Co
Copy of notes sent to
Mr. Nash of the
Foreign Office.

UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION
of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

1. The League of Nations Union came into existence before the League of Nations in order to advocate the setting up of an effective league of states to keep the peace. When the League of Nations was established the Union tried to ensure that people in this country understood the League and supported League policies, and it advocated the effective use of the League and its full development. During the war it has advocated the setting up of a new and improved League system at the end of the war and has put forward various detailed suggestions, e.g. "World Settlement after the War", "Draft Pact for the Future International Authority", "Recommendations on the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals" etc.
2. So soon as the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals were published the Union sought the advice of Mr. Attlee as Lord President of the Council with a view to carrying out an informal suggestion by the Secretary of State, e.g. that it should change its name so that it should not be handicapped by its name in seeking to do for the new League (The United Nations) what it had tried to do in this country for the first League. Unfortunately, however, the name is part of the Union's Royal Charter and the Privy Council is not recommending the granting of any new Charters or Supplementary Charters during the war. Mr. Attlee advised that, instead, the Union should take legal opinion on the possibility of establishing (under certain Clauses of its Charter) a new organisation through which it could do all its effective work and in support of which it would use its funds until, later on, the Union's present Charter can be allowed to lapse, its affairs can be wound up and a Royal Charter can be granted to the new body.
3. The General Council of the Union approved such a proposal in April. The Executive has since taken Counsel's Opinion and has now formed a UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. In accordance with Counsel's Opinion, Rules have been drafted for the Association, together with an Agreement between the Union and U.N.A. and rules for the minimum working of the Union, as such, until it can be wound up.
4. By the agreement between L.N.U. and U.N.A. the 50,000 members of the Union and all its Branches, District and Regional Councils, etc., would become members and branches, etc. of U.N.A. The Union would cease to recruit new members. New members would be recruited into U.N.A. instead.
5. These arrangements will come before the General Council of the Union for final approval on September 6th and 7th, at a meeting which had to be postponed from July 5th on account of the General Election. The Albert Hall has been booked for a national meeting to launch the new Association on October 10th (a postponement from June 14th for which Mr. Eden provisionally accepted by cable from San Francisco before the date of the election was known). It is hoped that the Lord Mayor will hold a meeting in the City in the same week and it is proposed to organise Towns' Meetings, convened by the Mayors and Chairmen of Town Councils throughout the country in the autumn, to follow this national lead.
6. Meanwhile, U.N.A. is taking additional premises, recruiting staff and getting ready to start in a big way in the autumn.

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7. If these plans are welcome to H.M.G. it is hoped they will realise the limitations of a voluntary organisation and give all the assistance that is possible from the official level. For example, the L.N.U. was tremendously assisted by a message from H.M. King George V commending the cause of the League of Nations to all his peoples. A similar Royal message after Great Britain has ratified the Charter, would do more than anything else to ensure that City and Towns meetings are called all over the country. The success of the Albert Hall and Guildhall meetings will depend upon the Foreign Secretary and leaders of the political parties taking part and we shall approach them so soon as the new Government is formed. It would be necessary to persuade a number of Junior Ministers of the Government, Members of Parliament and other eminent people to address the Towns' Meetings. It would be of the greatest assistance if the Ministry of Information would issue posters and films that it is beyond the resources of a voluntary society to produce on sufficient a scale. And it is hoped that the Foreign Office will encourage the B.B.C. to give as much time as possible to talks about and discussions on The United Nations.
8. It is felt that the job before U.N.A. will be much tougher than the job that the L.N.U. tackled in 1918: that there will not be the same wave of enthusiastic optimism, that people are tired, disillusioned and even cynical and that the idealistic are too critical. U.N.A. will have to be prepared to do a much more thorough educational job, avoiding a too sentimental approach to emotions.
9. It is known to date that in the United States, China, Canada, South Africa, Holland, and possibly several other countries, the League of Nations Societies have already changed their names to United Nations Association (or its equivalent) or are on the point of doing so. Preliminary plans were discussed at San Francisco among some of the delegates, staffs and observers for forming similar associations in other countries and an International Federation.

