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Confidential

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE held at 11 Maiden Lane, W.C.2 on Thursday, June 3rd, 1943, at 2.15 p.m.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Professor Brodetsky, H.L.Bullock, F.M.Burris, Miss Courtney, Miss Fawcett, Dr.Garnett, Lady Hall, Professor Murray, Nowell C.Smith, H.S.Syrett, F.W.Weaver, Sir Ralph Wedgwood, Professor Basil Williams and Major Freshwater. Apologies for absence were received from Mrs.Corbett Ashby, Dean of Chichester, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, J.Macdonald and K.Zilliacus.

- 558 LORD CECIL: The Committee heard with relief and pleasure that Lord Cecil was making good progress after his accident on May 30th and decided to send him a message of sympathy, and hope for speedy and complete recovery.
- 559 LORD DICKINSON: The Executive recorded its regret at the death of Lord Dickinson, and passed a vote of condolence with Lady Dickinson.
- 560 MR.W.L.BULLOCK: The Chairman welcomed Mr.W.L.Bullock (National Union of General & Municipal Workers), who was attending the Executive for the first time.
- 561 MINUTES: The Minutes of the Meeting held on May 20th were confirmed as circulated after the sentence in Item 557 beginning "The Aberystwyth Board" had been deleted and the words "and other subjects" inserted after "history" in the last paragraph.
- 562 TITLE AND WORK OF THE UNION (552,542,529) Dr.Garnett welcomed the decisions taken at the last meeting; he trusted, however, that they did not mean that the Executive was definitely opposed to altering the name of the Union, and purposed saying at the meeting of the General Council why, in his view, a change should be made. The Chairman replied that the Committee realised the desirability of making a change, but there were legal difficulties which could best be dealt with when the name of the international organisation of the future had been decided.
- 563 INTERNATIONAL POLITICS (557) With reference to Dr.Murray's proposal to bring the question of the teaching of International Politics before the C.E.W.C., Dr.Garnett said that the British Association's Committee on Post-War University Education was interested in that particular problem. The first Interim Report of the Committee included a proposal, worked out in considerable detail, that every university (not only in the United Kingdom) should provide, for teachers and others, a new course of study in Philosophy, Natural and Social (which could be described as a course in "Citizenship"). These new courses would cover three years of undergraduate work, would lead to Honours or Pass Degrees, would include the study of international affairs and would be specially suitable for future form-masters and form-mistresses.

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564 **LOANS ISSUED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE LEAGUE:** The Chairman read a letter (copy filed with these Minutes) from Sir Otto Niemeyer of the Bank of England. The letter was accompanied by copies of the Seventh and Ninth Reports of the League Loans Committee (London). Both reports contain information concerning the position of the Austrian, Bulgarian, Danzig, Estonian, Greek and Hungarian loans. Except in the case of Austria none of the Governments of the lending countries had accepted legal responsibility to individual investors, but the Memorials on pages 16-21 of the Seventh Report show that both the League and the British Government have considerable moral responsibility.

The Chairman, having reminded the meeting that the matter had been raised originally by a member of the Union, said that they were considering it from the point of view of the prestige of the League of Nations; he thought it undesirable that anything should be published at the moment, but a reminder of the existence of the loans might be sent to the Government. Mr. Syrett thought the Executive should ask the Government to give priority of payment to these loans after the war in order that the public might have confidence in any new loans that might be raised.

Finally, the Chairman agreed to prepare a Motion for inclusion in the Agenda for the next meeting.

565 **REFUGEES:** Professor Brodetsky having stated that further progress was likely to be made in this matter during the next few days, it was decided to postpone till the next meeting consideration of the Executive's Motion for the General Council.

Consideration was given to a suggestion from the National Committee for Rescue from Nazi Terror that a Leaflet containing a 12-Point Programme and a pamphlet by Miss Rathbone should be sent to Union Branches. It was decided to do this, to commend the documents for consideration by the Branches and to suggest to Branches that, if they found themselves in general agreement with the 12-Point Programme, so to inform their local M.Ps.

566 **CHINA:** A communication from the China Campaign Committee was read stating that civic authorities were being asked to hold meetings and demonstrations of Solidarity with China on July 7th, the anniversary of the beginning of Japanese aggression in China.

It was decided to pass this information on to Branches and to suggest that where such demonstrations are to be held, local Branches should offer their help.

567 **RUSSIA:** Consideration was given to a proposal of the National Council for British-Soviet Unity that handbills concerning a demonstration in the Albert Hall on June 27th, to mark the second anniversary of the invasion of Russia, should be sent to Union Branches.

It was decided not to make a general distribution to Branches, but to have a supply of the handbills available at the General Council Meeting.

568 **MR. DUFF COOPER:** Attention was called to a report in the press that Mr. Duff Cooper had asked for his name to be removed from the list of Vice-Presidents of the Westminster Branch and stating that, while he was strongly in favour of international co-operation after the war, he would be opposed to any revival of the League as such, or of a similar body based on the same principles, which he was convinced were fundamentally wrong.

It was decided that no action be taken.

569 **REFUGEES IN BRITAIN:** The Chairman referred to an interview he had had with Dr. Bernard Foucault, a French Barrister-at-law, who was forming a private company to set up a Bureau of Information and Assistance for Foreign Refugees in this country, and asked for information.

Members of the Committee stated that there were already committees for this purpose all over the country in connection with Bloomsbury House, that the Citizens' Advice Bureau gave this kind of assistance to Refugees and that there was a section at Transport House to help trade unionists from other countries.

570 **SPEECH BY MR. SUMNER WELLES:** It was reported that Lord Cecil had expressed the hope that the Executive would take favourable notice of the speech by Mr. Sumner Welles reported in the TIMES of June 1st, 1943.

Professor Williams thought it important that the Union should officially welcome anything of this kind coming from the other side of the Atlantic, as hitherto America had been hesitant in recognising anything international.

The Chairman undertook to send letters to the TIMES and Mr. Winant saying how much the Executive approved the speech of Mr. Welles as being a statement of the principles and objects for which the Union exists.

571 **ROTARY CLUBS:** Mr. Weaver called attention to a Rotary Report and Read sections which showed how greatly Rotary's ideas of post-war settlement were in accord with those of the Union.

It was pointed out that during the past twelve to eighteen months the Union's Staff Speaker had addressed a great many Rotary Clubs throughout the country.

L. J. L.
Chairman.

17.6.43.

Bank of England, London
E.C.2.

1st June, 1943.

Dear Lord Lytton,

Thank you for your letter of the 25th May. I think you may find it useful to have by you copies of the 7th and 8th Reports of the League Loans Committee, and in case you should also wish to show copies to members of the Executive of the League of Nations Union I am sending you six of each. The 7th Report was the last to be issued before the outbreak of war and it contains some useful appendices, particularly the tables on pages 44-49 and 60-61. The 8th Report is an abbreviated wartime Report and the latest to be published: it describes in detail the position of the service of the various loans in February 1942.

There has been little change since the 8th Report was published. You will appreciate that we are not fully informed about what is happening in enemy occupied territory but, so far as is known to us, the present position of the various loans may be set out as follows:-

LEAGUE LOANS

TREATMENT

Bulgarian	Bulgarian holders are probably being paid at 40% in leva. Holders of the French tranche of the 1928 Loan are reported to have been receiving some payment in francs. British and American and probably all other holders are not receiving anything.
Danzig) Estonian)	Service is probably in complete default everywhere.
Greek	Greek holders are probably receiving something from the Athens Government in drachmae. The exiled Greek Government are not paying anything to any bondholders.
Hungarian	Swiss and Swedish holders are being paid in full in their respective currencies. British and American holders are not being paid anything. Hungarian holders are probably, and Dutch, Czech and Italian holders possibly, receiving payment in full in their respective currencies.

The only League Loan to be issued with a government guarantee was the Austrian Government Guaranteed 7% Loan of 1923, which was converted in 1924 and was never in default to the bondholders. The Conversion Loan (Austrian Guaranteed 4% Conversion Loan 1932/39) was guaranteed in the same proportions as its predecessor: and so far as sterling, Swedish & Swiss issues are concerned these guarantees are being honoured by U.K., U.K. (on behalf of Czechoslovakia), Belgium, Holland and Sweden. This means that the service is being met to the extent of 54% of the amount contractually due. The French, Italian and Danish guarantees are in default.

Except in the case of Austria, none of the governments of the lending countries accepted legal responsibility to the individual investors but, as you will see from the memorials which were submitted by the League Loans Committee to the British Government and to the Council of the League of Nations in 1932 (you will find these memorials on pages 16-21 of the Committee's 7th Report), both the League and the British Government have no little moral responsibility.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) Otto Niemeyer

The Rt. Hon. The Earl of Lytton, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

Confidential

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE held at 11 Maiden Lane, W.C.2 on Thursday, June 17th, 1943, at 2.15 p.m.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Miss Courtney, Miss Fawcett, Dr. Garnett, Lady Hall, Sir Arthur Haworth, A.J. Howe, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, J. Macdonald, Lord Perth, Howell C. Smith, H.S. Syrett, A.E.W. Thomas, Sir Ralph Wedgwood, Professor Basil Williams and Major Freshwater. Apologies for absence were received from Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Mrs. Beale, Professor Erodetsky, F.M. Burris and Miss Rathbone.

- 572 MINUTES: The Minutes of the meeting held on June 3rd were confirmed as circulated.
- 573 LOANS ISSUED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE LEAGUE (564) The Chairman read a draft resolution which it was agreed should be circulated for the consideration of the new Committee after the General Council Meeting.
- 574 REFUGEES (565) It was reported that action had been taken on the LINES proposed at the last meeting and, on the advice of Lord Perth, it was decided that no further action be taken at present.
- 575 SPEECH BY MR. SUMNER WELLES (570) The Chairman reported that he had sent a short letter to the TIMES and one to Mr. Winant, who had sent an appreciative reply (copy filed with these Minutes).
- 576 MR. DUFF COOPER: Mr. Macdonald called attention to an article in the local press on the resignation of Mr. Duff Cooper from the Westminster Branch of the Union, and to his letter in reply.
- Miss Courtney reported that she and Mrs. Noel Baker were seeing Mr. Duff Cooper on the 21st with reference to his action.
- 577 ACCOUNTS FOR 1942: The Committee expressed their gratitude to Mr. Syrett for all he had done in connection with the Union's finances and the Chairman reported action he had taken in respect of certain subscribers of substantial amounts under dead.
- 578 AMERICA'S PLACE IN THE POST-WAR WORLD: The Chairman reported that he had received a pamphlet entitled "America's Place in the Post-War World" by Nathaniel Peffer, published by the Academy of Political Science, New York. Lord Lytton said that this excellent pamphlet, though written by an American for Americans, was also of concern to our Union.
- It was stated that copies of the pamphlet had been called for. The article had been reprinted from the Political Science Quarterly.
- 579 AMERICA AND A WORLD ORGANISATION: Attention was called to the following resolution which had been unanimously adopted by the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives on June 16th, 1943:
- "That the Congress hereby expresses itself as favouring the creation of appropriate international machinery with power adequate to establish and to maintain a just and lasting peace among the nations of the world, and as favouring participation by the United States therein."
- 580 SPEECH BY LORD PERTH: At Dr. Garnett's suggestion the Executive recorded its appreciation of the excellent speech to the London Regional Federation, as recorded in HEADWAY.

-2-

581 MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE: The Chairman reported that at its meeting that morning the Membership Committee had had an interesting discussion with members of the Management Committee of the C.E.W.C. and others, and that a report would be circulated.

582 LORD DICKINSON (559) Dr. Gairdner called attention to the very special work Lord Dickinson had done for the Union, and Dr. Murray undertook to make a reference to him and his work at the General Council Meeting.

583 GENERAL COUNCIL: The following arrangements were made:

FIRST SESSION:

4. Election of Officers - The election of the Prime Minister as Hon. President to be moved from the Chair as a separate item and, in accordance with custom, the election of the Vice-Presidents and other officers to be moved from the body of the hall.
6. Co-optations to the General Council - On the motion of Miss Courtney it was decided to add Dr. Hilda Clark's name to the list.
7. Motion to Grant Urgency - On the motion of Miss Courtney it was decided to ask for "urgency" for the following motion:

The Council of the League of Nations Union warmly welcomes the report of the United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture at Hot Springs and the proposal to establish a United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

It desires especially to emphasise the fact that no long term plan for world production and consumption can function effectively unless within the framework of an international organisation which will provide security against war - that Freedom from want is in fact dependent upon Freedom from Fear, since without this nations will inevitably pursue a policy of National Self-sufficiency.

The Chairman agreed to send a copy of this motion to Mr. Richard Law, Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, mentioning the great interest taken by the Union in these matters and saying what great pleasure it would give to members of the General Council if he were able to look in for a few minutes on June 24th or 25th to say a few words about these subjects.

SECOND SESSION:

10. Social and Economic Reconstruction: Sir Ralph Wedgwood to move the adoption of the Report and to take the Edinburgh Motion at the same time.
13. World Settlement after the War: and 19 India to be dealt with by Lord Lytton.

Lady Hall expressed the hope that members of the Executive Committee would make a point of being present at the Tea at 4.30 on June 24th, to which members of the Council and of the L.I.A. and C.E.W.C. had been invited.

It was decided that a reminder should be sent to all members of the Committee.

THIRD SESSION:

Education for World Citizenship: It was reported that members of the L.I. A. and the C.E.W.C. were being invited to speak at this Session.

FOURTH SESSION:

12. Education for World Citizenship: Mr. Rennie Smith's amendment to be opposed by Dr. Murray on behalf of the Executive.
16. Solemnity of International Obligations: Lord Perth to suggest that this might best be marked by a one minute's silence.
18. International Authority: to be moved by Mr. Howe.
20. The work of the Union: to be moved by Miss Courtney.
11. The Jewish Problem: to be moved by Mrs. Dagdale.

FIFTH SESSION:

14. Famine Relief: to invite Edinburgh and Bourville to accept Lord Perth's amendments.
The Chair was now taken by Miss Courtney.

584 MEETING OF BRANCH SECRETARIES: It was agreed to ask Mr. Behrens to take the Chair.

585 WOMEN'S ADVISORY COUNCIL: Miss Courtney having reported that the attendance at meetings of this Council had been small, it was decided that the ordinary meetings be postponed for the duration of the war but that, in order to keep the present Council in being, to hold one meeting a year. Miss Courtney would be willing to give an address on her visit to America at the first of such annual meetings.

H. D. Courtney

Chairman.
1/7/43.

Copy

Embassy of the
United States of America,
London.

June 8, 1943

Dear Lord Lytton,

It was good of you to write to me and to tell me that you liked Mr. Sumner Welles' speech on post-war international organisation. I think also that it was a very fine address, and am grateful for the generous remarks in your letter in the "Times".

... .. John S. Winant.

S.1060.

DRAFT RESOLUTION FOR THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE I.N.U.League Loans

The Committee, taking note of the fact -

- (a) that between 1923 and 1928 nine separate international Loans known as the "League Loans" were issued under the auspices of the League of Nations;
- (b) that the "League Loans" were approved in detail by the Council of the League of Nations with the concurrence and support of His Majesty's Government, which was at all times represented on the Council;
- (c) that all these Loans served to promote the reconstruction of Europe, their purpose being in general to restore the economic and monetary stability of six war-damaged States, and in two particular cases to settle a destitute and homeless refugee population and provide them with the means to earn their livelihood;
- (d) that His Majesty's Government desired the success of the Loans in the interest of their general policy of European reconstruction, and in more than one instance particularly recommended them to the support of the competent authorities of the City of London;
- (e) that the British investing public, which subscribed about half the total of the "League Loans", did so in the faith that, having regard to the circumstances of issue, both the Council of the League of Nations and His Majesty's Government would exercise special watchfulness in regard to them, and that, because in every case the Council of the League had examined the proposed schemes with the greatest care at every stage before they were launched, they could be assured that -
 - (i) the highest security had been provided by the debtor in the most binding form;
 - (ii) machinery had been set up to protect this security under the supervision of the League, which, in several cases, appointed Commissioners in the countries concerned for this purpose;
- (f) that the "League Loans" have a moral claim to special consideration in view of the fact that, but for the reconstruction schemes in connection with which they were issued, the service of previous Loans could in many cases hardly have been resumed, nor would subsequent lenders have invested funds as they did in the countries concerned;
- (g) that the service of part or all of these Loans is now in complete default;

regret the defaults because of their injurious effect on the general sentiment towards international reconstruction of war damaged economies and therefore now respectfully urge His Majesty's Government, in concert where appropriate with other Governments concerned, to take all necessary steps to ensure that the service of "League Loans" shall receive high priority of treatment in the post-war settlement of international indebtedness.

9.7.43.

Confidential

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE held at 11, Maiden Lane, W.C.2 on Thursday, July 1st, 1943, at 2.15 p.m.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Lord Cecil, Miss Courtney, Lady Hall, A.J.Howe, Thomas Lodge, Dr. Murray, Rowell C. Smith, H.S.Syrett, W.Carey Wilson and Major Freshwater. Apologies for absence were received from Dr. Garnett, Mrs. Beale, F.M.Burris, Dean of Chichester and H.Nicolson.

586 MINUTES: The Minutes of the meeting held on June 17th were confirmed as circulated.

587 EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: Mr.W.Carey Wilson and Mr.Thomas Lodge, who were attending the Executive for the first time, were welcomed by the Chairman.

588 COMPOSITION OF THE COMMITTEE: The following members of the old Committee were co-opted: H.L.Bullock, Colonel Cazalet, M.P., Mrs. E.Dagdale, Miss Fawcett, D.L.Lipson, M.P., Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Miss M.Lloyd George, M.P., J. Macdonald, A.E.W. Thomas, Miss E.Waite, Sir Ralph Wedgwood, Professor Basil Williams and K.Zilliacus. It was agreed that Dr.Hilda Clark and Professor Webster be invited to join the Committee, that Lord Addison and Mr.Ston Watson be asked if they would like their names to be retained, and that Mrs. Wallace and Miss Sparks should be asked to say, if they were invited to join the Committee, whether or not they would be able to accept. The resignation of Mr. Leonard Wolf, as owing to other work he can not attend meetings, was accepted with regret.

589 GENERAL COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS, June 24th and 25th (filed with these Minutes.)

- (1) Social & Economic Reconstruction: It was reported that copies of the Report had been sent to Branches and were being sent to Foundation, Affiliated and Corporate Members. It was agreed that copies should also be sent to H.K. Government, certain newspapers and periodicals in this country, the Dominions and America; to the O.W.I.s. in Washington and other cities in the U.S.A. and to appropriate organisations.
- (2) India: Lord Lytton undertook to send a copy of the resolution to Sir Archibald Wavell.
- (3) Education and the United Nations: It was agreed that a copy of the resolution be sent to the President of the Board of Education.
- (4) Solemnity of International Obligations: It was decided to consider this at the next meeting and so to advise Lord Perth.
- (5) The Work of the Union: It was reported that this would be published in HEADWAY.
- (6) Famine Relief: It was agreed that a copy of this resolution be sent to H.K. Government.
- (7) Union Finance after the War: It was decided to ask the Finance Committee to consider the matter. Mr. Syrett said the Committee would do this and that he thought the Membership Committee would wish to do so too from the membership point of view. Federal and other local Councils and Branches might be invited to make suggestions.
- (8) Nazi Massacres of Jewish and other Victims: Lord Cecil reported that he had received a telegram from Mr. Kruek, of Jerusalem, saying that ten thousand Jews were to be sent out of Italy, nominally on account of the bombing, though they are to be sent to Poland where they would all be killed.

-2-

At the suggestion of Lord Lytton, Lord Cecil undertook to forward the telegram to Miss Rathbone who is in touch with the Committee for Rescue from Nazi Terror.

It was decided that a copy of the resolution be sent to H.M. Government.

- (9) **United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture:** There was considerable discussion about the connection between the Hot Springs Conference and the U.N.R.R.A. and Lord Cecil said he had put down a Motion for discussion in the House of Lords on the proposal published in the TIMES of June 11th for a permanent organisation dealing with the immediate needs of the world, not only in food but in housing and restoring people to their homes.

Lord Lytton referred to the statement in the Social & Economic Reconstruction Report about the agreement signed by the Allied Council on Sept. 24, 1941, setting up a standing committee of allied representatives under the Chairmanship of Sir Frederick Loitt-Ross, with a Bureau in London. This had been accepted by the Soviet Government with a reservation that the Bureau should have an inter-Allied character on the basis of equal representation of all the Governments concerned. Since that agreement had been adopted the United States Administration had appointed Governor Lehman as United States Director of Foreign Rehabilitation and Relief.

It was agreed that a copy of the resolution be sent to H.M. Government.

- (10) **World Settlement after the War:** It was agreed that provision should be made in the Agenda for the next meeting for the consideration of WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR in the light of the Social & Economic Reconstruction Report and of the Beddington Motion and the amendments to it.
- (11) **The Jewish Problem:** It was reported that letters had been received from Miss White and Mrs. Dugdale, Professor Brodetsky and Mr. Arnold Forster.

The Chairman said he considered that the statement in paragraph 2 on p.6 of the Report "It is clear that Palestine must be governed according to the decision of the highest international authority, as a National Home for the Jews, with due regard for the rights of non-Jews, under the Mandate" was liable to the objection Miss White raised against it, though it might also be capable of defence; it was challenging and not entirely historically correct. He thought any correction should be done at a full Committee.

Dr. Murray undertook to read the letters and bring forward a proposal for consideration at the next meeting.

- (12) **International Authority:** It was decided that the Executive's Motion, together with the amendments tabled by the Bournville Works Branch and the Manchester District, be included in the Agenda for the next meeting.
- (13) **Contact with other Organisations:** It was reported that this would be printed in the July HEADWAY and the attention of Branches called to it.



Chairman.
15.7.43.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

REPORT of a Special Meeting of the Executive Committee
on Thursday, July 15th, 1943.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair) H.L.Bullock, Lord Cecil, Miss Courtney, Mrs.Dugdale, Miss Fawcett, W.Arnold-Forster, Dr.Garnett, A.J.Howe, Lady Layton, J.R.Leslie, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, J.Macdonald, G. le M.Mander, Dr.Murray, Lord Perth, W.T.Pritchard, Miss Rathbone, Nowell C.Smith, H.S.Syrett, A.E.W.Thomas, R.W.Seton-Watson, Sir Ralph Wedgwood, Professor Basil Williams and C.W.Judd.

Lord Lytton said that the Executive met that day in the shadow of a great loss. Major Freshwater had been so intimate and so essential a part of all their work that it was impossible to imagine what it would mean to carry on without him. Lord Lytton thought that Major Freshwater had possessed almost every quality which one could wish for in the position which he had occupied. In all personal matters he had been extraordinarily tactful and had helped to get the best out of everyone. In all business matters he had been extraordinarily efficient. The success which the Union had been able to achieve under the difficulties imposed by the war was, in his opinion, very largely due more perhaps to Major Freshwater than to anyone else.

Lord Lytton continued that he could not speak of Major Freshwater's work in the office in the way that those who had been his colleagues and had worked under him could do. Both they and all the Union's Branch Secretaries throughout the country would, he knew, feel as deeply as anybody the loss they had sustained. He could only judge of what Major Freshwater must have been in that work by the smoothness with which everything had gone and the success accomplished. Mr. Syrett would be able to testify to the help received from Freshwater in all financial difficulties and the assistance he had been to our Treasurer in getting the Union's finances put straight.

Speaking of what Major Freshwater had been to him personally, Lord Lytton reminded the Executive that when they had done him the honour to ask him to become the Chairman of the Executive Committee, they had expressed a feeling that he ought, if possible, to look in at the office every day. That, in fact, had not been possible for him to do and had it been necessary he could not have retained the position. It had, in fact, proved quite unnecessary and that had been due to Major Freshwater. Lord Lytton said that he had always known that he could rely upon Major Freshwater to carry on without his assistance and had known also that he could rely upon him to let him know if at any time his help was required. Major Freshwater had never hesitated to ring him or write to him; he had never hesitated to ask him to do anything which he thought it would be helpful for him to do.

Lord Lytton added that what he had perhaps appreciated more than anything else had been Major Freshwater's cheerfulness.

Lord Lytton said that he was sure that Major Freshwater had believed in the Union's cause as much as any of them; he really had had it at heart, he had worked for it with his whole heart and had always been cheerful. Whenever he had brought a business Agenda for Lord Lytton to run through he had done so in the most businesslike manner and had never wasted a single word. When a decision had been reached he would never forget the cheery way in which Freshwater used to say "all right, that's that". As soon as he had got a decision he would pass on to the next matter, leaving Lord Lytton with the knowledge that the decision would be carried out in a way which would command everyone's respect. In all that he had done he had made a Chairman's task as easy as possible. For weeks to come, he knew, he would be turning round and asking where Freshwater was. It had been impossible to do anything without him or to begin the Executive proceedings unless he were present.

Lord Lytton added that he had never worked with anyone whom he had valued more highly. It was quite impossible for the Executive to measure the loss which they had sustained.

He then proceeded to give details about the funeral arrangements and the Memorial Service to be held at St. Martin-in-the-Fields.

Lord Lytton then spoke of the tragic death, since the last meeting of the Executive, of Major Victor Cazalet, who had been a much-valued member of the Committee, always helpful, always ready to raise any question in Parliament with which the Union was particularly concerned, and though not able to attend the meetings of the Executive very often, always interested in the activities of the Union. Lord Lytton recalled the words spoken by Major Cazalet at one of the Executive meetings during the years when everyone was working so desperately hard to prevent the present war, and feeling in spite of all, unable to prevent it - "Well, I don't want to be killed, but I am quite ready to give my life if it is in a cause for which we are all at one, but I am not prepared to give my life for a purely selfish national object". Lord Lytton said he knew how completely Major Cazalet was at one with the Union in those days and how deeply his assistance was valued, and the deep regret all felt when it was known that he had been killed in the fulfilment of his duty when accompanying General Sikorski. Lord Lytton recalled with gratitude the accounts which Major Cazalet had given to the Union of previous visits and said how much they would have enjoyed hearing the news of his last expedition.

The meeting passed a resolution of condolence.

Lord Cecil said he felt with Lord Lytton the tremendous loss which the Union and the cause of the League of Nations had suffered by the death of Freshwater, who after beginning his life in commercial activities, had joined up and fought through the last war and afterwards joined the Union. Lord Cecil said that Major Freshwater was a convinced believer in the necessity for peace and in the righteousness of the efforts of the League in that direction and gave his life

to that cause as much and as truly as anyone who had fallen in the field.

Lord Cecil said he would like to add that he had never come across a man with such a genius for friendship as Freshwater. It was literally true that every one of his staff felt for him a deep personal affection, which was shared by all those present. He thought this capacity for friendship was a wonderful quality - and it was a striking coincidence that Major Cazalet, whose loss they were also deploring, also had that genius for friendship. Major Cazalet was never tired of doing kindly acts for anyone whose need he felt and knew. These two men could ill be spared; but Lord Cecil hoped their deaths would be an encouragement to everyone to work harder for the causes in which they fell.

Dr. Murray said he would like to add a few words to what had been said so well by Lord Lytton and Lord Cecil. He thought one could not imagine the word "envy" in connection with Freshwater, otherwise they could all envy the way he had finished his life. He said his wife had recently received a message from Major Freshwater asking why she did not come up to London and she had said "Well, I love Freshie" - and Dr. Murray thought that was the kind of answer that would be made by everyone. Major Freshwater had said how well he felt working in the cause of all others which he believed in most, and how happy he was in his work. He worked very hard in the thing he cared about - he was beloved by all here - and then suddenly he died; it was a happy end.

Dr. Garnett said he saw a great deal of Freshwater for over 18 years; he was a dear friend and the most perfect collaborator that it was possible to imagine; never by any word or gesture, by any action or lack of action did he provoke ill-feeling with anyone with whom he worked. It was an immense privilege to have had the experience of working with such a good and fine man for so long.

Lord Lytton said he would like to offer a special message of condolence to the staff, because after all it was on the staff that the chief loss would fall. He knew how much the members of the staff appreciated Major Freshwater and how difficult it would be for them to carry on without him; he hoped they would not be discouraged and he could assure them of all the help that he could give them.

The Committee passed a vote of condolence with Mrs. Freshwater and the members of her family.

Lytton
Chairman
29.7.43

Resolutions by the General Council, June 24 and 25, 1943.

1. SOCIAL & ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION. The Report prepared by the Executive Committee (Pamphlet No.432) was approved and adopted.

2. INDIA:
The General Council of the League of Nations Union desires to send to Field-Marshal Sir Archibald Wavell an expression of cordial good will on his appointment as Viceroy of India, and at the same time to express the hope that he will do everything in his power to bring about such conditions of concord and mutual good will inside India as may permit the fulfilment of the proposals of the Cripps Commission and enable India freely to settle her own destiny.

3. EDUCATION AND THE UNITED NATIONS:
(see pages 2 and 3 of Preliminary Agenda).

4. SOLEMNITY OF INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS:

Assuming -

- (a) that some form of League or Society of Nations will emerge after the present war, and
- (b) that the signature of some Covenant or Pact outlawing resort to war for the settlement of international disputes will be a sine qua non of membership,

and in view of the fact that past experience has shown that the signature of such a Pact or Covenant does not mean the same to all nations,

The General Council urges upon the Executive Committee that, with a view to upholding and strengthening the standard of international morality and good faith, they should consider the possibility of recommending some means whereby the solemnity of the obligation incurred by such signature should from time to time be brought home to the representatives of all States Members of the League and through them to the Governments and States which they represent, and that this should be done annually in open Assembly in as solemn a manner as possible.

5. THE WORK OF THE UNION:

The General Council of the League of Nations Union

Welcoming the declarations of members of H.M. Government as to the necessity of an International Authority after the war; and

Taking note of the principles and ideals of the Atlantic Charter subscribed to by the United Nations and the Declaration by the United Nations proclaimed at Washington on January 2, 1942,

Declares

That the promotion of the principles and ideals contained in the Atlantic Charter and the Declaration by the United Nations is, in conformity with the Third Object of the Union's Royal Charter, a necessary development of the work of the Union; and

Calls

Upon all members of the League of Nations Union to give their full support to that development.

6. FAMINE RELIEF

The General Council of the League of Nations Union, viewing with increasing anxiety the worsening conditions of the distressed populations in occupied countries, urges upon H.M. Government that, subject to the exigencies of the war, no effort should be spared to expedite immediate measures of relief by the granting of every possible facility for such assistance.

While recognising that the General Blockade is a part of the Allied War Measures, the Council trusts that the supply of food concentrates and vitamins for the children, expectant mothers and the sick, may still be possible by agreement under the control of the International Red Cross.

7. UNION FINANCE AFTER THE WAR

The General Council asks the Executive to investigate the question as to how the Union shall be financed in the post-war years, giving special attention to the financial relations between Headquarters, Federal Councils and Branches.

8. NAZI MASSACRES OF JEWISH AND OTHER VICTIMS

The Council of the League of Nations Union registers its deep concern over the apparent lack of progress made in rescuing the Jewish and other victims threatened with wholesale torture and massacres by their Nazi persecutors. While fully realising the difficulties impeding large scale measures of rescue, this Council desires to point out that over six months have now elapsed since the Declaration made in both Houses of Parliament on behalf of the United Nations, exposing the full facts of the massacres, and that nearly two months have elapsed since the conclusion of the Bermuda Conference on Refugees; yet that nothing is so far known to show that any substantial number of victims has as yet been rescued.

This Council therefore urges H.M. Government to carry out as speedily as possible the boldest practicable measures of rescue and repeats the assurance given to Mr. Eden at Washington on March 20th in a most weightily signed cable that:

"British conscience so deeply stirred that country prepared for any sacrifice consistent with not delaying victory."

-3-

9. UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON FOOD AND AGRICULTURE

The General Council of the League of Nations Union warmly welcomes

the Report of the United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture at Hot Springs, and

the proposal to establish a United Nations Relief & Rehabilitation Administration.

It desires especially to emphasise

that no long term plan for world production and consumption can function effectively unless within the framework of an international organisation which will provide security against war; and

that Freedom from Want is in fact dependent upon Freedom from Fear, since without this nations will inevitably pursue a policy of National Self-sufficiency.

10. WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR: The points of view contained in the Motion submitted by the Beddington, Carshalton and Wallington Branch, and the amendments, were referred to the Executive Committee for consideration. (see page 4 of Preliminary Agenda and page 2 of Final Agenda.)
11. THE JEWISH PROBLEM: The Report prepared by the Executive Committee (Pamphlet No.433) was approved and adopted, subject to verification of references to the Palestine Mandate.
12. INTERNATIONAL AUTHORITY: The motion submitted by the Executive Committee, together with the amendments tabled by Bourville Works Branch and the Manchester District, were referred back to the Executive for further consideration.
13. CONTACT WITH OTHER ORGANISATIONS: The following was adopted at the Conference of Branch Secretaries and Other Workers:
- That in view of the existence within Branch areas of such organisations as Sisterhoods, Mothers' Unions, Women's Institutes, Co-operative Guilds, Brotherhoods, Ruri-Decanal Conferences, "Religion and Life" and other Church Meetings, T.C.H. etc., Branches be urged to make contact with such organisations by offering to supply speakers on L.N.U. subjects for their meetings, and that Headquarters be requested to give Branches every possible assistance.

Confidential

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE held at 11 Maiden Lane, W.C.2 on Thursday, July 29th, 1943, at 2.15 p.m.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Professor Brodetsky, H.L.Bullock, F.M.Burris, Lord Cecil, Dr.Hilda Clark, Miss Courtney, Mrs.Dugdale, Miss Fawcett, W.Arnold-Forster, Lady Hall, A.J.Howe, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Thomas Lodge, J.Macdonald, Dr.Murray, Miss Rathbone, Councillor Shaw, H.S.Syrett, R.W.Seton-Watson, Professor Basil Williams, W.Carey Wilson and K.Zilliacus.

590 Minutes. The Minutes of the meeting held on July 1st and the report of the Special Meeting held on July 15th were confirmed as circulated.

Arising out of the Special Meeting, the following resolution adopted by the Edinburgh Branch was received:

"This Executive has heard with deep sorrow and regret of the sudden death of Major Freshwater. Major Freshwater has been a constant friend through a long period of years to this Branch and to its members. His attractive personality and his unfailing loyal service have endeared him to us all and his recent visit to Edinburgh has left with us a vivid memory of his close interest in our affairs. His unparalleled knowledge of the details of Union business, which he so untiringly put at our disposal, along with his complete subordination of self, gave a fresh life to our contact with Headquarters. We would express our deepest sympathy to all his friends."

591 Composition of the Executive. The Chairman welcomed Dr. Hilda Clark, who was attending the Committee for the first time.

It was reported that the persons named in Minute 588 had accepted the invitation to join the Committee with the exception of Mrs.Wallace, Miss Sparks and Professor Webster who had, for various reasons, declined.

Five vacancies still remained to be filled, and it was agreed that an invitation to join the Committee should be sent to Mr.H.Wilson Harris.

592 General Council Resolutions. It was reported that the Required action had been taken on the following resolutions adopted by the General Council at its Annual Meeting:

- (1) Social & Economic Reconstruction,
- (2) India,
- (3) Education and the United Nations.
- (6) Famine Relief
- (8) Nazi Massacres,
- (9) United Nations Conference on Food & Agriculture.

On (1) Mr.Bullock stated that he had sent copies of the Report on Social & Economic Reconstruction to every member of the T.U.C., including all heads of departments and District Secretaries.

Lady Hall suggested, and it was agreed, that the Report should also be communicated to the Secretary of Rotary International with the request that he should circulate copies to individual Rotary Clubs.

It was further agreed to send the Report to the Chambers of Commerce, the Federation of Employers' Organisations, the Federation of British Industries and the Development Board.

- 593 The late Lord Wedgwood. The Chairman was asked to send, on behalf of the Executive, a message of condolence to Sir Ralph Wedgwood on the death of his brother.
- 594 Field-Marshal Smuts. It was suggested that the congratulations of the Executive should be communicated to Field-Marshal Smuts, as one of the Founders and strongest supporters of the League, on his victory in the South African Parliamentary Election.
- After discussion it was left to the Chairman to send such message as he considered appropriate when the final results of the election were known.
- 595 Trial and Punishment of War Criminals. Lord Cecil reported a conversation he had had with the Lord Chancellor concerning the resolution on the Trial & Punishment of War Criminals adopted by the London International Assembly on June 21st. Lord Simon had assured Lord Cecil that His Majesty's Government were giving the matter very detailed and earnest consideration.
- Dame Adelaide Livingstone suggested, and it was agreed, that the L.I.A.'s resolution should be included on the agenda for the next meeting of the Executive.
- 596 Solemnity of International Obligations. It was agreed to defer consideration of this item until the next meeting when it was hoped that Lord Perth would be present.
- 597 Finance Committee. A Report, presented by Mr. Syrett, on the meetings of the Committee held on June 29th and July 27th (copy filed with these Minutes) was approved and adopted.
- 598 Secretaryship of Union. A discussion took place on the subject of filling the post of Secretary of the Union, vacant by the death of Major Freshwater. Many different views were expressed, but it was finally agreed:

(1) That it would be unwise to advertise the vacancy at the present time, when everyone was engaged upon work of national importance and the work of the Union was necessarily severely restricted.

(2) That as a period of great expansion and activity after the war would become necessary and possible, the Executive should retain its freedom to appoint the best man that would then be available.

(3) That a procedure similar to that adopted when the post was last vacant should be followed, and that Mr. Judd be asked to accept the post of acting Secretary for the duration of the war.

(4) That the officers be asked to consider a distribution of the work of the office and any additions to the staff which might be necessary to prevent Mr. Judd from being overworked.

It was understood that Mr. Judd would be fully occupied during August with the work of the Summer Schools outside London and would then take a holiday. It was therefore hoped that Miss Courtney would continue to supervise the work of the office and help Miss New until September, when Mr. Judd will take over.

599 Membership Committee. The Chairman reported that the Committee had met that morning; its report would be circulated to the Executive for consideration at the next meeting.

600 World Settlement after the War. The Executive had before them -

- (1) The Report on Social & Economic Reconstruction;
- (2) The Motion submitted to the General Council by the Beddington Carshalton & Wallington Branch and amendments by Mrs. White and by the Bournville Works Branch;
- (3) A memorandum by Mr. Zilliagus, and
- (4) Proposals submitted by the Southampton Branch.

After discussion it was decided to refer to a Sub-Committee consideration of the question whether, and if so what, modifications are desirable in WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR in the light of the above, and that the following be invited to serve on the Sub-Committee:

Lord Cecil	Mr. Bullock
Dr. Murray	Mr. Arnold-Forster
Lord Lytton	Lady Hall
Mr. Syrett	J.R. Leslie
Miss Courtney	Lord Perth, and
	Mr. Zilliagus.

601 The Jewish Problem. The Committee had before them proposals by Dr. Murray (S.1059A) for amending the Report on the Jewish Problem in accordance with Minute 589 (11).

After Mrs. Dugdale had stated that she was not in complete agreement with all Dr. Murray's proposals and wished herself to suggest another major amendment to the Report, and after Mr. Carey Wilson had expressed the view that the wording of the Appendix required further consideration, it was agreed to postpone discussion of this item until the next meeting and in the meantime to ask Mrs. Dugdale and Mr. Carey Wilson to submit their proposals in writing for communication to the Committee.

602 International Authority. The Motion submitted by the Executive to the Annual Meeting of the General Council, together with the amendments proposed by the Bournville Works Branch and the Manchester District Council were adjourned for consideration at the next meeting of the Committee.

Miss Courtney who took the Chair at the next meeting, considered that in view of the resolution on "The Work of the Union" adopted by the General Council, it was not necessary to ask the Executive further to consider the motion on an "International Authority". The item was not therefore included on the agenda for the following meeting.

see opposite page 1047

League Loans

It was resolved:

- (1) The Committee, taking note of the fact -
- (a) that between 1923 and 1928 nine separate international Loans known as the "League Loans" were issued under the auspices of the League of Nations;
 - (b) that the "League Loans" were approved in detail by the Council of the League of Nations with the concurrence and support of His Majesty's Government, which was at all times represented on the Council;
 - (c) that all these Loans served to promote the reconstruction of Europe, their purpose being in general to restore the economic and monetary stability of six war-damaged States, and in two particular cases to settle a destitute and homeless refugee population and provide them with the means to earn their livelihood;
 - (d) that His Majesty's Government desired the success of the Loans in the interest of their general policy of European reconstruction, and in more than one instance particularly recommended them to the support of the competent authorities of the City of London;
 - (e) that the British investing public, which subscribed about half the total of the "League Loans" did so in the faith that, having regard to the circumstances of issue, both the Council of the League of Nations and His Majesty's Government would exercise special watchfulness in regard to them, and that, because in every case the Council of the League had examined the proposed schemes with the greatest care at every stage before they were launched, they could be assured that -
 - (i) the highest security had been provided by the debtor in the most binding form;
 - (ii) machinery had been set up to protect this security under the supervision of the League which, in several cases, appointed Commissioners in the countries concerned for this purpose;
 - (f) that the "League Loans" have a moral claim to special consideration in view of the fact that, but for the reconstruction schemes in connection with which they were issued, the service of previous Loans could in many cases hardly have been resumed, nor would subsequent lenders have invested funds as they did in the countries concerned;
 - (g) that the service of part or all of these Loans is now in complete default;
- regret the defaults because of their injurious effect on the general sentiment towards international

reconstruction of war damaged economies and therefore now respectfully urge His Majesty's Government, in concert where appropriate with other Governments concerned, to take all necessary steps to ensure that the service of "League Loans" shall receive high priority of treatment in the post-war settlement of international indebtedness.

(2) That the above resolution be communicated to His Majesty's Government.

604 Colonial Administration. Mr. Arnold Forster referred to a recent speech by the Rt. Hon. Oliver Stanley in which he had suggested that neighbouring states should be taken into consultation in regard to Colonial Administration. Mr. Arnold Forster expressed the opinion that that would be a useful development but ought not to supercede the mandate principle.

It was agreed that this matter should be included on the agenda for discussion at the next meeting.

605 Closing of office. It was agreed that the office should be closed from Friday evening, July 30th, until the morning of August 3rd.

606 Date of next meeting. It was agreed that the next meeting should take place at 2.15 p.m. on Thursday, August 26th.

H. D. Courtney
August 26th, 1943

S.1068.

FINANCE COMMITTEE. The following report, presented by Mr. Syrett, on the meetings of the Committee held on June 29th and July 27th was approved and adopted:-

Salaries and Wages. The Committee had under review the length of service of every member of the staff and the salary or wage paid to each of them. Recommendations were made for increasing the salary or wage of certain members (details filed with these minutes).

Cash at Bank. It was decided to invest £5,000 in 3% Savings Bonds.

Accounts and Cheques. It was decided

- (a) for the time being to authorise Mr. H.R. Sparks to pass and certify any Petty Cash payments or accounts due to or payable by the Union in the ordinary course and conduct of the work of the Union, it being understood that any accounts in excess of £100 should be brought to the Treasurer and, if necessary, submitted by him to the Finance Committee for confirmation;
- (b) To authorise Miss M.B. Stephens to sign cheques in the absence of Mr. Sparks;
- (c) To send specimen signatures of Mr. Howe and Mr. Macdonald to the Bank so that, if necessary, they may sign cheques on behalf of the Union.

Major Freshwater. Mr. Syrett further reported that he had seen Major Freshwater's son and ascertained the following facts with regard to his position:-

- (1) That he had left a widow and two children - a son who was in business in Leeds, married, with a child, and a daughter aged about forty-one who had lived at home and had no special qualifications for earning her living - also that Mrs. Freshwater was aged about sixty-seven and was in delicate health.
- (2) That apart from the superannuation insurance, Major Freshwater's estate consisted of the freehold house in which he lived, for which he paid £1,050 a few years ago and which was mortgaged to a building society for about £500; the proceeds of a Life Policy; cash at Bank etc.; the total estate amounting to about £2,000.
- (3) That the family were very anxious to keep on the house for the benefit of Mrs. Freshwater and her daughter, but this would be impossible unless the L.N.U. were willing to give some substantial help.

-2-

The Finance Committee had considered the whole position at their last meeting and, in view of the loyal and devoted service given by Major Freshwater, recommended:

- (a) That the whole of the amount payable by the Insurance Company in respect of the superannuation be paid to Major Freshwater's representatives;
- (b) That a grant at the rate of £250 per annum be made to Mrs. Freshwater for her life but during the pleasure of the Union or the Executive Committee for the time being.

Mr. Syrett formally moved that the recommendations of the Finance Committee be adopted. This was seconded by Lord Lytton and unanimously agreed to.

Inset

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE
COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 11 MALDEN LANE
ON THURSDAY, AUGUST 26TH, 1943 AT 2.15 P.M.

PRESENT: Miss K.D. Courtney (in the Chair) Sir Norman Angell; Mrs. Corbett Ashby; Professor Brodetsky; F.M. Burris; Lord Cecil; Dr. Hilda Clark; Miss Fawcett; W. Arnold-Forster; Lady Hall; Sir Arthur Haworth; A.J. Howe; D.L. Lipson; Dame Adelaide Livingstone; Thomas Lodge; Dr. Murray; Nowell C. Smith; W.T. Pritchard; Miss Rathbone; Professor Basil Williams; and W. Carey Wilson.

607. MINUTES. Subject to the deletion of the words "for the duration of the war" in paragraph (3) of minute 598, the minutes of the meeting held on July 29th were confirmed as circulated.

608. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

591 - Composition of Executive, a letter from Mr. Wilson Harris was read, thanking the Executive for their invitation but regretting that, since he had lately been elected to the General Committee of the Reform Club which met on the afternoon of the first and third Thursdays in the month, it was not possible for him to accept the invitation.

It was suggested that the Executive might revert to its former practice of meeting at 11 a.m., or alternatively meet on the afternoon of the second and fourth Thursdays in the month. It was agreed that consideration should be given to these suggestions at the next meeting, and that Mr. Wilson Harris should be so informed.

After a letter from Mrs. Cazalet Keir, M.P. had been read, thanking the Committee for their message of sympathy in the death of Colonel Cazalet, it was

RESOLVED: "That an invitation to join the Executive be sent to Mrs. Cazalet Keir."

594 - Field-Marshal Smuts, the following reply received from Field-Marshal Smuts to the Committee's congratulatory message was read:

"Since thanks for kind congratulations. Have every hope that tide of victory now beginning to flow will also carry cause of world peace for which League has stood safely into harbour. Kind remembrances to all my old friends in the Union - Smuts."

The Chairman stated that the message was being included in the September HEADWAY.

609. SIR NORMAN ANGELL. The Chairman on behalf of the Committee cordially welcomed Sir Norman Angell on his return from America. Sir Norman said he expected to remain in this country for about two months and, at the invitation of the Chairman, expressed his readiness to report to the Committee at a future meeting on his experiences in the U.S.A.

610. REPORT ON THE JEWISH PROBLEM. The Committee had before them proposals for amending the Report submitted by Dr. Gilbert Murray, Mrs Dugdale and Mr. Carey Wilson (S.1059B), together with comments by Lord Perth (S. 1074) (copies filed with these minutes). After Dr. Murray had spoken, Mr. Carey Wilson withdrew his amendments, and it was

RESOLVED: "That, with the exception of the additional sentence proposed in paragraph 2 (line 5) of page 4 referring to the McLahon Letters, Dr. Murray's proposals be approved and adopted, and that the Report be amended accordingly."

At the request of the Chairman, Dr. Murray promised to write to Mrs. Dugdale and inform her of the Executive's decision.

611. SOLEMNITY OF INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS. Consideration of this item was deferred until Lord Perth could be present.
612. SECRETARYSHIP OF THE UNION. The Committee confirmed the decision taken at the last meeting of the Executive (Minute 598) to appoint Mr. Judd as acting Secretary of the Union. Lord Lytton and Miss Courtney had discussed the matter with Mr. Judd and he had expressed his willingness to accept the appointment on this basis.
613. NATIONAL MEMORIAL TO THE LATE MAJOR FRESHWATER. The Committee had before them a memorandum by Lady Hall (S.1073, copy filed with these minutes) dealing with the present situation regarding membership of the Union and making proposals for a Memorial to Major Freshwater which could be closely connected with the work of the Branches and with increase of membership. She reported conversations on the subject with Lord Lytton, Mr. Syrett and Miss Courtney, and added that several Branches had inquired if the Executive proposed to organise anything in the nature of a Memorial to Major Freshwater. One County Federation had suggested that, if nothing were being done on a national scale, its own organisation would wish to consider what could be done locally.

In reply to a question, it was stated that at the present time, 1900 Branches were receiving the monthly circulars sent out by H.Q. but that the number of active Branches was considerably less.

Dr. Murray and several other members felt that one of the main reasons for the decline in membership was the abolition of Regional Organisers; and Mr. Burris suggested that, instead of the travelling scholarships proposed in Lady Hall's memorandum, the Memorial to Major Freshwater might include the restoration of the R.R.'s or, if that were not possible under war-time conditions, the appointment of one good organiser who would be free to travel round the country for the purpose of maintaining contact with Branches.

~~Mr. Nowell Smith expressed the view that it was absolutely necessary, if the Union were not gradually to disappear, that the Executive as a whole and the individual members should feel a personal responsibility in the matter of membership.~~

Lord Cecil pointed out that it was impossible to create popular opinion merely by setting up machinery; it was necessary carefully to consider whether there was anything the Union had left undone in bringing before the public the tremendous issues of whether you could or could not avoid future war.

After further discussion in which many members of the Committee took part, it was, on the motion of the Chairman

RESOLVED: "That Lady Hall be thanked for her memorandum and that, as a first step, a Campaign Committee be appointed (1) to consider how the Union's policy could most attractively be presented to the public, and (2) to make precise suggestions for conducting a national campaign on behalf of the policy;

That the Committee be also asked to consider whether, and if so in what way, a scheme for a Memorial to Major Freshwater could be made part of the proposed Campaign.

That Mr. Arnold Forster, Sir Norman Angell, Mrs. Corbett Ashby and Lady Hall, together with the Officers, be appointed to serve on the Committee;

Members of the Executive were invited to submit suggestions for consideration by the Campaign Committee.

614. **MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE.** The Executive had before them a report of the Membership Committee's meeting held on July 23rd (copy filed with these minutes) together with a letter written by Mr. Nowell Smith to Mr. Syrett (S.1071) on the question of "Youth". Having regard to the discussion and decision recorded in the preceding minute, it was agreed to defer consideration of the second paragraph of section (2) of minute 1, recommending the appointment of a Youth Education Officer. The remainder of the report was approved and adopted.
615. **LETTERS FROM AMERICAN LEAGUE OF NATIONS ASSOCIATION.** The Chairman drew attention to letters received from the American League of Nations Association and from the newly-appointed United Nations Association. A group of distinguished Americans some of them former League officials has been convened under the Chairmanship of Dr. Boudreau to consider what was to be done with the League as a whole and its existing organisations in the post-war world.
616. **TRIAL AND PUNISHMENT OF WAR CRIMINALS.** The Executive had before them the resolution adopted by the London International Assembly on June 21st (S.1067). Dame Adelaide Livingstone drew attention to a verbal alteration which General de Baer wished to see made in sub-paragraphs (a) and (b) of section 3, substituting the words "national Court of any of the United Nations" for "United Nations' Court". After discussion it was
- RESOLVED:** That the resolution be included on the agenda for consideration at the next meeting of the Executive with a recommendation that practical steps should be taken as far as was possible

to bring the policy generally advocated in the resolution to the notice not only of L.F.U. Branches but also of Members of Parliament.

At the invitation of the Chairman, Professor Brodetsky expressed his willingness to draft specific proposals for discussion at the next meeting.

617. **COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION.** Mr. Arnold Forster drew attention to a statement made by the Rt. Hon. Oliver Stanley in the House of Commons on July 18th

that the Government had in mind "the possibility of establishing commissions for certain regions. Those commissions would comprise not only the states with colonial territories in the region, but also other states which had in the region a major strategic or economic interest. While each state would remain responsible for the administration of its own territory, such a commission would provide effective and permanent machinery for consultation and collaboration so that the states concerned might work together to promote the well-being of the colonial territories".

Mr. Arnold Forster thought that the experiment which had been made in certain areas in the region of the Caribbean Sea was a promising one; on the other hand, the principle might have dangerous implications in Central Africa for example.

Comments by Lord Perth (S. 1074 copy filed with these minutes) were before the Committee, and after discussion it was

RESOLVED: To refer the matter for consideration by the Colonial sub-Committee, with power to add to its number if desired.

The name of Dr. Rita Hinton was mentioned as a suitable member of the Committee.

618. **SWEDISH UNION FOR A NEW LEAGUE OF NATIONS.** The Committee received with interest a declaration and resolution adopted by the Swedish Union on May 31st, 1943.
619. **HANDBOOK FOR THE INFORMATION OF RELATIVES OF PRISONERS OF WAR.** On the suggestion of Dame Adelaide Livingstone it was agreed that copies of the Handbook should be made available for sale in the Union's Bookshop and that mention of the publication should be made in **HEADWAY**.
620. **THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE ORGANISATION OF PEACE: THIRD REPORT OF AMERICAN COMMISSION.** The Chairman placed before the Committee a suggestion by Sir George Paish that copies of the Commission's Report (the cost of publication of which was being borne by the Carnegie Endowment) should be circulated to all Members of Parliament. After Mr. Lipson and Miss Rathbone had stated that they had each received a copy of the Report, the office was asked to make inquiries as to whether the Report had already been communicated to all M.P's. If not, it was agreed that, when some appropriate moment presented itself, the Commission's Report together with a copy of "World Settlement after the War" should be sent with a covering letter to Members of Parliament.

621. **ASSOCIATION OF SCIENTIFIC WORKERS.** A letter dated August

14th from the London Area Committee of the Association of Scientific Workers was read, inviting the Union to send a representative to a Conference on Post-War Relief in Europe to be held on Saturday, October 2nd. At the invitation of the Chairman, Miss Fawcett expressed her willingness to represent the Executive on that occasion.

622. DATE OF NEXT MEETING. It was agreed that the next meeting of the Committee should be held at 2.15 p.m. on Thursday September 16th.

Lyn
CHAIRMAN
September 16th 1943

THE JEWISH PROBLEM

I. Amendments by Dr. Murray in the light of the discussion at the General Council Meeting, June, 1943.

- p.3, para.3, line 3: Omit quotation marks and the words "the attainment of" and substitute "of the establishment in Palestine."
- p.4, para.2, line 5: Insert after "war" - "they cite in particular the letter of Sir H. McMahon to the Sheriff of Mecca on Oct. 24, 1915, to which they attach an interpretation not accepted by the British Government. They....."
- p.5, (1), last line but one: For "territory" substitute "National Home".
- " (2), last line but two, add after "National Home" "for the Jews".
- p.6, para.2, lines 3 & 4: Omit "Palestine must be governed"
- " " line 5: After "international authority" omit "as" and substitute "Palestine must be governed in such a way as to provide"
- " " last line but one: Omit "all"

II. Comments by Mrs. Dagdale on Dr. Murray's suggested amendments.

p.4, para.2, line 5. I feel that this reference to the McMahon Letters is either too much or too little. Personally I should suggest that they be not alluded to at all in our Report, as a private correspondence is not on the same level of authority as the solemn international engagement of the Balfour Declaration, or the solemn international engagement of the Balfour Declaration, the solemn international engagement of the Balfour Declaration. But if it is even apart from the question of the interpretation. If it is to be mentioned, then Sir Henry McMahon's own interpretation should be quoted, as given in his letter to The Times of July 22nd, 1937:

I feel it my duty to state, and I do so definitely and emphatically, that it was not intended by me in giving this pledge to King Hussein to include Palestine in the area in which Arab independence was promised. I also had every reason to believe at the time that the fact that Palestine was not included in my pledge was well understood by King Hussein.

It should also be pointed out that the Arabs never cited this correspondence when they presented their case before the Peace Conference.

p.5, para.2, last line but two. I have no objection to Dr. Murray's suggested amendment; I THINK however that the next sentence as we left it in the Report, does not make sufficiently clear that the Jews must control immigration into their own territory or "province" in the event of a Federation, whether or not they have become a majority when this is set up. Therefore I suggest that after the sentence "One condition would be complete control by each province of its own immigration" we should add "it being understood that in Palestine this control should be exercised by the Jews themselves".

I have no comments to offer on Dr. Murray's amendments on page 6.

III. Further Amendments suggested by Mr. Carey Wilson

p.2 para. 2, last line. Insert the word "Jewish" between the words "persecuted" and "communities".

p.7. (Appendix). In place of the introductory paragraph as printed, substitute the following:-

"Apart from political problems about the future of the Jewish people, there is the immediate duty of seeking to rescue masses of innocent fellow-creatures from torture and massacre. We suggest that:-"

p.7, para 2. Substitute for the first sentence, beginning "Meantime" and ending "urgent needs." the following:-

"Meanwhile, individual Governments should immediately take whatever action may be practicable to alleviate the sufferings of the Jews and to meet their most urgent needs."

The last page. Instead of paragraph 5 as printed, substitute the following:-

"The Government should be urged to approach the enemy nations (either through the protecting Powers or neutrals, or in some other way) to see whether, and under what conditions, they will permit the emigration of Jews and of others to whose presence they object."

Instead of paragraph 6 as printed, substitute the following:-

"Whilst fully appreciating the importance of not disturbing the present period of comparative peace in Palestine, conditions limiting normal Jewish immigration cannot reasonably be maintained in the present abnormal crisis, and therefore at least temporary asylum in excess of the immigration quota till March 1944, should be permitted."

S.1074
24.8.43.

THE JEWISH PROBLEM

Comments by Lord Perth.

The report of the Executive Committee seemed to me to be the fairest and best balanced statement of the whole case that I have yet come across, and I feel that it would be a mistake to make any important changes in it.

I should be prepared to accept the various amendments proposed except

- (1) The addition proposed by Mrs. Dugdale to add "it being understood that in Palestine this control should be exercised by the Jews themselves".

If, as I hope might be the case in a Federation, the Jews are in a majority in Palestine, then clearly that majority should control immigration. If, however, they were not in a majority, it would surely be contrary to democratic principles that a minority should control immigration. The addition proposed seems to me unwise and likely unnecessarily to provoke Arab hostility. It also seems to me to run contrary to the provisions of the Atlantic Charter.

- (2) Mr. Carey Wilson's amendment to p.7, para.2.

The appendix is, I understand, dealing with Refugees generally. If so, para.2 should not be limited solely to Jews which would be the result of the proposed amendment.

- (3) Mr. Carey Wilson's amendment to para.5 of last page.

I think the Union would be making a mistake to urge the Government to approach the enemy nations. The question is one of great difficulty and opinions are strongly divided about the wisdom of any such step, indeed such action by the Government might have the opposite effect to that which it is desired to obtain. I therefore greatly prefer the original text.

S.1073

MEMORIAL TO MAJOR FRESHWATER

Memorandum by Lady Hall

Shortly after the death of Major Freshwater I wrote to the Vice-Chairman and offered to help in any way that I could until the question of his successor was settled. Both the Vice-Chairman and the Treasurer asked me to give what assistance I could to the Branches Department. This I have been doing for the last few weeks, and the following notes and proposals are in the nature of a report to the Executive.

The Executive is accustomed to receive periodically figures representing the total membership of the Union. It seemed to me important to know the membership figures for each Branch individually, and the figures for the years 1931, 1940, 1941 and 1942 were selected in order to get a more or less correct picture of the situation to-day. In the accompanying pages, a few of the figures are given as samples; and they represent the good, the medium, and the poor Branches. These will be sufficient to indicate not only the great variety of performance of Branches in the country as a whole, but also in the same locality. It does not seem probable that the variation depends to any great extent upon whether the area is classified as a safe area or otherwise; but I think it can be deduced that a considerable number of these lapsed subscriptions could be recovered. The first thing is to ascertain from the Secretaries of the District Council or County Federation the reason for the drop in membership in the Branches in their area. Mr. Behrens of the Manchester District Council has recently circularised the Branches in his district on this subject and has elicited interesting information. I think, therefore, it would be useful if the Chairman would write to each District Council, County Federation or Branch to ask them to supply similar material. In this way we should have a much clearer idea of the actual position throughout the country.

If, as I understand is the fact, an organiser is to be appointed, it would be well perhaps if his or her first work were to visit those areas where the fall in membership is most marked and to try to stimulate the Branch into greater activity. Even the most casual analysis of the figures for the different Branches indicates, I believe, that a very great deal could be done now. I have not included any of the very small Branches -- a very large number of these are at the present moment non-existent or have a mere token membership.

I should like to ask the Executive if they do not consider that the time is ready for setting up once more an Administration Committee, whose first duty would be to examine the figures for the whole of our Branches and to take whatever action seemed to them appropriate in each case. It would be valuable if, in addition to the Officers and some members of the Executive there could be also a few representatives from Branches. The Membership Committee has been doing some part of the work that an Administration Committee would do, but in my view this work ought to be considerably extended. The Executive might consider whether the Membership Committee could not be enlarged in the manner that I have ventured to suggest.

A certain number of Branches have written to ask whether a Memorial is being organised in honour of Major Freshwater. If the Executive decides that such a thing is desirable, I should

like to suggest that it should be associated as closely as possible with the work of the Branches. The Branches knew Major Freshwater better than any other member of the Staff and regarded him as a friend who understood the difficulties in their work and appreciated their efforts to overcome them. For these reasons I should like to propose for the consideration of the Executive that:-

1. A Freshwater Memorial Fund be opened and that all Branches be asked to collect from their members. I believe most members would very gladly contribute something. HEADWAY could also help in making the Fund known to its readers.

2. From the sum obtained, Annual Travelling Fellowships should be awarded. The First Prize should, I propose, be from £100 to £150 and should be used to pay the travelling expenses of a Tour in the U.S.A. The League of Nations Association or some similar body might be asked to arrange a tour for us. It might well be that a reciprocal arrangement could be entered into and we, in turn, would organise a visit to this country for one of their members.

The Second Prize might be a shorter visit to one of the European countries, with a cash value of £20 to £25, or it might be to a meeting of the International Assembly or whatever it may be that replaces the old League Assemblies.

The Third Prize might be a free place in one of the Summer Schools arranged by the C.E.W.C. or by the Union itself.

I recognise, of course, that the amount collected might not be sufficient to provide so large an annual income as these proposals demand. In that case, I hope that the Treasurer would agree to make good the deficiency by grants from Headquarters Funds. As I explained below, I think that any sum so expended would automatically be replaced by the resultant increase in membership.

3. The Prizes should be known as the Freshwater Travelling Fellowship or some similar title.

4. The Prizes should be awarded to the Branches showing the greatest increase in membership for the preceding year. I recognise that very great care will be required in working out the details in order to avoid rewarding a Branch, for example, that has done practically nothing since the war started and has then hastily collected subscriptions from its former members in order to qualify for the Prize. Such a Branch would have a distinct advantage over another that had worked extremely well during the war and had retained the greater number of its members. This must, of course, be guarded against, but I venture to think that if the Executive approves of the principle the details could be worked out by the Memorial Committee. Membership figures for 1938 would require consideration as would the size of the Branch and also of the subscriptions.

5. The winning Branches should, in each case, be asked to nominate several of their members to be the actual holders of the Prizes, but the final selection must be made by the Freshwater Memorial Committee.

6. The Freshwater Memorial Committee should consist of a certain number of members of the Executive Committee, say six, and an equal number of representatives from Branches.

If the War is not concluded within a clear year of working the scheme, then the Awards could be held over to be used as soon as the opportunity of travel re-occurs.

I believe that, if the Executive decides upon organising a Memorial, something of this kind would be appropriate, both because it is in keeping with Major Freshwater's particular contribution to the Union and also because I think it is a scheme with which he would have liked to be associated. It would most probably be very popular with the Branches and it might prove to be the incentive that is required to transform the present membership situation, no one looking at the figures as a whole can help regarding this situation as very serious.

PAID-UP MEMBERSHIP FIGURES

	1938	1940	1941	1942
<u>Durham District Council.</u>				
Bishop Auckland	341	301	171	219
Houghton-le-Spring	230	42	21	1
Sunderland	872	264	360	189
<u>Tees & Cleveland Dist. Council.</u>				
Darlington	1022	525	556	499
Hartlepool	208	151	124	145
Middlesborough	456	36	13	13
<u>East Cumberland Dist. Council.</u>				
Brampton	24	64	35	54
Carlisle	314	102	3	2
Penrith	75	131	28	1
<u>West Cumberland Dist. Council.</u>				
Cockermouth	92	-	-	-
Keswick	733	523	489	456
Maryport	169	-	-	-
<u>Kent Federal Council.</u>				
Canterbury	219	115	98	61
Maidstone	278	3	10	4
Sevenoaks	784	58	54	21
Tunbridge Wells	356	108	87	49
<u>Surrey Federation.</u>				
Godalming	275	259	186	204
Farnham	209	21	7	1
Reigate	948	478	657	526
Woking	108	33	5	6
<u>Sussex Federal Council.</u>				
Brighton	708	450	354	267
Horsham	310	6	195	271
Cuckfield	130	-	60	1
Eastbourne	846	583	358	368
Heathfield	123	47	3	2
<u>Perks Federal Council.</u>				
Bradfield	179	-	-	-
Newbury	104	16	28	75
Pangbourne	118	1	6	1
Reading	1582	379	358	254

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	1938	1940	1941	1942
<u>Oxford Federation.</u>				
Abingdon	129	-	-	-
Banbury	326	4	175	223
Oxford	1054	545	397	508
Wantage	213	-	-	-
<u>Ducks Federation.</u>				
Aylesbury	188	95	-	-
Beaconsfield	128	28	34	7
Chesham	149	60	52	74
Great Missenden	170	20	-	-
Jordans	98	48	123	102
Penn	134	-	-	-
<u>Beds. District Council.</u>				
Bedford	410	347	383	237
Dunstable	429	25	1	-
Luton	521	41	8	40
<u>Essex Federal Council.</u>				
Braintree	463	94	-	-
Chełmsford	538	550	221	410
Colchester	743	176	234	201
Epping	277	37	26	3
Grays	249	51	14	-
Halstead	226	1	-	-
Romford	87	270	188	293
<u>Leeds & Wakefield Dist. Council.</u>				
Batley	211	87	204	161
Dewsbury	327	66	203	32
Headingley	454	212	522	612
Leeds	302	91	103	21
Pudsey	84	-	-	-
Spensborough	714	35	7	7
Wakefield	286	3	212	207
<u>Skipton District Council.</u>				
Barholme	242	60	9	9
Crosshills	511	152	238	473
Ilkley	338	110	166	8
Keighley	507	67	70	36
Settle	193	1	44	-
Skipton	433	345	239	359
Steeeton	65	54	39	54
<u>Hertfords. Dist. Council.</u>				
Berkhamsted	484	138	60	202
Chipperfield	62	120	35	54
Harpenden	569	132	4	13
Hemel Hempstead	164	53	59	111
Hitchin	133	144	43	3
Rickmansworth	389	207	3	4
St. Albans	1164	627	732	210
Watford	362	8	2	31
Letchworth	349	376	237	319
<u>Camps. District Council.</u>				
Cambridge	1027	498	864	359
Harston	41	-	-	-
Newmarket	191	63	30	9
Whittlesford	111	-	-	-

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	1938	1940	1941	1942
<u>North Eastern Region.</u>				
Lincoln	487	204	120	36
Horncastle	54	-	-	-
Cleethorpes	254	29	4	60
Doncaster	14	29	27	-
Halifax	297	113	109	154
Brighouse	173	12	31	4
Harrrogate	289	34	98	67
Ripon	294	53	7	1
Thirsk	276	62	159	3
Bradford	349	5	218	165
<u>Bournemouth Dist. Council.</u>				
Bournemouth	197	134	109	154
Boscombe	466	158	197	272
Southbourne	846	2	593	514
Westbourne	357	234	305	262
Kings Park	44	29	108	90
<u>Glos. District Council.</u>				
Cheltenham	498	433	217	296
Gloucester	384	99	24	9
Stroud	231	-	52	1
Tewkesbury	86	25	-	-
<u>Bristol Dist. Council.</u>				
Almondsbury	141	3	2	2
Barton Hill	208	116	122	138
Erislington	-	50	80	150
Clifton	773	423	299	282
Hemleaze	528	151	71	82
Kingswood	213	183	89	-
<u>Dorset Dist. Council.</u>				
Blandford	97	1	6	1
Broadstone	2	67	139	138
Dorchester	79	-	-	-
Shaftesbury	35	1	1	60
Sherborne	226	5	4	3
Weymouth	565	34	1	2
Wimborne	141	12	6	2
<u>Cornwall Dist. Council.</u>				
Bude	113	19	3	7
Falmouth	309	77	137	242
Launceston	270	16	-	56
Newquay	101	37	4	1
Penzance	175	108	74	76
Truro	262	127	74	129
<u>Torquay & Mid. Devon D.C.</u>				
Newton Abcott	355	260	182	166
Paignton	242	467	209	184
Teignmouth	30	43	57	-
Torquay	1342	810	732	760
<u>S. E. Devon & E. Cornwall D.C.</u>				
Salisbury	50	19	-	-
Greenbank	103	-	-	-
Kingsbridge	132	121	1	1
Plymouth	1327	762	261	221

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	1938	1940	1941	1942
<u>S.E. Devon Dist. Council.</u>				
Budeleigh Salterton	247	86	17	18
Exeter	616	141	124	101
Sidmouth	83	37	9	3
Tiverton	330	201	1	2
Topsham	177	-	-	-
<u>N. Devon District Council.</u>				
Barnstaple	245	161	120	1
Bideford	364	53	58	5
Northam	121	11	84	66
<u>Manchester Dist. Council.</u>				
Altrincham	625	246	67	78
Ashton-under-Lyme	201	-	-	-
Bacup	229	-	-	-
Bramhall	179	201	-	1
Bury	960	245	97	326
Cheadle Hulme	338	232	106	102
Crumpsall	225	85	1	1
Droylesden	227	18	-	-
Eccles	270	103	77	-
Heaton Mersey	145	76	11	1
Heywood	281	235	205	193
Leigh	378	5	1	1
Macclesfield	515	-	-	-
Manchester	770	159	279	199
Radcliffe	250	-	-	-
Rochdale	127	32	14	8
Stretford	432	2	2	2
Wigan	163	49	50	48
Wilmslow	1072	34	-	708
Withington	342	79	302	144
<u>Cheshire Dist. Council.</u>				
Creston	347	154	236	55
Crews	234	-	-	-
Manley & Ashton	207	-	-	-
<u>Furness District Council.</u>				
Barrow-in-Furness	78	17	-	-
Grange-over-Sands	59	42	49	49
<u>Bolton Central Council.</u>				
Bolton	-	228	134	134
<u>Fylde District Council.</u>				
Blackpool	432	166	39	46
Fleetwood	674	507	420	420
Lytham	791	68	55	34
St. Annes	606	186	1	8
<u>Lancaster Dist. Council.</u>				
Bentham	116	92	39	68
Morecambe	458	240	379	378
Silverdale	118	-	-	-

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	1938	1940	1941	1942
<u>Liverpool & Merseyside D.C.</u>				
Bebington	306	67	-	-
Birkenhead	974	276	46	119
Bootle	221	208	39	78
Hoylake	685	167	6	11
Liverpool	435	213	76	141
Southport	664	202	7	183
Waterloo	822	227	-	246
Widnes	503	223	34	337
<u>N.E. Lancs. Dist. Council.</u>				
Accrington	552	90	1	-
Blackburn	131	99	53	229
Burnley	475	46	-	2
Colne	222	47	7	11
Nelson	379	132	181	336
<u>S. Westmorland Dist. Council.</u>				
Burnside	61	53	56	55
Heversham	165	143	128	121
Kendal	267	264	239	194
Milnthorpe	148	63	6	5
Windermere	467	276	107	53

YOUTH. Copy of letter written by Mr. Nowell Smith to Mr. H.S. Syrett on August 1st, 1943.

Many thanks for your letter of July 28th.

1. I entirely agree with you about the need of enlisting young people for our cause, and I think that the most practical method open to us at present is that advocated by Miss Sparks and Mrs. Wallace: (1) Go on doing all we can in Schools and Universities (as you know our holiday conferences, Summer Schools, etc. are extremely well attended and with a larger staff we could do much more); (2) Get as far as we can into the various youth organisations which cater for young people who are neither at Schools or Universities by offering talks and discussions to them. This again depends on our being able to supply suitable speakers; and whereas our own (C.E.W.C.) holiday courses to some extent finance themselves, this other work is financially sheer expenditure.
2. I know that Miss Courtney and other members of the Executive are anxious lest the above programme lead only to educating young people in "world citizenship", and not to getting them into the L.N.U. There is force in this fear, but I think it is decisively answered by the certainty that at present we should simply defeat our own object by either altering the policy of the C.E.W.C. so as to make it definitely proselytize for the L.N.U., or trying to form L.N.U. Youth Groups in the branches or in the various Youth Organisations now in vogue. At present the League of Nations is (at best) in cold storage. We do not know what international organisation the victors will set up after the war; and while we must continue to uphold and disseminate our principles, it would be disastrous to go about trying to enlist members of our Union on the basis of restoring the League, the whole League and nothing but the League. Consciousness of this has led to our discussions about changing the name of the Union and to our agreement that, while changing the old name would be imprudent, we ought by some sub-title or explanatory gloss to make it clear that we are ready to see our principles embodied in some new or altered organisation.
3. Furthermore, as you and Lord Lytton and others have often remarked, there are no young men and women - and hardly any able-bodied men and women at all - who are at present available as active members within the Union or to be recruited for active membership. At present therefore the revival of Youth Groups as part of the organisation of the Union is not a practical proposition.
4. Does this mean that we can do nothing to attract young men and women into our Union? I do not think so, though I am sure we cannot expect striking success with our present resources and in the present pre-occupation with the war. I think that we ought to see that the truth about the League is constantly brought home to our audiences and discussion groups in Schools, universities and youth organisations; i.e. the principles on which it was founded, the proposals it put before the Governments of its States-Members, the causes of its failure to prevent war, and the lessons to be learnt from its history. This is clearly a proper part of the teaching of the C.E.W.C. It is also the teaching which it is the main duty of the L.N.U. to give. Appropriate leaflets and pamphlets should be published by the L.N.U. giving this teaching and explaining the Union's consistent support of League principles and its warnings of the results of neglecting them. These pamphlets and leaflets would of course have invitations and forms of membership attached and would be used not only for youth but at all L.N.U. meetings.
5. For the question of enlisting the young, though of supreme importance, is not the only one facing the Union. As victory in the war draws nearer, it becomes increasingly urgent to convince

the electorate that in spite of the failures of the inter-war period there are no other principles upon which peace can be lastingly established than those upon which the League was founded and, albeit imperfectly, built. The nearer we approach towards victory, the stronger become the cries and counter-cries of all sorts of particular, if not selfish, interests; it is all the more necessary therefore to mobilise for the common good all those who are not irretrievably bound to some narrow purpose or prejudice. This should be the one motive of our propaganda and of our drive for membership. Reports on political and economic problems of the day and even on suggested machinery of international government should be for the present held in abeyance. They do not gain members for the Union. All the resources at our disposal, when we have provided for the indispensable work in schools, etc., should be employed in direct propaganda for membership on the simple basis indicated above. And a special appeal should be made to every member of the Union to recruit new members, - Branch Secretaries being subsidized from H.Q. for postage etc. where necessary.

THE TRIAL AND PUNISHMENT OF WAR CRIMINALS

in the form adopted by the Assembly at its session on Monday, June 21st, 1943

WHEREAS the punishment of the authors of this aggressive war and of war crimes has been many times stated as one of the major purposes of this war; and

WHEREAS, on October 7th, 1942, the Lord Chancellor stated that it was proposed to create with the least possible delay a United Nations' Commission for the investigation of war crimes; and

WHEREAS it is desirable that war crimes committed in Allied occupied countries should be tried in those countries; and

WHEREAS it is not desirable that war criminals who are Axis nationals should be tried by their own Courts; and

WHEREAS it is desirable that war crimes committed in Axis territory shall not remain unpunished; and

WHEREAS it is not desirable that the existing jurisdiction of Courts of each allied nation should be unnecessarily interfered with or curtailed; and

WHEREAS the Heads of Axis States who have tolerated or ordered or taken part in the commission of war crimes should be tried by an International Criminal Court and not by a political body; and

WHEREAS it is desirable that the United Nations adopt a uniform attitude in regard to the plea of Superior Order in matters of war crimes;

IT IS PROPOSED:

1. That war crimes which come under the jurisdiction of Courts of the United Nations will be tried by such Courts (either civil, military or mixed), in conformity with the laws of the country concerned;
2. That in any country where this is necessary or convenient the jurisdiction of National Courts (civil, military or mixed) shall, by means of suitable legislation, be extended to war crimes committed abroad against their nationals;
3. That an International Criminal Court shall be instituted, and that it shall have jurisdiction over the following categories of war crimes:
 - (a) crimes in respect of which no United Nations' Court has jurisdiction (e.g. crimes committed in Germany against Jews and stateless persons and possibly against Allied nationals);
 - (b) crimes in respect of which a United Nations' Court has jurisdiction but which the State concerned elects not to try in its own Courts (for reasons such as the following:
 - where a trial in the country concerned might lead to disturbances,
 - where a National Court would find it difficult to obtain evidence);

(c) crimes which have been committed or which have taken effect in several countries or against nationals of different countries;

(d) crimes committed by Heads of States;

4. That with regard to the plea of Superior Order, the United Nations shall provide by legislation wherever necessary, that:

- (i) an order given by a superior to an inferior to commit a crime is not in itself a defence,
- (ii) the Court may consider in individual cases whether the accused was placed in a state of irresistible compulsion and acquit him or mitigate the punishment accordingly,
- (iii) the defence that the accused was placed in a state of compulsion is excluded:
 - (a) if the crime was of a revolting nature,
 - (b) if the accused was, at the time when the alleged crime was committed, a member of an organisation the membership of which implied the execution of criminal orders;

5. That all preparatory measures, national and international, should be taken in the near future in order to provide that punishment of war crimes shall take place from the moment when fighting ceases, and when, according to the Lord Chancellor's statement of October 7th, 1942, the criminals are to be delivered to the United Nations or arrested by them.

COLONIAL ADMINISTRATIONComments by Lord Perth

I venture to submit for consideration at the discussion of this question certain observations which I made in my Presidential address to the London Regional Federation of the L. of N. Union in April:-

"I might, however, say a few words about the mandatory system since it is the subject of much current discussion. All civilised nations who possess colonies now happily admit that the welfare and prosperity of the inhabitants must be the primary aim of those who exercise authority over the territories and are responsible for their development.

But I am not sure whether the mandatory system, as practised, did not tend unduly to interfere with the administrative authority of the mandatory power, and thus to create difficulties and even troubles. Some nations too, such as Japan, clearly evaded their responsibilities under the mandate. Further, the arrangement only applied to certain limited regions, and something of a more universal character seems to me to be desirable for the future.

I believe that it would be well to examine the possibility of establishing regional boards or councils, on which the various administrators or their chosen representatives would sit, for the purpose of exchanging views on the problems involved, and of obtaining the benefit of one another's experiences.

An annual report on the administration of the territory concerned might be furnished to the Regional Board, and these reports would form the main agenda for the meetings.

The application of a system of this kind to all dependent territories might well be found generally acceptable. Most of the advantages of the older plan would be preserved and they would thus be widely extended. I understand that a scheme for some such international co-operation has already been applied to certain areas in the region of the Caribbean Sea, and that it has proved a pronounced success."