NOTE

Although U.N.A. cannot start operating fully until the General Council of the Union can approve the arrangements mentioned in 3 above, the Union is meanwhile doing what it can to make the Charter known. During the General Election "All-Party Conferences", each attended by a thousand or more people and almost always the biggest meeting by far of the election campaign, were held in a number of constituencies in order that candidates could give their views on the San Francisco Conference and their attitude towards a United Nations Organisation. In other constituencies candidates were asked to answer questions on the subject and their replies were published locally in the press.

The Union sent its Vice-Chairman, Miss Courtney, as an observer to San Francisco and is arranging a programme of meetings for her. U.N.A. is publishing the Charter in a vest pocket edition and the Union has used the whole of its paper quota for this purpose. Copies (price 3d.) will be on sale this week.

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MINUTES OF A JOINT MEETING OF THE
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION
and the
UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

HELD AT NO. 11 MAIDEN LANE, LONDON, W.C.2. ON THURSDAY,
AUGUST 2ND, 1945 AT 2.15 P.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Lord Cecil,
Miss K.D. Courtney, Miss P. Fawcett,
Miss Hansell, Lady Lytton, Dame Adelaide
Livingstone, Mr. J. Macdonald, Sir Geoffrey
Mander, Mrs. Noel-Baker, Miss E. Pathbone,
Mrs. Prior, Miss Freda White and Mr. Judd.

174. MINUTES. Minutes of the two meetings of July 19th were confirmed as circulated.
175. MRS. NOEL-BAKER AND MR. D.H. MILLS. The Chairman welcomed Mrs. Noel-Baker on her return from Greece, and also Mr. D.H. Mills who had just rejoined the Union's staff after four-and-a-half years' service with the R.A.F.
176. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.
On Minute 161 - Albert Hall Meeting, the Committee reviewed, in the light of the General Election result, the proposed arrangements for the Albert Hall Meeting on October 10th, and, after considerable discussion, it was agreed to ask the Chairman to invite Mr. Ernest Bevin, Mr. Anthony Eden and Lady Violet Bonham-Carter to make the principal speeches. It was suggested that the Meeting should be held at 7 p.m.
177. RESIGNATION OF LORD CECIL. The Chairman reported that the sub-committee, appointed in minute 157 to consider and recommend consequential changes following Lord Cecil's resignation, had met on July 26th. The Officers felt that the new start, under the auspices of the United Nations Association, might be assisted if the opportunity could be taken to appoint new and younger people to some of the principal Offices. They were therefore ready at any time to place their own resignations in the hands of the Executive Committee whilst intimating their willingness to continue in office so long as the Executive might desire. The sub-committee had, however, decided that there would be no advantage in making any immediate changes, that the United Nations Association should be free to choose its own Officers (including Patrons) at the first meeting of its General Council in December and that, in the meantime, it would be useful to consult opinion in the Branches as to the names that would best commend the cause of U.N.A. to public opinion. It was therefore proposed to invite the L.N.U. General Council in September to appoint a small committee of representative members of the Union in the country. This committee might meet in London at the time of the Albert Hall Meeting and would be asked to advise the provisional Executive Committee of U.N.A. in the choice of names to be submitted to U.N.A.'s first General Council Meeting in December for election as the Association's principal Officers.

The sub-committee was strongly of opinion that, although Lord Cecil had resigned his Presidency of the Union, his name should not be omitted from the Association's note-heading and publications.

The Executive fully discussed these proposals and, after several members had emphasised the desirability of having definite recommendations to place before the Council in September, it was agreed that a Special Meeting of the Executive, excluding the Officers, be held at 3 p.m. on Thursday, August 16th, for the purpose of recommending nominations for election as Officers under item 10 of the Council's Preliminary Agenda. The Secretary was asked, in informing members of this meeting, to invite any who would be unable to attend to send their recommendations in writing.

It was further unanimously agreed that Lord Cecil's name should continue to be associated with the L.N.U. and U.N.A. as 'Founder and Past President'.

178. OFFICE COMMITTEE. In the absence of Mr. Howe who had been elected Chairman of the Office Committee and of the Hon. Treasurer, Miss Courtney presented the minutes of the first meeting held on July 31st. These included (1) Chairman, (2) Staff for U.N.A., (3) Public Relations Officer, (4) Regional Officers, (5) Appeals' Officer, (6) Clerical Staff, (7) City of London, (8) Holidays and Pay, (9) Staff Organisation. This report (copy filed with these minutes for reference) was approved and adopted.