Solemnity of International Obligations:

Assuming -

- (a) that some form of League or Society of Nations will emerge after the present war, and
 - (b) that the signature of some Covenant or Pact outlawing resort to war for the settlement of international disputes will be a sine qua non of membership,
- and in view of the fact that past experience has shown that the signature of such a Pact or Covenant does not mean the same to all nations,

The General Council urges upon the Executive Committee that, with a view to upholding and strengthening the standard of international morality and good faith, they should consider the possibility of recommending some means whereby the solemnity of the obligation incurred by such signature should from time to time be brought home to the representatives of all States Members of the League and through them to the Governments and States which they represent, and that this should be done annually in open Assembly in as solemn a manner as possible.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 11 MAISEN LANE LONDON, W.C.2. ON THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 16TH, 1943 AT 2.15 P.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Mrs. Beale, Professor Brodetsky, F.M. Burris, Lord Cecil, Dr. Hilda Clark, Miss Courtney, Miss Fawcett, W. Arnold Forster, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Lady Hall, Sir Arthur Haworth, J.R. Leslie, Dame Adelaide Livingston, Thomas Lodge, J. Macdonald, Dr. Murray, Lord Perth, W.T. Pritchard, Nowell C. Smith, and A.E.W. Thomas.

623. MINUTES. The Minutes of the meeting held on August 26th were confirmed as circulated.

624. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 608 - 591 - Composition of Executive, a letter from Mrs. Cazalet Keir was read, thanking the Committee for their invitation but regretting that pressure of work made it impossible for her to accept.

On Minute 617 - Colonial Administration, after it had been reported that a Colonial sub-Committee had never been formally appointed by the Executive; that the preparation of the Report on Colonies had been undertaken by a section of the Industrial Advisory Committee with the help of a panel of Colonial experts; and that most of the work had been conducted by correspondence, it was

RESOLVED: "That minute 617 of the last meeting be communicated to the following for their comments and suggestions:

Miss Froda White
Mr. W. Benson (I.L.C.)
Dr. Riva Hinda (Fabian Colonial Bureau)
Miss Lucy Mair
Mr. H.D. Hooper (Church Missionary Council)
Miss Margaret Wrong
Mr. C.W. Greenidge (Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society)"

It was understood that Miss Froda White was already preparing a memorandum on the Colonial question in the light of Mr. Oliver Stanley's "regional" proposals, and it was suggested that such memorandum when available might also be communicated to the above.

625. SOLEMNITY OF INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS. The Committee had before them the resolution adopted by the General Council at its June meeting (copy filed with these minutes), and after discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That, in the opinion of the Executive Committee, the purpose of the General Council's resolution would best be served in the annual Assembly of the League or other International Authority by the Chairman's calling upon the delegates to observe one minute's silence at the opening of the proceedings.

S.1076

THE TRIAL AND PUNISHMENT OF WAR CRIMINALS.

Draft resolutions submitted by Professor Brodetsky.

(1) The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union fully endorses the proposals of the London International Assembly for the trial and punishment of war criminals (attached S.1067). It calls upon the Branches of the Union to study these proposals and to indicate to the authorities the desire of British public opinion that every preparation shall be made in order that these proposals shall be put into effect, and that no attempts made by the criminals themselves or obstacles that may be put in the way by neutral powers, shall prevent the instigators and perpetrators of war crimes being brought before tribunals and receiving suitable punishment.

(2) The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union urges His Majesty's Government and other governments of the United Nations, while announcing the preparations of measures for the trial and punishment of war criminals, to use all possible means to save the potential victims of such crimes; further, to take every possible step in order to ensure that in all States that are beginning to separate themselves from the Nazis and to look with a more friendly attitude towards the Allied Nations, one of the first steps taken shall be to release Jews and other possible victims from the danger of death, and the eventual removal of all racial discriminatory measures.

-2-

626. EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETINGS. The present arrangements for meetings of the Committee were reviewed and after discussion, during which a vote was taken, it was

RESOLVED: "That the Executive continue to meet on the first, third and fifth Thursdays in the month at 2.15 p.m."

627. TRIAL AND PUNISHMENT OF WAR CRIMINALS. The Executive had before them the resolution adopted by the London International Assembly on June 21st (S.1067), together with proposals for action by the Union submitted by Professor Brodetsky (S.1076) and an amendment by Dr. Gilbert Murray (S.1082). After discussion in which many members of the Committee took part, it was

RESOLVED: "To ask Lord Cecil to draft (in the light of the Executive's discussion and taking into account paragraph (2) of Professor Brodetsky's proposals) a resolution on the subject of the Trial and Punishment of War Criminals for consideration by the Committee with a view to its being communicated, when approved by the Executive, to Branches of the Union together with the resolution of the London International Assembly."

Members of the Executive who had suggestions to make were asked to send them to Lord Cecil.

628. CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE AND MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE. The Committee had before them a report (copy filed with these minutes) from the Campaign sub-Committee, appointed in minute 613.

The Chairman stated that, at a meeting of the Membership Committee held that morning, it had been recommended that an Administration Committee should be re-appointed; that it should take over the work of the Membership Committee and Campaign Committee and be charged with the consideration of all matters concerning the Union's organisation other than policy; that the members of the former Administration Committee, of the Membership Committee and of the Campaign Committee should be invited to serve on the new body; and that it should meet regularly on the mornings of the first and third Thursdays in the month. If this proposal were adopted by the Executive, the first business of the Administration Committee would be consideration of the Campaign Committee's Report.

It was

RESOLVED: "That the above proposals be approved and adopted."

After Mr. Arnold Forster had drawn attention to the section of the Campaign Committee's Report dealing with the publication of short pamphlets and leaflets in popular form and to the need for making such material available at the earliest possible moment, it was agreed to ask Mr. Arnold Forster, Sir Norman Angell and Mr. Vernon Bartlett to proceed immediately with the preparation of suitable literature for consideration by the Administration Committee at an early meeting.

629. ASSISTANT EDUCATION OFFICER. It was reported that the Union had been advised by the Ministry of Labour that it was unlikely that it would be able to retain after November next the services of Miss Luffman who acts as Assistant Secretary to the Council for Education in World Citizenship. It was suggested that the post should be advertised and that, in the light of the response obtained, further representations should be made to the Ministry of Labour if necessary.

S.1088
16.9.43.

THE TRIAL AND PUNISHMENT OF WAR CRIMINALS
Amendment by Dr. Gilbert Murray to Professor
Brodetsky's draft resolution (1).

1. Observing with horror the increasing atrocity of action and method prevailing in the present war, and
2. Believing it necessary to civilization that the consciences of mankind should not, by the mere frequency of criminal acts, become callous and indifferent to crime itself,
3. The Executive of the L.N.U. welcomes the decision of H.M.G. to move for the creation of a United Nations Commission for the investigation of War Crimes;
4. Commends to the study of Branches the proposals of the L.I.A. for the trial and punishment of war criminals, but
5. Trusts that, as a matter of obvious justice, the investigation will not be limited to the actions of the nations defeated in the war but will be conducted impartially without respect to nationality.

-3-

RESOLVED: "That an advertisement be inserted in the press inviting applications for this post".

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

630. DECEMBER MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL. It was

- RESOLVED: (1) That the next meeting of the General Council be held on Thursday and Friday, December 8th and 10th, 1943.
- (2) That the Procedure Committee consisting of Lady Hall, Mr. Nowell Smith and Mr. Pritchard be re-appointed."

631. THE LATE MR. REGINALD MCKENNA. It was reported that the Union had been represented at the Memorial Service for the late Mr. Reginald McKenna (one of the Union's Trustees), and it was agreed that a message of condolence should be sent to his relatives.

632. INTERNATIONAL VOLUNTARY SERVICE FOR PEACE. A communication dated September 8th from the I.V.S.P. was reported to the Committee inviting the Union to give publicity to a financial appeal for the equipment of a unit of expert relief workers to be sent overseas. It was decided not to accept the invitation.

633. THE LATE MAJOR A.J.C. FRESHWATER. Two letters from Mr. Duncan Freshwater were read to the Executive (1) expressing appreciation and thanks for the Committee's generosity in granting a pension to Mrs. Freshwater, and (2) describing arrangements for the interment at St. Stephen's Church, Blackpool, and for the erection of a memorial plate in the Church which would bear the Royal Artillery Badge as a symbol of the military side of Major Freshwater's career as well as a representation of the "World and Stars" to symbolise his work for the L.N.U.

634. SPEECH BY MR. CORDELL HULL. The Executive noted with satisfaction the speech delivered by Mr. Cordell Hull on September 12th. The Editor was asked to refer to the speech in the next issue of HEADWAY.

635. LEAGUE LOANS. A letter from Mr. Otto Niemeyer concerning the Executive's resolution on the subject of League Loans was read.

636. CORPORATE MEMBERS. The following were admitted as Corporate Members of the Union and the fixing of the Union's seal to the Certificates was authorised:

Free Christian Church, Horsham.
Horsham Brotherhood.
Nelson Co-operative Society.

Lytton
CHAIRMAN
October 7th 1943.

REPORT OF CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

The Campaign Committee met on September 2nd, Sir Norman Angell, Lady Hall and Mr. Arnold-Forster being present. They submit this Report:-

1. GENERAL POLICY

The Union still has a great case to present, with so much experience and good will behind it, the Union should be able to make a very important contribution to the national judgment in the coming period of decision about the foundations of peace.

But this Committee is convinced that, if the Union is to make use of this opportunity and is to recover strength after this war, it must renovate its armoury of argument and explanation and must act quickly to hold together what remains of its unique organisation in this country.

The Committee believes that WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR, valuable as it may have been for certain limited purposes, is far from being adequate for any present day popular educational campaign and is not likely to make any fresh appeal now to the Government. New literature is needed, whether for popular use or for expert readers.

The Committee examined the membership figures, and found that a fuller record showed an even more disastrous decline than had been indicated by the sample figures that were before the Executive on August 26th. In Scotland, in particular, branches have wasted away so much that the Union can no longer look to more than a few of them to secure diffusion of its policy.

2. POLICY MAKING

In these circumstances, this Committee recommends, firstly, that the Executive should make a special effort now to reanimate and bring up to date its policy especially with a view to influencing the Government before it is too late. Now is the time when the Union can hope to perform a service analogous to that which its founders did in 1918.

The Committee considered that the projected Draft Pact might be of great use in this way, and that every care should be taken about the timing and preparation of its presentation. (See 3 below).

The Committee recommend that the Reports and Resolutions of the London International Assembly and of our colleagues in the United States should now be examined and that, with the help of an advisory report, the Executive should decide whether to include some of these proposals in its programme.

3. PRESENTATION OF POLICY AT THE CENTRE.

Secondly, the Committee recommends that, during this autumn or winter, the Union should hold a United Nations Meeting, to be addressed by speakers of the calibre of General de Gaulle, M. Masaryk, M. Hambro, an American (Commander Agar ?) and a British speaker.

Further, the Prime Minister should be asked to receive a deputation, after this meeting has been held; the presentation of the Draft Pact should be the main business of the

deputation, and Mr. Churchill should be asked to give some further indication of the lines of the Government's policy about the future international authority.

4. PRESENTATION IN THE COUNTRY.

(a) The Committee strongly recommends a letter campaign to the Provincial Press, circulating where ever the Union has a Branch, the object being to show that neither all-round Federation nor a medley of competing alliances can meet the post-war need; the international organisation required will have to begin on lines not radically different from those of the League Covenant. It is suggested that this work should be directed by a revised Publicity Committee, and that the staff should be strengthened for this and kindred purposes. (See below 6.)

(b) It is suggested that some half dozen short pamphlets or leaflets in popular form (perhaps as answers to specific questions) should be prepared. Sir Norman Angell and Mr. Arnold-Forster offered to collaborate in this if the project is approved; and Mr. Vernon Bartlett was suggested as a possible contributor and member of the Publicity Committee.

(c) The Committee thought it probable that a campaign of meetings could usefully be organised during this winter, especially if some new policy statement is available. It would be advisable to consult local organisers about this now.

5. MEMBERSHIP.

The Committee submit that, for the urgent task of reviving Branches, a Travelling Organiser should be appointed. This organiser should be young, energetic and keen. (A promising name was suggested). The Committee believe that the Treasurer would be sympathetic to this proposal. (A salary of £400 - £500 would meet the case).

6. FINANCE AND PERSONNEL.

The Committee considered that, besides this organiser, it would be desirable to obtain the services at Headquarters of someone to help in the publicity campaign. The name of Mrs. Clifton Roberts was suggested. (One time Assistant Secretary to the Union's Industrial Advisory Committee). It was also reported that Mrs. Roberts would be willing to undertake part-time service.

Lady Hall offered to give some time in the office.

S. 1086.

1. 10. 43.

WAR CRIMINALS.Draft Resolution by Lord Cecil.

1. The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union recognises that war cannot be made humane. But acts of violence permissible to a belligerent are strictly defined and limited by rules of International Law.

The charge against the Germans and their Allies is that, in defiance of these rules, they have carried out a system of terrorism by slaughter, outrage and torture, not to speak of robbery and destruction, unjustified by any military necessity and aimed at men, women and children of all ages and in certain cases dictated by racial or religious prejudice as in the wholesale massacre of Jews.

In order to satisfy the legitimate indignation caused by these horrors, to re-establish the principles of Law and to prevent retaliatory massacres, the Executive Committee believes that it is essential that those individuals, whoever they may be, who are accused of having ordered or carried out such crimes should be brought before courts of justice which shall, after open and rigorously fair trial, pass sentence on any persons convicted of the offences charged against them.

Where possible the Committee hopes that the Courts will be international in character.

The Committee welcomes the assurances by the Government that they are taking preparatory steps in the direction indicated and it trusts that, as and when enemy-occupied territory comes under United Nations control, they will secure all known accused persons there. It also hopes that it may be possible to prevent such persons escaping from justice into neutral territory and that if they do so escape the United Nations will insist on their surrender.

2. It is of the utmost importance that all possible steps should be taken by the United Nations to protect persons criminally threatened with violence in the countries occupied by Axis forces. In particular, as territories are liberated or likely to be liberated, the strongest pressure should be put on those in control of them to abstain from any violence against the inhabitants, to remove all discriminative measures, especially those against the Jews, and to rescue as many as possible who might still be in danger of attack.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 11 MAIDEN LANE, LONDON, W.C.2, ON THURSDAY, OCTOBER 7TH, 1943 AT 2.15 P.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Mrs. Beale, E.M. Burris, Lord Cecil, Dean of Winchester, Dr. Hilda Clark, Miss Courtney, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Fawcett, W. Arnold Forster, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Lady Hall, Sir Arthur Haworth, A.J. Howe, Lady Layton, J.R. Leslie, D.L. Lipson, Thomas Lodge, J. Macdonald, Dr. Murray, Lord Perth, Miss Rathbone, Nowell C. Smith, H.S. Syrett, E.E.W. Thomas, E.W. Seton Watson, Sir Ralph Wedgwood, Professor Basil Williams, K. Zilliacus, and Mr. Judd.

637. MINUTES. The Minutes of the meeting held on September 16th, 1943 were confirmed as circulated.
638. THE LATE M. JOE PRESHWATER. Messages of condolence were read from the Tasmania and Johannesburg Branches.
639. TRIAL AND PUNISHMENT OF WAR CRIMINALS. The Committee had before them a draft resolution (S.1086, copy filed with these minutes) prepared by Lord Cecil in accordance with minute 627. The draft was considered clause by clause and, after a lengthy discussion in which many members participated, it was

RESOLVED:1. Punishment of War Criminals.

The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union recognises that war cannot be made humane. But acts of violence permissible to a belligerent are strictly defined and limited by rules of International Law.

The charge against the Germans and their Allies is that, in defiance of these rules, they have carried out a system of terrorism by slaughter, outrage and torture, not to speak of robbery, and destruction, unjustified by any military necessity and aimed at men, women and children of all ages and in certain cases dictated by racial or religious prejudice as in the wholesale massacre of Jews.

In order to re-establish the principles of Law, to satisfy the legitimate indignation caused by these horrors, and to prevent retaliatory massacres, the Executive Committee believes that it is essential that those individuals, whoever they may be, who are accused of having ordered or carried out such crimes should be brought before courts of justice which shall, after open and rigorously fair trial, pass sentence on any persons convicted of the offences charged against them.

Where possible, the Committee hopes that the Courts will be international in character.

The Committee welcomes the assurances by the Government that they are taking preparatory steps in the direction indicated and it trusts that, as and when enemy-occupied territory comes under United Nations control, they will secure all known accused persons there. It also hopes that it may be possible to prevent such persons escaping from justice into neutral territory and that, if they do so escape, the United Nations will require their surrender.

2. Prevention, where possible, of further War Crimes.

The Committee considers that it is of the utmost importance that all possible steps should be taken by the United Nations to rescue persons criminally threatened with violence in the countries occupied by Axis forces. In particular, as territories are in process of liberation, the strongest pressure should be put on those still in control of them to abstain from all violence against the inhabitants to remove all discriminatory measures, especially those against the Jews, and to rescue as many as possible who might still be in danger of attack.

On the motion of Mr. Zilliacus, and after discussion during which a vote was taken, it was further

RESOLVED: The Committee is of opinion that no person figuring on a list of wanted war criminals of any of the United Nations should, on grounds of military expediency or for any other reason, be entrusted with any post of confidence.

The action to be taken on the above resolutions was deferred for consideration at the next meeting.

640. COMMUNICATION TO THE FOREIGN SECRETARY. The Chairman reported that the Administration Committee, at its meeting on September 23rd, had recommended to the Executive that, before Mr. Eden proceeded to Moscow, a communication should be sent to him from the Union expressing the hope that his forthcoming meeting with representatives of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.S.R. would be concerned not only with measures for the prosecution of the war but also with the concerting of policy after the war, and that the conference would be able to agree upon a Three-Power Declaration about the future international organisation and its name. The Chairman said that during the last week he had seen Mr. Eden on another matter and had taken the opportunity to act on the recommendation of the Administration Committee. He reported, in confidence, his conversation with the Foreign Secretary on the subject.

641. DRAFT PACT FOR THE FUTURE INTERNATIONAL AUTHORITY. The Committee had before them the text of a Draft Pact for the Future International Authority (S.1080c, copy filed with these minutes) submitted by the sub-Committee appointed by the Executive on July 23rd to consider whether and, if so, modifications are desirable in

"World Settlement after the War". They also had before them an amendment to Article XII proposed by Dr. Gilbert Murray (S.1080b) and amendments by Mr. Zilliacus (S.1087) copies filed with these minutes.

As Mr. Eden had expressed a wish to see the Draft Pact before it was published the Chairman asked for the Committee's authority to send the draft to Mr. Eden, in confidence, making it clear that it had not yet been approved by the Executive Committee or the General Council but that it had been prepared by a sub-Committee which the Executive had appointed. If Mr. Zilliacus so desired, his amendments might, Lord Lytton suggested, accompany the Committee's draft.

Mr. Zilliacus thanked the Chairman for his suggestion, but he did not wish to prejudice the chances of the majority document being considered on its merits and he would not therefore press for his amendments to be forwarded to the Foreign Secretary at the present time. He suggested, that in the communication to Mr. Eden the names of the authors of the draft Pact should be given.

It was then agreed that the Chairman be asked to forward to Mr. Eden immediately the draft Pact (S.1080c as amended below). Lord Cecil was also authorised to send the document in confidence to Field-Marshal Smuts and to Sir Alexander Cadogan.

The alteration in Article XII proposed by Dr. Murray was then considered, and the first sentence was amended to read as follows:

As soon as international conditions permit, the Defence Committee shall lay before the International Authority proposals to ensure that the position of the International Authority in respect of armaments is appropriate to the maintenance of World Peace. They shall put forward proposals for the general limitation and supervision of armaments for the consideration of the Members of the International Authority....

Article VIII was amended by the substitution of the words "Mandated Territories" for the words "Backward Territories not yet ripe for self-government"; by the insertion in the footnote of a reference to the Union's Report on "Colonial Settlement"; and by the insertion of the words "Traffic in Women and Children" after "Opium".

Article XIV (paragraph 4) was amended by the substitution of the words "a two-thirds majority of the Assembly" for the words "the International Authority or a majority thereof".

It was agreed that at the next ordinary meeting of the Executive to be held on October 21st should be devoted to detailed consideration of the draft Pact in order that a resolution on the subject might be submitted to the General Council at its December meeting.

642. ADJOURNMENT. The remaining business on the agenda was adjourned for consideration at a special meeting to be held at 11 a.m. on Thursday, October 14th.

H.D. Compton
CHAIRMAN, November 4th 1943

DRAFT PACT FOR THE FUTURE INTERNATIONAL AUTHORITY

THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES

In order to maintain the peace of the world and the security of all nations and to promote social and economic progress

DECLARE THAT

1. The principles of Freedom, Justice and Good faith should govern all international relations;
2. Aggression is a crime against the whole community of nations;
3. There should be the fullest collaboration between all nations to secure improved labour standards, economic advancement, social security and mutual understanding between their peoples;
4. The territorial integrity and political independence of all nations should be respected;
5. There should be no discrimination on the grounds of religion, race or language by any state in the rights or liabilities of its subjects or of any residents therein.

AND AGREE to the following Pact:

ARTICLE I

1. There shall be an International Authority of which the first Members shall be those states named in the Annexure hereto who shall have acceded to this Pact in the prescribed manner.
2. Any State may become a Member of the Authority which has satisfied two-thirds of the Assembly that
 - (a) It has full control of its international relations and
 - (b) It accepts and will carry out the Declaration and other provisions herein contained.
3. A Member State may not withdraw from membership of the Authority without giving two years' notice of its desire to do so. A Member of the International Authority which has violated any of these Articles may be declared to be no longer a Member by a unanimous vote of the Assembly or Council, excluding the vote of the defaulting Member.

ARTICLE II

1. The International Authority shall act through a general meeting of all its Members, say an "Assembly", and a central committee of certain Members, say a "Council". Each body shall have jurisdiction to deal with any international matter affecting the peace of the world or the promotion of the well-being of the nations.

There shall also be an International Secretariat as hereinafter provided. All questions of procedure, including the relations between the Assembly, Council and Secretariat, the constitution of Committees and their membership, and the financial arrangements necessary to enable the International Authority satisfactorily to discharge its duties shall be settled in the prescribed manner (see Article XVIII).

2. The Assembly shall meet at a fixed date in each year and the Council not less than four times in the year and at such other times as may be necessary or desirable for meetings of either body.
3. All the members of the Authority shall be represented at the Assembly. The Council shall, in the first instance, consist of Representatives of the Chinese Republic, the United Kingdom, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America, hereinafter called the Four Powers, together with representatives of not less than five other States-Members to be elected by the Assembly in the prescribed manner and under the prescribed conditions.
4. The Member States may be represented at the Assembly and the Council by any number of representatives not exceeding the prescribed number. But each Member State shall have only one vote.
5. Any Member of the Authority not represented on the Council shall be entitled to send a Representative to sit as a member during the consideration of matters specially affecting its interests.
6. With the approval of the majority of the Assembly the Council by a two-thirds majority may from time to time fix the numbers of the Members of the Council and the conditions of their membership.
7. The Assembly shall at each of its meetings appoint in the prescribed manner one of its members to be President for that meeting.

ARTICLE III.

Except where otherwise expressly provided or prescribed, the decisions at any meeting of the Assembly or the Council shall require the agreement of all the Members of the Authority represented at that meeting.

Provided that any proposition accepted by a majority of the Members represented at any such meeting shall be regarded as a recommendation by the Assembly or Council binding only on those who voted for it, but shall not be so binding unless a two-thirds majority of the Assembly or Council have voted in favour of it.

The proceedings at all meetings of the Assembly and Council shall be in public unless otherwise prescribed.

ARTICLE IV.

The first meeting of the International Authority shall take place at such time and place as the Four Powers may decide.

ARTICLE V.

1. There shall be a Secretariat of the International Authority consisting of a Director General and such secretaries and staff as may be required.
2. The first Director General shall be He shall hold office for seven years. Thereafter the Director General and his successors shall be appointed or re-appointed by the majority of the Council with the approval of the majority of the Assembly.
3. It shall be the duty of the Director General to assist in all the work of the International Authority and especially to organise the methods of work of the Secretariat. He shall appoint the secretaries and staff with the approval of the majority of the Council.

Apart from any action taken by any member of the International Authority it shall also be part of the Director General's duty to draw the attention of the Assembly and Council to any condition of international affairs which threatens peace or the good understanding between nations on which peace depends. He may for this purpose take such steps to collect information as he shall think desirable and may, if necessary, arrange for a meeting of the Council to consider the position.

At each meeting of the Council the Director General shall lay before it the business to be done together with any facts or observations which he shall consider desirable in order to assist the Council in preserving the continuity and regularity of its proceedings.

The Director General shall frame and submit to the Assembly a budget for the expenses of the International Organisation (including the I.L.C.) from which the funds required for the Defence Committee and other Committees, whether standing or otherwise, shall be defrayed.

ARTICLE VI. [Article 7 of the Covenant]

1. The Seat of the International Authority is established at
2. The Council may at any time decide that the Seat of the International Authority shall be established elsewhere.
3. All positions under or in connection with the International Authority, including the Secretariat, shall be open equally to men and women.
4. Representatives of the Members of the International Authority and officials of the International Authority when engaged on the business of the International Authority shall enjoy diplomatic immunities.
5. The buildings and other property occupied by the International Authority or its officials or by Representatives attending its meetings shall be inviolate.

ARTICLE VII.

The Assembly and Council may by majority appoint Committees to assist them in their work with such powers as may be thought necessary. Such Committees may consist of persons representing members of the International Authority or other persons with special qualifications.

The Committees shall report to the Council and Assembly.

ARTICLE VIII ^{*}

The International Authority shall nominate Standing Committees or other appropriate organisations to deal with Backward Territories not yet ripe for self-government, Tariffs and other Commercial and Financial Questions, Unemployment, Education, Labour, Transport, and Communications, Civil Aviation, Health, Agriculture, Nutrition, Opium, Slavery and any other question of importance to the well-being of the nations. Pending other arrangements the Mandates Commission shall continue to function.

Since the establishment of Social Justice should be one of the chief objects of an International Settlement, the I.L.O. shall be maintained with such developments as may be desirable, and membership of the Authority shall carry with it membership of the I.L.O.

ARTICLE IX.

There shall be a Defence Committee of the International Authority consisting, in the first instance, of the Four Powers who shall undertake that they will use their whole strength to prevent or stop any act of aggression, that is to say, any act by any State unauthorised by the International Authority and designed to attack or diminish the security of any other State. The Assembly may, if they think it desirable for the maintenance of Peace, by a majority of which the Four Powers voting shall form part, admit any other Member State to membership of the Defence Committee. They may also, on the recommendation of the Four Powers, form sub-committees to deal with aggressions in any special region. Such sub-committees shall consist of one or more of the Four Powers together with such representatives of the powers interested in that region as the Assembly may by majority approve. Any State desiring to be admitted to membership of the Defence Committee or any of its sub-Committees must give the undertaking above mentioned.

ARTICLE X.

In case of emergency, such as sudden flagrant aggression, the Defence Committee or any of its sub-Committees may act forthwith, reporting to the Council as soon as possible thereafter upon the action taken. In all other cases the Defence Committee and its sub-Committees shall only act after approval by the majority of the Council or Assembly. They shall report to the Assembly at least once a year on all action taken by them. Any motion in the Assembly to disapprove any part of such action shall require a two-thirds majority.

^{*} NOTE: For an elaboration of the purposes of this Article, reference should be made to the Reports (1) on Social and Economic Reconstruction adopted by the General Council of the Union in June, 1943, and (2) on Education and the United Nations, prepared by a Joint Commission of the London International Assembly and the Council for Education in World Citizenship.

ARTICLE XI.

The Defence Committee may appoint a General Staff to advise them on technical matters.

ARTICLE XII.

As soon as International Conditions permit, the Defence Committee shall put forward proposals for the general limitation and supervision of armaments for the consideration of the Members of the International Authority. Such proposals shall have regard to the attitude of each State towards the maintenance of Peace. In this connection the Defence Committee shall consider whether it is desirable to have an International Air Force and shall if they think right put forward proposals on the subject. They may also make recommendations as to the level of armaments which each State shall maintain in order to enable the International Authority to preserve general security and peace.

ARTICLE XIII.

In addition to the obligations specially resting on the Defence Committee, any war or threat of war whether or not immediately affecting any of the Members of the International Authority shall be regarded as a matter of concern to all the Members of the International Authority and they shall take any action deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations. Any Member of the International Authority may also bring to the attention of the Assembly or Council any condition of international affairs which threatens peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends, including the terms of any treaties which are alleged to have become inapplicable, unjust or dangerous to peace. In no case shall any Member of the International Authority give any aid or comfort to any Power guilty of any actual or threatened aggression.

ARTICLE XIV.

If any dispute between Members of the International Authority shall occur, it shall in the first instance be the subject of negotiation in which the Council will be ready to give any help desired.

Failing a settlement by negotiation, the dispute shall be submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice or to a tribunal of arbitration agreed on between the parties.

If for any reason settlement by the Court or arbitrators cannot be reached in a reasonable time the matter may be laid before the Council, who may refer it to a special tribunal or Commission of Enquiry for advice and shall then give their decision on the whole case and shall thereafter give directions as to what should be done to settle the question in dispute upon the principles of right and justice.

In no case shall either party to the dispute take or encourage hostile action on behalf of its claim unless authorised to do so by the International Authority or a majority thereof.

In any resolution affecting a dispute any vote of a party to it shall not be counted.

ARTICLE XV. [Article 18 of the Covenant]

Every treaty or international engagement either now existing or entered into hereafter by any Member of the International Authority shall, unless recognised by the Council as not being consistent with this Pact, be forthwith registered with the Secretariat and shall as soon as possible be published by it. No such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered.

ARTICLE XVI.

All International Organisations and Bureaux may be taken over by the International Authority, which shall make the necessary arrangements through Committees or otherwise to carry on their activities. Nothing in this Article shall affect the position of the I.L.O.

ARTICLE XVII.

Amendments to this Pact shall take effect when ratified by the Four Powers and a majority of the other Members of the International Authority.

ARTICLE XVIII.

In these Articles "prescribed" means prescribed by Regulations agreed to by a majority of the Assembly and Council; and "majority" means a majority of the States' representatives present and voting at any meeting.

S.1088
4.10.43.

Amendment to Art. XII

proposed by Dr. Gilbert Murray.

As soon as international relations permit, the Defence Committee shall lay before the International Authority proposals to ensure that the position of the International Authority in respect of armaments is appropriate to the maintenance of World Peace. These proposals may include provisions for the complete Disarmament of certain nations, and the reduction and limitation of the armaments of others, but must ensure that the Defence Committee and its sub-Committees are adequately equipped for their duties, and that all members of the International Authority take such measures as may be necessary to enable the Defence of World Peace to be effective.

Amendments to the Draft Pact for the Future International Authority (S.1087A)

submitted by K. Zilliacus.

(1) Substitute the following for the Declaration:

The following Preamble, based on the four freedoms, to take the place of the Preamble in S.1080.

The High Contracting Parties.

In order to secure for all mankind

Freedom from fear of war through an effective system of world government

Freedom from want by the universal adoption of obligations to ensure a minimum standard of living, full employment, free education, and free care of the sick, the aged, and those incapable of work

Freedom of speech, of worship and of association by the spread of government based on universal popular suffrage, civil liberties, and equality before the law, and

In order ultimately to knit together the peoples of the earth in a World Commonwealth based on democracy, social justice and racial equality,

Have concluded this Pact of the United Nations

- (2) In the first line of para.1 of Art.I add after "International Authority" the words, "known as the United Nations".
- (3) Throughout the Draft Pact change "Authority" or "International Authority" to "United Nations".
- (4) Change sub-para. (b) of para.2 of Art.I to read: "(b) It agrees with the purposes declared in the preamble to this Pact and will show scrupulous respect for all its Treaty obligations".
- (5) Omit para.3 of Art.I.
- (6) Substitute the following for Arts. II and III.

Article II

The United Nations shall act through an Assembly and Council, assisted by an International Secretariat, and by committees, conferences and other bodies for co-operation on matters of common concern.

The proceedings at all meetings of the Assembly and Council shall be in public unless otherwise prescribed. (see Article XI)

Article III

1. The Assembly shall consist of representatives of the national legislatures of the Members of the United Nations elected by proportional representation by the said legislatures.
2. The number of representatives from each national legislature shall not be less than two and not more than forty and shall be fixed on the same principles as the allocation of the annual contributions of the Members to the expenses of the United Nations.
3. At meetings of the Assembly, each representative shall have one vote.

4. Decisions at a meeting of the Assembly shall require a two-thirds majority of the representatives present. One quarter of the total membership of the Assembly must be present to constitute a quorum.

5. All matters of procedure, including the appointment of Committees, may be decided by a majority of the representatives present.

6. The Assembly shall meet from time to time as occasion may require, and at least once a year, at the Seat of the United Nations, or at such other place as may be decided upon.

7. The Assembly shall decide upon the proportion in which the expenses of the United Nations shall be borne by the Members and shall fix the sums required from year to year for the work and maintenance of the United Nations. Until otherwise decided by the Assembly, the allocation of expenses shall be that of the League of Nations, revised by the States whose Representatives are always members of the Council.

8. The Assembly shall report upon the past and current activities of the United Nations and shall lay down the general lines on which these activities shall be pursued in the coming year.

9. The Assembly may discuss and make recommendations about any matter within the competence of the United Nations or affecting the peace of the World.

Article IV.

1. The Council shall consist of Representatives of China, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, the United Kingdom and the United States of America, hereinafter called the Four Powers, together with Representatives of six other Members of the United Nations, elected from time to time by the Assembly.

2. The Council may by a two-thirds majority, including the votes of the Members always represented upon it, and with the approval of a two-thirds majority of the Assembly, name additional Members of the United Nations whose Representatives shall always be Members of the Council, or increase the number of Members of the United Nations to be elected by the Assembly from time to time for representation on the Council.

3. The Assembly shall by a two-thirds majority elect the non-government Members of the Council and fix the rules dealing with their election, term of office, and re-eligibility.

4. The Council shall meet from time to time as occasion may require, and at least three times a year, at the Seat of the United Nations, or at such other place as may be decided upon.

(The text as in paragraphs 4, 5, 6 of Article IV of the Covenant except that "United Nations" should take the place of "League").

7. The Council shall be responsible for the execution of international obligations resulting from the Treaties of Peace ending the Second World War, and may accept similar responsibilities, if so requested by the parties under any international treaty or agreement.

Article V.

1. Except where otherwise expressly provided in this Pact, decisions at any meeting of the Council or of any Committee constituted or Conference summoned by the Council, shall require the agreement of a majority of the Members of the United Nations represented at the meeting.

2. Every Member of the United Nations shall be deemed to have assented to a decision unless and until it notifies the Council of its disagreement. Such notification shall be given within a reasonable time and shall release the State making it from any obligation to participate in the execution of the said decision.

(7) Change the numbering of Arts. IV-VII inclusive to VI, VII, VIII and IX.

(8) Substitute the following for Arts. VIII and XVII:

Article X.

Subject to and in accordance with the provisions of international conventions existing or hereafter to be agreed upon, the members of the United Nations agree

1. (a) To bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field, with the object of raising levels of nutrition to standards adequate for good health and securing for all improved labour standards, economic advancement, and social security. To that end, they agree to take steps directed to the expansion, by appropriate international and domestic measures, of production, employment and the exchange and consumption of goods; to the elimination of all forms of discriminatory treatment in international commerce; to the reduction of tariffs and other trade barriers; and in general to the promotion of mutually advantageous economic relations between them and the betterment of world wide economic relations.

(b) To make provision to secure and maintain freedom of communications and of transit, by the effective regulation of shipping on international routes, of civil aviation, and in general of communications between States by road, rail, air, and water, by post, telegraph, telephone and wireless (including broadcasting and television). They agree that in view of the importance of aviation to peace, international air routes shall be placed under the control of a central authority responsible to the Council of the United Nations.

(c) To take steps in matters of international concern for the prevention and control of disease and to ascertain and declare from time to time the standards of nutrition, housing and leisure considered necessary for civilised existence in various areas of the world.

(d) To secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labour for men, women and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend; for this purpose to establish minimum wage standards and hours and conditions of labour such as will enable their populations to attain adequate standards of nutrition, housing and leisure and to co-operate for raising standards of living in backward countries so as to approach uniform international standards as rapidly as possible.

(e) and (f) Parts similar to the Covenant on control of the traffic in and production of opium and dangerous drugs, and the traffic in women and children.

(g) To recognise that education is a matter of international concern, and that young people throughout the world should be accustomed to regard some form of World Government as necessary. They agree to establish and maintain an Education Organisation, the duties of which shall include investigating any complaint

by any Member as to educational developments calculated to disturb the good understanding between nations on which peace depends.

2. (a) To take such domestic measures as will provide them with the powers necessary to give effect to their economic and social obligations under this Pact, and will prevent any public or private interest from obstructing their fulfilment.

(b) To establish and maintain the international organisations necessary for these purposes, such as committees and conferences; an International Bank, Investment, Raw Material and Food Boards; a Clearing Union and ultimately a Monetary Union; an International Agency for co-ordinating national economic policies; a United Nations authority for controlling international air traffic; a World Health Organisation; a Committee to control the Production of and Traffic in Opium and Dangerous Drugs.

(c) To place under the direction of the United Nations all international bureaux established by general treaties whose work is relevant to the purposes indicated in this Article. They agree to regard as inconsistent with this Pact any provision of any treaty that could be construed as opposing an obstacle to the Council directing how existing bureaux shall be co-ordinated with or absorbed by the organisations to be established in pursuance of this Article.

(d) That the International Labour Organisation, shall form part of the United Nations, and shall be the principal agency through which they discharge the obligations assumed in Part. I, Sub-Para. (d) of this Article. They agree to modify the constitution and functions of the I.L.O., if necessary, in order to adapt its structure to present conditions and to co-ordinate its work with that of the other organisations to be established in pursuance of this Article.

(9) Substitute the following for Arts. IX-XIV inclusive:

Article XI

1. The Members of the United Nations agree that if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture they will submit the matter either to arbitration or judicial settlement or to enquiry by the Council, and they agree in no case to resort to war or to use force as an instrument of national policy, with or without a declaration of war.

2. In any case under this Article, the award of the arbitrators or the judicial decision shall be made within a reasonable time, and the report of the Council shall be made within six months after the submission of the dispute.

Article XII

1. If there should arise between Members of the United Nations any dispute likely to lead to a rupture which the parties do not submit to arbitration or judicial settlement the Members of the United Nations agree that they will submit the matter to the Council. Any party to the dispute may effect such submission by giving notice of the existence of the dispute to the Director-General, who will make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration thereof.

2. For this purpose the parties to the dispute will communicate to the Director-General as promptly as possible, statements of their case, with all the relevant facts and papers, and the Council may forthwith direct the publication thereof.

3. The Council shall endeavour to effect a settlement of the dispute and may ask the P.C. of I.J. for an advisory opinion. If the Council's efforts are successful, a statement shall be made public giving such facts and explanations regarding the dispute and the terms of settlement thereof as the Council may deem appropriate.

4. If the dispute is not thus settled, the Council shall make and publish a report containing a statement of the facts of the dispute and the recommendations which are deemed just and proper in regard thereto.

5. Any Member of the United Nations represented on the Council may make public a statement of the facts of the dispute and of its conclusions regarding the same.

6. If the dispute between the parties is claimed by one of them, and is found by the Council to arise out of a matter which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of that party, the Council shall so report, and shall make no recommendation as to its settlement.

7. The Council may in any case under this Article refer the dispute to the Assembly. The dispute shall be so referred at the request of either party to the dispute, provided that such request be made within fourteen days after the submission of the dispute to the Council.

8. In any case referred to the Assembly, all the provisions of this Article relating to the action and powers of the Council shall apply to the action and powers of the Assembly.

Article XIII

1. The Members of the United Nations agree that whenever any dispute that may arise between them has not been settled within one year of its submission to the Council or Assembly, any party to the dispute may refer the whole subject-matter for arbitration or judicial settlement.

2. For the consideration of any such dispute, the court to which the case is referred shall be the P.C. of I.J., or any tribunal agreed on by the parties to the dispute or stipulated in any convention existing between them.

3. The Members of the United Nations agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award or decision that may be rendered.

4. In the event of any failure to carry out such an award or decision, the Council shall by a two-thirds majority, including the votes of the Representatives who are always Members of the Council, decide what steps should be taken to induce the parties to give effect thereto.

Article XIV

1. Any war or threat of war, whether or not accompanied by a declaration of war, or any use of or threat to use force as an instrument of national policy, whether immediately affecting any of the Members of the United Nations or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to all the United Nations.

2. In case any such emergency should arise the Director-General shall on the request of any Member of the United Nations or on his own initiative forthwith summon a meeting of the Council and the latter shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations.
3. A two-thirds majority of the Representatives present at the meeting of the Council, including the Representatives who are always Members of the Council, shall be necessary for decisions on the action to be taken. The Council may be guided in taking its decisions by the presumption of aggression and the definition of aggression contained in the Annex to this Article. (The Annex should contain a presumption of aggression similar to that of the Geneva Protocol, and a definition of aggression similar to that adopted at Geneva on the proposal of the Soviet delegation).
4. The Members of the United Nations agree to do all in their power to assist the Council in dealing with any disturbance of or threat to peace, and in no circumstances to give aid and comfort to a disturber of the peace, either by maintaining economic or financial relations with the peace-breaker, or in any other way. A State disregarding its obligations in this matter may be designated by the Council as an accomplice of the peace-breaker.
5. The members of the United Nations whose Representatives are always Members of the Council agree to use their combined armed forces and national resources, if necessary, to uphold the authority of the Council in safeguarding the peace of nations. In order to make their agreement effective, they further agree to conclude a permanent alliance with each other. This alliance shall provide for joint staff consultations and economic co-operation, and shall pledge the U.C.P. to the purposes contained in the preamble to this Pact. The Alliance shall also contain the obligation to take the initiative in the establishment of an international police force capable of upholding the authority of the Council of the United Nations.

Article XV

1. The United Nations agree that only the nations whose representatives are always Members of the Council shall have the right to possess military aviation, warships of ten thousand tons or over, submarines, naval guns of 6 in. calibre or over, land artillery of 6 in. calibre or over, tanks of ten tons or over; and that this right shall lapse so soon as the Council of the United Nations has at its disposal an international police force which it decides by a two-thirds majority of the Members present at a meeting, including those Members whose Representatives are always Members of the Council, is adequate to maintain its authority.
2. The Council may, by a two-thirds majority of the Members present at the meeting, including those Members whose Representatives are always Members of the Council, allow a Member to possess armaments of the types specified, in such amounts, for such periods and purposes and subject to such conditions as it may prescribe.
3. The Council, shall, within 18 months of the coming into force of this Pact, summon a Conference to embody these provisions in a Treaty for the Reduction and Control of Armaments and War Industries.

Article XVI.

1. The Members of the United Nations agree that any Union of Member States shall have one representative and one vote in the Council for every 100,000,000 and part thereof of its inhabitants, and shall have a correspondingly large number of representatives in the Assembly, provided it conforms to the following conditions:
- (a) The Union becomes an entity in international relations, through its Members waiving any claim to separate diplomatic representation, citizenship, defence establishment, tariffs or currencies.
- (b) Access to the Union is open to any Member of the United Nations who can satisfy the Union of its ability and willingness to discharge the obligations of membership.
- (c) The constitution of the Union includes in the form of obligations the declaration of aims of the preamble to this Pact and the Union assumes the international obligations of its constituent members.
- (d) The Union assumes the obligations of article XIV paragraph V of this Pact.

- (10) Substitute the following for Art. XV:

Article XVII

1. The Members of the United Nations severally agree that this Pact is accepted as abrogating all obligations or understandings in force which are inconsistent with the terms thereof, and solemnly undertake that they will not hereafter enter into any engagements inconsistent with the terms thereof.
2. In case any Member of the United Nations shall, before becoming a Member of the United Nations, have undertaken any obligations inconsistent with the terms of this Pact, it shall be the duty of such Member to take immediate steps to procure its release from such obligations.
3. Every treaty or international engagement entered into hereafter by any Member of the United Nations shall be forthwith submitted to the Council, whose duty it shall be to ascertain whether such treaty or international engagement is consistent with the terms of this Pact.
4. The Secretariat shall as soon as possible publish every treaty or international engagement submitted to the Council and shall register every such treaty or engagement declared by the Council to be consistent with the terms of this Pact. No such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered.

- (11) Substitute the following for Art. XVI.

Article XVIII

1. The Members of the United Nations agree that the administration of colonies and territories which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to govern themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world shall be conducted according to the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilisation and that countries for the performance of this trust shall be embodied in this Pact.
2. They agree that the best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the Members responsible for the government of such peoples should regard themselves as exercising

tutelage over them as Mandatories on behalf of the United Nations, should render to the Council an annual report in reference to the colonies and territories committed to their charge, and should conduct their administration in conformity with the following rules:

(a) The economic welfare and security, health, education, and training for self-government of the native inhabitants of such colonies and territories shall be the prime concern of the governing power. All political, educational, fiscal, administrative economic, or other discrimination based on race must be ended. Abuses such as the slave trade, forced labour, the arms traffic and the liquor traffic shall be prohibited. Freedom of conscience and religion, of speech and of association shall be guaranteed, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals. The growth of Trades Unions and Co-operative Societies should be encouraged and native land-tenure should be safe-guarded.

(b) Subject only to restrictions necessary for the welfare of the native inhabitants, all members of the United Nations shall enjoy equal access to raw materials and complete equality of opportunity for investment, trade and industry in such territories.

3. The Council shall forthwith enter into negotiations with the Members of the United Nations responsible for the administration of colonies and territories as yet unable to govern themselves, with the object of concluding a general convention or series of conventions giving effect to the provisions of this Article.

4. A permanent Commission shall be constituted to receive and examine the annual reports of the Mandatories and to advise the Council on all matters relating to the observance of this Article. The Commission shall have the power to interview representatives of native communities, to investigate conditions on the spot, either in person or through agents, and to request the Council to obtain an advisory opinion from the E.C.O.C. of I.L. The meetings of the Commission shall be in public unless otherwise prescribed.

- (12) Change the numbering of Arts. XVIII and ~~XX~~ to XIX and XX
(13) Omit the word "States" from Art. XX (XIX in unamended Draft).

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF (ADJOURNED) MEETING OF THE
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 11 MILLEN
LANE, W.C.2. ON THURSDAY, OCTOBER 14TH, 1943
AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Miss Fawcett, Lady Hall, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, J. Macdonald, Lord Perth, W.T. Pritchard, Nowell C. Smith, H.S. Syrett, Alan Thomas, Sir Ralph Wedgwood, Professor Basil Williams and Mr. Judd.

643. THE LATE MAJOR WESH WATER. Messages of condolence were read from the Victorian Branch of the Australian League of Nations Society, the Commission to Study the Organisation of Peace in New York, and Mrs. W.W. Claremont.

644. DEATH OF LORD HESTON. The Executive expressed their profound regret at the death of Lord Heston who had for many years been President of the Kensington Branch and a Co-opted Member of the General Council, and asked that a message of condolence should be sent to his widow.

The Committee were informed that a Memorial Service would be held at 1.30 on October 15th at St. Margaret's, Westminster. The Chairman expressed his willingness to represent the Union on the occasion, and hoped that other members of the Committee who were able to do so would also be present.

645. NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR BRITISH-SOVIET UNITY. a communication dated October 5th was reported from the National Council for British-Soviet Unity asking the Union to distribute announcements of a demonstration to be held in the Stoll Theatre, Kingsway on November 7th at 2.45 p.m. After the Executive had been reminded of the action taken on the occasion of an earlier meeting organised by the same body, it was agreed that notices of the demonstration on November 7th should be included in the next circular letter sent to Branches in the London area.

646. ADMINISTRATION COMMITTEE. The Executive had before them the Minutes of the Meeting of the Administration Committee held on September 23rd, 1943 (copy filed with these minutes). Subject to the following decision and report on Minutes 4 and 5, the minutes were approved and adopted.

On Minute 4 - National Memorial to the late Major Frewater, the Chairman, describing in more detail the Administration Committee's proposals regarding a National Memorial, said that the purpose of the Memorial would be to recognise the all-round efficiency of Branches by making one or more awards of financial grants for foreign travel. The winning Branch or Branches would be asked to recommend one or more candidates but the final awards would be made by the

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Executive Committee or Trustees of the Memorial Fund. It was intended that, unless a very large sum of money were subscribed, the whole of the capital should be used for a certain number of years rather than be invested to produce a small income in perpetuity.

The Secretary reported a conversation with Mr. Duncan Freshwater on the subject. Mr. Freshwater was much attracted by the proposal and said that the idea was one which would have appealed strongly to his father, particularly in it were possible to select young people to receive the awards.

Mr. Syrett hoped the appeal would receive universal support and to that end he suggested that a maximum limit for donations should be stipulated.

After the Secretary had reported a further discussion at the last meeting of the Administration Committee on October 7th when it had been suggested that the Memorial Fund should be launched at the December Meeting of the General Council, it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the proposal for a National Memorial to Major Freshwater be approved in principle; that the Memorial Fund be launched at the December Meeting of the General Council; and that it be left to certain members of the Administration Committee and representatives of the Union's local organisations to prepare a draft motion for consideration by the Executive at its next meeting."

(2) "That the Administration Committee be asked to prepare and to submit to the Executive detailed plans for the administration of the Memorial Fund."

On Minute 5 - Broadcast Talks, the Chairman reported a conversation with Sir Richard Macdonald, who was in charge of the Home Service Programme of the B.B.C. A series of broadcast talks were now taking place on Monday evenings from 7.30 to 8 p.m. under the title of "The World We Want", and Sir Richard had expressed his intention of inviting Sir Norman Angell to give a broadcast talk before he returned to America.

647. **FINANCE COMMITTEE.** Mr. Syrett presented an oral report on the meeting of the Finance Committee held on October 5th, which was approved and adopted.

[The Report included: Signature of Cheques; Statement of Accounts; Cheques for Payment; Monies held for Emergency; Estate of K. A. Hooper (Decd.); Staff; Additional Office Accommodation; Grant of £50 to Essex Federal Council; and Suggestions re Membership.]

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

648. LONDON INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY. In the absence of Miss Courtney the Secretary reported that, at the meeting of the General Purposes Committee held on September 29th it had been decided:

- (1) To invite the Persian Minister to nominate members to serve on the Assembly;
- (2) In principle, to publish the Report of the Assembly's Conference on "Freedom from Want: Food for All" and to incorporate in it not only summaries of the principal speeches at the Conference (including Mr. Richard Law's) but also a statement on the problems considered at Hot Springs and the results of that meeting;
- (3) To refer back to the national groups for their comments the statement on the fundamental legal rights of man considered at the last meeting of the Assembly;
- (4) To invite Sir Geoffrey Knox and Major Gayre (when he is on leave in this country) to address informal tea discussion groups -- such a group had since met on October 11th when an address had been given by Sir Norman Angell;
- (5) To ask the Assembly to meet either all day on Monday November 2nd and Monday December 13th, or, if that is unacceptable, on two afternoons of the month in November and December in order to give adequate consideration to the Reports now ready for the Assembly. These include:
 - (a) The Problem of Germany,
 - (b) The Military Disarmament of Axis Countries,
 - (c) The Implications of Unconditional Surrender,

to which will be added very shortly a Report from the Social Commission, a Report on Future International Organisation and a Report from the Religious Commission.

In reply to a question, the Secretary stated that the Reports, when adopted by the L.I.A., could be communicated to the Executive Committee for information.

649. COUNCIL FOR EDUCATION IN WORLD CITIZENSHIP.

(a) Summer Activities. Mr. Howell Smith drew attention to the reports contained in the October HE DAILY of the Conference for boys and girls at Queenswood, the World Citizenship Summer School for teachers and others at Pencop, and the Hansen Pioneer Camp at Drumochty Castle organised by the C.E. .C. during the summer months.

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(b) Assistant to the Education Officer. The Secretary reported that a number of applications had been received in response to the advertisement for an Assistant to the Education Officer (see minute 629). On previous occasions such appointments had been filled on the recommendation of a Joint Selection Committee, representing the Executive and the C.E.W.C. It was

RESOLVED: "That the C.E.W.C. be invited to agree with the appointment of the following Joint Selection Committee:-

Dr. Gilbert Murray, representing the Executive and the C.E.W.C.
Mr. Rowell Smith, representing the Executive and the C.E.W.C.
Miss Courney, representing the Executive and Miss Charlesworth or one other representative of the C.E.W.C., together with the Secretary.

650. DECEMBER MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL. It was agreed that the following motions should be included in the name of the Executive in the Preliminary Agenda for the Council Meeting:

1. Budget for 1944.

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

2. Draft Pact for the Future International Authority (motion to be drafted by the Executive Committee at its Meeting on October 1st).

3. Trial and Punishment of War Criminals (text of resolutions adopted by the Executive on October 7th, 1943 -- see minute 639)

4. National Memorial to the late Major A.J.C. Freshwater (see minute 646 above).

It was also decided that notice should be given in the Preliminary Agenda that the Executive may ask for "urgency" for motions on current international affairs.

It was further agreed that provision should be made in the Agenda for a Report on the work of the London International Assembly by a prominent member of the L.I.A., if possible from one of the allied countries.

651. WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR. Lord Perth drew the Committee's attention to a motion on "World Settlement after the War" which had been submitted to the last meeting of the General Council by the Haddington, Goshalton & Warrington Branch, together with amendments by Mrs. White and the Bournville Works Branch, and which had been referred to the Executive Committee for consideration. The Executive, at its meeting on July 29th had appointed the Policy sub-Committee to consider the matter, but a report had not yet been made.

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It was agreed that the Beadington, Garshalton & Wellington motion and the amendments to it should be included on the agenda for the Meeting of the Executive on October 21st when the Draft Pact for the Future International Authority would be discussed.

652. TRIAL AND PUNISHMENT OF WAR CRIMINALS. The Secretary reported that, on Lord Lytton's instructions, the resolutions adopted by the Executive at its last meeting were being communicated to Branches of the Union, together with the resolution adopted by the London International Assembly, for information.

H. D. Courtney

CHAIRMAN.

November 4th 1943

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE ADMINISTRATION
COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 11 MAIDEN LANE,
LONDON, W.C.2, ON THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER
23RD, 1943 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Miss Courtney, Miss Fawcett, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Lady Hall, A.J. Howe, J. Macdonald, W.T. Pritchard, and Howell C. Smith. Mrs. Clifton Roberts was present by invitation.

1. LETTER FROM TASMANIA BRANCH OF AUSTRALIAN LEAGUE OF NATIONS SOCIETY. A letter dated June 28th from the Tasmania Branch was read to the Committee. The Secretary, in his reply, was asked (1) to draw attention to the references which the Prime Minister had made to the work of the League in his broadcast of March last and in his speech at Harvard, and (2) to say that the question of changing the Union's name had been continually under consideration by the Executive but that until some new name had been generally accepted for the new international authority the Executive did not consider it desirable to make such a change. When a new international authority had been brought into being the Executive would consider the adaptation of the title of the Union to that of such Authority.
2. MR. EDEN'S VISIT TO MOSCOW. It was agreed, to recommend to the Executive at its next meeting that, before Mr. Eden goes to Moscow, a communication should be sent to him from the Executive expressing the hope that his forthcoming meeting with representatives of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. will be concerned not only with measures for the prosecution of the war but also with the concerting of policy after the war, and that the conference may be able to agree upon a three-power declaration about the future international organisation and its name.
3. CHRISTIAN ORGANISATIONS COMMITTEE. Dr. Garnett suggested that, as part of the Union's re-organisation and plans for the future, the re-creation of the Christian Organisations Committee and its establishment on the widest possible basis should be undertaken.

Mr. Howe agreed with Dr. Garnett's proposal but suggested that the Committee, if and when it was reformed, should be known as the Religious Organisations Committee so that all religions might be represented on it. Dr. Garnett considered that it would be an advantage in the future, as in the past, to have two committees -- a Christian Organisations Committee and a Religion and Ethics Committee.

Whilst reserving the right to decide in the circumstances then existing whether there should be one Committee or two the Committee accepted Dr. Garnett's proposal in principle and agreed to give further consideration to it when the time appeared opportune.

4. NATIONAL MEMORIAL TO THE LATE MAJOR A.J.C. FRESHWATER. Consideration was given to the proposal for a Memorial to Major Freshwater, and Lord Lytton stressed the necessity, if a Memorial were to be founded, of making the appeal at the earliest possible moment.

The Committee were reminded of the discussion which had taken place at the Executive on August 26th, and the suggestions for Travelling Fellowships submitted by Lady Hall in her

memorandum to the Executive (S.1073, copy filed with these minutes) were discussed.

Dr. Garnett stated that before the war any opportunity to send one of their members with the Union's delegation to a meeting of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies was a privilege which the branches, especially valued. He suggested that awards under the proposed Freshwater Memorial might include such travel. A visit to the annual assembly of the League of Nations or other international authority was also suggested.

After discussion it was agreed to recommend to the Executive

- (1) That a Memorial to the late Major A.J.C. Freshwater be founded;
- (2) That subscriptions be invited from Branches and members of the Union as soon as possible;
- (3) That the purpose of the Memorial be to recognise Branch efficiency by making one or more awards which would enable members of the Union to travel to other countries under certain conditions.

The Secretary was asked to draft, for submission to the Executive, a report on the above lines, incorporating various suggestions for foreign travel. He was also asked to inform Mr. Duncan Freshwater of the Committee's proposal.

It was further agreed that a notice should be inserted in the next issue of HEADWAY to the effect that the subject of a Memorial to Major Freshwater is at the moment under consideration by the Executive Committee and that plans will be announced in the November number.

5. REPORT OF CAMPAIGN SUB-COMMITTEE. The Committee had before them the Report of the Campaign sub-Committee (S.1075, copy filed with these minutes).

Literature. The Committee were reminded that the Executive, at its meeting on September 16th, had asked Mr. Arnold Forster, Sir Norman Angell and Mr. Vernon Bartlett to proceed immediately with the preparation of short pamphlets and leaflets presenting the Union's policy in popular language.

United Nations Meeting. The Campaign sub-Committee's proposal for a United Nations meeting to be organised by the Union during the autumn or winter was discussed, and Lady Hall stated that the proposal was intended to form part of a great publicity campaign to focus attention on the work of the Union.

The Chairman suggested, as an alternative, a two or three-day Conference which would be open to the general public and at which a number of subjects could be discussed with a different speaker and Chairman at each session.

Miss Courtney recalled the successful meeting which had been held at the time of the General Council in 1942 when representatives of different nationalities had spoken, and suggested that something on similar lines might be organised in the near future.

After discussion the Committee were generally in favour of a United Nations Meeting being held at some convenient time, subject to the deletion of General de Gaulle's name from the list of suggested speakers.

Broadcast Talks. Dr. Garnett suggested that the B.B.C. might be asked to arrange a series of talks by prominent British speakers and distinguished foreigners on the coming peace and international co-operation. Sir Norman Angell's name was mentioned in this connection. The Secretary was asked to discuss the question, in the first place, with Mr. Alan Thomas.

The Chairman stated that he had been invited to take part in a broadcast discussion on the four freedoms in the B.B.C.'s Empire service and that, he would discuss the Committee's proposal with the representative of the B.B.C. with whom he was in contact on this matter.

London International Assembly. It was agreed that reports on the work of the London International Assembly should be regularly communicated to the Executive for their information after each meeting of the General Purposes Committee.

Deputation to the Prime Minister. Lord Lytton gave reasons for preferring a deputation to Mr. Eden rather than the Prime Minister when the opportune moment arrived.

Travelling Organiser. Lady Hall stated that up to the present no suitable candidate for the post of Travelling Organiser had been found. She and other members of the Committee were asked to continue their inquiries in all possible directions.

Remainder of Report. It was decided to adjourn until the next meeting consideration of the remainder of the sub-Committee's Report.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

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

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), F.M. Burris, Lord Cecil, Dr. Hilda Clark, Miss K.D. Courtney, Miss Fawcett, W. Arnold Forster, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Lady Hall, Lady Layton, Dame Adelaide Livingston, Thomas Lodge, J. Macdonald, Dr. Murray, Lord Perth, W.E. Pritchard, Miss Rathbone, Nowell C. Smith, H.S. Syrett, Sir Ralph Wedgwood, Professor Basil Williams, W. Carey Wilson, K. Zilliacus and Mr. Judd.

653. DRAFT PACT FOR THE FUTURE INTERNATIONAL AUTHORITY. The Executive resumed consideration of the Draft Pact submitted by the sub-Committee appointed on July 29th. They also had before them amendments proposed by Mr. Zilliacus (S.1087) and an amendment to Article II proposed by Professor Basil Williams.

At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Zilliacus made two detailed statements, the first criticising the sub-Committee's draft and the second stating arguments in support of his alternative proposals.

He further expressed the view that the Draft Pact did not fulfill the terms of reference of the sub-Committee and that, unless those terms of reference were rescinded, the Executive or some other body should consider a revision of "World Settlement after the War" in the light of the various documents which were before the Executive on July 29th (minute 600). He thought the best procedure would be for Majority and Minority Reports to be submitted to the General Council, and for the Executive, in the light of the Council's decision, to resume discussion on the Report in order to draw up a final document which might take the form of a revised "World Settlement after the war" with the new Pact as an annex.

Lord Lytton reminded the Executive that when the sub-Committee had first met to consider their terms of reference they had accepted Lord Cecil's view that the best way in which they could deal with all the documents submitted to them was to produce a Draft Pact which would show exactly how the policy in "World Settlement after the war" could be carried out. He would prefer to leave open for further consideration the question of whether or not the Executive, if and when the Draft Pact was approved, should further discuss the statement of policy and amend it in the light of the Pact.

After further discussion, Mr. Zilliacus moved, and Mr. Macdonald seconded a motion: "That the amendments contained in S.1087 be accepted as the basis of discussion by the Executive in place of the Draft Pact (S.1080a) submitted by the sub-Committee".

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A vote was taken and the motion was rejected by 17 votes to 3.

The draft Pact (from the Preamble to the end of article I) was then considered clause by clause, and it was agreed to amend the DECLARATION to read as follows:

1. The principles of Freedom, Justice and Good Faith should govern all international relations;
2. The welfare of the whole community of nations is the concern of every one of them;
3. Aggression is a crime against the whole community of nations;
4. There should be no discrimination on the grounds of religion, race or language by any State in the rights or liabilities of its subjects or of any residents therein;
5. There should be the fullest collaboration between all nations to secure improved labour standards, economic advancement, social security and mutual understanding between their peoples;
6. The territorial integrity and political independence of all nations should be respected;...

It was further agreed to print the two sentences in Article I (3) as separate clauses.

Lord Cecil expressed the view that an authorised commentary should be issued at the same time as the Pact, and Dr. Garnet suggested that in any revised edition of "World Settlement after the War" a statement should be included to the effect that it should be directly to the economic advantage of every member State to belong to the new association of nations.

After further discussion, during which the Executive were reminded that the present meeting provided the last opportunity for preparing motions for inclusion in the Preliminary Agenda for the General Council, it was

RESOLVED: (1) That the following motion be printed in the Preliminary Agenda:

"The General Council gives general approval to the Draft Pact for the future International Authority and authorises the Executive Committee to publish it in the name of the League of Nations Union."

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- (2) That notice be given in the Preliminary Agenda that the Pact is still being studied in detail by the Executive Committee which may submit an amended text in the Final Agenda.
- (3) That Mr. Zilliacus be asked to submit to the Committee for their consideration in the course of their further study of the Pact such amendments as are not inconsistent with the broad principles already approved by the Executive.
- (4) That Mr. Zilliacus be asked to redraft his memorandum (S.1097) in the form of an alternative Pact to be printed in the Preliminary Agenda as a Minority Report.
- (5) That a whole-day meeting of the Executive be held on Thursday, November 4th (11 a.m. and 2.15 p.m.) for the purpose of completing discussion of the Draft Pact.

654. NATIONAL MEMORIAL TO MAJOR FRESHWATER. The Chairman presented to the Executive a motion drafted by the Administration Committee at its meeting that morning for submission, if approved, to the General Council. After discussion, it was

RESOLVED: That the following motion be included in the name of the Executive Committee in the Agenda for the General Council meeting:

The General Council of the League of Nations Union

Deeply moved by the loss of Major A.J.C. Freshwater, B.C., T.D., Deputy Secretary of the Union from 1920 to 1936, and Secretary from 1938 until his sudden death in July 1943 in the service of our country and our cause,

Inspired by his example to make greater efforts to increase the membership and influence of the Union and its Branches,

And desiring to do honour to his name,

RESOLVES:

- (1) That a Freshwater Memorial Fund be established.
- (2) That subscriptions be publicly invited to this Fund and that all Branches of the Union be asked to make the Fund known to their members.
- (3) That the Fund be used to provide each year, Freshwater Travelling Fellowships and Bursaries and a Freshwater Memorial Shield, to be awarded to the Branches most deserving of recognition for their membership and work, special consideration being given to such factors as:

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- (a) Increase in Membership;
 - (b) Paid-up Membership on a basis of percentage of population, taking also into account the number of Foundation and other members;
 - (c) Branch activities, such as public meetings and the provision of speakers for other organisations, debates and study circles, Sunday Services, distribution of literature, the organised collection of membership subscriptions, and work with Youth and in the Schools, etc., etc.
- (4) That a Freshwater Memorial Committee be appointed to administer the Fund.
- (5) That, so far as may be practicable, the Committee shall award each year
- (a) as a National Prize, a Travelling Fellowship of the value of, say, £75 to the Branch most deserving of recognition in the whole country in order to enable one (or more) of its members to visit the annual assembly or the international authority, or to visit, say, the United States of America or Soviet Russia, or to undertake some other form of international travel;
 - (b) a Freshwater Memorial Shield to be held for one year by the winning Branch;
 - (c) as Regional Prizes, a Bursary of the value of, say, £7.10s.0d. to the Branch most deserving of recognition in each region (other than the Branch winning the National Prize) in order to enable one (or more) of its members to attend a League of Nations Union Summer School;
 - (d) such further Regional Prizes (e.g. for Youth) as the Committee may decide, having regard to the funds at its disposal;

but that it be left to the Committee to determine each year the number and value of the awards to be made, and that they be empowered either to invest the whole of the Fund in order to provide in perpetuity an annual income for such awards or to use a part of the Fund each year as they may think best, having regard to the sum of money subscribed.

For the purpose of awarding the Bursaries the Branches shall be grouped by the Committee into twelve or such other number of regions as may be from time to time determined.

- (6) That the winning Branch be asked to nominate from among its members candidates for the receipt of the Travelling Fellowship and that it be left to the Committee to make the final award.

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- (7) That the Freshwater Memorial Committee shall, in the first instance, consist of the following six representatives of the Executive Committee: Lord Lutton, Miss Courtney, Mr. Burris, Lady Hall, Mr. Howe, and Mr. Syrett, and the following six representatives of the Branches: Mr. Hawkins (Hon. Secretary, East of Scotland District Council), the Secretary of the Welsh National Council of the Union, Councillor Bevers, (Chairman, Montague Burton's Works Branch), Mr. Leonard Behrens, (Hon. Secretary, Manchester District Council), Mr. Hall Todd, (Organising Secretary, Northamptonshire Federal Council), and Mr. Prior, (Organising Secretary, Essex Federal Council).
- (8) That Trustees for the Fund be appointed by the Freshwater Memorial Committee.
655. MR. J. KEYSER. After the Chairman had read to the Committee a letter dated October 15th received from Mr. Keyser, the resignation of Mr. Keyser from the Executive was accepted with regret.
656. FIELD MARSHAL SIMMS. A letter dated September 7th from the private Secretary to Field Marshal Simms was read, expressing the Field Marshal's sincere appreciation of the General Council's congratulations and of the honour done him in his re-election as Vice-President.

H. D. Courtney

CHAIRMAN

November 4th 1923

MINUTES OF MEETINGS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 11 MAIDEN LANE, LONDON, W.C.2, ON THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 4th, 1943 AT 11 A.M. AND 2.15 P.M.

Morning Session.

PRESENT: Miss Courtney (in the Chair), Lord Cecil, Dr. Hilda Clark, Miss Wroe, Mr. Arnold Forster, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Lady Hall, Lady Layton, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, J. Macdonald, Dr. Gilbert Murray, Professor Paton, R. J. Seton-Watson, Sir Ralph Wedgwood, Professor Basil Williams, together with Mr. Judd.

657. MINUTES. The minutes of the meetings held on October 7th, 14th and 21st, 1943 were confirmed as circulated.

658. MR. PRITCHARD. The Executive learned with regret that Mr. Pritchard was going into a Nursing Home and would be unable to attend meetings for the next few weeks. The Secretary was asked to convey to Mr. Pritchard an expression of the Committee's sympathy and their best wishes for his speedy recovery.

659. LADY VIOLET BONHAM CARTER. The Committee noted with deep gratification that Lady Violet Bonham Carter's son had returned safely to this country. Dr. Murray was asked to send a message on behalf of the Committee to Lady Violet.

660. LORD SANKEY. After Lord Cecil had reported a conversation he had recently had with Lord Sankey, it was unanimously

RESOLVED: That Lord Sankey be invited to join the Executive Committee.

Members who had suggestions to make for filling the four vacancies which still remained on the Committee were asked to communicate them to the Chairman.

661. LONDON INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY. Miss Courtney made a brief report on the L.I.A. and spoke in particular of the work of one of the Commissions which was concerned with drawing up statements on the treatment of Germany after the War. She also referred to a motion dealing with international organisation and disarmament which was before the Assembly.

662. COUNCIL FOR EDUCATION IN WORLD CITIZENSHIP. (a) Dr. Murray drew the Executive's attention to the action of the President of the Board of Education in setting up a Conference of Ministers of Education of Allied Governments, and to the decision of that Conference to establish an Inter-Allied Bureau for Educational Reconstruction. The Committee were reminded of the recommendation on this subject contained in the Report on 'Education and the United Nations' prepared by a Joint Commission of the London International Assembly and the Council for Education in World Citizenship.

(b) Copies of the Armistice Day Message which Field Marshal Smuts had addressed to the Youth of Britain at the invitation of the C.B.C. were placed before the Executive.

663. ADMINISTRATION COMMITTEE. The Executive had before them the minutes of the Administration Committee dated October 7th and 21st.

On Minute 7 - 5. Literature. Dr. Garnett asked that the words "translations for use" be substituted for the words "see his way to publish in in Basic English".

On Minute 20 - Leaflets. it was, after discussion,

RESOLVED: "That the first of the new series of leaflets should be on the subject of 'An International Authority' and should consist of the full text of Clause 4 of the Moscow Declaration dealing with general security, together with a brief commentary on positive and constructive lines."

Mr. Arnold Forster expressed his willingness, in collaboration with Sir Norman Angell, to prepare such a draft immediately.

Suggestions were also made (1) that Lord Cecil and the other Officers should write a letter to THE TIMES and (2) that the Union should organise a large Public Meeting, on the subject of the Moscow Agreement, but no decision was taken by the Executive.

Subject to the above, and to the decision taken on Minutes 7 - 4 and 13 (National Memorial to the late Major Freshwater) at the last meeting of the Executive, the minutes of the Administration Committee were approved and adopted.

664. L.N.U. LIBRARY. The Secretary reminded the Executive that, since the outbreak of war, the Library had, by the kindness of the Headmistress, Miss Baker, and the Governors, been housed at Badminton School near Bristol, but owing to the rapid expansion of the Junior School the Governors now needed more space and, after their last meeting, Mr. Barris (the Chairman of the Governors) had written to ask if the Library could be removed from Badminton before the middle of January.

The Secretary recalled the decision taken by the Executive on October 14th to lease the top floor at No. 11 Maiden Lane, and said that, if the Committee agreed, it would be possible to house the Library in the Office.

After discussion it was, on the motion of Mr. Arnold Forster, seconded by Lady Layton,

RESOLVED: (1) That the Library be brought back to the Office so soon as the necessary arrangements can be made; and

(2) That the Headmistress and Governors of Badminton School be very cordially thanked for their generosity in housing the library since the outbreak of war.

Arising out of the above the terms of the Union's agreement

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with Central London Electricity regarding the offices at 11, Maiden Lane were discussed, and the general opinion was expressed that, if it were likely that the Union would be required to vacate the premises at the end of the war, inquiries should be instituted immediately with a view to securing other accommodation. The Secretary was asked to discuss the matter with Lord Lytton and to report to a future meeting of the Executive.

665. PRELIMINARY AGENDA FOR GENERAL COUNCIL. The Executive had before them the Preliminary Agenda for the December Meeting of the General Council (copy filed with these minutes).

Item 3. Motion to Grant Urgency: It was

RESOLVED: That motions dealing with the following subjects be submitted as a matter of "urgency" to the General Council;

- (a) The Moscow Declaration -- to be drafted by Lord Cecil;
- (b) The Inter-Allied Bureau for Educational Reconstruction -- to be drafted by Dr. Murray.

The hope was expressed that provision would be made in the Final Agenda for "urgency" motions to be taken at a reasonably early stage in the proceedings.

Item 6. Presidential Address. Lord Cecil said that his main speech to the Council would be concerned with the presentation of the Draft Pact for the Future International Authority, and it was agreed that, in the Final Agenda, provision should be made for the motion on the Pact to be taken immediately after Lord Cecil's Presidential Address.

Item 8. Draft Pact for the Future International Authority -- see minute 667 (a) below.

Item 9. Foundation of an International Authority.

The Secretary was asked to enquire of the Manchester District whether or not they would wish to move their motion in an amended form, having regard to the Moscow Declaration.

Item 12. Trial and Punishment of War Criminals.

Lord Cecil was asked either to amend, or to draft an additional paragraph to, the Executive's motion so as to take into account the Moscow Declaration on this subject.

At the suggestion of Miss Courtney, Lord Cecil also expressed his willingness, in consultation with Professor Brodetsky, to redraft paragraph (b) of the Executive's motion in order to clarify the meaning.

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Item 14. Basic English. Dr. Murray gave notice that he would propose an amendment in his own name to the motion submitted by the Roundhay Branch.

Item 16. International Labour Organisation. It was agreed that the motion tabled by Lady Hall should be submitted to the General Council in the name of the Executive Committee, and that Lady Hall should be asked to move its adoption at the meeting.

Item 17. London International Assembly. It was agreed to ask Professor Newell to present a report on the work of the L.I.A., and to allow fifteen minutes in the time-table for this item.

Afternoon
Session.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), F.M. Burris, Lord Cecil, Dr. Hilda Clark, Miss Courtney, Miss Rawcett, W. Arnold Forster, Dr. Garnett (except for minute 666), Lady Hall, J.R. Leslie, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Dr. Murray, J. Macdonald, Professor Paton, Lord Perth, Nowell C. Smith, H.S. Syrett, Professor Seton Watson, Sir Ralph Edgewood, Professor Basil Williams, W. Carey Wilson, K. Zilliacus, and Mr. Judd.

666. DR. MAXWELL GARNETT. The Chairman referred to the question of Dr. Garnett's pension and reminded the Committee that when Dr. Garnett resigned his position as Secretary of the Union he was granted a pension at the rate of £500 per annum. At the outbreak of war, in view of the financial difficulties, the Executive decided to stop payment of this and other pensions. Dr. Garnett had recently approached him and explained that, in view of his financial position, he would like the question of the pension reconsidered and, after consultation with Mr. Syrett (the Treasurer) Lord Lytton felt that the Union could afford to renew the pension at the reduced rate of £250 per annum. He therefore proposed that this should be granted during the pleasure of the Committee. This was seconded by Mr. Syrett and unanimously agreed.

667. DRAFT PACT FOR THE FUTURE INTERNATIONAL AUTHORITY.

(a) Motion for submission to General Council. Lady Hall, while not wishing to delay publication of the Draft Pact, expressed the opinion that neither the Branches nor the individual delegates by which they would be represented at the Council would have had an opportunity of studying the Pact in sufficient detail to be able to give general approval to it at the Council Meeting. She therefore proposed to move the following amendment to the Executive's motion:

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"The General Council welcomes the Draft Pact prepared by the Executive Committee and notes also with interest the alternative proposals submitted by Mr. K. Zilliacus, Mr. J. B. Leslie, Mr. J. Macdonald, and Mr. S. B. Thomas. It urges all Branches to make a special study of the subject and recommends that these draft proposals should form the basis of their discussions. In the meantime, the General Council pledges itself to work for the creation of an International Authority which shall have as its primary object the maintenance of the peace of the world, the security of all nations and the promotion of social and economic progress."

Mr. Nowell Smith supported Lady Hall's amendment.

Lord Cecil agreed that a discussion at the Council of various amendments to the Pact might have an unfortunate result. On the other hand, he felt it was of primary importance that the Union should publish a definite and clear policy at the earliest moment.

Lord Lytton said he looked forward to meeting Mr. Eden after his return from Moscow and it might well be that the Foreign Secretary would have suggestions to make regarding the Draft Pact which could be reported to the Executive and in the light of which the Committee might wish to make certain modifications. Such a procedure would be possible in a small body like the Executive but could obviously not be undertaken by the General Council.

After further discussion, Mr. Arnold Forster moved the following:

"The General Council welcomes the Draft Pact prepared by the Executive Committee and expresses its general approval, whilst undertaking to give further study to the text; and, pending such further study, authorises the Executive Committee to publish the document in the Union's name."

This was supported by Dr. Murray.

Mr. Zilliacus was impressed by the arguments on both sides of the discussion. He agreed that it was the very reason d'être of the Union to have a policy which could be placed before public opinion and urged on the Government. On the other hand, he felt it was necessary to give the Branches adequate time to consider so important and complicated a subject. He suggested asking the Council to postpone all consideration of the relative merits of the two drafts pending further study, or, alternatively, asking the Council to give its general approval to one or other of the drafts. But he could not agree to asking the Council to accept one draft without studying either.

After further discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That in the Final Agenda for the Council notice be given that the Executive will move its motion on the Draft Pact in the following amended form:

"The General Council welcomes the Draft Pact prepared by the Executive Committee and expresses its general approval, whilst undertaking to give further study to the text; and, pending such further study, authorises the Executive Committee to publish the document in the Union's name."

Mr. Ziliacus gave notice that he, and his colleagues in the Minority, would move an amendment of the Executive's motion.

It was then suggested and the Committee agreed that Lord Lytton be asked to write to Mr. Eden congratulating him on the successful outcome of the Moscow Conference and warmly welcoming the Declaration on general security.

(b) Text of Draft Pact. The Executive then resumed its consideration of the text of the Draft Pact (S.1060a) and had before them an amendment to Article 11 proposed by Professor Basil Williams and amendments proposed by Mr. Ziliacus (S.1099) copies filed with these minutes. Most of the latter's amendments dealt with questions of principle and, on the ruling of the Chairman, were not discussed.

After some discussion, certain amendments were made in the Draft Pact and it was

RESOLVED: "That the Draft Pact be printed in the [attached] amended form in the Final Agenda for the General Council Meeting."

In reply to a question by Dr. Garnett, the Chairman said that, when the Pact was published after the Council Meeting, it was intended to include a Commentary on it. The drafting of the Commentary would be considered by the Executive at a later meeting.

It was agreed that the Commentary should include a recommendation to the effect that the President of the Assembly should be asked to attend meetings of the Council during his term of office. Dr. Garnett moved that the text of Article 4 of the Moscow Agreement would be quoted in full in the Commentary.

668. KEY-STONE PHOTOGRAPHIC AGENCY. A communication was reported from the Keystone Photographic Agency asking permission to take a photograph of the Policy Committee or Executive at its next sitting. The Secretary was asked to discuss the matter with the Chairman in whose hands a decision was left.

* The final wording of several amendments was left to Lord Cecil and Dr. Murray to settle after the meeting.

Lytton
CHAIRMAN
Nov. 18th 1943.

APPENDIX A.

DRAFT PACT FOR THE FUTURE INTERNATIONAL AUTHORITY.

Revised text submitted by the Executive Committee.*

THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES

In order to maintain the peace of the world and the security of all nations and to promote social and economic progress

DECLARE THAT

1. The principles of Freedom, Justice and Good Faith should govern all international relations;
2. The welfare of the whole community of nations is the concern of every one of them;
3. Aggression is a crime against the whole community of nations;
4. There should be no discrimination on the grounds of religion, race or language by any state in the rights or liabilities of its subjects or of any residents in its territories;
5. There should be the fullest collaboration between all nations to secure improved labour standards, economic advancement, social security and mutual understanding between their peoples;
6. The territorial integrity and political independence of all nations should be respected;

AND AGREE to the following Pact:

ARTICLE I.