179. COMPOSITION OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. The Chairman reported a letter from Sir Geoffrey Mander, suggesting the names of certain supporters of the Union who, in the light of the General Election result, might be willing to give active help on the Executive Committee. A further list of suggested names had been prepared by the Secretary, and a general discussion took place during which the desirability of securing help from some younger members of the Labour Party was emphasised.

The Secretary recalled that, at the Annual Meeting of the Council, if the revised Rules were adopted, an Executive for the L.N.U. consisting of not more than ten members would be elected, and that, until U.N.A. held its first Council Meeting in December, the present members who had agreed to serve on the provisional Executive of U.N.A. would hold office. They had decided that they would so far as possible conduct the work of U.N.A. in accordance with the draft rules, but until those rules were adopted by the General Council of U.N.A. the provisional Executive would not necessarily be bound by them. The simplest procedure might therefore be for the provisional Committee to co-opt such additional members as it might wish to co-opt in excess of what would be the maximum membership of the Committee under the rules. All the members could then, if they so desired, stand for election in December to whatever number of places might finally be agreed upon in the rules.

It was finally agreed that this matter be further considered at the next ordinary meeting on August 30th, and that the names already suggested, together with any additional names which members of the Committee, after consulting their Party friends, might wish to submit, be circulated for consideration at that meeting.

180. WELSH NATIONAL COUNCIL. The Secretary reported on the Welsh National Council's Executive Committee meeting which he had attended on July 24th and presented, for information,

resolutions adopted by the Committee on (1) The United Nations, (2) the United Nations Association of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and (3) The Cultural and Educational Organisation of the United Nations.

181. UNITED NATIONS CHARTER. (a) Popular pamphlet. On the suggestion of Miss Courtney it was agreed that, in addition to the publication approved in minute 156, another popular pamphlet be published as soon as possible, explaining the purpose and provisions of the United Nations Charter in simple language designed to appeal to the man-in-the-street; that Mr. Fanshawe be asked to prepare a first draft for submission to Miss Courtney; and that, after approval by the Chairman, the pamphlet be published immediately.

(b) Statute Book. A communication from Mr. R.S.W. Pollard, a member of the Union, suggesting that the Charter of the United Nations should be placed on the Statute Book of the United Kingdom in a schedule to an Act of Parliament was considered. Lord Cecil pointed out that there would be a resolution of both Houses of Parliament approving generally the conclusions of the San Francisco Conference as had been done in the case of the Versailles Treaty and other documents, and that constitutional difficulties would, in his opinion, be involved in carrying out the suggestion made by Mr. Pollard.

Sir Geoffrey Mander recalled the Peace Bill which he had introduced on several occasions in Parliament and which, if adopted, would have made the Covenant of the League part of the Statute of Great Britain. With the concurrence of the Committee, Sir Geoffrey expressed his willingness to write to Mr. Pollard and to report later to the Executive.

182. TRADE UNION CONGRESS. The Committee were interested to learn that, as a result of action taken by Mr. Gillinder, a resolution in support of the United Nations Association would be tabled for the Trade Union Congress in September.
183. NOW THE PEACE. Sir Geoffrey Mander and the Secretary drew attention to a short film entitled "Now the Peace" produced by the Canadian National Film Board and at present being exhibited at the London Pavilion. The film provided excellent propaganda for the United Nations Association and, in their opinion, would be of great assistance in the Association's local activities when it was exhibited in the provinces.

Sydney
CHAIRMAN
Aug. 30th 1945.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A SPECIAL MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
HELD WITHOUT THE OFFICERS ON FRIDAY, AUGUST 17TH, 1945,
AT 3 P.M. AT 11 MAIDEN LANE, LONDON, W.C.2.

PRESENT: Air Vice-Marshal Bennett, Miss P. Fawcett,
Lady Hall, Mr. A.J. Howe, Dame Adelaide Livingstone,
Sir Geoffrey Mander, Mrs. Noel-Baker, Mrs. Prior,
Mr. Nowell Smith, Mr. A.E.W. Thomas, Professor
Basil Williams, Miss Freda White and Mr. C.W.Judd.

184. CHAIR. Mr. A.J. Howe was elected to the chair.
185. PRESIDENT AND CHAIRMAN. The Committee had before them a list of Officers nominated in the Preliminary Agenda (Appendix D) for election by the General Council at its meeting on September 6th and 7th, together with Minute 177 of the last meeting of the Executive, a communication from Lord Cecil and a note (S.1264) by the Secretary on the matters to be considered in relation to the L.N.U. and U.N.A.