1. There shall be an International Authority of which the first Members shall be those states named in the Annexure hereto who shall have acceded to this Pact in the prescribed manner.
2. Any State may become a Member of the Authority which has satisfied two-thirds of the Assembly that
 - (a) It has full control of its international relations, and
 - (b) It accepts and will carry out the Declaration and other provisions herein contained.
3. A Member State may not withdraw from membership of the Authority without giving two years' notice of its desire to do so.

A Member of the International Authority which has violated any of these Articles may be declared to be no longer a Member by a unanimous vote of the Assembly or Council, excluding the vote of the defaulting Member.

* In accordance with the notice given in the Preliminary Agenda and as a result of further study, the Executive Committee submits the following Articles in an amended form:

Declaration—Clause 4
Articles—II, Clause 1; III; V, Clause 3, para. 2; IX; X; XIII; XIV;
XV, XVII.

ARTICLE II.

1. The International Authority shall act through a general meeting of all its Members, say an "Assembly," and a central committee of certain Members, say a "Council." Each body shall have jurisdiction to deal with any international matter, including matters arising out of the Peace Treaties, affecting the peace of the world or the promotion of the well-being of the nations. There shall also be an International Secretariat as hereinafter provided. All questions of procedure, including the relations between the Assembly, Council and Secretariat, the constitution of Committees and their membership, and the financial arrangements necessary to enable the International Authority satisfactorily to discharge its duties shall be settled in the prescribed manner (see Article XVIII).
2. The Assembly shall meet at a fixed date in each year and the Council not less than four times in the year and at such other times as may be necessary or desirable for meetings of either body.
3. All the members of the Authority shall be represented at the Assembly. The Council shall, in the first instance, consist of Representatives of the Chinese Republic, the United Kingdom, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America, hereinafter called the Permanent Members, together with representatives of not less than five other States-Members to be elected by the Assembly in the prescribed manner and under the prescribed conditions.
4. The Member States may be represented at the Assembly and the Council by any number of representatives not exceeding the prescribed number. But each Member State shall have only one vote.
5. Any Member of the Authority not represented on the Council shall be entitled to send a representative to sit as a member during the consideration of matters specially affecting its interests.
6. With the approval of the majority of the Assembly the Council by a two-thirds majority may from time to time fix the numbers of the Members of the Council and the conditions of their membership.
7. The Assembly shall at each of its meetings appoint in the prescribed manner one of its Members to be President for that meeting.

ARTICLE III.

Except where otherwise expressly provided or prescribed, the decisions at any meeting of the Assembly or Council shall require the agreement of all the Members of the Authority represented at that meeting.

Proposals accepted by a two-thirds majority of the Members represented at any meeting shall be regarded as a Recommendation by the Assembly or Council, and MAY be accepted as binding by those Members who voted for it. If so accepted, the Secretariat will do its best to facilitate the execution of the proposal.

The proceedings at all meetings of the Assembly and Council shall be in public unless otherwise prescribed.

ARTICLE IV.

The first meeting of the International Authority shall take place at such time and place as the Permanent Members may decide.

ARTICLE V.

1. There shall be a Secretariat of the International Authority consisting of a Director-General and such secretaries and staff as may be required.
2. The first Director-General shall be _____
He shall hold office for seven years. Thereafter the Director-General and his successors shall be appointed or re-appointed by the majority of the Council with the approval of the majority of the Assembly.
3. It shall be the duty of the Director-General to assist in all the work of the International Authority and especially to organise the methods of work of the Secretariat. He shall appoint the secretaries and staff, with the approval of the majority of the Council.

Apart from any action taken by any member of the International Authority it shall also be part of the Director-General's duty to draw the attention of the Assembly and Council to any condition of international affairs which threatens peace or the good understanding between nations on which peace depends. He may for this purpose take such steps to collect information as he shall think desirable and may, if necessary, arrange for a special meeting of the Council to consider the position.

At each meeting of the Council the Director-General shall lay before it the business to be done together with any facts or observations which he shall consider desirable in order to assist the Council in preserving the continuity and regularity of its proceedings.

The Director-General shall frame and submit to the Assembly a budget for the expenses of the International Organisation (including the International Labour Organisation) from which the funds required for the Defence Committee and other Committees, whether standing or otherwise, shall be defrayed.

ARTICLE VI.

1. The seat of the International Authority is established at _____
2. The Council may at any time decide that the seat of the International Authority shall be established elsewhere.
3. All positions under or in connection with the International Authority, including the Secretariat, shall be open equally to men and women.
4. Representatives of the Members of the International Authority and officials of the International Authority when engaged on the business of the International Authority shall enjoy diplomatic immunities.
5. The buildings and other property occupied by the International Authority or its officials or by representatives attending its meetings shall be inviolate.

ARTICLE VII.

The Assembly and Council may, by majority, appoint Committees to assist them in their work with such powers as may be thought necessary. Such Committees may consist of persons representing members of the International Authority or other persons with special qualifications. The Committees shall report to the Council and Assembly.

ARTICLE VIII*.

The International Authority shall nominate Standing Committees or other appropriate organisations to deal with Mandated Territories, Tariffs and other Commercial and Financial Questions, Unemployment, Education, Labour, Transport, Communications, Civil Aviation, Health, Agriculture, Nutrition, Opium, Traffic in Women and Children, Slavery and any other question of importance to the well-being of the nations. Pending other arrangements the Mandates Commission shall continue to function.

Since the establishment of Social Justice should be one of the chief objects of an International Settlement, the International Labour Organisation shall be maintained, with such developments as may be desirable, and membership of the Authority shall carry with it membership of the I.L.O.

ARTICLE IX.

There shall be a Defence Committee of the International Authority consisting, in the first instance, of the Permanent Members, who shall undertake that they will use their whole strength to prevent or stop any act of aggression, that is to say, any act by any State unauthorised by the International Authority and designed to attack or diminish the security of any other State. The Assembly may, if they think it desirable for the maintenance of Peace, by a majority of which the Permanent Members voting shall form part, admit any other Member-State to membership of the Defence Committee. They may also, on the recommendation of the Permanent Members, form sub-committees to deal with aggressions in any special region. Such sub-committees shall consist of one or more of the Permanent Members together with such representatives of the powers interested in that region as the Assembly may by majority approve. Any State desiring to be admitted to membership of the Defence Committee or any of its sub-committees must give the undertaking above mentioned.

ARTICLE X.

In case of emergency, such as sudden flagrant aggression, the Defence Committee may act, or may authorise any of its sub-committees to act, forthwith, reporting to the Council as soon as possible thereafter upon the action taken. In all other cases the Defence Committee and its sub-committees shall only act after approval by the majority of the Council or Assembly. They shall report to the Assembly at least once a year on all action taken by them. Any motion in the Assembly to disapprove any part of such action shall require a two-thirds majority.

* *NOTE.*—For an elaboration of the purposes of this Article, reference should be made to the Reports:

- (1) on *Social and Economic Reconstruction* adopted by the General Council of the League of Nations Union in June, 1918;
- (2) on *Education and the United Nations*, prepared by a Joint Commission of the London International Assembly and the Council for Education in World Citizenship; and
- (3) on *Colonial Settlement*, prepared by a Committee of the League of Nations Union.

ARTICLE XI.

The Defence Committee may appoint a General Staff to advise them on technical matters.

ARTICLE XII.

As soon as international conditions permit, the Defence Committee shall lay before the International Authority proposals to ensure that the position of the International Authority in respect of armaments is appropriate to the maintenance of World Peace. They shall put forward proposals for the general limitation and supervision of armaments for the consideration of the Members of the International Authority. Such proposals shall have regard to the attitude of each State towards the maintenance of Peace. In this connection the Defence Committee shall consider whether it is desirable to have an International Air Force and shall, if they think right, put forward proposals on this subject. They may also make recommendations as to the level of armaments which each State shall maintain in order to enable the International Authority to preserve general security and Peace.

ARTICLE XIII.

1. The Members of the International Authority agree that, except as provided in this pact, they will not use force as an instrument of national policy and they will settle all international disputes by pacific means.
2. In addition to the obligations specially resting on the Defence Committee, any war or threat of war, whether or not immediately affecting any of the Members of the International Authority, shall be regarded as a matter of concern to all the Members of the International Authority and they shall take any action deemed wise and effectual by the Council or Assembly to safeguard the peace of nations. In no case shall any Member of the International Authority give any aid or comfort to any Power guilty of any actual or threatened aggression.
3. Any Member of the International Authority may also bring to the attention of the Assembly or Council any condition of international affairs which threatens peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends, including the terms of any treaties which are alleged to have become inapplicable, unjust or dangerous to peace.

ARTICLE XIV.

If any dispute between Members of the International Authority should occur, it shall in the first instance be the subject of negotiation in which the Council will be ready to give help, if desired by either party or by a majority of the Council.

Failing a settlement by negotiation, the dispute shall be submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice or to a tribunal of arbitration agreed on between the parties.

If for any reason settlement by the Court or arbitrators cannot be reached in a reasonable time the matter shall, at the request of

either party, be laid before the Council, who may refer it to a special tribunal or Commission of Enquiry for advice and shall then give their decision on the whole case and shall thereafter give directions as to what should be done to settle the question in dispute upon the principles of right and justice.

In no case shall either party to the dispute take or encourage hostile action on behalf of its claim unless authorised to do so by a two-thirds majority of the Assembly.

In any resolution affecting a dispute any vote of a party to it shall not be counted.

ARTICLE XV.

1. Every treaty or international engagement either now existing or entered into hereafter by any Member of the International Authority shall, unless recognised by the Council as not being consistent with this Pact, be forthwith registered with the Secretariat and shall, as soon as possible, be published by it. No such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered.
2. The Members of the International Authority severally agree that this Pact is accepted as abrogating all obligations or understandings *inter se* which are inconsistent with the terms thereof, and solemnly undertake that they will not hereafter enter into any engagements inconsistent with the terms thereof.
3. In case any Member of the International Authority shall, before becoming a Member of the International Authority, have undertaken any obligations inconsistent with the terms of this Pact, it shall be the duty of such Member to take immediate steps to procure its release from such obligations.

ARTICLE XVI.

All International Organisations and Bureaux may be taken over by the International Authority, which shall make the necessary arrangements through Committees or otherwise to carry on their activities. Nothing in this Article shall affect the position of the I.L.O.

ARTICLE XVII.

Amendments to this Pact shall take effect when ratified by those Powers which are Permanent Members of the Council and a majority of the other Members of the International Authority.

ARTICLE XVIII.

In these Articles "prescribed" means prescribed by Regulations agreed to by a majority of the Assembly and Council; and "majority" means a majority of the States' representatives present and voting at any meeting.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT 11 MAIDEN LANE, LONDON, W.C.2, ON THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 18th, 1943, at 2.15 P.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the chair), Lord Cecil, Dr. Hilda Clark, Miss Courtney, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Pawcett, Mr. W. Arnold Forster, Lady Hall, Lady Layton, Mr. J. Macdonald, Dr. Murray, Professor Paton, Lord Perth, Miss Pathbone, Lord Sankey, Mr. H.F. Shaw, Mr. Nowell C. Smith, Mr. H.S. Syrett, Sir Ralph Wedgwood, Professor Basil Williams, together with Mr. C.W. Judd.

669. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on November 4th were confirmed as circulated.

670. ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

Minute 660 - Lord Sankey. A letter of acceptance from Lord Sankey was reported and the Chairman welcomed him on behalf of the Committee.

671. LORD NESTON. A letter was read from Lord Neston thanking the Committee for their message of sympathy on the death of his father.

672. MAJOR FRESHWATER. It was reported that a message of sympathy on the loss of Major Freshwater had been received from Mr. F.C. Hickson, the General Secretary of Rotary International.

The Committee were very glad to learn that Lord Lytton had accepted an invitation from Major Freshwater's family to unveil on Sunday, December 5th, a memorial tablet in St. Stephens Church, Blackpool.

673. DRAFT PACT FOR THE FUTURE INTERNATIONAL AUTHORITY. The Committee had before them copies of the Draft Pact as amended in accordance with Minute 667 (b).

It was reported that notice of the following amendments to the Executive Committee's resolution for the General Council had been received:

From the Timeside District Council

"The General Council gives its approval to the circulation of the Draft Pact and Minority Report for discussion by Branches and their consideration at a Special Council Meeting after an interval of two months, and do not approve of immediate publication".

From the Warwickshire Federal Council

"The General Council submits both the draft pact for the future International Authority (Appendix A) and the Minority Report (Appendix B) for discussion and report by Branches and deiers any further consideration until the next meeting of the General Council".

From the London Regional Federation

That the following words be added to the Executive's resolution: "together with the Minority Report (Appendix B) as possible alternatives to the League Covenant (all three documents to be printed in parallel columns)".

Mr. Macdonald said that he and his co-signatories of the Minority Report proposed to move the following amendment:

"The General Council welcomes the Minority Report (Appendix B) and expresses its general approval, whilst undertaking to give further study to the text; and, pending such further study, authorises the Executive Committee to publish the document in the Union's name as a basis for discussion, to be circulated to all branches and to such persons and bodies as the Executive Committee may see fit to consult".

Lady Hall reserved the right to move an amendment broadly on the lines of which she had given notice at the last meeting (Minute 667a).

There was a short discussion in which several members spoke and the Chairman took the view that it would be unreasonable to press the Council to adopt the Draft Pact at the forthcoming meeting if they desired further time to consider it: but he hoped that the Council would have no objection to the Executive publishing it in their own name.

Lord Cecil said that, having regard to the Four-Power Declaration at Moscow, he considered it to be a matter of some urgency to bring the Draft Pact to the notice of members of the Government and a certain number of other people who might be expected to exercise a good deal of influence in determining the foreign policy of the country. He had invited Dr. Murray, Lord Lytton, Lord Perth, Mr. Syrett and Miss Courtney to join with him in writing a letter which could be sent to them with copies of the Pact if the Committee saw no objection.

It was agreed that Lord Cecil should proceed with these arrangements.

674. THE MOSCOW DECLARATION. Miss Courtney reported that the Administration Committee had that morning considered and given general approval to a memorandum by the Secretary on action that might be taken by the Union to follow up the Moscow Declaration. This would be circulated for the Executive's consideration at their next meeting but, in the meantime, the Administration Committee wished to propose, as a matter of some urgency, that Mr. Eden and, perhaps, General Smuts be invited to address an Albert Hall meeting organised by the Union with a view to emphasising the vital importance to this country of the Four-Power Declaration.

Lord Lytton said that he hoped in the near future to have an interview with the Foreign Secretary and the Committee expressed the hope that he would take this opportunity to invite Mr. Eden to address an Albert Hall meeting.

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In the course of the discussion Lord Cecil said that he had already invited General Smuts to address the December meeting of the General Council but had not yet received a final reply. The Committee took the view that it would be preferable to invite General Smuts to address the Albert Hall meeting if this could be arranged but, if no such meeting could be held, they hoped very much that Lord Cecil would be able to persuade General Smuts to address the Council or, at least, to pay a brief visit and say a few informal words of greeting if he did not feel able to make a more formal speech on that occasion.

675. **HEADQUARTERS OFFICE.** In reply to the question addressed to him by the last meeting (see Minute 664) Lord Lytton said that, so far as he could foresee, it was very unlikely that Central London Electricity would want to use the offices at No. 11 Maiden Lane after the war, even before their new offices in Grosvenor Place had been built; but they could not give any definite promise to that effect at the present time. Moreover, the property did not belong to Central London Electricity but to the Gatti family and it was always possible that it might at any time be sold. If, therefore, the Committee felt it necessary for the office to be housed in a building with secure tenure it might be desirable for them to look out now for an empty building or for a building temporarily occupied by some government department and likely to become vacant at the end of the war.

Lord Cecil said that in his view the present accommodation was very convenient for the Union. It was not decided to take any further action at the present time.

676. **ASSISTANT TO THE EDUCATION OFFICER.** Mr. Nowell Smith reminded the Committee that, on the advice of the Board of Education, it had been decided to advertise this appointment since the Ministry of Labour and National Service had asked the Union to endeavour to find by the middle of November someone to take the place of Miss Luffman, whom they might then transfer to other work. The appointment had been advertised, numerous enquiries had been made, 35 applications had been received and the Joint Selection Committee appointed by the Executive Committee and the Council for Education in World Citizenship had interviewed nine candidates. They were satisfied that it was impossible at the present time to find anyone who would be able to carry out this work with anything like the very great ability of Miss Luffman who had a most special aptitude for it. It was proposed to ask the Board of Education to support the Union's representations to the Ministry of Labour and National Service that Miss Luffman should be allowed to remain in her present appointment. If, however, it were nevertheless decided by the Ministry to withdraw Miss Luffman, the Committee's first choice would be Mrs. McCormack who, as Miss Mary Atherton, had for some years been a voluntary worker on the Union's staff and had acted as Hon. Assistant Secretary of the National Youth Group Committee until 1940. Their second choice would be Mrs. Henman, a former Headmistress of Milton Mount College.

Mrs. McCormack had not been to a University and had no teaching experience and Mrs. Henman was too old for this particular post, but the Selection Committee wished to bring these two candidates to the special notice of the Executive and to express the hope that it might at some time be possible

to invite one or both of them in some other capacity to join the Union's staff, to which they would be well qualified to give great assistance.

The report of the Joint Selection Committee was approved.

677. TRAVELLING REPRESENTATIVE. Miss Courtney reported that on the proposal of Lady Hall, the Administration Committee had that morning decided to recommend that the post of Travelling Representative, already agreed in principle on the report of the Campaign Sub-Committee, should be advertised. It was

RESOLVED: "That the post of Travelling Representative, at a salary of from £400 to £500 a year, according to qualifications and experience, be advertised; and that provision be made for a total expenditure (including expenses for travel and subsistence as well as salary) of up to £900 a year".

678. 'AN EAGLE-FEATHER'. On the recommendation of the Administration Committee, it was

RESOLVED: "That Mr. Richard Law and the Editor of 'Time and Tide' be asked for permission to reprint in pamphlet form, together with a part of Mr. Law's speech to the London International Assembly, the essay by Mr. Law entitled 'An Eagle-Feather' which appeared in the September 1943 number of 'Time and Tide' and that, subject to their consent, the pamphlet be published forthwith".

679. SIR WILLIAM BEVERIDGE. The attention of the Committee was drawn to the speech on Security delivered by Sir William Beveridge in the Guildhall, Cambridge, and particularly to that part of it which dealt with Collective Security. It was

RESOLVED: "That the Administration Committee be asked to consider the possibility of using certain quotations from this speech for Union posters and that the Editor of 'Headway' be asked to consider the possibility of publishing some part of the speech in 'Headway'".

680. LEAFLET BY MR. ARNOLD FORSTER. Miss Courtney reported that Mr. Arnold Forster had very kindly completed a leaflet on the meaning of the Moscow Declaration which should be of the greatest assistance to the Union in its work. The Administration Committee had that morning considered the leaflet with Mr. Arnold Forster who had agreed to make certain minor alterations in the text. After the Chairman had said that he would like to make one or two

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further suggestions to Mr. Arnold Forster about the text of the leaflet, it was

RESOLVED: That Mr. Arnold Forster be asked to take into consideration Lord Lytton's suggestions in deciding upon the final text of his leaflet, that the leaflet be published by the Union and that Mr. Arnold Forster be warmly thanked for writing it".

681. MEMBERSHIP. Mr. Macdonald drew attention to the fact that the October returns of both renewal and new membership subscriptions paid showed an increase for the first time during the war. The Chairman expressed his satisfaction and asked that a graph be prepared and made available for the Executive and Administration Committees at all their meetings to show the state of the Union's membership.

682. CORPORATE MEMBERSHIP It was

RESOLVED: That the Horsham Sisterhood be admitted as a Corporate Member of the Union and that the Union's seal be affixed to the Certificate of Corporate Membership".

Lytton

CHAIRMAN

December 2nd 1943.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 11 MAIDEN LANE, LONDON, W.C.2, ON THURSDAY, DECEMBER 2ND, 1943 AT 2.15 P.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Mr. F.M. Burris, Lord Cecil, Dr. Hilda Clark, Miss Courtney, Miss Pawcett, Mr. W. Arnold Forster, Lady Hall, Mr. A.J. Howe, Lady Layton, Mr. J.R. Leslie, Dr. Murray, Lord Perth, Mr. W.T. Pritchard, Mr. Nowell C. Smith, Mr. H.S. Syrett, Sir Ralph Wedgwood, Professor Basil Williams, Mr. Carey Wilson, Mr. K. Zilliacus and Mr. C.W. Judd.

683. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on November 18th, 1943 were confirmed as circulated.

684. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 678 - "An Eagle Feather", the Chairman reported that Mr. Richard Law had agreed that this article should be reprinted by the Union in pamphlet form, together with a report of his recent speech to the London International Assembly, and that the Editor of "Time and Tide" had now been asked for permission to reproduce the article. It was suggested that it might be possible also to include in the pamphlet some suitable passage from one of Mr. Law's more recent speeches.

On Minute 680 - Leaflet by Mr. Arnold Forster, The Chairman reported that at the Administration Committee that morning the final text of the leaflet had been approved. It would be published under the title of "The Moscow Conference: the Four-Power Declaration".

685. MEMBERSHIP OF COMMITTEE. The Chairman said that Mr. Mander had suggested that a member of the Tory Reform Group might be invited to join the Committee. It was agreed to ask Mr. Mander to make enquiries with a view to proposing the name of a suitable member of that Group for consideration by the Committee.

686. COMMUNICATION FROM NEW ZEALAND LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION. The Chairman reported a message of condolence in the death of Major Freshwater from the Dominion Council of the New Zealand League of Nations Union and the Executive of the Wellington Branch.

687. DECEMBER MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL. The Executive had before them the final agenda for the Meeting of the General Council. Members of the Committee were asked to take charge of the various items in the agenda as follows:

First Session.. Dr. Murray in the Chair.

1. President's Welcome: Dr. Murray.

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2. Report by Chairman of Executive on action taken in accordance with resolutions adopted by the Council in June 1943: Lord Lytton.
3. Motion to grant "Urgency": to be moved from the Chair.
5. Budget for 1944: Mr. Syrett.
6. National Memorial to Major Freshwater: Lord Lytton to move the adoption of the Executive's motion; to refer discussion of details to the Branch Workers' Conference; and to leave amendments of Edinburgh and Paddington Branches to discretion of Council.
7. Presidential Address: Lord Cecil.

Lord Cecil stated that his Address would be mainly concerned with explaining, supporting and moving the Executive's motion on the Draft Pact for the Future International Authority.

Second Session. Dr. Murray in the Chair.

8. Draft Pact for the Future International Authority:
 - (a) Lord Cecil to ask permission of the Council to move the Executive's motion in the following amended form:

"The General Council of the League of Nations Union warmly welcomes the Four-Power Agreement signed at Moscow and gives a general approval to the Draft Pact proposed by the Executive Committee as being consistent with the Moscow policy."

The Council adjourns the consideration of the details of the Pact till its next meeting.

The Council urges the Executive Committee to take all possible steps to popularise and support the Moscow policy and for that purpose to make such use of the Draft Pact as they shall think right."

- (b) If permission is forthcoming, the "urgency" motion submitted by the Executive on the Moscow Declaration (item 18) to be withdrawn.

The Secretary was asked to give notice of the above to all Branches who have signified their intention of being represented at the meeting, and to invite those Branches which have submitted amendments to the original motion to consider what alternative form they would wish their amendments to take.

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Third Session. Dr. Murray in the Chair.

9. Foundation of an International Authority: Mr. Arnold Forster to take charge on behalf of the Executive.

After the attention of the Executive had been drawn to a relevant passage in the Report on Social and Economic Reconstruction, Lady Hall expressed her willingness to discuss with Mr. Behrens the desirability of amending the fifth paragraph of the Manchester District's motion to read as follows:

"Urges that the machinery devised by the United Nations to serve their war-time economic and social needs should be maintained as part of the new International Authority in so far as it can be adapted to serve the purposes of reconstruction."

10. Preparation of the Public Mind for World Peace: Mr. Newell Smith to take charge of paragraphs (1) and (2) and to support them on behalf of the Executive; Lord Sankey (or Mr. Syrett) to take charge of paragraph (3) and, bearing in mind what has already happened in regard to the League's study of the codification of International law, to invite the Edinburgh Branch to withdraw that paragraph.

It was suggested that the Kensington Branch might be willing to substitute the words "world organisation" for "World government" in their amendment.

11. Trial and Punishment of War Criminals: Lord Lytton to propose the adoption of resolutions (1) and (11) and to support the first but to oppose the second of the Tyne District Council's amendments; the two parts of the Executive's resolution to be put separately.
12. International Labour Organisation: Lady Hall (1) to ask permission of the Council to move the Executive's motion in the following amended form:

"The General Council welcomes the meeting of the Governing Body of the I.L.O. in London on December 16th. It considers this meeting to be of the greatest importance and hopes that it may decide to call a conference of the I.L.O. in 1944.

The General Council, recognising the interdependence of social reform and economic reconstruction, trusts that H.M. Government will emphasise the urgency of securing the whole-hearted collaboration of the I.L.O. in all international discussions on economic and social reconstruction.

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The General Council desires to record its appreciation that the co-operation of the I.L.O. has now been sought both on the Interim Food Committee and on the Standing Committee of U.N.R.R.A.

and (2) to ask the Council to send a message of greeting to the Governing Body of the I.L.O. on the occasion of its forthcoming meeting in London.

13. Defeated Nations and the International Authority: Miss Courtney to take charge on behalf of the Executive, and to remind the Council of the Union's existing policy regarding the admission of Germany to the International Authority.
14. Long Distance Civil Air Services: Mr. Zilliacus to take charge on behalf of the Executive, and to remind the Council of the reference to the control of civil aviation contained in the Report on Social and Economic Reconstruction.

Fourth Session. Miss Courtney in the Chair.

15. Basic English. Dr. Murray to take charge on behalf of the Executive.
 19. Inter-Allied Bureau for Education Reconstruction: Dr. Murray to move.
688. ADMINISTRATION COMMITTEE. The Executive had before them the minutes of the Committee held on November 18th, which were approved and adopted.

Lord Lytton made an oral report on the following matters discussed at the further meeting of the Administration Committee held that morning.

The Union's Work Following the Decision of the Moscow Conference to Establish a "General International Organisation".

(a) New Slogan for L.M.U. A full discussion had taken place concerning the desirability of the Union adopting a simple statement or slogan which could be printed in bold type on its letter heading, and the Administration Committee were of the opinion that the following would best suit the purpose:

FOR A NEW SOCIETY OF NATIONS.

The Committee had further recommended that a series of posters should be prepared, containing the slogan in bold type and explaining in simple detail the aims of the Union.

After discussion, during which Lord Perth, Miss Courtney and other members of the Executive suggested that "FOR A NEW COMMUNITY OF NATIONS" would be a better slogan, it was, in the absence of Lord Cecil, agreed to adjourn a decision on this matter until the next meeting.

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(b) United Nations Meetings. The Committee had given further consideration to the proposal that a series of Towns Meetings should be held on United Nations Day under the auspices of a United Nations Committee to be established by the Union, and had decided instead to suggest to the London International Assembly that they might change their name to the "United Nations Assembly", or include that name as a sub-title, and that the Meetings should then be held under the joint auspices of the Union and the Assembly.

Travelling Representative. The Administration Committee proposed to set up a sub-Committee consisting of Miss Courtney, Lady Hall, Mr. Howe and Mr. Syrett to draw up conditions of appointment for the Travelling Representative and to interview candidates. This proposal was approved.

689. EVENING STANDARD. At the request of the Chairman, the Secretary and Mr. Zilliacus explained the circumstances which had led to the publication in the "Londoner's Diary" on December 1st of three paragraphs dealing with the alternative texts for a Draft Pact. The Chairman expressed that hope that members of the Executive would refrain from discussing controversial issues with the press over the telephone.

Mr. Zilliacus suggested that if a brief statement could be prepared outlining the essential differences between the Executive Committee's Draft Pact and the Minority Report, it would be of great use at the Council Meeting.

690. FIELD MARSHAL SMUTS. Reference was made to the speech recently delivered by Field Marshal Smuts to the Empire Parliamentary Association. The Secretary was asked to communicate with that Association with a view to securing a verbatim report of the speech and permission to publish it on behalf of the Union, if desired.
691. NATIONAL PEACE COUNCIL. The attention of the Executive was drawn to a "Peace Aims Conference" to be organised by the National Peace Council on December 13th. It was agreed that notices of the Conference should be available at the forthcoming meeting of the General Council.

Lytton

CHAIRMAN

December 16th 1943.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT
11 MAIDEN LANE, LONDON, W.C.2, ON THURSDAY, DECEMBER 16TH,
1943 AT 2.15 P.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the chair), Lord Cecil, the Dean of
Chichester, Miss K.D. Courtney, Mrs. Dugdale,
Miss P. Fawcett, Mr. Arnold Forster, Dr. Garnett,
Lady Hall, Sir Arthur Haworth, Mr. A.J. Howe,
Mr. D.L. Lipson, Dame Adelaide Livingstone,
Mr. J. Macdonald, Dr. Gilbert Murray, Lord Sankey,
Mr. R.W. Seton-Watson, Mr. H.F. Shaw, Mr. Nowell
Smith, Mr. H.S. Spreti, Mr. A.E.W. Thomas together
with Mr. Judd.

592. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on Thursday,
December 2nd, were confirmed as circulated.

693. RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY GENERAL COUNCIL ON DECEMBER 9TH AND 10TH
The Committee had before them the resolutions adopted by the
General Council at its meeting in London on December 9th and
10th and it was

RESOLVED: That the following action be taken:

On Resolution 2: National Memorial to Major Freshwater

- (a) That a special account for the Freshwater Memorial
Fund be opened;
- (b) That a copy of the resolution be sent to all branches
after Christmas, that they be asked to report what
steps they are taking to raise money for the fund
and that they be informed that a leaflet to assist
them in this will be drawn up by the Freshwater
Memorial Committee at a first meeting early in the
New Year, in accordance with the suggestion made
at the Branch Secretaries' Conference;
- (c) That the first meeting of the Freshwater Memorial
Committee be convened for Wednesday, January 5th,
at 2.15 p.m.

[For further action on the Freshwater Memorial
Fund see Minute 694 below]

On Resolution 3: Draft Pact for the Future International
Authority.

- (a) That Lord Lytton be asked to send a copy of the
resolution to the Foreign Secretary and to ask Mr. Eden
if he would be good enough to receive privately a
small deputation whose purpose would be (1) to present
to him the Draft Pact for an International Authority
and (2) to enquire how best the Union might help to
win the whole-hearted support of the people of this
country for the decision taken by the Four Powers at
the Moscow Conference to establish "a general inter-
national organisation" at the earliest practicable
date.

- (b) That the deputation should consist of those members of the Committee who recently signed letters about the Draft Pact to members of the Government and such other members of the Committee, not exceeding a convenient number, as might wish to take part.

For further action on this resolution see Minute 695 below

On Resolution 4: Foundation of International Authority

That this resolution be sent to H.M. Government.

On Resolution 5: Preparation of the Public Mind for World Peace.

- (a) That this resolution be referred to the Administration Committee and to the Council for Education in World Citizenship;
- (b) That the following paragraph, included in the original text of the motion as submitted by the Edinburgh Branch and subsequently withdrawn by that Branch on the understanding that the Executive Committee would consider the matter and draft a resolution on the subject for the Council, be placed on the agenda for a later meeting when Lord Sanky can be present, that the International Law Association and Sir Cecil Hurst be asked for their advice and that Lord Cecil be asked to consult Sir William Malkin privately on the subject.

'That from the best legal and ethical minds of all lands should be commissioned a panel to work out a minimum code of international law as a basis for informed discussion and from which an adequate system of international law, capable of being administered by an international court, might reasonably be expected to evolve'.

On Resolution 6: Trial and Punishment of War Criminals.

That this resolution be sent to H.M. Government.

In this connection Dame Adelaide Livingstone reported that General de Baer, the Chairman of the Commission of the London International Assembly concerned with the Trial and Punishment of War Criminals, had been invited to confer with the American State Department on this subject.

On Resolution 7: International Labour Organisation.

That this resolution be sent to H.M. Government.

Dr. Murray reported that he had already sent the resolution to the Acting Director of the International Labour Office and had asked Mr. Phelan to convey the greetings of the General Council to the Governing Body of the I.L.O. on the occasion of its meeting in London.

On Resolution 8: Defeated Nations and the International Authority.

That this resolution be noted.

On Resolution 9: Long Distance Civil Air Services.

That this resolution be sent to H.M. Government.

On Resolution 10: Inter-Allied Bureau for Educational Reconstruction.

That this resolution be sent to the President of the Board of Education and to the Council for Education in World Citizenship.

694. FRESHWATER MEMORIAL FUND: COMMUNICATION FROM WELSH NATIONAL COUNCIL. A letter was read from the General-Secretary of the Welsh National Council reporting that the Finance Committee of that Council would be prepared to make a grant of £50 towards the Freshwater Memorial Fund on condition that no appeal be sent to any of the branches in Wales and Monmouthshire. The Chairman said that at the meeting of the General Council when the resolution was adopted he had clearly stated that in the opinion of the Executive Committee it would not be proper for branches and other Union organisations to pay to this fund money subscribed to the general funds of the Union.

There was a short discussion in the course of which it was suggested that Mr. Samways' letter should, in the first instance, be referred to the Freshwater Memorial Committee and that, in the meantime, the Secretary should make certain enquiries with a view to ascertaining whether the money offered by the Welsh National Council would in fact come from the ordinary subscriptions of the members or from some special fund controlled by that Council. It was also suggested that it might not be expedient to endeavour to enforce rigidly in Wales, which had a very large measure of autonomy in financial as in other arrangements, the ordinary rules governing the Fund, but that in any case it would not be possible for the Executive Committee to undertake that no appeal would be made to branches in Wales since such an appeal would be made in "Headway".

695. DRAFT PACT FOR THE FUTURE INTERNATIONAL AUTHORITY. Lord Cecil said that he hoped the Union would make the Four-Power Moscow Declaration the basis of all its work, using the Executive's Draft Pact for a Future International Authority as an illustration of the way in which that policy might be carried out. For that purpose it would be necessary to publish the Draft Pact as soon as possible together with a commentary, and he and Mr. Arnold Forster were now preparing a draft for this. In the meantime, it would be necessary once more to consider the wording of the Pact and a possible amendment of Article XIV relating to the respective powers of the Court and of the Council, in accordance with the promise given to the General Council. He had already received from Lord Perth a suggestion for amending Article XIV, paragraph three. He had noted Dr. Garnett's suggestion at the meeting of the General Council that Article VIII should be so amended that the International Authority would decide what "standing committees or other appropriate organisations" should be set up but should not necessarily nominate the members of such committees and other bodies and he had received from Mr. Nowell Smith a number of useful suggestions, most of which were alterations of drafting rather than of substance.

At the request of the Chairman, Lord Cecil undertook to examine all these proposals before the next meeting of the Committee and to report which of them were, in his opinion, matters of drafting that it might be desirable for the Committee to adopt straight away and which were matters of some substance that it might be desirable for the Committee to consider more carefully or to refer to the Policy Sub-Committee.

In the course of further discussion the Dean of Chichester said that in his opinion the decision of the Moscow Conference and the publication of the Executive's Draft Pact provided an opportunity for a new appeal to the Churches to support the Union in its new work and he wondered whether it might not now be desirable to ask the Archbishop of Canterbury and a few of the leaders of the Free Churches to commend the Union's cause.

Mr. Syrett said that he had already suggested to the Lord Mayor of London that Mr. Eden should be invited to speak at a meeting in the City of London on the Moscow Four-Power Declaration and he had some reason to believe that the authorities responsible for the present series of speeches by national leaders in the Guildhall would be very glad to invite the Foreign Secretary if they thought he would be likely to accept. It was agreed that this matter might be mentioned to Mr. Eden by the deputation it was hoped he would be good enough to receive.

After further discussion it was

- RESOLVED: (1) "That Lord Cecil's report on amendments to the Draft Pact be the first principal item of business on the agenda for the next meeting of the Committee".
- (2) "That action to be taken by the Union to win support for the Moscow policy be the second principal item on the agenda".

696. ADMINISTRATION COMMITTEE. With the exception of Minute 36 (The Union's name) the minutes of a meeting of the Administration Committee held on December 2nd were approved. The Chairman drew attention to the membership report accompanying the minutes and expressed his satisfaction that in October and November the number of members enrolled had for the first time this year exceeded the corresponding number of members enrolled in 1942 - the figures for November being 4,788 compared with 3,735 a year ago.
697. NEW SLOGAN FOR L.N.U. The Committee considered a proposal by the Administration Committee (Minute 36 of that Committee) that, pending any change in the Union's name, the words "FOR A NEW SOCIETY OF NATIONS" be printed in bold type at the top of all the Union's notepaper and on its various publications, with the present title in smaller type underneath. It was reported that the Conference of Branch Secretaries held in connection with the recent meeting of the General Council had also adopted a resolution asking the Executive to choose and use in this way some short form of words which would help to make it clear that the Union seeks to support whatever international arrangements may best give effect to its aims and is not necessarily committed to a revival of the League of Nations as originally constituted and under its present name. "FOR A NEW COMMUNITY OF NATIONS" and "FOR A NEW COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS" had at various times been suggested instead of

the words "FOR A NEW SOCIETY OF NATIONS". After some discussion it was

- RESOLVED: (1) "That the words 'In support of the Moscow Four-Power Declaration, Relief and Reconstruction, and the Atlantic Charter' be printed on the Union's new notepaper".
- (2) "That the words 'For a new International Organisation' be used on Union posters".

698. LONDON INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY. Miss Courtney reported that the General Purposes Committee of the London International Assembly had prepared a very useful pamphlet on the United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture recently held at Hot Springs, with an introductory chapter showing the relationship of this work to the studies previously undertaken by the League of Nations and a later section on its own Conference on the same subject. Satisfactory arrangements could be made for publication and for the sale of this pamphlet at 1s. 6d., if the Assembly could order 2,000 copies at the cost of £80. The Assembly, from funds contributed by the allied groups, would be prepared to purchase 1,000 copies for £40 if the Union would place a similar order. It was

RESOLVED: "That, subject to the approval of the Finance Committee, 1,000 copies of this pamphlet be purchased at the cost of £40".

699. THREE-FAITH DECLARATION ON WORLD PEACE. The Committee noted with great interest a Three-Faith Declaration on World Peace issued by leaders of the Protestant, Catholic and Jewish communities in the United States. It was

RESOLVED: "That the Editor be asked to draw attention to the Declaration in 'Church and World' and to quote paragraph 5 (on 'International Institutions to maintain peace with justice') in 'Headway'".

700. CHINESE GOODWILL MISSION. The Secretary reported that Mr. Han Lih-wu, a member of the Chinese Peoples' Political Council and President of the Boxer Indemnity Fund, who had come to Great Britain as a member of the Chinese Goodwill Mission, was one of the principal members of the Executive Committee of the Chinese League of Nations Association and had brought with him a Message of Greeting from that Association to the League of Nations Union. The Chinese Embassy had enquired if some suitable opportunity could be found for Mr. Han Lih-wu to present this Message. It was

- RESOLVED: (1) "That Mr. Han Lih-wu be invited to attend a meeting of the Executive Committee or, if the dates are inconvenient for him, to meet Lord Lytton on some other occasion, or
- (2) "That, alternatively, the Secretary be asked to arrange, if possible, a Tea Party to enable members of the Executive and, if they so desire, the General Purposes Committee of the London International Assembly, to meet Mr. Han Lih-wu".

701. COMMUNICATION FROM THE PROGRESSIVE LEAGUE. A letter was read from the Progressive League, enquiring whether the Union would care to be associated with letters to the Foreign Office, the

Press and certain prominent people, urging that anti-Fascist political leaders should be allowed to return to Italy. The Committee were of the opinion that this matter was not one on which the Union could properly take any action.

702. CORPORATE MEMBERSHIP It was

RESOLVED: "That the Carshalton and Wallington Married Women's Association be admitted as a Corporate Member of the Union and that the Union's seal be affixed to the Certificate of Corporate Membership".