Letters were read

- (a) From Lady Layton recommending that Lord Lytton should be elected as President of the Union and Miss Courtney as Chairman, and that there should be associated with her a young Vice-Chairman of forward views who would help the President and Chairman to guide the Union during the period when international affairs might develop very rapidly indeed and when the Union must be prepared to give a lead to the country or make way for some other body.
- (b) From Miss Eleanor Rathbone, who wrote that Miss Courtney was 'one of the best chairmen I ever sat under' and urged that she should be elected Chairman of the Committee if Lord Lytton were elected as President of the Union.

The Secretary said that he had unfortunately been asked by Miss Courtney to say very definitely on her behalf that she would not feel able to accept an invitation to become Chairman of the Committee and that, especially during the next few months, it would be impossible for her to give the necessary time as she had already undertaken a very heavy programme of speaking engagements.

It was unanimously agreed that Lord Lytton should be nominated for election by the Council as Joint President of the Union with Dr. Gilbert Murray, and that he should be urged to accept this post in order to secure for the Union the confidence and prestige which his name would ensure.

There was a very full discussion on the choice of a chairman to succeed Lord Lytton, and members expressed their great regret that Miss Courtney could not see her way to accepting this office. Various other names were considered. Several members strongly urged the importance of finding a young Chairman of progressive views, preferably a member of the Labour Party, who would devote himself with great vigour to the Union's work. It was not, however, possible to reach any final agreement on the choice of a candidate and it was generally felt that the best plan would be to

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pay special attention to including, among the new members to be co-opted to the Committee on August 30th, several people of this kind in the hope that one of them might prove suitable for election to the chair at an early date.

It was therefore decided that Lord Lytton be asked if he would be good enough to combine with the Presidency the office of Acting Chairman, until the December meeting of the General Council, on the understanding that the Executive would do its best to relieve him of this additional responsibility as soon as possible.

It was also agreed to consider at an early date the election of one of the new members of the Executive as a Joint Vice-Chairman with Miss Courtney, with a view to the election of such a Vice-Chairman to succeed Lord Lytton as Chairman in December.

186. LORD CECIL. It was unanimously

RESOLVED: "That Lord Cecil be nominated for inclusion among the list of Officers as "Past President".

187. HONORARY PRESIDENTS. It was unanimously

RESOLVED: "That Mr. C.R. Attlee and Lady Violet Bonham-Carter be nominated for election with Mr. Winston Churchill as Joint Honorary Presidents".

188. VICE-PRESIDENTS. It was unanimously

RESOLVED: "That Sir Kenneth Clark, the President of the British Academy, the President of the Royal Society and the President of the Grotius Society be nominated for election as Vice-Presidents with those already listed, and that the names of Mr. Attlee and the Earl of Lytton be omitted from the list in view of their nomination to other offices".

189. PATRONS. The Committee considered the recommendation of the Special Committee that there should be elected some half-dozen Patrons whose names could be printed on the notepaper. It was, however, decided that at this stage there would be no advantage in asking the L.N.U. General Council to elect Patrons of the Union, but that the Provisional Executive Committee of U.N.A. should be recommended to elect at an early meeting some half-dozen Patrons of that Association.

190. UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION. The hope was expressed that the Provisional Executive Committee of U.N.A. would invite the Officers of the Union elected by the General Council in September, with the possible exception of the High Commissioner for Eire, to act as Officers of the United Nations Association pending the election of Officers by the first meeting of U.N.A.'s General Council in December.

191. OTHER BUSINESS. The Secretary reported that there had arisen several urgent matters and it was decided to consider these in addition to the business for which the meeting had been especially summoned.

These were

(a) Urgency Motions. It was

RESOLVED: "That notice be given under this item of the General Council's Agenda that the Executive Committee might desire to move urgency motions on

(i) The control of armanent research with special reference to the atomic bomb.

(ii) The United Nations Educational and Cultural Organisation.

(b) The Albert Hall Meeting. Mrs. Noel-Baker spoke of the importance of combining some pageantry with the speeches in the Albert Hall on October 10th and it was agreed that Mr. Judd or Mr. Walker be asked to take expert advice on this subject and be authorised to incur any necessary expense.