703. CLOSING OF OFFICE FOR CHRISTMAS. It was

RESOLVED: "That in view of the heavy strain under which members of the staff have had to work this year, the office be closed for all ordinary business from Thursday evening, December 23rd, to Wednesday morning, December 29th; and that the Secretary be authorised to grant special leave at some other convenient date to members of the staff obliged to work during any part of that period in preparation for the Christmas Holiday educational meetings".

704. DATE OF NEXT MEETING: It was

RESOLVED: "That the next meeting be held on Thursday, January 13th, and that thereafter the Committee shall meet as usual on the first, third and any fifth Thursday of each month, beginning on January 20th".

Lyle
CHAIRMAN

January 13th 1944

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13.12.43.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL COUNCIL
OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION ON DECEMBER
9TH AND 10TH, 1943.

1. BUDGET FOR 1944.

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

2. NATIONAL MEMORIAL TO MAJOR FRESHWATER.

The General Council of the League of Nations Union

Deeply moved by the loss of Major A.J.C. Freshwater, M.C., T.D., Deputy Secretary of the Union from 1922 to 1938, and Secretary from 1938 until his sudden death in July, 1943, in the service of our country and our cause,

Inspired by his example to make greater efforts to increase the membership and influence of the Union and its Branches

And desiring to do honour to his name,

RESOLVES:

- (1) That a Freshwater Memorial Fund be established.
- (2) That subscriptions be publicly invited to this Fund and that all Branches of the Union be asked to make the Fund known to their members.
- (3) That the Fund be used to provide each year Freshwater Travelling Fellowships and Bursaries and a Freshwater Memorial Shield, the last two to be awarded to the Branches most deserving of recognition for their membership and work, special consideration being given to such factors as:
 - (a) Increase in membership;
 - (b) Paid-up membership on a basis of percentage of population, taking also into account the number of foundation and other members;
 - (c) Branch activities, such as public meetings and the provision of speakers for other organisations, debates and study circles, Sunday services, distribution of literature, the organised collection of membership subscriptions and work with youth and in the schools, &c., &c.

- (4) That a Freshwater Memorial Committee be appointed to administer the Fund.
- (5) That, so far as may be practicable, the Committee shall award each year
- A Travelling Fellowship of the value of, say, £75 in order to enable one (or more) members to visit the annual Assembly of the International Authority, or to visit, say, the United States of America or Soviet Russia, or to undertake some other form of international travel;
 - a Freshwater Memorial Shield to be held for one year by the winning Branch;
 - as Regional Prizes, a Bursary of the value of, say, £7. 10s. 0d. to the Branch most deserving of recognition in each region (other than the Branch winning the National Prize) in order to enable one (or more) of its members to attend a League of Nations Union Summer School;
 - such further Regional Prizes (e.g. for Youth) as the Committee may decide, having regard to the funds at its disposal;

but that it be left to the Committee to determine each year the number and value of the awards to be made, and that they be empowered either to invest the whole of the Fund in order to provide in perpetuity an annual income for such awards or to use a part of the Fund each year as they may think best, having regard to the sum of money subscribed.

For the purpose of awarding Bursaries the Branches shall be grouped by the Committee into twelve or such other number of Regions as may be from time to time determined.

- (6) That the winning Branch be asked to nominate from among its members candidates for the receipt of the Travelling Fellowship and that it be left to the Committee to make the final award.
- (7) That the Freshwater Memorial Committee shall, in the first instance, consist of the following six representatives of the Executive Committee: Lord Lytton, Miss Courtney, Mr. Burris, Lady Hall, Mr. Howe and Mr. Syrett; and the following six representatives of the Branches: Mr. Hawkins (Hon. Secretary, East of Scotland District Council), the Secretary of the Welsh National Council, Councillor Beavers (Chairman, Montague Burton's Works Branch), Mr. Leonard Behrens (Hon. Secretary, Manchester District Council), Mr. Hall Todd (Organising Secretary, Northamptonshire Federal Council) and Mr. Prior (Organising Secretary, Essex Federal Council).

- (8) That Trustees for the Fund be appointed by the Freshwater Memorial Committee.

3. DRAFT PACT FOR THE FUTURE INTERNATIONAL AUTHORITY.

The General Council warmly welcomes the Four-Power Agreement signed at Moscow and approves of the publication in the name of the Executive Committee of the Draft Pact prepared by the Policy Sub-Committee and adopted by the Executive, as being consistent with the Moscow Policy.

In view of the high importance of the subject, the Council recommends to Branches an earnest study of this Draft Pact, together with any other documents they may think relevant to the subject.

The Council further urges the Executive Committee to take all possible steps to popularise and support the Moscow Policy and for that purpose to make such use of the Draft Pact as they shall think right.

(Note. The Council were assured that the Executive Committee would give further consideration to the wording of the Draft Pact in the light of the Council's discussion, and that the Minority Report would be included among the documents to be made available to Branches.)

4. FOUNDATION OF AN INTERNATIONAL AUTHORITY.

The General Council of the League of Nations Union

Anxious to make effective the desire of the Union for the establishment of an effective International Authority, and

Realising that such an Authority will have a greater chance of success if it arises out of practical international co-operation than if it is founded merely on a paper constitution;

Welcomes the outcome of the Moscow Conference as a first step in this direction;

Urges that the co-operative machinery devised by the United Nations during the war should be maintained and co-ordinated as part of the basis of the new International Authority; and

Hopes that full use will be made of the existing Organisations of the League of Nations and of the International Labour Office.

5. PREPARATION OF THE PUBLIC MIND FOR WORLD PEACE.

Realising that the only permanent basis for assured world peace is that of just and equitable dealing between nations,

The General Council of the League of Nations Union recommends

- (1) That the task of training the young in the duties and privileges of world citizenship should be greatly extended and should include additional teaching dealing with the far-reaching and important humanitarian work of the League;
- (2) That much rudimentary preparatory work should be carried through without delay with a view to building up as extensively as possible an informed public opinion as to what constitutes just and equitable dealing in human affairs;
- (3) That, as a first step, to building informed public opinion, a one-page leaflet or card be prepared, addressed to the man in the street, giving three reasons why peace cannot exist without world organization as well as national government.

(Note. The above motion, when submitted to the General Council by the Edinburgh Branch, included the following paragraph which was subsequently withdrawn on the understanding that the Executive Committee would consider the matter and draft a resolution on the subject for consideration by the Council at its next meeting:

"That from the best legal and ethical minds of all lands should be commissioned a panel to work out a minimum code of international law as a basis for informed discussion and from which an adequate system of international law, capable of being administered by an international court, might reasonably be expected to evolve."

6. THE TRIAL AND PUNISHMENT OF WAR CRIMINALS.

1 (a) Punishment of War Criminals.

The General Council of the League of Nations Union recognises that war cannot be made humane. But acts of violence permissible to a belligerent are strictly defined and limited by rules of international law.

The charge against the Germans and their associates is that, in defiance of these rules, they have carried out a system of terrorism by slaughter, outrage and torture, not to speak of robbery and destruction, unjustified by any military necessity and aimed at men, women and children of all ages and in certain cases dictated by racial or religious prejudice as in the wholesale massacre of Jews.

In order to re-establish the principles of law, to satisfy the legitimate indignation caused by these horrors, and to prevent retaliatory massacres, the Executive Committee believes that it is essential that those individuals, wherever they may be, who are accused of having ordered or carried out such crimes should be brought before courts of justice which shall, after open and rigorously fair trial, pass sentence on any persons convicted of the offences charged against them.

The Council welcomes the Moscow Declaration by the Governments of the U.S.A., the U.K., and the U.S.S.R., on this subject, and hopes that, if possible, the Courts before which the War Criminals are brought will be given an international character.

The Council welcomes the assurances by the Government that they are taking preparatory steps in the direction indicated and it trusts that, as and when enemy-occupied territory comes under United Nations control, they will secure all known accused persons there. It also hopes that it may be possible to prevent such persons escaping from justice into neutral territory and that, if they do so escape, the United Nations will require their surrender.

(b) Prevention, where possible, of further War Crimes.

The General Council considers that it is of the utmost importance that all possible steps should be taken by the United Nations to rescue persons criminally threatened with violence in the countries occupied by Axis forces. In particular, as territories are in process of liberation, the strongest pressure should be put on those still in control of them to abstain from any violence against the inhabitants, to remove all discriminative measures, especially those against the Jews, and to rescue as many as possible who might still be in danger of attack.

II

The General Council of the League of Nations Union is of opinion that no person figuring on a list of wanted war criminals of any of the United Nations should, on grounds of military expediency or for any other reason, be entrusted with any post of confidence.

7. INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION.

The General Council welcomes the meeting of the Governing Body of the International Labour Organisation in London on December 16th. It considers this meeting to be of the greatest importance and hopes that it may decide to call a conference of the International Labour Organisation in 1944.

The General Council, recognising the interdependence of social reform and economic reconstruction, trusts that H.M. Government will emphasise the urgency of securing the whole-hearted collaboration of the International Labour Organisation in all international discussions on economic and social reconstruction.

The General Council desires to record its appreciation that the co-operation of the International Labour Organisation has now been sought both on the Interim Food Committee and on the Standing Committee of U.N.R.R.A.

(Note. Dr. Murray was asked, on behalf of the Council, to send a message of greeting to the Governing Body of the I.L.O. on the occasion of its Meeting in London, and to enclose in his letter a copy of the above resolution.)

8. DEFEATED NATIONS AND THE INTERNATIONAL AUTHORITY

The General Council of the League of Nations Union is of the opinion that, after this war, the defeated nations on attaining stable governments representative of the people which have given definite evidence of their determination to renounce aggression and to play their part in maintaining world peace, should be invited to join any federal or international body such as the League of Nations.

9. LONG DISTANCE CIVIL AIR SERVICES.

The General Council of the League of Nations Union reaffirms its belief that the ultimate control of long-distance air services by an international governing body is essential to avoid international rivalry potentially dangerous to peace.

10. INTER-ALLIED BUREAU FOR EDUCATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION.

The General Council

Records its high appreciation of the action of the President of the Board of Education in setting up a Conference of Ministers of Education of Allied Governments;

Warmly welcomes the decision of that Conference to establish an Inter-Allied Bureau for Educational Reconstruction; and

Trusts that H.M. Government will make every effort to ensure

- (a) That the governing body of the Bureau is fully representative of all the United Nations;
- (b) That a properly qualified United Nations' Secretariat directly responsible to the governing body of the Bureau is appointed at the earliest possible date; and
- (c) That the Bureau is adequately financed.

Protestant Preamble

A world troubled almost to despair by the tragedy of recurrent war looks to the forces of religion for leadership. The Protestant churches, responsive to that appeal, have already sought to show how the practical implications of their faith should guide the relations of nations. The conclusions to which they have come are in many important respects similar to those of men whose religious heritage differs from our own. In this we rejoice, for world order cannot be achieved without the cooperation of all men of good will. We appeal to our constituency to give heed to the following principles, enunciated in common by Protestants, Catholics and Jews, which must find expression in political policies if they are to establish a just and durable peace. Beyond this statement of principles, we hold that the ultimate foundations of peace require spiritual regeneration as emphasized in the Christian Gospel.

Catholic Preamble

We present for the consideration of all men of good will the following postulates of a just peace as embodying the principles of the moral law and their prime applications to world problems of our day. To our mind they express the minimum requirements of a peace which Christians can endorse as fair to all men. They are the foundation on which Catholics in a free world can work from deep motives of Christian justice and charity for the building of a better social order.

Jewish Preamble

The American Synagogue demands the attention of its own constituency and to all men of faith the following principles as a guide to thought and action in dealing with the grave world problems of our time. These seven principles, while they do not exhaust the teachings of the Jewish tradition on issues of social relationships, have their sanction in Judaism both Biblical and Rabbinic. Judaism's highest goal has ever been "to amend the world through the Kingdom of God". The Synagogue therefore calls upon its adherents, both as citizens and as Jews, to seek after the implementation of these principles. They will thereby act in faithful conformity with the moral values of the Jewish religion, and at the same time serve the best interests of country and of mankind.

Catholic, Jewish and Protestant Declaration on World Peace

1. The moral law must govern world order. The organization of a just peace depends upon practical recognition of the fact that not only individuals but nations, states, and international society are subject to the sovereignty of God and to the moral law which comes from God.
2. The rights of the individual must be secured. The dignity of the human person as the image of God must be set forth in all its essential implications in an international declaration of rights, and be vindicated by the positive action of national governments and international organization. States as well as individuals must repudiate racial, religious, or other discrimination in violation of these rights.
3. The rights of oppressed, weak or colonial peoples must be protected. The rights of all peoples, large and small, subject to the good of the organized world community, must be safeguarded within the framework of collective security. The progress of undeveloped, colonial, or oppressed peoples toward political responsibility must be the object of international concern.
4. The rights of minorities must be secured. National governments and international organizations must respect and guarantee the rights of ethnic, religious, and cultural minorities to economic livelihood, to equal opportunity for educational and cultural development, and to political equality.
5. International institutions to maintain peace with justice must be organized. Enduring peace requires the organization of international institutions which will (a) develop a body of international law (b) guarantee the faithful fulfillment of international obligations, and revise them when necessary (c) assure collective security by drastic abstention and continuing control of armaments, compulsory arbitration and adjudication of controversies, and the use when necessary of adequate sanctions to enforce the law.

The national economic cooperation must be developed. International economic collaboration to assist all states to provide an adequate standard of living for their citizens must replace the present economic monopoly and exploitation of natural resources by privileged groups and states.

7. Just social order within each state must be achieved. Since the harmony and well-being of the world community are inextricably bound up with the internal equilibria and social order of the individual states, steps must be taken to provide for the security of the family, the collaboration of all groups and classes in the interests of the common good, a standard of living adequate for self-development and family life, decent conditions of work, and participation by labor in decisions affecting its welfare.

EXPLANATORY NOTES OF THE "DECLARATION OF WORLD PEACE"
(not to be quoted directly)

What is the purpose of the underlined captions?

This question is treated first because it is essential that the role of the captions be understood. THE CAPTIONS ARE NOT THE PRINCIPLES. They are merely editorial aids, proceeding each principle, inserted to facilitate reference and remembrance.

How did the "Declaration" originate?

Upwards of one hundred pronouncements on World Peace had been issued separately by religious bodies in the United States during the present conflict. Various comparative studies indicated large areas of agreement among them. Awareness of this fact and deep mutual concern that the peace be built on moral foundations induced leaders of the three faiths to undertake the preparation of an EDIFICIAL statement embodying those areas of agreement. Negotiations were carried on in New York and Washington over a period of some months. Preliminary drafts were submitted to a number of Protestant, Catholic and Jewish authorities, and after many revisions the final draft was agreed upon.

What precedents existed for such action?

During the past twenty-five years a number of inter-faith pronouncements on various social problems have been issued by the social action departments of the three groups. In 1940, for example, an inter-faith conference on unemployment was held in Washington and was followed by a joint statement. The U.S.O. is another example of cooperation on the social plane. With regard to cooperation in the interests of a just peace, the best known example is the famous "Letter to the London Times" signed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and Cardinal Hinsley, and by the moderator of the Free Church Federal Council in December, 1940, followed a year later by a joint statement on cooperation on the social and international plane, which was also endorsed by the Old Catholics of Great Britain.

How does the American "Declaration" differ from the British?

The British statement combined the Five Points of the 1939 Christian Allocation of Pope Pius XII with Five Points from the message of the World Conference on Church, Community and State (Oxford Conference). The American "Declaration" formulates seven areas of agreement, arrived at by comparative studies of two score major pronouncements.

While the British statement was signed by Catholics and Protestants only, the American "Declaration" is signed also by Jewish leaders and is based also on Jewish pronouncements.

Is this a new statement?

In one sense, no. The seven principles, in substance, (and many more principles not included) have been stated in previous pronouncements by the three faiths. The propositions of the "Declaration" are the mutually agreed upon phrasing of the agreements found in the separate pronouncements. The distinctive feature is the focusing of public attention on those agreements, stated explicitly by the high religious leaders in the United States.

What is the significance of the signatures?

The "Declaration" is issued not by the religious bodies as corporate entities, but by recognized and representative religious leaders of the country.

Why three introductions?

To provide for the expression of three characteristic angles of approach to the organization of a just peace. It must be noted that the principles of the "Declaration" dominate the moral bases only of such a peace. Protestants, Catholics and Jews may differ in their conceptions of what further factors are required for the establishment of a peace that will endure, or in the theological approach to the practical measures to be taken. The three preambles present an opportunity for the expression of the respective characteristic approaches.

Furthermore, they provide opportunity for the expression of the respective motives which dictate the signing of the document, and will inspire the efforts to secure the implementation of its principles.

What is the purpose of the "Declaration"?

To dispel confusion in the public mind and in the minds of the official policy makers which might arise (and probably has arisen) from the multiplicity of religious peace statements.

To convince the country that an immense number of citizens of all faiths are united to their demand for the organization of a righteous peace.

To present impressively the principles which religious people insist must guide their elected representatives in working out the concrete problems of the peace.

What subsequent steps are proposed?

The "Declaration" will provide a basis for parallel doctrinal activity by the three groups to explain to their membership the implications and applications of the seven principles. This activity should reinforce rather than supplant the established doctrinal efforts based on the separate peace programs already presented by the three faiths.

The question of joint doctrinal action has not been considered, nor has it been explicitly excluded.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE
COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION
HELD AT NO. 11 MAIDEN LANE, LONDON, W.C.2.
ON THURSDAY, JANUARY 13TH, 1944 AT 2.15 p.m.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Mr. H.L. Bullock,
Lord Cecil, the Dean of Chichester, Miss K.D.
Courtney, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss F. Fawcett, Mr. Arnold
Forster, Dr. Garnett, Lady Hall, Sir Arthur Haworth,
Mr. J. Macdonald, Lord Perth, Mr. W.T. Pritchard,
Miss E. Rathbone, Lord Sankey, Councillor H.F. Shaw,
Mr. H.S. Syrett, Mr. A.E.W. Thomas, Sir Ralph
Wedgwood, Professor Basil Williams, Mr. W. Carey
Wilson and Mr. C.W. Judd.

705. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on Thursday,
December 16th, 1943 were confirmed as circulated.

706. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

Minute 695 - Resolutions adopted by the General
Council on December 9th and 10th.

Freshwater Memorial Fund. The Chairman reported that
the Memorial Committee had prepared a draft leaflet
to assist Branches in raising money for the Fund.
Lord Lytton hoped to be able to make a further report
to the Executive in a week's time.

Draft Pact for the Future International Authority.
The Chairman reported that Mr. Eden had expressed
his willingness to receive a small deputation at
4 p.m. that afternoon.

Preparation of the Public Mind for Peace. Lord
Cecil reported that he had consulted privately an
eminent legal authority regarding the Edinburgh
Branch's proposal for a minimum code of international
law, and read to the Executive the reply he had
received.

Lord Sankey agreed with the statements con-
tained in that reply. International law was a mat-
ter which could only gradually be built up. But
much more had been done in regard to it than many
people supposed, and he hoped that at some future
time there would be collected in some one convenient
form such material as was already available in
various treaties.

The Secretary was asked, on the basis of the
above, to prepare a draft statement which, after
being submitted to the Chairman, Lord Cecil's cor-
respondent, Lord Sankey and Sir Cecil Hurst, should
be placed before the Executive Committee with a view
to its being submitted to the General Council at
its next meeting.

On Minute 700 - Chinese Goodwill Mission, it was reported that a tea-party had been held at the Livingstone Hall on January 6th for Mr. Han Lin-Wu, and that Lord Cecil had read to the gathering the Message of Greeting which Mr. Han Lin-Wu had brought from the Chinese League of Nations Association. Lord Cecil was asked to write to Mr. Han Lin-Wu, expressing the Executive's gratitude for the Message and their hope that in future many opportunities would be afforded for co-operation between the L.N.U. and the Chinese League of Nations Association in the cause of world peace.

Mr. Arnold Forster spoke of Lord Lytton's mission to China and thanked him for presiding at this reception. His presence and the very moving terms in which he had referred to the Union's consistent support for China had done great service to the Union's cause.

707. DRAFT PACT FOR THE FUTURE INTERNATIONAL AUTHORITY. Lord Cecil reported that he had carefully considered certain suggestions for amending the text of the Draft Pact which he had received from Mr. Nowell Smith, Mr. Arnold Forster, and Dr. Garnett. After expressing his thanks to these members, Lord Cecil gave the Committee his own observations on the suggested amendments.

After discussion it was agreed that the following amendments be made in the Draft Pact:-

ARTICLE I. Clause 2. Insert "other" before "State".

Last paragraph to be renumbered as Clause 4.

ARTICLE II. Clause 3 and 4. For "at the Assembly" read "in".

ARTICLE V. Clause 3. Replace fourth paragraph by the following:-

"The Director General shall frame and submit to the Assembly a budget for the expenses of the International Authority, the I.L.O., the P.C.I.J. and their Committees."

ARTICLE VIII. First Line. For "nominate" substitute "constitute".

ARTICLE XII. Lines 7 and 8. Omit.

Line 12. For "State" read "State-Member"

ARTICLE XIII. Clause 2, line 5. For "they" read "the International Authority".

*In text of
Pact see
page*

ARTICLE XIV. Para. 1, line 3. For "will be ready to" read "shall".

Paras. 3 and 4. Replace by the following*

It shall be within the discretion of the Court or of the arbitrators, either in order to avoid unreasonable delay or for other reasons, to refer the matter to the Council, who may either send the case back to the Court or refer it to a special tribunal or Commission of Enquiry for advice and shall then give their decision on the whole case and shall thereafter give directions as to what should be done to settle the question in dispute upon the principles of right and justice.

When such a decision has been given, neither party to the dispute shall take or encourage hostile action on behalf of its claim to carry out the decision unless authorised to do so by a two-thirds majority of the Assembly.

(*This wording was provisionally adopted and it was left to Lord Cecil, Mr. Arnold Forster, Sir Ralph Wedgwood and Dr. Garnett to settle the final text of these paragraphs after the meeting.)

ARTICLE XVIII. Line 2. After "Council" insert "or, before these bodies have been constituted, by a majority of the States named in the Annex".

Sub-Headings. It was agreed that sub-headings should be given to each of the Articles in the Draft Pact; the Chairman promised to send suggestions to Lord Cecil.

708. STAFF. Mr. Syrett reported that the Officers on December 16th and the Finance Committee at its meeting on December 22nd had considered how best to increase the staff of the office and to make some readjustment of duties so that the existing work (apart from extensions such as any possible campaign or the appointment of a Travelling Secretary) could be successfully maintained. The Officers and the Finance Committee were fully agreed as to the additions and changes that should be made and these were set out in an appendix to the Minutes of the Finance Committee.

In accordance with these recommendations it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That, subject to his release from the service of the Young Men's Christian Association, Mr. H.H. Walker (Assistant Education Officer of the Y.M.C.A. and formerly Secretary of the Union's London Regional Federation) be appointed Assistant Secretary and Education Officer of the Union, on the understanding

that the appointment may be reviewed at the end of the war".

It was explained that for the purposes of reservation from other forms of National Service Mr. Walker would be classified as an Education Officer but that he would be concerned with the general work of the Union in educating the public in League and international affairs and would not be directly concerned with work in Universities, Colleges and Schools.]

- (2) "That Mr. Sparks be Finance Secretary"
- (3) "That Miss New be Director of Special Activities and be relieved gradually of the work of the Public Meetings Department so as to be free (a) to help to keep Executive and General Council minutes and papers, (b) to organise special activities (e.g. an Albert Hall Meeting, the proposed series of Towns' Meetings on United Nations Day, special conferences, etc.)".
- (4) "That Miss Luffman be Secretary for Universities, Colleges and Schools and be asked to take over more of the responsibility for the work of the Council for Education in World Citizenship."
- (5) "That Mr. Walker, Mr. Fanshawe, Mr. Aldous, Mr. Sparks, Miss New, Miss Luffman, Mr. Catterall and the Travelling Representative, when appointed, be regarded as Administrative Officers".
- (6) "That Mrs. McCormack be appointed to the staff of the Union as an Assistant Administrative Officer, that Miss Davies be made an Assistant Administrative Officer and that Miss Courtney and the Secretary be authorised to appoint an additional part-time assistant in the Public Meetings Department".

It was further

- RESOLVED: (7) "That all the remaining recommendations, including certain increases of salaries and wages, be approved".
- (8) "That the Staff be warmly thanked for all their additional work which has enabled the efficiency of the Office to be maintained since the death of Major Freshwater until such time as these further appointments could be made".

H. D. Courtney
CHAIRMAN
Jan. 20th 1944

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE
COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 11 MAIDEN LANE,
LONDON, W.C.2. ON THURSDAY, JANUARY
20TH, 1944, AT 2.15 P.M.

PRESENT: Miss Courtney (in the Chair for Minutes 709, 710 and part of 711), Lord Lytton (in the Chair for remainder of business), Mr. F.M. Burris, Lord Cecil, the Dean of Chichester, Dr. Hilda Clark, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Fawcett, Dr. Garnett, Lady Hall, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Mr. J. Macdonald, Dr. Gilbert Murray, Professor H.J. Paton, Lord Perth, Mr. Nowell C. Smith, Mr. H.S. Syrett, Mr. A.E.W. Thomas, Sir Ralph Wedgwood, Professor Basil Williams and Mr. C.W. Judd.

709. MINUTES. Subject to the decision on Minute 708 recorded below, the minutes of the last meeting held on Thursday, January 13th, 1944 were confirmed as circulated.

710. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 706 - Freshwater Memorial Fund. Lady Hall reported that the Memorial Committee had held a further meeting when various suggestions had been made for amending the draft leaflet.

Miss Courtney stated that the leaflet would contain a personal appeal by Lord Lytton to friends and members of the Union to subscribe to the Memorial Fund, as a tribute to Major Freshwater, by making donations in addition to their subscriptions to the Union's general fund.

On Minute 707 - Draft Pact for the Future International Authority. Lord Cecil reported correspondence he had had with Mr. Arnold Forster, Dr. Garnett and Sir Ralph Wedgwood since the last meeting of the Executive concerning the amendment to Article XIV. After discussion it was, on the motion of Lord Cecil, agreed to omit the fourth paragraph of Article XIV.

Lord Cecil also reported a suggestion by Lord Sankey that, for purposes of reference, a contents page should be added to the Pact when printed. This suggestion was adopted.

Lord Cecil further reported a letter written by Lord Lugard to Dr. Gilbert Murray containing a variety of suggestions for amending the text of the Pact. It was agreed to thank Lord Lugard very warmly for his letter but to explain that since the final text of the Pact had been approved before his suggestions arrived, the Committee did not feel able to re-open the discussion at the present stage.

On Minute 708 - Staff, in order to make it clear that the status of other members of the staff was in no way affected by the decisions recorded in this minute, it was, on the motion of Miss Courtney, agreed that the words "with special duties" should be added to paragraph (5) of the resolution.

711. ACTION TO BE TAKEN BY L.N.U. TO WIN SUPPORT FOR MOSCOW DECLARATION. Lord Cecil referred to the Commentary on the Pact which he and Mr. Arnold Forster were preparing and which they had been advised by Sir Norman Angell would provide the best means of obtaining journalistic notice of the Pact. He thought that a series of Towns Meetings would be desirable, and he stressed the important part the local Branches of the Union could play in educating the public in the meaning of the Moscow Four-Power Declaration and the need for some such instrument as the Draft Pact.

Dr. Garnett suggested that contact should be made (1) with the Ministry of Information with a view to their speakers, and perhaps one of their film flashes also, treating of the Moscow Declaration; and (2) with ^{L.N.U.} so that the matter might be discussed at "British Way and Purpose" meetings. *the machinery for this.*

Lord Cecil expressed his willingness to discuss Dr. Garnett's suggestion with Mr. Brendan Bracken, and the Secretary was asked to communicate with M.B.C.A.

Reference was made to the action of the Harrow Branch in publishing an appeal for members of the Union signed by all the most important office bearers of the town. The Executive were glad to know that copies of the appeal had been circulated by the Secretary to all the Branches of the Union.

Lord Lytton said that the question of the Union organising a Meeting in the Guildhall to be addressed by the Foreign Secretary had been mentioned by the deputation when it was received by Mr. Eden on January 13th. The general opinion of those present at the deputation was that Mr. Eden would be ready to consider such an invitation from the Union at some convenient time.

(During discussion on the above item, the Chair was taken by Lord Lytton).

712. DEPUTATION TO MR. EDEN. The Chairman gave the Executive a detailed report on the deputation to Mr. Eden on January 13th; their reception had been extremely cordial and friendly. Lord Cecil also read to the Executive a memorandum he had prepared after the interview and Lord Perth reported his impressions.
713. UNITED NATIONS DAY CELEBRATIONS. Miss Courtney reported that the London International Assembly, as such did not wish to be represented on a Joint Committee for the purpose of organising United Nations Meetings and Demonstrations on June 14th but that some of the members would be very glad to co-operate in other ways. At the last meeting of the Administration Committee it had been proposed to set up a "United Nations Day Celebrations Committee" composed of distinguished representatives of some or all of the United Nations, together with members of the Executive and Administration Committees of the Union. The purpose of the Committee would be to invite civic authorities to organise United Nations Meetings and Demonstrations on June 14th, or on some other convenient date about that time of year. Such meetings would be held under the patronage of the "United Nations Day Celebrations Committee" which would, for that purpose, have its own note-paper. The L.N.U. would provide secretarial help and local Branches would be asked to co-operate in the organisation of the meetings. It was suggested that the following should, in the first instance, be invited to join the Committee as

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Vice-Presidents: Mr. Agnides, Professor Rene Cassin, Mr. ~~Winaant~~ Mr. Winaant, Dr. Wellington Koo and Mr. Erik Colban ¹⁹⁴⁷

The proposal was approved and adopted.

714. TERRITORIAL PROBLEMS. The Executive had before them the following resolutions submitted by the Dean of Chichester, Mrs. Dugdale, and Mr. Arnold Forster:

I. The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union having regard to the current discussion of various territorial problems;

Recalls (a) the declaration of all the United Nations, in Point I of the Atlantic Charter that "the countries seek no aggrandisement, territorial or other"; and that "they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely-expressed wishes of the peoples concerned."

(b) the declaration in the Anglo-Soviet Alliance of May 1942 that Britain and the Soviet Union intend to collaborate on the basis of the Charter's principles "for the organisation of security and economic prosperity in Europe." They will take into account the interests of the United Nations in these objects and they will act in accordance with the two principles of not seeking territorial aggrandisement for themselves and of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States".

(c) the declaration of Cairo, by Britain, the United States and China, that "they covet no gain for themselves and have no thought of territorial expansion" (apart, of course, from restitution of such territories as Japan has "taken by violence and greed").

(d) the Four Power Declaration of Teheran by Britain, the U.S., U.S.S.R., and Persia (Dec. 1943) that they count on the participation of all peace-loving nations in the establishment of peace, security and prosperity "in accordance with the principles of the Atlantic Charter, to which all four Governments have continued to subscribe."

II. The Executive, whilst expressing no opinion on the merits, of particular territorial claims, considers that claims involving controversial changes of former frontiers should be treated as matters of concern to the whole Alliance, rather than as issues reserved for settlement between a few directly-interested States.

III. The Executive recognises that some of the territorial claims advanced may be justified on their merits, for ethnographic reasons; and that, after the demonstration of the appalling consequences of German aggression, some claims will be advanced primarily for reasons of national strategic security, and will be liable to cut across a strict application of the principles of the Charter and

later Declarations." In urging that the principle of "no aggrandisement" should be faithfully sustained, as a corollary to the principle of "no aggression", the Executive must also reaffirm its conviction that the strategic claims of nations will lose their danger in proportion as the world succeeds in developing "a general international organisation" with ample powers for protecting the peace against all aggression, and for promoting the welfare of the whole community of nations.

The Dean, after reading a letter he had recently received from the Duchess of Atholl, reminded the Committee that the Union, having always depended upon an appeal to principle, was now proposing to engage in a new campaign for collective security and an international order based upon justice, to which a grave threat arose out of recent events in regard to Poland. A much bigger problem than boundaries was involved: it was a question of whether Great Powers were to be allowed to settle the size of the territory of their neighbours and the government of their neighbours by sheer force. He referred to the position of the Baltic States and also to recent happenings in Yugoslavia and Greece.

Mrs. Dugdale agreed with the Dean and said that what had happened since the resolution was drafted a week earlier made the necessity of some statement of principle even more urgent than before.

Mr. Syrett hoped the Executive would not adopt the resolution and Dr. Garnett criticised the wording of the second paragraph.

Dr. Murray supported the resolution which involved a question of principles for which the Union had always stood. He thought that, rather than embarrass the Government, it would be of help to them to have a statement that British opinion stood firmly behind the Atlantic Charter.

Lord Perth agreed with Dr. Murray, but in view of the appeal made by the Foreign Secretary in the House of Commons that nothing should be said which might exacerbate the question, he hoped the Committee would postpone consideration of the resolution until the situation had been further clarified.

Lord Cecil agreed with paragraph 2 of the resolution but thought the meaning of paragraph 3 was not made sufficiently clear. If the Committee were to issue any statement he would like to see a more clear and concise draft, e.g. recognising that in many cases particular countries have special interests which are entitled to be considered primarily, but that no change ought to be made without general assent; such general assent must take into consideration the interests of the whole world and not the interests of the neighbouring countries only.

The Chairman, after thanking the Dean for having raised the matter, proposed, and the Committee agreed, that the discussion should be adjourned until the next meeting. In the meantime, members were asked carefully to consider all the problems involved.

715. INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION. Mr. Clifton Robbins attended the Executive and made a statement on the I.L.O.,

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including a brief report on the Meeting of the Governing Body in London on December 16th, and answered a number of questions put to him by members of the Committee.

In reply to a question from Lord Perth regarding anti-Semitism among workers, Mr. Clifton Robbins agreed that the time had come when this matter might usefully be treated as an international question by the I.L.O. and said he would discuss the problem with Mr. Phelan.

Verbatim reports of the speeches delivered by Mr. Eden and Mr. Bevin to the Governing Body had already been supplied by Mr. Robbins and circulated to the Executive.

716. FINANCE COMMITTEE. The Minutes of the Finance Committee's meeting held on December 22nd (excluding the Staff recommendations already dealt with in Executive minute No. 70B) were approved. These Minutes included: Cheques for Payment; Pamphlet on Hotsprings Conference; Tea Party; Hooper Estate; Dilapidations, 15 Grosvenor Crescent; and Glasgow.
717. COUNCIL FOR EDUCATION IN WORLD CITIZENSHIP. The Chairman and Miss Courtney spoke of the remarkable success which had attended the Christmas Holiday Lectures organised by the C.E.W.C. in the Central Hall on January 3rd to 6th. On the motion of Lord Lytton it was agreed that an expression of the Committee's warm appreciation be conveyed to Miss Luffman and her assistants for all that they had done to bring about the success of the gathering.

Miss Courtney expressed regret that in the leaflets announcing the Lectures no reference had been made to the L.N.U. under whose auspices the C.E.W.C. had been established. She hoped this omission would be remedied in the case of future activities of the C.E.W.C.

718. VACANCIES OF COMMITTEE. Suggestions were made for filling three of the vacancies on the Executive. Sir Ralph Wedgwood and the Secretary were asked to make further inquiries in regard to the persons suggested, and it was agreed that the three names should be included on the Agenda when these enquiries had been completed.

Lytton

CHAIRMAN

Feb. 3rd 1944.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE
COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION
HELD AT NO. 11 MAIDEN LANE, LONDON, W.C.2.
ON THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 3RD, 1944 AT 2.15 P.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Mrs. Beale, Mr. F.M. Burris, the Dean of Chichester, Miss Courtney, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Fawcett, Mr. W. Arnold Forster, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Lady Hall, Mr. A. J. Howe, Mr. D. L. Lipson, Mr. J. Macdonald, Dr. Murray, Lord Perth, Mr. W. T. Pritchard, Miss Rathbone, Mr. Nowell C. Smith, Mr. A.E. Thomas, Sir Ralph Wedgwood, Professor Basil Williams, and Mr. C.W. Judd.

719. PRESENTATION TO MISS NEW. Lord Lytton presented to Miss New (Mrs. Stringer) as a Wedding Present from the whole Executive Committee, a gift of table cutlery, and a casket of fish knives and forks, engraved with a message of their good wishes. He spoke of a number of letters and messages he had received from members of the Committee and said that none of them could write or speak too warmly of the debt the whole Committee owed to Miss New for her extraordinarily efficient work during the past 23 years: the Committee wished her every happiness in her married life but hoped that she would still be free to work for the Union.

In thanking the Chairman and Executive Committee for their generous gift, Miss New said how much she had enjoyed her work and how much she hoped to be able to continue to serve the Union.

720. MINUTES. The Minutes of the meeting held on January 20th, 1944 were confirmed as circulated, subject to the amendment of the last clause of the second paragraph of Minute 711 to read as follows:

"and (2) with A.E.C.A. and 'British Way and Purpose' so that the matter might be discussed at the meetings of both".

On the same minute it was reported that, so soon as he was well enough to do so, Lord Cecil would see Mr. Brenden Bracken and discuss with him the suggestion regarding M.O.I. speakers and film flashes.

The Secretary reported that, at a Tea Discussion Group of the London International Assembly on Wednesday, February 9th, Mr. Bickersteth, Director of Army Education, would give an address on education in the Armed Forces, with special reference to A.E.C.A. and 'British Way and Purpose'. Members of the Executive were being invited to the Meeting.

On Minute 717 - Council for Education in World Citizenship, Mr. Macdonald reported that he had received from a Marseilles correspondent a letter suggesting that the prestige of the L.N.U. had suffered through the failure of the C.E.W.C. to make any reference to the close connection that actually exists between the two bodies. In future such connection would, it was hoped, be made plain.

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721. ADMINISTRATION COMMITTEE. The Chairman reported as follows on the Meeting of the Administration Committee held earlier in the day.
- (a) Freshwater Memorial Fund. The appeal leaflet for the Memorial Fund had now been printed and was being circulated immediately to all Branches and subscribers to HEADWAY. Copies of the leaflet were placed before the Executive.
- (b) Commentary on Draft Pact for the Future International Authority. The Administration Committee had learned with satisfaction that Mr. Arnold Forster was at present engaged in writing a book dealing with the Draft Pact. But they felt that what was urgently needed was a short four-page commentary which could be bound up with the Pact and which would not re-state the contents of the Pact but would explain any paragraphs that needed such explanation, and would also include certain other points which had been raised by members of the Committee during the discussions on the Pact.
- Mr. Arnold Forster thought there had been some misunderstanding, since what he had been asked to contribute to was the preparation of something more substantial and for which he had submitted a synopsis some weeks ago to Lord Cecil who had approved it. If the Committee wished to have only a short commentary on the lines now suggested it would be a much lighter task and he was ready to draft such a paper immediately. He asked the office to let him have a note of specific points arising out of the Executive's discussions, that should be included in the Commentary and the Chairman also promised to send to Mr. Arnold Forster some notes on the articles in the Pact which, in his opinion, required further explanation.
- (c) Tea Party for Speakers. The Administration Committee had suggested that a Tea Party (on lines similar to those recently arranged by the League International Assembly) should be held at which Lord Cecil should be asked to explain the Draft Pact to L.N.U. speakers, including those from allied countries. The proposal was approved and adopted.
- (d) United Nations Day Celebrations. Lord Lytton reported that he had written to Mr. Winant inviting him to serve as a Vice-President of the "United Nations Day Celebrations Committee". The Administration Committee had now recommended that, without waiting for Mr. Winant's reply, similar invitations should be sent to the other persons named in Minute 713 of the Executive in order that the Committee might be set up without delay. It was proposed that, instead of creating a new body, the Administration Committee, with the addition of those members from the allied countries who consented to join and any other members of the Executive who might be willing to serve, should be asked to fulfil the duties of the "United Nations Day Celebrations Committee". The business

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of that Committee could then be taken at the outset of the Administration Committee's meetings.

These proposals were approved and adopted.