It was also decided to recommend to the next meeting of the Committee that, apart from any pageantry which it might be possible to include, the programme should be: Speeches by Mr. Bevin, Mr. Eden and Lady Violet Bonham-Carter or Lady Megan Lloyd-George; a speech by Mr. Noel-Baker on the importance of public support for the new United Nations organisation and an appeal to everyone in the Albert Hall to join the Association immediately; an appeal for contributions to the Campaign Fund by Air Vice-Marshal Bennett, followed by a collection; and very short speeches, possibly as votes of thanks, by the Archbishop or some other leader of the Churches and by a well-known leader of one of the Services who would address his remarks especially to men and women coming out of the Forces. The Committee were anxious that the purpose of the meeting should be to appeal for support of the United Nations Association in all ways, and especially for the support of "minds, membership and money".

(c) Mme. Bakker van Bosse. The Secretary reported that he had received a letter from Mme. Bakker van Bosse which had been brought to him personally by two of her former associates in the Netherlands. They were most anxious that Mme. Bakker van Bosse should have an opportunity to visit this country in order to study the international situation and learn the views of British people as this would be of great assistance to them in restarting their work in the Netherlands. It would greatly assist Mme. Bakker van Bosse in securing the necessary exit permit if an invitation could be extended to her by the League of Nations Union to visit this country. No financial or other obligation would be incurred and the Secretary was authorised to write such a letter of invitation and to suggest that Mme. Bakker van Bosse might come to England at the time of the General Council or Albert Hall meeting.

Lytton
CHAIRMAN,
Aug. 30th 1945.

CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF A JOINT MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION AND THE UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION of Great Britain and Northern Ireland HELD AT NO. 11 MAIDEN LANE, LONDON, W.C.2. ON THURSDAY, AUGUST 30TH, 1945 AT 2.15 P.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Lord Cecil, Miss P. Fawcett, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Lady Hall, Miss Hansell, Mr. A.J. Howe, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Sir Geoffrey Mander, Dr. Gilbert Murray, Mrs. Noel-Baker, Mrs. Prior, Mr. Nowell Smith, Mr. H.S. Syrett, Mr. Alan Thomas, Miss F. White and Mr. Judd.

192. MINUTES. Minutes of the meeting of August 2nd and of the Special Meeting (without the Officers) of August 17th, 1945 were confirmed as circulated.

193. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On 176 and 191 - Albert Hall Meeting, the Chairman stated that he had written, as requested, to Mr. Bevin, Mr. Eden and Lady Violet Bonham Carter, and reported the reply he had received from Lady Violet and the further letter he had sent to her, as well as the reply received from Mr. Bevin. The Committee were delighted to hear that, although Mr. Bevin had declined, Mr. Noel-Baker (Minister of State) would speak in the Albert Hall on October 10th. But, bearing in mind the criticisms which had been made during the Debate in Parliament on the United Nations Charter and in order to show that the public launching of the United Nations Association had the full backing of H.M. Government, the Chairman was asked to take an early opportunity of seeing Mr. Bevin with a view to urging that either the Foreign Secretary or the Prime Minister should make a brief speech at the meeting.

In the event of Mr. Eden and/or Lady Violet Bonham Carter being unable to address the meeting, the Chairman was asked to invite Lord Cranborne and/or Lady Megan Lloyd George, and failing her Lord Samuel. The Committee hoped that an endeavour would be made to secure a message from H.M. the King for the Meeting.

The further recommendations regarding speakers made at the Special Executive on August 17th (minute 191 (b)) were considered, and it was agreed that the Archbishop of Canterbury should not be invited to move the vote of Thanks but that he and other leaders of the nation should be asked to send messages to the meeting. It was also decided that Air Vice Marshal Bennett should be invited to speak at the Albert Hall, but since, in the general opinion of the Committee, the meeting ought not to be regarded solely as a means of raising large sums of money, his speech should not deal exclusively with the Campaign Fund. The Chairman expressed his willingness to discuss the matter with the Air Vice Marshal. It was further agreed that provision should be made in the programme for an appeal for members of U.N.A. and that subscription forms should be placed on the seats.

The question of including some form of pageantry in the programme was discussed, and it was suggested that the meeting might open with a march past of representatives of all the United Nations, bearing their national flags. Arrangements were left in the hands of the Secretary.