- (e) Memorandum from the Warwickshire Federal Council. The Administration Committee had discussed with Mrs. Beale a memorandum submitted by the Warwickshire Federal Council. The Committee had agreed with much that was contained in the memorandum, but on the question of a closer union between New Commonwealth, Federal Union, etc. Their view was that the Union had always suffered in the past when it had tried to co-operate with other bodies that were not really in agreement with L.N.U. policy, and that it was much better for the Union to confine itself to the advocacy of the principles of collective security and international co-operation.

722. TERRITORIAL PROBLEMS. The Executive Committee had before them the following amended resolution submitted by the Dean of Chichester and Mrs. Dugdale.

I The Executive Committee of the League of Nations having regard to the current discussion of various territorial problems;

Recalls (a) the declaration of all the United Nations, in Point I

of the Atlantic Charter that "their countries seek no aggrandisement, territorial or other"; and that "they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely-expressed wishes of the peoples concerned."

(b) the declaration in the Anglo-Soviet Alliance of May 1942 that Britain and the Soviet Union intend to collaborate on the basis of the Charter's principles "for the organisation of security and economic prosperity in Europe. They will take into account the interests of the United Nations in these objects and they will act in accordance with the two principles of not seeking territorial aggrandisement for themselves and of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States."

(c) the declaration of Cairo, by Britain, the United States and China, that "they covet no gain for themselves and have no thought of territorial expansion" (apart, of course, from restitution of such territories as Japan has "taken by violence and greed").

(d) the Four Power Declaration of Teheran, by Britain, the U.S., U.S.S.R., and Persia (Dec. 1943) that they count on the participation of all peace-loving nations in the establishment of peace, security and prosperity "in accordance with the principles of the Atlantic Charter, to which all four Governments have continued to subscribe."

II. The Executive welcomes the re-affirmation by Mr. Eden in the House of Commons on January 26th, of the statement by the Prime Minister that the British Government does not propose to recognise any territorial changes which take place during the war unless they take place with the free consent and goodwill of the parties concerned, and Mr. Eden's note to General Sikorski, refusing to recognise any

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territorial changes which have been effected since August, 1939.

Further, recalling Point III of the Atlantic Charter that "they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of Government under which they will live", the Executive affirms its belief that, when the frontiers of a country are finally settled by treaty, it is essential to mutual confidence and international security that each country shall have the right to set up a Government based on the freely-expressed wishes of the people without pressure or interference from outside.

A letter from Professor Broletsky was read, expressing agreement with the resolution but urging that the Executive should adjourn the emanication of the principle involved to a time when the Polish problem had been settled.

The Dean of Chichester, in presenting the amended resolution, spoke of the manifestations of public opinion since the Executive had last discussed the question, and referred, in particular, to articles which had appeared in the SPECTATOR and the OBSERVER.

Lord Perth who, at the last meeting, had deprecated the Committee passing a resolution at that time, said that his doubts had largely vanished since the House of Commons discussion and Mr. Eden's statement. He was therefore prepared to accept the first resolution. With regard to the second he was a little more doubtful and suggested inserting the words "after the final destruction of Nazi tyranny" before the words "each country" and deleting the phrase "without pressure or interference from outside".

Dr. Garnett also expressed his agreement with the first resolution and endorsed the amendments suggested by Lord Perth.

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

RESOLVED: (1) "The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union,

Having regard to the current discussion of various territorial problems;

Recalling (a) the declaration of all the United Nations, in Point I of the Atlantic Charter, that "their countries seek no aggrandisement, territorial or other"; and that "they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely-expressed wishes of the peoples concerned";

(b) the declaration in the Anglo-Soviet Alliance of May 1942 that Britain and the Soviet Union intend to collaborate on the basis of the Charter's principles "for the organisation of security and economic prosperity in Europe. They will take into account the interests of the United Nations in these objects and they will act in accordance with the two principles of not seeking

territorial aggrandisement for themselves and of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States";

- (c) the declaration of Cairo, by Britain, the United States and China, that "they covet no gain for themselves and have no thought of territorial expansion" (apart, of course, from restitution of such territories as Japan has taken by violence and greed");
- (d) the Four-Power Declaration of Teheran, by Britain, the U.S., U.S.S.R., and Persia (Dec. 1943) that they count on the participation of all peace-loving nations in the establishment of peace, security and prosperity "in accordance with the principles of the Atlantic Charter, to which all four Governments have continued to subscribe";

Welcomes the re-affirmation by Mr. Eden in the House of Commons on January 26th of the statement by the Prime Minister that the British Government does not propose to recognise any territorial changes which take place during the war unless they take place with the free consent and goodwill of the parties concerned, and Mr. Eden's note to General Sikorski, refusing to recognise any territorial changes which have been effected since August, 1939.

- (2) "That the above resolution be communicated to H.M. Government and to the Press".

In view of the differences of opinion expressed in the Committee regarding the last paragraph of the amended draft, the Dean of Chichester ordered to withdraw that paragraph. But it was finally agreed to adjourn consideration of the last part of the resolution until the next meeting.

Mr. Arnold Forster expressed his intention of bringing before the Executive at a future meeting the question raised in paragraph (1) of the draft resolution submitted to the Executive on Jan. 20th.

723. **M. MOLOTOV'S STATEMENT.** Dr. Garnett referred to the statement made by M. Molotov on February 1st, proposing far-reaching changes extending the autonomy of the 16 Republics of the U.S.S.R., and to the discussion of the proposals which had appeared in the American press as reported in THE TIMES. Since the proposals would directly affect international relations in the post-war world, Dr. Garnett suggested that they were very relevant to the main matters the Executive had lately been considering. A brief discussion took place and it was left to Dr. Garnett to raise the matter on the agenda of the next meeting if he so desired.
724. **PRINCESS TSHAI MEMORIAL HOSPITAL.** A communication was reported from Dame Adelaide Livingstone (who was prevented by illness from attending the Committee) concerning an Appeal on behalf of the Princess Tshai Memorial Hospital. In view of the appeal which was being made to L.N.U. Branches to support the Freshwater Memorial Fund, the Executive was unable to agree to the Hospital appeal being sent to Branches at the present time.

A. D. Courtney
CHAIRMAN

Feb. 17th 1944

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 11 RAINDEN LANE, LONDON, W.C.2, ON THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 17TH, 1944 AT 2.15 P.M.

PRESENT: Miss K.D. Courtney (in the Chair), Mr. F.M. Burris, Lord Cecil, the Dean of Chichester, Dr. Clark, Miss Fawcett, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Lady Hall, Sir Arthur Haworth, Lady Layton, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Mr. J. Macdonald, Lord Perth, Miss Rathbone, Mr. Nowell C. Smith, Sir Ralph Wedgwood, Professor Basil Williams and Mr. C.W. Judd.

725. MINUTES. The Minutes of the Meeting held on February 3rd, 1944 were confirmed as circulated.

726. LORD CECIL'S INTERVIEW WITH MR. BRENDEN BRACKEN. Lord Cecil reported that, in accordance with the Executive's request (minute 711) he had called on the Minister of Information on February 10th and had discussed with him the possibility of the M. of I. assisting the Union in publicising its policy in reference to the Moscow Declaration. Mr. Brenden Bracken was interested to learn of the Draft Pact and had promised to discuss it with Mr. Eden. He was anxious to do all he could to popularise the Union's ideas and promised to talk to the B.B.C. on the subject, but he had urged that if there were opponents of the Union's ideas they should also be heard.

The proposal to organise United Nations Day Celebrations had also been mentioned during the interview. Mr. Brenden Bracken thought the idea excellent and said that, so far as he knew, there was nothing that the M. of I. had in mind which would conflict with such celebrations.

In reply to a question from Miss Courtney regarding broadcasting, Lord Cecil said that Mr. Brenden Bracken had promised to keep in touch with him on the subject.

Lord Cecil further reported that Mr. Winant had asked to be supplied with copies of the Draft Pact in order that he might forward them to the State Department.

27. ARMY EDUCATION. The Secretary reported that, after the Tea Discussion Meeting of the London International Assembly on February 9th, he had taken the opportunity of speaking to Mr. Bickersteth (Director of Army Education) about the Executive's suggestion that the subject of international organisation after the war on the lines of the Draft Pact should be included in the army discussions arranged by "British Way and Purpose" and A.B.C.A. Mr. Bickersteth had said that he fully agreed with the proposal: plans were in hand for dealing with special aspects of the peace settlement - including, probably territorial questions - in future numbers of British Way and Purpose and he hoped to devote one number to the more general problem of international organisation.
28. COMMENTARY ON THE DRAFT PACT. The Executive had before them a draft Commentary (S.1119) prepared by Mr. Arnold Forster. The Chairman reported that the Draft had been considered by the Administration Committee earlier in the day, and

amendments suggested by that Committee were placed before the Executive. After some discussion, it was

RESOLVED: "That the Commentary on the Draft Pact be approved and adopted in the [attached] amended form."

It was further reported that the Administration Committee had recommended that a pamphlet should be printed immediately containing the text of the Draft Pact, the Commentary, Article 4 of the Moscow Declaration and an appendix consisting of specific points arising out of the Executive's discussions which had not been included in Mr. Arnold Forster's commentary. The Administration Committee had also recommended that a separate pamphlet should be issued containing the text of the Draft Pact only and that copies of the Minority Report should be made available in pamphlet form.

The above recommendations were approved and adopted.

729. VACANCIES ON COMMITTEE After Lord Cecil had reported his correspondence with Miss Margot Gale, it was unanimously

RESOLVED: "That Miss Margot Gale be invited to join the Executive Committee".

The question of filling the further vacancies on the Committee was adjourned for consideration at a later meeting.

730. TERRITORIAL PROBLEMS. The Executive gave further consideration to the following final paragraph of the resolution submitted by the Dean of Chichester and Mrs. Dugdale to the last meeting:-

"Further, recalling Point III of the Atlantic Charter that 'they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live', the Executive affirms its belief that, when the frontiers of a country are finally settled by treaty, it is essential to mutual confidence and international security that each country shall have the right to set up a Government based on the freely-expressed wishes of the people without pressure or interference from outside."

The Committee also had before them the following amendment submitted by Lord Perth:-

"The Executive recalling Point III of the Atlantic Charter affirms its belief that it is essential to mutual confidence and international security that the people of a country, the boundaries of which have been determined either by negotiation or by the general consent of the Allies, shall, after the final destruction of Nazi tyranny, have the right to set up a Government based on their fully-expressed wishes."

Lord Perth said that he would personally prefer that the Executive should not pass a resolution on this question at the moment, but if the Committee still wished to make a pronouncement he hoped they would accept his amendment.

The Dean of Chichester considered it of vital importance that some statement should be issued by the Executive and expressed his agreement with Lord Perth's amendment.

Mr. Nowell Smith felt that many people would regard any resolution on this subject as a direct commentary on the Russian-Polish dispute. He would therefore prefer to postpone the issue of any statement until some more appropriate time.

Sir Ralph Wedgwood, supporting the Dean of Chichester, said that the question of whether peoples would be allowed the right to decide their own form of government was causing much concern in many quarters.

After further discussion it was, on the motion of Lord Perth, seconded by Mr. Macdonald,

RESOLVED: "That consideration of this matter be adjourned, and that the item be included on the Executive Committee's agenda for March 16th."

731. ANNUAL MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL It was

RESOLVED: "That the Annual Meeting of the General Council be held on June 22nd, 23rd and if necessary 24th in the Livingstone Hall, Westminster."

732. ADMINISTRATION COMMITTEE The Chairman presented the following oral report on the meeting of the Administration Committee held earlier in the day (for a report on the Draft Commentary see minute 728 above)

Freshwater Memorial Fund. It was reported that already the sum of £201. 6s. 6d. had been subscribed to the Fund. The cost of printing the leaflet etc. amounted to some £56.

Women's Advisory Council. A meeting had been held on February 4th when revised terms of reference for the W.A.C. had been drawn up. Proposals for the reconstitution of the Council were also under discussion.

733. COUNCIL FOR EDUCATION IN WORLD CITIZENSHIP. Mr. Nowell Smith made an oral report on the C.E.W.C. and said that, arising out of the Christmas Holiday Lectures, many of the boys and girls had expressed a desire to launch an International Schools Fund for the purpose of helping in the reconstruction of education in occupied countries with gifts of books, pictures etc. Although it was not the usual practice of the C.E.W.C. to make financial appeals to schools, the Council had agreed to act as trustees or administrators of such a Fund.

The C.E.W.C. had also decided to co-operate with the Allied Health Charter Study Group in organising an essay and poster competition among boys and girls on questions of health, nutrition etc.

A Conference for VI Form pupils would be held during the Easter Holidays in Edinburgh and a number of non-residential regional conferences were also being planned. In London

arrangements were being made for a series of week-end conferences for boys and girls on the different United Nations, beginning with one on Poland: her people and her culture.

734. **LONDON INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY.** The Chairman reported on the work of the L.I.A. and said that efforts were being made to complete the Reports of the various Commissions as soon as possible. To that end the Commissions had been asked to meet more frequently. Miss Courtney referred to the excellent Report on Education which had already been published, and to the valuable series of documents on the trial of war criminals which had been prepared. The latter had not been published but a copy was available in the L.N.U. Library. Reports on (1) The Treatment of Germany and (2) The Disarmament of Germany immediately after the War had also been completed. At the next meeting of the Assembly, the question of the universality of membership of the international authority would be discussed.

Lady Layton (on behalf of Miss Pathbone) expressed the opinion that the time had come when Denmark should be represented on the L.I.A. Miss Courtney replied that the question had already been considered, but since the Assembly was anxious to confine its membership to those countries officially recognised as the United Nations, it had not been possible to invite representatives of Denmark to serve.

735. **SWEDISH LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION.** A letter dated December 4th from Mr. Olof Leopold (who had succeeded Mr. Degerman as Secretary of the Swedish League of Nations Union) was read. The letter expressed sympathy in the loss the L.N.U. had sustained by the death of Major Freswaer and went on to say that the Swedish Union was carrying on its work on a modest scale. They were at present discussing the problem of world federation.

36. **VISIT OF MR. WALTER NASH.** It was agreed that an invitation should be sent to Mr. Walter Nash to meet members of the Executive on some convenient date in the near future. It was suggested that, for that purpose, the meeting of the Executive should be held at Gas Industry House and be followed by a tea party at which Mr. Nash should be asked to speak and to which members of the L.I.A. should also be invited.

737. **PRINCESS TSAHAI MEMORIAL HOSPITAL.** Dame Adelaide Livingstone reported that a Service was to be held in Westminster Abbey on Thursday, March 16th at 3.0 p.m. on behalf of the Princess Tshai Memorial Hospital. The Executive could not see their way to alter the time of their meeting on that date, but the hope was expressed that those members who wished to do so would attend the Memorial Service.

Dame Adelaide also referred to the financial appeal which was being made on behalf of the Memorial Hospital and which had been discussed by the Executive at its last meeting (minute 724). She said that she would bring before the Executive again, at a future meeting, the question of circulating the appeal to Branches of the Union.

CHAIRMAN

March 2nd 1944.

COMMENTARY

THE UNION'S TASK.

Twenty-five years ago the League of Nations Union, then new-born, was able to contribute substantially to the shaping of opinion about the Covenant of the future League of Nations. Now, the Union has a similar task. For now the Four-Power Declaration of Moscow* (November, 1943) encourages confidence that a resolute effort will be made to establish, on surer foundations than before, "a general international organisation for the maintenance of international peace and security."

The Union has, we venture to claim, some special qualifications for this task. Its organisation remains vigorous and active, and its Executive can draw upon exceptional experience of the League's "great experiment."

THE DRAFT PACT.

The Pact here printed was drafted by the Executive in the autumn of 1943, was discussed by the Union's General Council in December, 1943, and is now published with some revisions and with this Commentary. (A fuller commentary will, it is hoped, be published later.)

The Draft is meant to show, shortly and in layman's English, how the policy of the Moscow Declaration might be carried out. If the nations are resolved to establish "a general international organisation" which can protect the peace, assure international justice, and promote prosperity and freedom, this Draft, we believe, affords a serviceable sketch of the foundations on which that organisation can be built.

We have not attempted to prepare an elaborate blue-print of a future world order. Nor have we drawn up a Treaty, complete and worded with legal precision. This Draft has been kept as short and simple as possible, and we have for this reason refrained from repeating here the details of certain important proposals, already published by the Union, about the Economic and Social aspects of peace-building.

PREMISES.

We started from the assumption that the world *must* achieve a strong and reliable "system of general security" † against war, and must provide for the "fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field." ‡

We assumed that this aim cannot be attained unless the nations, great and small, are willing to accept certain limitations of their rights and powers as "Sovereign" States.

We assumed, also, that these indispensable limitations of sovereignty include—

- (1) the obligation to refrain from aggression (and to accept an international authority's judgment as to the plea of "legitimate self-defence");
- (2) certain obligations to take part in collective resistance to aggression;
- (3) obligations to accept impartial judgment for the settlement of international disputes;
- (4) obligations to accept regulation of national armaments, within the system of general security.

* See page 13.

† Atlantic Charter, Point VIII, page 15.

‡ Atlantic Charter, Point V, page 15.

Lastly, we assumed that the nations are not ready for world-wide Federation. So we concluded that whatever may be the progress of federalism in certain regions, the main advance at present must be by way of confederation between States which, being free and "independent," voluntarily accept those limitations of their sovereign rights and powers which are necessary for the peace and freedom of all.

ARTICLE I. Membership.

The Pact begins, therefore, with a Declaration of principles; and its first Article says:

that membership of the future International Authority shall be open to any fully self-governing State which accepts these principles and which is judged by the majority of Members to be reliable in its acceptance.

This accords with the principle of the Moscow Declaration, that the future international organisation should be "based on the principle of sovereign equality of all peace-loving States, and open to membership by all such States, large or small . . ."

Any such test of admission has drawbacks; there can be no fool-proof, automatic test in such matters. And we are fully alive to the immense importance of the organisation becoming world-wide, if possible universal, in membership; we recognise that it cannot hope to fulfil some of its main functions unless at least all the Powers with very great resources are included. But we decided that some test of admission could not be omitted; this association of States will exist for certain specific purposes, and it might be weakened, not strengthened, by the participation of States whose policy and practice continued to be hostile to those purposes.

In paragraph 3 of this Article we have allowed (as the Covenant did) for withdrawal from membership under certain conditions. Here again there are obvious drawbacks; but it is impossible to force an unwilling Member to continue active participation, so we thought it better to include this provision, which at least allows time for reflection and negotiation.

ARTICLE III. Organs.*

We have referred to the organisation as "the International Authority" without attempting to suggest a name for it. We have used the name "Assembly" for the general body, and "Council" for the smaller, executive body, not because we attach importance to these names, but simply as a convenient label for the time being.

ARTICLE III. Voting and Procedure.

Article III maintains the "unanimity rule" for voting in the Assembly and Council, "except where otherwise expressly provided or prescribed." We judged this to be essential if the Authority is to secure the membership of certain States whose support is most necessary for its effective working; and we are strengthened in this judgment by the wording of the Moscow Declaration quoted above.

* In connection with this Article it may be noted that the Union's Executive suggest that the President of the Assembly should be asked to attend the meetings of the Council during his term of office.

Committee

It should, however, be noted that the words "except where otherwise expressly provided or prescribed" are interpreted in our Draft as covering a wide field, as will be seen by referring to Articles V, VII, IX, XIV and XVIII. Note especially the provision in Article XIV that "in any resolution affecting a dispute the vote of a party to it shall not be counted". The effect of these provisions is to reduce very considerably the scope of the "unanimity rule," as embodied in the League Covenant, though it may be added that the unanimity rule, even in its old form, did not in practice restrict or deter the League to the extent that is commonly supposed.

ARTICLE V. *Secretarial and Director-General.*

We have called the chief executive officer Director-General because the draft assigns to him more powers than were given to the Secretary-General of the League.

ARTICLE VIII. *Economic and Social Questions.*

We attach great importance to the proposals dealing with economic, social and other subjects* which are dealt with in this Article and in the footnote to it. One of the chief mistakes of the Covenant-makers of 1919 was that they recognised too little the importance of this part of their task of laying the foundations of an acceptable peace system. But, as explained above, we have not tried to summarise these proposals in the text.

ARTICLES IX, X, XI. *A Protected Peace.*

These three Articles contain the kernel of our plan; here is our proposal for remedying the main weakness of the League's Covenant.

Under the Covenant there was no certitude that preponderant powers would be available to protect the covenanted peace.

The police function, being everyone's business, was apt to be no one's business.

There can be no logically complete answer to that problem, short of the creation of a supra-national authority, representative of all peoples, directly controlling overwhelming coercive power, and authorised by the Community of Nations to override the authority of the constituent States. But, since it is most unlikely that such an authority can be created at this stage in the world's progress towards "world-government for certain purposes," we must turn to the best available alternative.

Will those nations commanding preponderant power be willing to make a contribution to the protection of world peace commensurate with their special responsibility? If they do not, then peace will be precarious for all peoples and none will be able to draw freely upon the world's potential plenty. The Moscow Declaration encourages the belief that, for reasons of "enlightened self-interest," its signatories will accept the special responsibility indicated in the Draft Pact.

* The Union's Executive hope that it would be directly to the economic advantage of every Member State to belong to the International Authority.

Committee

Will those powerful nations, whilst professing to use their power as a shield "on behalf of the community of nations," really use it tyrannously, arbitrarily, selfishly? Here, again, the question cannot be answered with certainty. But the best available guarantee against the abuse of such power lies in the creation of a general international authority, and "a system of general security," through which the legitimate interests of all the States, "large or small," can find democratic safeguards.

Our Draft Pact places on the Great Powers an unqualified obligation to use their whole strength, as agents of the International Authority, to defeat aggression. It affirms that responsibility as plainly as possible. Further, the draft places on the whole body of Member States the responsibility of deciding what constitutes an aggression* and the obligation not to give any assistance to an aggressor. That is a condition of membership.

ARTICLE XII. *General Regulation of Armaments.*

The Moscow Declaration, like Point VIII of the Atlantic Charter, contemplates as a first step the one-sided disarmament of the enemy; but it recognises also the need for co-operation "to bring about a practicable general agreement with respect to the regulation of armaments in the post-war world." The Declaration emphasises "the necessity . . . of establishing and maintaining international peace and security with the least diversion of the world's human and economic resources for armaments."

Our draft, in accord with this policy, provides for action to secure agreement on the limitation of armaments all round, so as to prevent armament competition, but not so as to impair collective defence against aggression. That limitation will only command general confidence if it is thoroughly and impartially supervised.

The draft recommends examination of the practicability of creating an International Air Force, under the direct control of the International Authority.

ARTICLES XIII AND XIV. *Peaceful Settlement of Disputes.*

Paragraph 3 of Article XIII and paragraph 3 of Article XIV are meant to facilitate the working out of satisfactory methods of dealing with international questions involving changes of existing rights of States. (Article XIX of the Covenant was too weak a foundation.)

These Draft Articles represent, of course, only a very summary treatment of the crucial and complex questions of pacific settlement of international differences.

Do you want to see "a general international organisation," built on surer foundations than the League of Nations? If so may this Draft at least help you to think out some of the problems that will be involved in the world's second great essay in peace-building.

* It is no good to condemn "aggression" as a crime whilst insisting on retaining absolute discretion as to what constitutes "legitimate self-defence."

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE
COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 11 MAIDEN LANE,
LONDON, W.C.2. ON THURSDAY, MARCH
2ND, 1944 AT 2.15 P.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Lord Cecil,
Miss K.D. Courtney, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Sewcett,
Lady Hall, Sir Arthur Heworth, Mr. J. Howe,
Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Miss E. Rathbone,
Mr. H.S. Srett, Mr. A.E.P. Thomas, Sir Ralph
Wedgwood and Mr. Judd.

738. MINUTES The Minutes of the Meeting held on February 17th,
1944 were confirmed as circulated.

739. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 731 - Annual Meeting of General Council,
it having been reported that neither the Livingstone Hall
nor the Conway Hall was available on June 22nd and 23rd,
it was

RESOLVED: That the Annual Meeting of the General Council
be held in the Livingstone Hall on June 29th,
30th and, if necessary, July 1st.

On Minute 736 - Visit of Mr. Walter Nash, a letter was
reported from Mr. Walter Nash, expressing his readiness
to meet the Executive Committee on the afternoon of
March 16th and to stay for tea with members of the London
International Assembly provided he was still in this
country at the time.

740. VACANCIES ON COMMITTEE. It was reported that Miss Margot
Gale had accepted the invitation to join the Executive, but
had expressed regret that other engagements made it impossible
for her to attend the present meeting.

On the motion of Lord Cecil, seconded by Dame Adelaide
Livingstone, it was

RESOLVED: That Mrs. Noel Baker be invited to join the
Executive.

741. ADMINISTRATION COMMITTEE. The minutes of the meeting held
on February 17th, on which an oral report had been made at
the last Executive, were formally approved and adopted.

The Chairman presented the following oral report on the
meeting of the Committee held that morning.

Freshwater Memorial Fund. Up to date, the sum of £386
had been received. After Miss Courtney and Miss
Sewcett had reported to the Executive reactions from
certain Branches with which they had lately come in
contact in regard to the Fund, the Chairman stated
that, if the Fund did not realise the sum of money
required to carry out the proposed scheme, further
consideration would have to be given to the use to
be made of the sum collected.

L. Lytton
March 16, 1944

United Nations Day Celebrations. In view of the fact that the choice of June 14th as United Nations Day had been very much criticised by some of the patriotic bodies in the United States, it was possible that some other date would this year be selected for the celebration. August 14th, the anniversary of the signing of the Atlantic Charter, had been suggested as an alternative and the Secretary would be informed officially so soon as a decision had been taken in Washington.

Of those persons invited to lend their patronage to the U.N.D.C. Committee as Honorary Vice-Presidents, acceptances had so far been received from Mr. Winant, Mr. Agnides and Mr. Erik Colban. On the recommendation of the Administration Committee it was agreed to invite Lord Cecil, and Dr. Murray to act also as Hon. Vice-Presidents, and Lord Cecil intimated his willingness to do so.

The Administration Committee had that morning had before them a draft scheme, prepared by the Secretary, for the United Nations Day Celebrations, including a lunch-hour Meeting in the Guildhall and a popular Demonstration in the Albert Hall in addition to local celebrations. While welcoming the proposals, some doubt had been expressed at the Committee as to whether in present circumstances the Union could undertake all the activities suggested in the memorandum. Consideration of the draft scheme had been adjourned until the first meeting of the U.N.D.C. Committee on March 16th when members of the General Purposes Committee of the L.L.A. would be present.

Lord Cecil and Miss Courtney expressed their earnest hope that the main purpose of any Meetings organised by the Union on United Nations Day would be to advocate the policy of the Moscow Declaration concerning the future international authority.

742. APPOINTMENT OF TRAVELLING REPRESENTATIVE. At the request of the Chairman, Mr. Howe reported on the meeting of the Selection Committee held on the previous day when nine candidates, chosen from over seventy applicants, had been interviewed for appointment as Travelling Representative. The standard of the candidates was exceedingly high, but eventually the Committee had narrowed its choice down to two: Miss Stewart Parnell who, for some years before the war was Assistant Organiser for the London Regional Federation and Captain Morton (formerly Organising Secretary for the British Legion in Hampshire). Both these candidates were considered to be eminently suitable for the position, and the Selection Committee had recommended that both should be appointed, believing that this would make it possible to strengthen the organisation and membership of the Union in a way that one Travelling Representative could not hope to do alone. The Chairman added that the recommendation had been endorsed by the Administration Committee that morning.

Miss Courtney stated that all the candidates had been impressed by the amount of interest which they found in international affairs and post-war settlement and felt there was a great work to be done. This had encouraged the Committee to propose the appointment at the present time of two organisers instead of one.

Mr. Syrett expressed grave concern lest the Union's financial position should revert to the very unsatisfactory state in which it was at the beginning of the war, and although he was ready to leave the decision in the hands of the Executive, he felt very strongly that it would be more prudent to begin by appointing one Travelling Representative rather than two.

The Chairman, in reply to Mr. Syrett, said that the position would be very carefully watched and a periodic report on the results achieved would be given to the Executive. It was then

RESOLVED: "That the recommendation of the Selection Committee and the Administration Committee be approved and adopted."

743. **OBJECTS OF L.N.U.** Lord Lytton stated that the attention of the Administration Committee had been drawn to the Objects of the Union as set-out in the Royal Charter, and especially to the first of these, viz:

"To secure the whole-hearted acceptance by the British people of the League of Nations as the guardian of international right, the organ of international co-operation, the final arbiter in international differences, and the supreme instrument for removing injustices which may threaten the peace of the world."

It was suggested that many people might be unwilling to join the Union if they knew that this was still the first of its Objects, but might nevertheless be ready to support the Moscow Declaration and the Union's Draft Pact. The matter would be further discussed by the Administration Committee.

744. **PRIME MINISTER'S SPEECH ON FEBRUARY 22ND.** Lord Lytton drew attention to statements contained in the speech by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons on February 22nd which appeared to be inconsistent with the terms of the Atlantic Charter. A discussion followed and it was agreed that the Chairman, in consultation with Lord Cecil, should prepare a draft resolution for consideration at the next meeting.
745. **APPLICATION FOR CORPORATE MEMBERSHIP.** The Kingston-on-Thames Labour Party was admitted as a Corporate Member of the Union and the firing of the Union's seal to the Certificate was authorised.
746. **ARTICLE IN NEWS CHRONICLE.** Sir Ralph Wedgwood drew attention to an article appearing in the NEWS CHRONICLE on the previous day entitled "Here the League Failed" and contributed "by a man who was on the League of Nations Secretariat for 17 years". The Secretary was asked to forward the article to Lord Perth and enquire if he would be prepared to answer it.

Lytton
CHAIRMAN
March 16th 1944

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT LIVINGSTONE HALL, WESTMINSTER ON THURSDAY, MARCH 16TH, 1943 AT 2.15 P.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Mr. F. Bullock, Mr. F.M. Burris, Lord Cecil, Dr. Hilda Clark, Miss K.D. Courtney, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Fawcett, Mr. W. Arnold Forster, Miss Gale, Lady Hall, Mr. A.J. Howe, Lady Layton, Mr. J. Macdonald, Mr. G. de M. Mander, Dr. Murray, Mrs. Noel Baker, Professor L. Paton, Lord Perth, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, Lord Sankar, Mrs. H.S. Sprott, Mr. Alan Thomas, Sir Ralph Wedgwood, Professor Basil Williams.

747. MINUTES. The Minutes of the Meeting held on March 2nd, 1944 were confirmed as circulated.

748. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

740 - Vacancies on Committee, the Chairman welcomed Miss Gale who was attending the Executive for the first time. The Committee were glad to learn that Mrs. Noel-Baker had also accepted the invitation to serve on the Executive and would be present later in the afternoon.

742 - Appointment of Travelling Representative, the Chairman reported that Captain Morton, since his interview with the Selection Committee, had accepted another appointment in connection with War service, and, although he was very anxious to work with the L.N.U. he would not be able to relinquish his new appointment for 3 to 6 months. After recalling the circumstances in which it had been decided to appoint two Travelling Representatives, and after the Chairman had stated that Miss Stewart Parnell would begin duty as soon as possible, the Committee agreed to hold the second appointment open for Captain Morton until the autumn in the hope that he would, by that time, be available.

746 - Article in NEWS CHRONICLE. The Executive were glad to learn that a reply by Lord Perth to the article on "Where the League Failed" had been published in the current issue of the NEWS CHRONICLE. Answers from Senator Rolin, Dr. Cizar and Senhor de Madariaga had also appeared in the paper.

749. RESIGNATION OF MR. PRITCHARD. It was reported that Mr. Pritchard had resigned his membership of the Executive Committee as a representative of the Metropolitan Region since he felt that he could best serve the Union by devoting such spare time as he had at his disposal to the work of the London Regional Federation. The Chairman was asked to write to Mr. Pritchard, expressing the Committee's deep regret at his resignation and thanking him for all the service which he had rendered for so many years on the Executive.

750. TERRITORIAL PROBLEMS. The Executive resumed consideration of the resolution submitted by the Dean of Chichester and Mrs. Dugdale, and the amendment submitted by Lord Perth, on February 17th (minute 730). The Committee were reminded that, at the previous meeting, the Dean of Chichester had accepted the amendment and, after Mrs. Dugdale had also expressed her agreement with it, it was decided to take the amendment (which reads as follows) as the basis of discussion:-

"The Executive Committee, recalling Point III of the Atlantic Charter, affirms its belief that it is essential to mutual confidence and international security that the people of a country, the boundaries of which have been determined either by negotiation or by the general consent of the Allies, shall, after the final destruction of Nazi tyranny, have the right to set up a Government based on their freely-expressed wishes."

Mrs. Dugdale supporting the amendment, said that, although the occasion which prompted the Dean and herself to bring the resolution forward had more or less passed, the principles, and the necessity for enunciating those principles, remained

Lord Sankey, after supporting the amendment, referred to certain passages in a recent book by Mr. Brailsford on "Re-settlement with Germany" which suggested that we must so far discard the rule of non-intervention, and so far limit the self-determination of nations, as to forbid the erection of any regime which was, by reason of the idea that it embodied, necessarily aggressive.

Lord Cecil, in reply to Lord Sankey, said we were opposed to any government which was a danger to the peace of Europe, and that any country which had such a government ought not to be allowed to have an army. So far as existing conditions were concerned, it was clear that Germany was quite unfit to have an army and would be so for a long time to come.

The Chairman expressed the opinion that the form of government was a matter which concerned only the people of the country governed, and there should be no interference or dictation from without as to the form that that government should take. But the policy of a government was not a matter which concerned its citizens alone, and if a government were formed which had a policy either menacing or aggressive to other countries, it would cease to be a matter of purely domestic concern.

Mr. Mander suggested adding to the amendment the words

"provided that its international policy is co-operative".

The Chairman hoped that the additional words, if accepted by the Committee, would take the form of a new sentence as, for example:

"It is essential that the criterion of a government should be its policy towards other countries
[or international peace] rather than its constitution."

Professor Paton was of the opinion that the proposed addition had nothing to do with the resolution, and urged that, if the Committee wished to discuss it, it should be taken as a separate item.

Lord Cecil thought the Executive ought to make a definite statement, e.g. in the Draft Pact, regarding the necessity of maintaining a careful watch on the policy of other countries in order to make sure that they did not degenerate into aggressive policies.

After further discussion it was, on the motion of Mr. Thomas, seconded by Miss Courtney,

RESOLVED: "That further consideration of this matter be ~~deferred~~ ^{deferred}."

751. - PRIME MINISTER'S STATEMENT IN HOUSE OF COMMONS ON FEBRUARY 22ND. The Executive had before them the following resolution drafted by Lord Lytton in accordance with their request (minute 744). The Chairman said that he had submitted the resolution to Lord Cecil who advised the omission of the words in brackets.

"In view of the recent discussions in Parliament and the Press about the future frontier between Russia and Poland, in the course of which the suggestion was made that Poland should surrender to Russia territory, the population of which is mainly Ukrainian and White Russian, and acquire as compensation territory "in the north and west" which is entirely inhabited by Germans"

The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union reaffirms its belief that a just and enduring peace can only be secured by adherence to the principle embodied in Article 2 of the Atlantic Charter that territorial changes should not be made in accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned."

In presenting the resolution, Lord Lytton said that the Branches and members of the Union would be looking to the Executive for a lead in this matter. It was a duty which the Executive owed to its members to give them such a lead and ask their support for a policy which was essential to future peace.

Sir Ralph Wedgwood proposed an amendment in the first paragraph to delete the words after "Poland" in the fourth line and to substitute "should surrender territory to Russia in the East, and acquire as compensation other territory in the North and West, without reference in either case to any expression of the wishes of the inhabitants....."

Lord Cecil, having regard to recent statements made by Mr. Eden in the House of Commons, was strongly opposed to any public pronouncement being made at the present time which would amount to an attempt to influence pending negotiations. But he agreed that the L.N.U. Branches should be informed that the Executive adhered (as in the second part of the resolution) to the principle that, as a general proposition, territory ought not to be transferred from one country to another except with the full consent of the inhabitants.

Mr. Thomas said that, since the last meeting of the Executive, it had become clear that public opinion was very deeply disturbed, not on the question of negotiations between one country and another but on the moral issue involved.

Miss Rathbone suggested inserting the words "on February 22nd and 23rd" after "Parliament" and omitting the words in brackets. After further discussion in which many members of the Committee took part, and after a vote had been taken, it was (with five dissentients)

RESOLVED: "In view of the discussions in Parliament on February 22nd and 23rd, the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union reaffirms its belief that a just and enduring peace can only be secured by adherence to the principle embodied in Article 2 of the Atlantic Charter that territorial changes should not be made except in accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned."

It was agreed that the above resolution should be communicated to H.M. Government and be published in HEADWAY.

752. - **UNITED NATIONS DAY CELEBRATION COMMITTEE.** The Chairman reported that the first Meeting of the U.N.D.C. Committee had been held that morning and had considered a possible programme of activities. He had promised them that he would report at their next meeting what sum of money the Union would be prepared to spend on the organisation of such celebrations. In the absence of Mr. Syrett, it was agreed that the matter be referred for consideration by the Officers, with power to act.

753. - **DRAFT PACT FOR THE FUTURE INTERNATIONAL AUTHORITY.** The Chairman reported that he had received a letter from Mr. Eden giving in some detail his comments on the Draft Pact. Since the communication had been marked "Private" the Chairman was unable to disclose its contents, but he had asked the Foreign Secretary's permission to read his letter to the Executive and he hoped that such permission would be forthcoming in time for the matter to be dealt with at the next meeting of the Committee.

Lord Lytton further reported that the London International Assembly, at some of its recent meetings, had been considering an alternative proposal for an International Authority. Definite conclusions had not yet been reached, but when the alternative scheme was available the Chairman suggested that a Tea Discussion meeting should be held in order to provide an opportunity for interchange of opinion between members of the Executive and of the L.I.A.

754. - **VISIT OF THE HON. WALTER NASH M.P.** Lord Lytton on behalf of the Committee, warmly welcomed Mr. Walter Nash, Deputy Prime Minister of New Zealand, who, after making a brief statement to the Executive, addressed a Tea Discussion Group of the London International Assembly at which members of the Executive were also present.

Lytton
CHAIRMAN

March 30th 1944.

CONFIDENTIALLEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE
COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 11 MALDEN LANE
ON THURSDAY, MARCH 30TH, 1944 AT 2.15 P.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Mrs. Beale, Lord Cecil,
Dr. Hilda Clark, Miss K.D. Courtney, Mrs. Dugdale,
Miss Fawcett, Miss Gale, Lady Hall, Mr. A.J. Howe,
Lady Layton, Mr. J. Macdonald, Dr. Murray,
Mrs. Noel-Baker, Lord Perth, Mr. Nowell C. Smith,
Mr. H.S. Syrett, Mr. A.W. Seton Watson,
Professor Basil Williams, and Mr. Judd.

755. MINUTES. Subject to the insertion of the word "except" which had been omitted in error after the word "made" in the third paragraph of Minute 751, the minutes of the Meeting held on March 16th, 1944 were confirmed as circulated.

756. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 742 - Appointment of Travelling Representative. The Chairman reported a communication from Captain Morton stating that he would be glad to accept an appointment as Travelling Representative for the L.N.U. so soon as he found it possible to relinquish his present office.

On Minute 750 - Territorial Problems. It was agreed that this matter should be adjourned sine die, and the Secretary was asked not to place the item on the Agenda again unless requested to do so by the Dean of Chichester or any other member of the Committee.

On Minute 752 - United Nations Day Committee. The Chairman reported that the Officers had agreed to an expenditure by the Union of £250 to £300 on United Nations Day Celebrations. It was hoped that financial contributions would also be made by some of the Allied Governments. (For a further report on this subject see Minute 760 below).

757. DRAFT PACT FOR THE FUTURE INTERNATIONAL AUTHORITY. With the permission of the Foreign Secretary, the Chairman reported to the Executive the substance of the letter he had received from Mr. Eden commenting on the Draft Pact.

758. LEASE OF L.R.F. OFFICE. On the motion of Mr. Syrett it was RESOLVED: That, on behalf of the London Regional Federation as lessees, the seal of the Union be affixed to a further five-year lease of their Federation's offices at 32, Fitzroy Square.