On Minute 161 - United Nations Charter (b) Statute Book, Sir Geoffrey Mander stated that he was in correspondence with Mr. R.S.M. Pollard and with Mr. Noel-Baker, and would report to the Committee at the earliest opportunity.

The Executive were glad to learn that copies of the Charter of the United Nations, as published by U.N.A., had been sent to all Members of Parliament, to members of the Preparatory Commission, and to the British Government's delegates to the San Francisco Conference. A number of very appreciative letters had been received.

194. CO-OPERATIONS TO PROVISIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF U.N.A.
The Committee had before them the list of names referred to in Minute 179, together with additional names suggested since the last meeting (S.1268). In the discussion which followed further names were suggested, and attention was drawn to the fact that of the present 47 members of the L.N.U. Executive who were also members of the Provisional Executive of U.N.A., 10 had not attended any meetings during the past twelve months, and that 3 vacant places at present existed on the Committee. It was finally decided to appoint a sub-Committee, consisting of Lady Hall, Mr. Howe, Sir Geoffrey Mander, Mrs. Noel-Baker, Mr. Syrett and Miss Freda White to consider and make recommendations to the Executive for co-opting additional members not exceeding thirteen in number, and for this purpose, after making such inquiries as they may consider necessary, to fill the places of absentee members.
195. ANNUAL MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL. (a) Final Agenda.
The Committee had before them the Final Agenda for the Meeting of the Council on September 6th and 7th. Members of the Executive were asked to take charge of the various items in the agenda as follows:-
1. Welcome by the Chairman: Dr. Murray.
 2. Report by Chairman of Executive on action taken in accordance with resolutions of the Council at last two meetings: Lord Lytton
 3. Annual Report for 1944: Miss Courtney.
 4. Audited Balance Sheet & Income and Expenditure Account for 1944: Mr. Syrett.
 5. Motion to grant "Urgency": to be moved from the Chair.
 6. Roll Call: the Secretary.
 7. Presidential Address: Lord Cecil.
 8. The United Nations: Lord Cecil to move adoption of Executive's motion in the course of his Presidential Address; Miss Courtney to second the motion, reporting on her experiences at San Francisco, and to take charge of the amendments.

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The Committee were delighted to learn that Mr. Noel-Baker had expressed his willingness to make a short speech to the Council. It was agreed that, if convenient to him, the most appropriate time would be at the end of the morning session, or beginning of afternoon session, on September 6th when the above item would be before the Council.

9. Private Manufacture of Armaments: it was agreed that this item should be taken immediately after the Executive's urgency motion on the Atomic Bomb (see (b) below)
 10. United Nations Association of Great Britain and Northern Ireland: Miss Courtney to move Executive's motion. In view of the numerous amendments submitted to Appendix A, it was suggested that Council be invited to accept, as a starting point, the present proposals and to leave it to the Standing Conference of the United Nations Association to consider and make such alterations as they may see fit in the light of the amendments contained in the Council's Agenda; for submission to the General Council of U.N.A. in December.
 11. Emblem of United Nations Societies: Dr. Garnett to move, on behalf of the Executive, the adoption of the motion tabled in his name, amended by the deletion of all words after "Societies" in line 6.
 12. Election of Officers: to be moved from the Chair, with the addition of the names of the Archbishop of York and the Archbishop of Westminster as Vice-Presidents.
 13. Election of Executive Committee: At Miss Fawcett's request her name was deleted from the nominations submitted for the Executive Committee to be elected under the new Rules for the L.N.U.
- (b) "Urgency" Motions.

The Atomic Bomb. It was agreed that a motion dealing with this subject should be submitted by the Executive to the General Council and be moved by Lord Lytton. It was left to Lord Cecil, Dr. Murray and Lord Lytton to prepare the text of the motion.

It was further agreed that the Executive should as soon as possible seek the advice of scientists regarding the Atomic Bomb, and that the Council be so informed.

United Nations Educational and Cultural Organisation. A motion drafted by Dr. Garnett for the General Council was considered and, after discussion, was approved and adopted for submission by the Executive in the following amended form:-

"The General Council of the League of Nations Union

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

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

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

196. UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL ORGANISATION. The Executive had before them a communication from Sir Alfred Zimmern, together with the text of the Draft Proposals for an Educational and Cultural Organisation of the United Nations, and a memorandum (prepared by the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education) giving a summary and analysis of the proposals. They also had before them a letter from Dr. Garnett to the Secretary, suggesting amendments in the Preamble and Article 1 of the Proposals.

Dr. Murray having reported that a special meeting of the C.E.W.C. had been summoned for September 11th to consider and make recommendations concerning the Proposals, it was agreed that Dr. Garnett's suggestions should be circulated for consideration at that meeting, and Dr. Murray expressed the hope that Dr. Garnett would himself be present.

197. AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE UNITED NATIONS. The Executive received with much interest the text of a telegram sent by President Truman to the American Association (copy filed with these minutes).
198. UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF AUSTRALIA. A communication received by Lord Cecil from Mr. E. Dwyer Gray, Federal Treasurer of the U.N.A. of Australia, was placed before the Committee, drawing attention to the subsidy received by the Federal Organisation and the Tasmanian Branch from the Commonwealth Government and the Tasmanian Government respectively, and suggesting that the British L.N.U. should invite the British Government and the Governments of other United Nations to take similar action in their respective countries.
199. 15. GROSVENOR CRESCENT: CLAIM FOR DILAPIDATIONS. The Secretary reported that Mr. Syrett had now been able to settle the claim, in respect of dilapidations at 15, Grosvenor Crescent, for £1500. In approving the settlement, the Committee expressed their satisfaction at the figure agreed upon and their cordial thanks to Mr. Syrett for all that he had done in that connection.
200. MME. BAKKER VON BOSSE. The Secretary reported that he had written, as requested in minute 191 (c) to Mme. Bakker von Bosse but that, in the meantime, he had received a further letter inquiring, in view of the difficulty of bringing money out of Holland, if the Executive could guarantee any part of her expenses. In return, she would be willing to address meetings for U.N.A. on present conditions in Holland. It was left to the Secretary to discuss this matter with the Treasurer, bearing in mind the possibility of securing private hospitality for Mme. Bakker von Bosse.

Lyllon
CHAIRMAN
Sept. 20th 1945.

Confidential

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION HELD ON THURSDAY, MAY 16TH, 1946, AT 11 MAIDEN LANE, LONDON, W.C.2, AT 10.30 A.M.

PRESENT: Mr. A.J. Howe, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Lady Hall and Mr. C.W. Judd.

1. GENERAL COUNCIL. The Committee gave consideration to the Agenda for the General Council to be held on June 23rd. The Committee

RESOLVED: (a) "That, subject to any further nominations that may be received, the present Officers and Executive Committee be nominated for the ensuing year."

- (b) "That the following resolutions be submitted to the General Council:

That the Executive Committee be authorised

(a) to give such financial support as is practicable to enable the United Nations Association fully to discharge its work;

(b) to arrange for the Union to be amalgamated with the United Nations Association under a new Royal Charter or to wind up the affairs of the Union and to transfer its assets to the United Nations Association when a Royal Charter is granted to that body."

- (c) "That the annual report prepared by the Office be multigraphed and circulated to the Council."

2. FINANCE. In order to regularise the arrangements that had been made, in consultation with the Hon. Treasurer and the Auditors, to carry out the Agreement with U.N.A., it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the salaries of all members of the Staff appointed by U.N.A. be charged to U.N.A. account from the date of their appointment."

(2) "That the salaries of all members of L.N.U. staff, being transferred to U.N.A., be charged to U.N.A. account from January 1st."

(3) "That from November 1st all payments for U.N.A. work be charged to U.N.A. account."

(4) "That all expenditure incurred by the L.N.U. specifically on behalf of U.N.A. before November 1st and all payments made by U.N.A. on behalf of the L.N.U. be charged to the body on whose behalf such expenditure was incurred and that the Treasurer of the League of Nations Union and the Secretary of the United Nations Association be authorised to agree upon and settle such outstanding balances between the two bodies."

Having regard to the liquidation of all Branches it was, on the advice of the auditors,

RESOLVED: (5) "That the sum of £3,429. 15s. 7½d., being contributions received at Head Office due to local organisations and loans and deposits from branches repayable on demand, be written off by crediting the League of Nations Union Income and Expenditure Account as the local organisations and branches referred to above are considered no longer to be in existence."

It was also

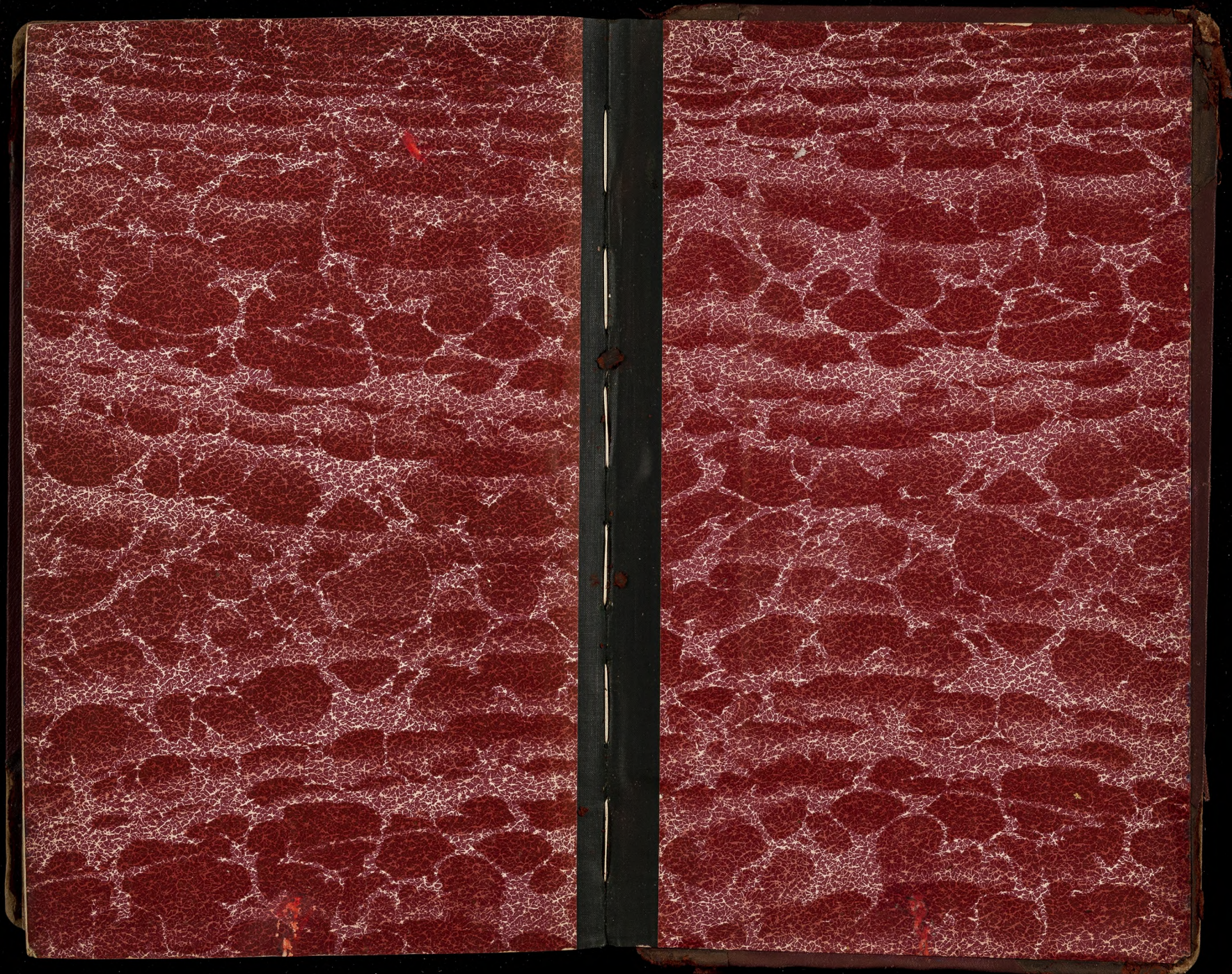
RESOLVED: (6) "That the sum of £2,909. 2s. 2d. being reserves no longer required for doubtful debts, repairs and decorations at 15 Grosvenor Crescent and the provision of literature to certain members, be written off by crediting the Union's Income and Expenditure Account."

(7) "That the Union make a grant of £113. 0s. 10d. out of the general fund of the Union to the reserve towards possible grants and pensions to members of the staff not covered by the Superannuation Scheme."

(8) "That the Finance Committee of the United Nations Association be invited to act also as the Finance Committee of the League of Nations Union."

G. Murray.

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