759. WOMEN'S ADVISORY COUNCIL. Miss Courtney presented to the Executive the following resolutions adopted by the W.A.C. at their meeting on March 8th and which the Council had requested should be forwarded to H.M. Government:-

1. The Women's Advisory Council urges the Government to include in the British delegation to the forthcoming Conference of the I.L.O. women delegates and advisors with

special knowledge of the problems concerned. It calls upon the British delegates to urge that in all post-war planning the principle be established that women, married or unmarried, have the right to earn on the same terms as men and that the principle of equal pay for equal work - the rate for the job - with equal opportunities for training and promotion, be explicitly adopted.

It further urges the provision of good conditions of work with equal safeguards for men and women; and the abolition of the division between men's and women's work, the artificiality of which has been fully proved during the present war and the last one.

The Women's Advisory Council therefore strongly deprecates the proposals on the agenda of the Conference to consider women workers as a separate category as is done in the case of young persons and disabled workers (Item III) a procedure which would inevitably discriminate to the detriment of the woman worker.

2. This Council desires to emphasise that governments, in their international planning, in peace-making and in framing the constitution of the World Authority of the future, should recognise that all positions shall be open on equal terms to men and women, and that every endeavour should be made to appoint women with suitable qualifications to all representative bodies, and

Urges H.M. Government to take a leading part towards the promotion of this policy.

Lady Hall moved the deletion of all the words after "women" in the second paragraph of resolution 1.

After discussion in which Mr. Syrett, Lord Perth, Lady Layton, Lord Cecil and Miss Fawcett took part, and after Mr. Macdonald had seconded Lady Hall's amendment, it was

RESOLVED: "That the resolutions of the W.A.C. be accepted in the following abbreviated form, and be forwarded to H.M. Government as recommendations of the W.A.C.:-

1. The Women's Advisory Council of the League of Nations Union urges H.M. Government to include in the British delegation to the forthcoming Conference of the I.L.O. women delegates and advisors with special knowledge of the problems concerned. It calls upon the British delegates to urge that in all post-war planning the principle be established that women, married or unmarried, have the right to earn on the same terms as men and that the principle of equal pay for equal work - the rate for the job - with equal opportunities for training and promotion, be explicitly adopted.

It further urges the provision of good conditions of work with equal safeguards for men and women.

2. The Women's Advisory Council desires to emphasise that governments, in their international planning, in peace-making and in framing the constitution of the World Authority of the future, should recognise that all positions shall be open on equal terms to men and women and that every endeavour should be made to appoint women with suitable qualifications to all such representative bodies, and

Urges H.M. Government to take a leading part towards the promotion of this policy.

760. UNITED NATIONS DAY COMMITTEE. The Chairman stated that a very representative meeting of the U.N.D. Committee had been held that morning at which he had reported a recent conversation with Mr. Brendan Bracken. Lord Lytton had outlined to the Minister the proposals of the U.N.D.C. for celebrating United Nations Day with emphasis on the necessity of maintaining unity both at the end of the war and in the peace negotiations that would follow, and had asked for the support of the M. of I. in carrying out the proposals. The Chairman had mentioned in particular the possibility of the Prime Minister accepting the office of Honorary President of the Committee, of Mr. Eden making the principal speech in London, and of the M. of I. giving financial or other material assistance, supplying posters etc. and appointing a member of their staff to act as Liaison Officer on the U.N.D. Committee. Mr. Brendan Bracken appeared to be wholly in sympathy with the proposal but said that it was a matter which primarily concerned the Foreign Office and that he would therefore need to consult Mr. Eden. If the Foreign Secretary approved, then the M. of I. would be ready to give all the help for which Lord Lytton had asked.

It was reported that news had not yet been received from Washington regarding the precise date on which United Nations Day was to be celebrated this year in the U.S.A., and the Committee had discussed with Mr. Stavridi (the Director of the United Nations Information Office) the possibility of an alternative date being suggested from this country. But having regard to the fact that school vacations in the U.S.A. and this country would cover the whole of July and August, it was felt that the best plan would be to continue to regard June 14th as United Nations Day.

A further meeting of the U.N.D. Committee would be held on April 16th when it was hoped that a report from Mr. Brendan Bracken on his interview with the Foreign Secretary would be available, and when further plans could be considered. In the meantime, however, the Committee had recommended that in any case a big United Nations Meeting should be held in London and, since the Albert Hall was not available until October, that the Central Hall should be booked for the evening of Tuesday, June 15th. The Committee had further recommended that inquiries should be made regarding the possibility of the B.B.C. including a suitable talk on the United Nations in their programme for schools on June 16th.

After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the recommendations of the U.N.D. Committee be approved and adopted."

761. ADMINISTRATION COMMITTEE. The minutes of the Committee dated March 16th, on which an oral report had already been made, were formally adopted.

762. INTERNATIONALISATION OF AIRWAYS AFTER THE WAR. Professor Basil Williams drew attention to an article in the current number of the TRANSATLANTIC MAGAZINE, pointing out how, more than to any other nation, the war had given the world's air to America, and the difficult situation which might arise if the American Air Companies were to obtain a monopoly of air routes throughout the world. He also referred to a recent article by Captain Quinton Hogg in the EVENING STANDARD urging against internationalisation of air transport, and to detailed proposals by Senhor de Madariaga for such internationalisation. Professor Williams suggested that the Executive would issue a short reasoned statement of the case for internationalisation of airways so soon as the war comes to an end.

Lord Cecil pointed out that there was a great difference between international control and international ownership, and that Senhor de Madariaga, in his proposals, had rejected altogether the former conception. Lord Cecil hoped the matter would be considered very carefully by the Executive since it would, in his opinion, be unwise for the Union at the present stage to make any proposal for expropriating all the large private interests involved and putting them under international ownership.

Lord Perth suggested that regulation by agreement, on the lines of the International Telegraphic Union, might meet the case.

The Chairman agreed that it was a matter on which expert advice was needed and after further discussion, during which it was suggested that the Ministry of Transport, Lord Keith, Senhor de Madariaga and Sir Arthur Salter might be consulted, it was

RESOLVED: "To ask the Chairman to obtain from such persons as he considers desirable technical advice on the practicability or otherwise of the internationalisation of civil aviation, and to report further to the Committee."

Mrs. Noel-Baker promised to consult Mr. Noel-Baker about possible sources from which advice might be forthcoming, and Miss Courtney undertook to discuss the matter with Sir Arthur Salter if an opportunity presented itself during her forthcoming visit to America.

(At this point Lord Lytton left the meeting and the Chair was taken by Miss Courtney.)

763. LONDON INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY. Miss Courtney reported that the various Commissions of the L.I.A. were making good progress towards the completion of their reports. The L.I.A. had recently adopted a Report on "An International Civil Service" and were now in course of discussing a paper on "World Organisation". Further Reports awaiting consideration dealt with "The Liquidation of War", "Armaments Policy", "Pacific Settlement of International Disputes" and "The Place of Religion in Post-War Reconstruction". When all the Reports were available, Miss Courtney felt they would show that the L.I.A. had done a most useful piece of work.

764. COUNCIL FOR EDUCATION IN WORLD CITIZENSHIP. Mr. Nowell Smith reported that, during the current term, a special session of the Joint Commission of the C.E.W.C. and the L.I.A. had been held, and progress had been made in the drafting of a Report dealing with an International Organisation for Education. Week-end Conferences had been held in London for VI Form boys and girls on Poland and Czechoslovakia, and further Conferences were being arranged on Yugoslavia, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. A regional conference had been held at Burnley and several large regional conferences for boys and girls would be held in the Easter holidays.

765. DR. GARNETT. The Committee learned with deep regret that Dr. Garnett was undergoing an operation in Gay's Hospital. The Secretary was asked to convey to him the sympathy of the Executive and their best wishes for his speedy recovery.

766. CLOSING OF OFFICE FOR EASTER. It was

RESOLVED: "That the office be closed on April 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th."

767. DATE OF NEXT MEETING. It was agreed that the Committee should not meet on Thursday, April 8th (the day before Good Friday) and that the next ordinary meeting should take place on Thursday, April 20th. It was understood that if circumstances arose which necessitated action by the Executive, a special meeting would be summoned by the Chairman in the interval.

L. Lyon

CHAIRMAN.

April 20th 1944.

CONFIDENTIALLEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE
COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 11 MAIDEN LANE,
LONDON, W.C.2. ON THURSDAY, APRIL 20TH,
1944 AT 2.15 P.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Professor S. Brodetsky, Lord Cecil, the Dean of Chichester, Dr. Hilda Clark, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Fawcett, Miss Gale, Lady Hall, Mr. A.J. Howe, Mr. D.L. Lipson, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Mrs. Noel Baker, Lord Perth, Mr. Nowell C. Smith, Mr. R.W. Seton Watson, Sir Ralph Wedgwood, Professor Basil Williams and Mr. C.W. Judd.

768. MINUTES. The Minutes of the Meeting held on March 30th, 1944 were confirmed as circulated.

769. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 765 - Dr. Garnett, the Secretary reported that he had lately seen Dr. Garnett who was progressing slowly after his recent operations but was likely to have to remain in hospital for some weeks.

770. MISS COURTNEY. The Committee learned with deep satisfaction from the Chairman that Miss Courtney had arrived safely in the United States.

771. DR. GILBERT MURRAY. The Executive asked that a message of sympathy in his present illness and hope for his speedy recovery should be sent to Dr. Murray.

772. LORD DAVIES. It having also been reported that Lord Davies was seriously ill in hospital, Lord Lytton was asked to send, on behalf of the Committee, a message of sympathy and hope for his recovery.

The Chairman referred to a memorandum which Lord Davies had recently written in criticism of the Executive's Draft Pact and which he had asked should be circulated to L.N.U. Branches. Lord Lytton had suggested that it would be more convenient to deal with the memorandum if it were put in the form of an alternative draft pact and, before his illness Lord Davies had accepted the suggestion.

Lord Perth pointed out that Lord Davies' criticism appeared to have been based on a first edition of the Executive's draft and that much of the criticism had already been met in the published version.

773. ATLANTIC CHARTER: ARTICLE IN HEADWAY. The Dean of Chichester drew attention to the leading article in the current issue of HEADWAY on the subject of the Atlantic Charter, contributed by a member of the Executive Committee. While agreeing with much that was contained in the article, he felt it would be read by many people as a summing-up of the general opinion of the Executive and he had therefore written a letter to the Editor, controverting certain statements, which he hoped could be published.

The Chairman reported a letter he had received from Dr. Murray, suggesting that since the article represented a view which was not shared by all the Executive and to some extent, was controversial, those who held different views should be invited to state them in HEADWAY. Dr. Murray mentioned, in particular, Professor Paton.

After discussion it was agreed that Professor Paton should be asked to write an article for publication in the next issue of HEADWAY, and that the Dean of Chichester's letter be also included.

774. INTERNATIONALISATION OF AIRWAYS AFTER THE WAR. The Chairman reported that he had received from the Secretary a list of the members of a technical committee on the internationalisation of civil aviation which had advised the Executive on a former occasion. Mr. Arnold Forster had also written a memorandum and the Chairman expected to receive other papers. It was agreed that this item be included on the agenda for further discussion at the next meeting.

775. ANNUAL MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL.

(a) Appointment of Procedure Committee. It was

RESOLVED: "That Lady Hall, Mr. Leonard Behrens and Mr. A.E.V. Thomas be invited to serve on the Procedure Committee for the Annual Meeting of the General Council."

In the event of either Mr. Behrens or Mr. Thomas being unable to serve, it was left to the Chairman, Lady Hall and the Secretary to make such other arrangements as they considered desirable.

(b) Motions for submission by the Executive Committee.

Reference was made to the Prime Minister's recent statement in the House of Commons in which he had expressed warm approval of the broadcast by Mr. Cordell Hull and appreciation of the work done by the League of Nations. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) That Lord Cecil be asked to draft a resolution, for consideration by the Executive with a view to its being submitted to the General Council, welcoming the Prime Minister's statement, and stressing the urgent necessity of impressing on public opinion that the League's failure was due solely to lack of support in this and other countries, and that no international authority in the future will have any chance of success in keeping the peace unless there is readiness to back it up by force in certain circumstances.

(2) That resolutions on the subject of (1) the I.L.C. (2) the Atlantic Charter, and (3) Nazi policy of extermination in Hungary be also submitted to the General Council; and that drafts be prepared

(1) by Lady Hall, (2) by the Dean of Chichester and (3) by Professor Brodetsky for consideration by the Executive at its next meeting.

(3) That notice be given in the Preliminary Agenda that the Executive may ask for "urgency" to move motions on current international affairs.

776. **MILITARY OCCUPATION OF GERMANY.** It was agreed that, at the next meeting of the Executive, consideration should be given to the problems that will arise during the period of occupation of Germany after the cessation of hostilities.

777. **DRAFT PACT FOR THE FUTURE INTERNATIONAL AUTHORITY.** The Executive were reminded that when the Statement of Policy 'World Settlement After the War' was published, copies were circulated to all Members of Parliament. It was agreed that similar action should be taken in regard to the Draft Pact.

Consideration was given to a suggestion made at an earlier meeting of the Committee that a tea party should be held for representatives of the Press at which the policy outlined in the Draft Pact should be discussed.

The Chairman recalled the suggestion he had recently made that, when the London International Assembly's alternative proposals for an International Authority were completed, an opportunity should be sought for an interchange of opinion between the L.I.A. and the Executive. In these circumstances he suggested, and it was agreed, that consideration of the proposed tea meeting for the Press be deferred.

778. **UNITED NATIONS DAY COMMITTEE.** The Chairman reported an interview he had had on April 6th with Mr. Mason (the Head of the North American Department at the Foreign Office) and a letter which he had subsequently received from Mr. Richard Law to the effect that the Government felt that, if there was to be any observance of United Nations Day this year, the initiative should be taken by them, and suggesting that the U.N.D. Committee should "fall in behind them". A meeting of the U.N.D. Committee would be held on April 27th when Lord Lytton could explain the position. Mrs. Noel-Baker stated that, in the meantime, she hoped to have an opportunity of meeting Mr. Law and would discuss the matter further with him since it was not unlikely that some of the activities suggested by the U.N.D. Committee might be welcomed by H.M. Government.

779. **ADMINISTRATION COMMITTEE.** The Minutes of the Meeting held on March 30th, on which an oral report had already been made, were formally approved and adopted.

New Leaflet. The Chairman reported that, at the meeting held that morning, a resolution adopted by the General Council last December on "The Preparation of the Public Mind for World Peace" had been considered, and, that after examining the leaflets and pamphlets already available, the Committee felt there was a need for a new leaflet setting forth the reasons why peace cannot be secured without a world organisation. A draft was accordingly being prepared for consideration at the next meeting.

Membership. The Chairman also reported that the membership figures for the first three months of 1944 showed a slight increase over those for the corresponding period in 1943.

780. **NEWS CHRONICLE.** A letter from Sir Ralph Wedgwood to the Secretary was reported, drawing attention to recent references to the League of Nations in the NEWS CHRONICLE.

CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 11 MAIDEN LANE, LONDON, W.C.2, ON THURSDAY, MAY 4TH, 1944 AT 2.15 P.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Mrs. Noel Baker, Lord Cecil, the Dean of Chichester, Dr. Hilda Clark, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Fawcett, Miss Gale, Lady Hall, Mr. A.J. Howe, Mr. D.L. Lipson, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Mr. J. Macdonald, Mr. G. le M. Mander, Dr. Murray, Mr. L. Paton, Lord Perth, Mr. Nowell C. Smith, Mr. H.S. Syrett, Mr. A.E.J. Thomas, Professor Basil Williams, and Mr. C.W. Judd.

781. MINUTES. The minutes of the Meeting held on April 20th, 1944 were confirmed as circulated.

782. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 772 - Lord Davies, the Chairman stated that he had informed Lord Davies that his memorandum in criticism of the Executive's Draft Pact could not be communicated to all L.N.U. Branches as he had asked, but that, if he so desired, copies would be circulated to the members of the Executive. Lord Davies had accepted this suggestion and his memorandum would therefore be communicated to the Executive with the papers for the next meeting.

On Minute 773 - Atlantic Charter: Article in HEADWAY. Professor Paton expressed his willingness to write an article for publication in the June number of HEADWAY, but stated that it would have to be written anonymously.

783. DEATH OF MR. CROZIER. On the motion of the Chairman, it was unanimously agreed to send a message of condolence on the death of Mr. Crozier to the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.

784. GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING. The Executive had before them draft resolutions on the subject of (a) The Future International Authority, (b) The Atlantic Charter and (c) Nazi Policy of Massacre and Extermination, prepared in accordance with their request at the last meeting (copies filed with these minutes).

They also considered an amendment by Lord Perth to the resolution on the Atlantic Charter, and after discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) That the resolutions be approved and adopted in the following amended form for submission in the name of the Executive to the Annual Meeting of the General Council:

(a) The Future International Authority.

The General Council notes that, on April 18th, the Prime Minister, in answer to a question in the House of Commons, said that "if the League of Nations had been properly backed up things might have been different", and urges that the Union should devote its

-2-

utmost efforts to secure that the International Authority to be set up at the end of the war shall receive the fullest support of this country, including the use, if necessary, of its armed forces.

The Council is further of opinion that the greatness and glory of this country are deeply concerned with the part it plays in the maintenance of World Peace.

(b) The Atlantic Charter.

The General Council believes that the principle embodied in Article 2 of the Atlantic Charter that territorial changes should not be made except in accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned is sound and should be applied in conjunction with the other provisions of the Charter.

(c) Nazi Policy of Massacre and Extermination.

The General Council

Realising that the development of events in Europe, which it is hoped will lead to rapid victory, will expose to special danger certain sections of the population, especially the Jews, to whom the Nazis are applying a policy of massacre and extermination;

Acknowledges with gratitude the statement made by President Roosevelt and by His Majesty's Government; and

Urges that all steps be taken by those responsible for military developments of the United Nations to rescue the possible victims of this Nazi policy.

On the motion of Dr. Gilbert Murray, it was further

RESOLVED: (2) That the following resolution on the "United Nations Organisation for Educational and Cultural Reconstruction" be also submitted in the name of the Executive to the General Council:-

I. The General Council

Records its deep appreciation of the decision by the President of the Board of Education, the Conference of allied Ministers of Education, and the American Educational Delegation to promote the formation of a United Nations Organisation for Educational and Cultural Reconstruction;

Trusts that the new Organisation will be speedily established, with an adequate United Nations Secretariat and sufficient financial support; and

Looks forward to its further development, within the framework of a General International

Organisation, as a permanent International Organisation for Education which will help to provide the moral and intellectual basis of peace.

- II. The General Council congratulates the London International Assembly, the Council for Education in World Citizenship and their Joint Commission on this successful outcome of their work.

It was also

RESOLVED: (3) That notice be given in the Preliminary Agenda that the Executive will ask for "urgency" to move a resolution on the subject of the I.L.O. at the Council Meeting.

785. DRAFT PACT FOR THE FUTURE INTERNATIONAL AUTHORITY. The Executive had before them motions to amend the Draft Pact adopted by (a) the Beddington, Carshalton & Wallington Branch and (b) the Burslem Branch, for submission to the General Council. Since it was not the Executive's intention to submit a resolution to the Council asking for the adoption of the Draft Pact, the Secretary was asked to inform the two Branches that their motions, if included in the Council Agenda, would have to take the form of recommendations to the Executive Committee.

The Beddington, Carshalton & Wallington Branch had further strongly urged the Executive Committee to allocate much more time than had hitherto been given to the highly important subject of League policy, and had suggested that the June Meeting of the Council should last for three whole days. After discussion, the Committee were generally of opinion that, under present conditions, the time allowed for the Annual Meeting was adequate.

786. INTERNATIONALISATION OF AIRWAYS AFTER THE WAR. The Chairman reported conversations he had lately had with an ex-Pilot of Imperial Airways and with Air Vice-Marshal Bennett at present O/C Pathfinders in the R.A.F., at which the whole subject of control of aviation and the regulation both of military and commercial aircraft after the war had been discussed. Lord Lytton hoped to have further talks with other aviation experts in the near future and to be able to make a detailed report to the Executive later on.
787. PROBLEMS THAT WILL ARISE DURING THE PERIOD OF OCCUPATION OF GERMANY AFTER THE CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES. It was agreed that this item be included early on the agenda for the next meeting on May 18th.
788. UNITED NATIONS DAY COMMITTEE. The Committee were glad to learn from the Chairman that Mr. Richard Law had been good enough to accept the office of Hon. President of the U.N.D. Committee. Mr. Law had promised so to inform Mr. Gusev, since the Russian Ambassador had not felt able to reply to the invitation to become one of the Committee's Hon. Vice-presidents until he knew the decision of H.M. Government.

The Chairman further reported that the M. of I. had appointed a Liaison Officer to serve on the U.N.D. Committee, and plans for the observance of United Nations Day were going ahead. A further meeting of the Committee would be held during the following week.

789. **DOMINION PRIME MINISTERS.** At the suggestion of Lord Cecil it was agreed that a formal letter, signed by the Hon. Presidents, Chairman of Executive and Lord Perth, should be sent to each of the Dominion Prime Ministers asking if they would be good enough to grant a short interview to the signatories of the letter in the near future.
790. **UNITED NATIONS FLAG.** Mr. Mander referred to a question he had asked recently in the House of Commons concerning the possible adoption of a Flag or Emblem for the United Nations, and stated that he had given notice to raise the matter further at a later date. Reference was made to the efforts being made in America and in Australia to secure the adoption of a flag designed for the United Nations which, it was understood, had been flown for one day at the U.N.R.P.A. Conference. The Committee expressed their gratitude to Mr. Mander for ventilating this question, and Lord Cecil expressed the hope that, if and when a Flag was agreed upon, it would be designed for the whole international organisation and not for one section only.
791. **TIME OF NEXT MEETING.** The Chairman reported that, in view of the fact that certain members of the Executive were being invited to meet members of the Czechoslovak Government at luncheon on May 18th, the meeting of the Executive on that date would begin at 3.0 p.m. instead of 2.15.

Lytton

CHAIRMAN

18th May 1944

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE
COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 11 MAIDEN LANE,
LONDON, W.C.2. ON THURSDAY, MAY 18TH
1944 AT 3 P.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Mrs. Corbett Ashby
Lord Cecil, the Dean of Chichester, Miss P.
Fawcett, Lady Hall, Mr. D.L. Lipson,
Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Mr. G. de M. Mander
Dr. Murray, Mrs. Noel-Baker, Lord Sankey,
Councillor H.F. Shaw, Mr. H.S. Syrett,
Mr. A.E.W. Thomas, Miss E. Waite, Sir Ralph
Wedgwood, Professor Basil Williams, and
Mr. C.W. Judd.

792. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on May 4th, 1944,
were confirmed as circulated.

793. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 788 - United Nations Day, the Chairman reported
that he had at last received a reply from Mr. Gusev,
thanking the United Nations Day Committee for their
invitation but regretting that his engagements did not
allow him to accept it. Subsequently the U.N.D. Working
Committee, at its meeting on May 17th, had received a
request from the Ministry of Information to hold plans up
for at least twenty-four hours; further news from the
M. of I. was still awaited.

On Minute 789 - Dominion Prime Ministers, Lord Cecil
reported that he had written to each of the Dominion Prime
Ministers requesting them to receive a small deputation
and, as a result, he and Lord Perth had seen General Smuts
on May 16th and Mr. Peter Fraser on May 17th. A report
on these interviews was received with much interest by the
Executive.

Mr. Curtin had expressed regret that existing com-
mitments during the few days that remained before his
return to Australia made it impossible for him to receive
a deputation. A reply from Mr. Mackenzie King was still
awaited.

794. DR. GARNETT. The Chairman read to the Committee a letter
from Dr. Garnett thanking the Executive for their message
which had reached him in hospital. He had now recovered
sufficiently to return to his home at Oxford, but had been
advised by his doctor to take things slowly for some time
and, in particular, not to make a journey to London for at
least another month.

795. ADMINISTRATION COMMITTEE The Chairman reported on a meeting
of the Administration Committee held that morning. The
Committee had received a most interesting report from
Miss Parnell on her recent visit to Branches in the Fyneside
District, and it had been suggested that an account of her
experiences should be given by Miss Parnell at the Branch
Secretaries' Conference in connection with the General
Council Meeting.

The Administration Committee had recommended the publication of the following:

- (a) a one-page leaflet designed for the "man in the street";
- (b) a special issue of the NEWS SHEET containing quotations from speeches of the Dominion Statesmen and others, including extracts from the recent B.B.C. Postscript by Mr. Fullbright;
- (c) a leaflet containing Dr. Murray's answer concerning the League in the B.B.C.'s Brains Trust;

The Committee had further recommended that the approval of the Foreign Secretary should be sought for the reproduction in the form of a poster of his recent Message to the Warwickshire & Birmingham Federal Council of the Union.

It was

RESOLVED: That, subject to approval by the Treasurer, the recommendations of the Administration Committee be adopted.

796. ANNUAL MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL. The Chairman drew the attention of the Committee to the announcement recently made by the Government discouraging the holding of conferences which necessitated long-distance journeys. In view of that, Lord Lytton had asked the Secretary to defer for twenty-four hours the issue to Branches of the Preliminary Agenda for the Council Meeting in order that the Executive might discuss the matter.

The Committee were reminded of the rule laid down in the Royal Charter regarding Annual Meetings of the Council, and, after discussion, it was agreed that the Preliminary Agenda should be communicated to Branches with a covering note to the effect that, should it be found necessary nearer the time to postpone the meeting, Branches would be so informed.

797. DRAFT PACT FOR THE FUTURE INTERNATIONAL AUTHORITY.

(a) Discussion with Members of the L.I.A. Lord Lytton recalled a suggestion he had made at the meetings of the Executive on April 20th that an opportunity should be sought for an interchange of opinion between members of the Executive and the L.I.A. on the Draft Pact and the document drawn up by the L.I.A. Commission on a Future World Organisation. The Chairman felt that it would be desirable for such a discussion to take place before the General Council Meeting in June, and it was agreed that arrangements should, if possible, be made for a meeting between the Executive and some members of the L.I.A. to be held on the afternoon of Thursday, June 8th at Gas Industry House. The Secretary was asked to raise the matter at the next meeting of the General Purpose Committee of the L.I.A.

(b) Memorandum by Lord Davies. The Committee had before them a memorandum by Lord Davies criticising the Draft Pact, and were reminded of Lord Davies' request that the memorandum should be circulated to all L.N.U. Branches.

After discussion, it was agreed that the memorandum should not be communicated to all Branches but should be made available for study along with the other relevant documents and that the branches be informed.

798. PROBLEMS THAT WILL ARISE DURING THE PERIOD OF OCCUPATION OF GERMANY AFTER THE CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES. The Dean of Chichester referred to the possibility of there being two spheres of occupation in Germany, one by Anglo-Americans and the other by the Russians. It seemed to him that the methods employed by the two occupiers might be so very different that the whole question of the treatment of Germany after the war might be affected. The Dean also referred to the position of other enemy countries, e.g. Roumania, Bulgaria, Finland and Hungary where the question of occupation would involve many difficult questions.

Mr. Lipson spoke of the precedent set in Iran where the territory was occupied partly by the British and partly by the Russians.

Lord Cecil thought there would have to be two distinct periods, the first of which would be a formal occupation by Allied troops in order to make it quite clear to the German people that they were beaten, and that was a matter which must be settled entirely by the military authorities. Then would follow the question of what was to be done with the Government of Germany after the war, and on that point he held strongly the view that it was essential to set up, at an early stage, a world organisation which should be entrusted with the handling of such matters.

Lord Cecil further stated that Lord Vansittart had tabled a question in the House of Lords regarding the occupation of Germany in reply to which a statement by H.M. Government would no doubt be forthcoming.

It was agreed that further discussion of this subject should be adjourned, pending the debate in the House of Lords.

799. INTERNATIONALISATION OF AIRWAYS AFTER THE WAR. Lord Lytton stated that he had nothing to report on this subject but wished the matter to be kept on the Agenda.
800. COMMUNICATION FROM THE KENSINGTON BRANCH. A communication was reported from the Kensington Branch concerning HEADWAY and Mr. Rowell Smith's Oxford letter. Professor Basil Williams, in reply to the Chairman, said that the majority of his Branch Committee thought HEADWAY ought to be more stimulating and more conventional. Dr. Murray, on the other hand, expressed the view that recent issues of HEADWAY had been particularly interesting.

Mrs. Corbett Ashby thought that HEADWAY might be of greater interest to readers if it contained more personal articles. She suggested, in particular, that the speech delivered by Dr. Ripka (Deputy Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia) at the luncheon given that day by the Czech Government should appear in HEADWAY. An article might also be secured from Madame Aubrac of France and perhaps also from a Yugoslav.

After further discussion, the communication of the Kensington Branch was referred to the Administration Committee for consideration and report. In the meantime, the Secretary was asked to invite the Branch Committee to submit, for the

guidance of the Administration Committee, constructive suggestions for the improvement of HEADWAY.

801. COMMUNICATION FROM ABYSSINIA ASSOCIATION. A communication from the Abyssinia Association was reported, offering to supply free of charge 500 copies of a leaflet recently written by Mr. Arnold Forster if the Union would distribute them among its Branches. The Executive did not feel able to undertake this distribution, but agreed that copies of the leaflet should be made available in the Union's Bookshop and at the Annual Meeting of the General Council. It was also suggested that reference might be made to the leaflet in HEADWAY.
802. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Committee had before them a resolution adopted by the Hull Branch on the subject of the Draft Pact (copy filed with these minutes). The Secretary was asked to inform the Branch that the Executive welcomed the evidence which the Hull resolution afforded of discussion on the Draft Pact, and that note was being taken of their particular comments.

A resolution adopted by the Castleton & Sudden Branch on the subject of the Atlantic Charter was also received with interest by the Committee.

803. CORPORATE MEMBERSHIP. The Dundee Business and Professional Women's Club was admitted as a Corporate Member of the Union and the fixing of the Union's seal to the Certificate was authorised.

Mrs. Corbett Ashby thought that many other Branches of the Business & Professional Women's Association might be willing to affiliate to the Union, and suggested that an effort should be made to secure the inclusion of an article on the League and the Union in the Association's Journal.

804. CLOSING OF OFFICE. It was

RESOLVED: That the office be closed from Friday night May 26th until Tuesday morning, May 30th.

805. UNITED NATIONS INFORMATION ORGANISATION. The Committee learned with great pleasure that the Inter-Allied Information Committee, which had previously been an advisory committee of the British Ministry of Information, had now become one of the fully-fledged United Nations Agencies, eighteen Governments having ratified the Convention setting up the new United Nations Information Organisation. The Secretary was asked to convey the Committee's congratulations to Mr. Stavridi, the Secretary of U.N.I.O.
806. DATE OF NEXT MEETING. Since the normal date for the next meeting of the Committee fell in Whit Week, Thursday, June 1st, it was left to the Chairman to decide whether the Executive should meet on that date or, alternatively, hold a meeting after the discussion with the L.I.A. on Thursday, June 8th.

L. J. L.
CHAIRMAN

June 15th 1944.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A SPECIAL MEETING OF THE
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT THE POLISH
RESEARCH CENTRE ON THURSDAY, JUNE 8TH,
1944.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Mrs. Corbett Ashby,
Lord Cecil, Dr. Clark, the Dean of Chichester,
Mr. Arnold Forster, Lady Hall, Mr. J. R. Leslie,
Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Mr. J. Macdonald,
Mr. G. le M. Mander, Dr. Murray, Mrs. Noel-Baker,
Mr. Nowell Smith, Mr. H.S. Syrett, Mr. Seton
Watson, Professor Basil Williams, and Mr. Judd.

807. ANNUAL MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL. After a brief statement by the Chairman and Lord Cecil the Executive unanimously agreed that, in present circumstances, it would be inopportune to proceed with the arrangements for a Meeting of the General Council on June 29th and 30th. The Secretary was therefore asked to inform the Branches and other local organisations immediately that the Executive had decided to postpone the Meeting.

The Chairman suggested that circumstances might make it possible to hold a Meeting of the Council later in the summer, and it was agreed to consider at the next meeting of the Executive all questions arising from the decision to postpone the Council.

808. ADJOURNMENT. The remainder of the business on the agenda was adjourned until the next meeting on June 15th.

Lytton
CHAIRMAN
June 15th 1944.

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 15TH,
1944 AT 2.15 P.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Mrs. Corbett Ashby,
Mrs. Beale, Lord Cecil, Dr. Hilda Clark,
Miss Rawcett, Dr. Garnett, Lady Hall, Dame
Adelaide Livingstone, Mr. T. Lodge, Mr. G. le
M. Mander, Mrs. Noel-Baker, Mr. Nowell C. Smith,
Sir Ralph Wedgwood and Mr. Judd.

809. MINUTES. The minutes of the meetings held on May 18th and
June 8th were confirmed as circulated.

810. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 793 - United Nations Day, the Chairman read to
the Executive extracts from a letter written by Mr. Brendan
Bracken to the U.N.D. Committee on May 23rd (copy filed
with these minutes) as a result of which the Committee had
been obliged to abandon many of their plans for the
observance of United Nations Day on a nation-wide scale.
But the leaflet prepared by the Committee had been printed
and had been given a wide circulation, particularly in
schools; a message from the Prime Minister had been pub-
lished in the press as also had a poem specially written for
United Nations Day by Mr. John Masefield; and the Arch-
bishop of Canterbury and the other religious Leaders had
recommended a special prayer for the United Nations which
had been used in many Churches on Sunday, June 11th.

The Chairman read to the Executive a letter he had
received from Mr. Winant, one of the Vice-Presidents of
the U.N.D. Committee.

On Minute 805 - United Nations Information Organisation, a
letter from Mr. Stavridi, Secretary of U.N.I.O., was read,
thanking the Executive for their message.

811. DR. GARNETT. The Chairman, on behalf of the Committee gave
a warm welcome to Dr. Garnett who was attending the Executive
for the first time since his recent illness.

812. GENERAL COUNCIL.

(a) Regional Conferences. Mr. Nowell Smith reported that the
Administration Committee, at its meeting that morning, had
considered the situation arising out of the Executive's
decision to postpone the Meeting of the General Council.
They had recommended the Executive to abandon any intention
to hold a Meeting of the Council during the late summer, but
had suggested that, in the interval before the next ordinary
meeting in December, each District, County and Regional
Federation should be asked to hold a special conference of
representatives from its district which should be attended,
if possible by two or three members of the Executive Com-
tee.

Lady Hall thought that if members of the Executive
could meet Branch representatives at such regional gatherings,
it would have a very beneficial effect upon the Union's local
organisations in stimulating them to greater activities.

Lord Cecil expressed himself in favour of the proposal and the Chairman said he would do his best to visit such regional conferences as were reasonably accessible.

Mrs. Beale thought the Warwickshire Federal Council would welcome the Committee's suggestion, and after further discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the proposal of the Administration Committee be approved and adopted, and that the arrangements for the Regional Conferences be left in the hands of that Committee who should be asked to prepare a detailed scheme for submission to the Executive."

It was agreed that, if the early termination of hostilities or other circumstances made it desirable, a special meeting of the Council should be summoned before December.

(b) Election of Executive Committee. It was decided that, since the number of nominations for the Executive Committee did not exceed the number of vacancies, Branches should be informed that, in the absence of a Council Meeting, the nominees would be automatically elected by the present Executive unless objection was raised by a date to be specified.

(c) Annual Report and Statement of Accounts. The Executive provisionally adopted, on behalf of the General Council, the Annual Report and Statement of Accounts for the year ending December, 1943. It was agreed that the Report should be published and circulated to Branches and members forthwith, and be submitted for formal ratification by the Council at the next ordinary meeting in December.

Dr. Garnett pointed out that, apart from the work in the schools, the Annual Report had little to say about any other attempt to educate public opinion outside the Union's own ranks. He hoped that as soon as possible the Executive would revive the sub-Committees by which it used to work through the Churches, the Rotary movement etc. and that the next Annual Report would give an account of what the Union was doing in that direction.

813. PRESS CUTTINGS. Reference was made to letters and articles appearing in the press from time to time which frequently contained inaccurate statements concerning either the League or the Union. The Committee were informed that whenever such mis-statements came to the notice of H.Q., letters were written correcting them, but that the arrangement by which press cuttings both from national and provincial papers were regularly supplied to the office had been discontinued at the outbreak of war.

On the motion of Mrs. Corbett Ashby it was then

RESOLVED: "That the Finance Committee be recommended to make provision for a press cutting service for H.Q."

The hope was expressed that members of the Executive would be willing from time to time to reply to letters and articles containing mis-statements if the press cuttings were supplied to them.

814. DAILY MAIL. The Chairman reported that the DAILY MAIL were proposing to start a kind of debate on the League and international affairs by putting certain questions to two persons, one of whom would reply "for" and the other "against". Each would be shown the other's answers and have an opportunity of replying to them. Lord Lytton had been invited to take part in the debate, but after reading the questions he did not feel able personally to accept the invitation.

Lord Cecil and other members of the Committee having expressed the opinion that in principle it would be a good thing to take any opportunity which presented itself of putting the Union's views before the public, the Chairman said he would inform the Editor of the DAILY MAIL that the Union would, if desired, be glad to suggest the name of someone to contribute to the debate.

815. INTERNATIONALISATION OF AIRWAYS AFTER THE WAR. Lord Lytton drew attention to a series of three articles which had appeared in the LAW JOURNAL on "International Security through Evolution of Law", by Air-Vice-Marshal Bennett, Sir Cecil Hurst and Professor Goodhart.

The Chairman added that he would be having a further talk with Air-Vice-Marshal Bennett in the near future and hoped that later on it would be possible to arrange for him to meet the Executive.

816. ADMINISTRATION COMMITTEE. The minutes of the meeting held on May 15th, on which an oral report had already been made to the Executive (minute 795) were formally approved and adopted.

817. DRAFT PACT FOR THE FUTURE INTERNATIONAL AUTHORITY.
(a) Communication from Mr. F.W. Harris, Past President of North Staffordshire District Council. The Executive had before them an extract from a letter written by Mr. F.W. Harris (copy filed with these minutes) suggesting that one of the delegates to the Assembly of the International Authority should be elected by a free vote in the House of Commons; one by a vote in the House of Lords; and one to be appointed by the Government.

Lord Lytton reminded the Executive that the idea had been considered when the Pact was first being drafted, and that a similar suggestion had been submitted by the Wallington Branch to a recent meeting of the General Council and had been fully debated. He did not think the Executive could do more than note Mr. Harris' suggestion.

At the request of the Chairman, Lord Cecil expressed his willingness to write to Mr. Harris explaining how the matter had already been carefully considered and giving the reasons why the Executive could not accept the suggestion.

(b) Amendments by Dr. Garnett. Dr. Garnett said that a further careful study of the Draft Pact led him to suggest certain amendments in the text which he enumerated (copy filed with these minutes).

The Chairman thanked Dr. Garnett for his suggestions and it was agreed that they should be kept on record for consideration if and when the Pact was re-drafted by the Committee.

818. SOVEREIGNTY. Dr. Garnett drew attention to the clause in the Declaration of the Draft Pact which laid it down that the territorial integrity and political independence of all nations should be respected. He was under the impression, particularly after reading recent leaders in THE TIMES, that an issue was forming itself between those who maintained that the nations must retain their absolute sovereignty in whatever international authority was created, and those, on the other hand, who felt that sovereignty must pass to the international authority. He suggested that the Union would do well to issue a short statement on the subject. After discussion, Lord Cecil was asked if he would be good enough to prepare a draft.

819. FINANCE COMMITTEE. In the absence of Mr. Syrett, the Secretary reported on a meeting of the Finance Committee held on May 23rd when the following matters were discussed:-

Hooper Estate. Under the Hooper Estate legacies amounting to some £600 had been left to servants but such payments could not be made without the consent of the Union as residuary legatees. The Finance Committee had recommended that the legacies be paid.

Salaries and Wages. The Finance Committee had recommended increases in the wages of four members of the staff.

On behalf of the Treasurer, the Secretary also reported the following matters:-

Legacy from Miss J.R. Cruden. A legacy of about £1000 had been left to "the League of Nations Union or 18, Grosvenor Crescent, and 136, Wellington Street, Glasgow", and the Glasgow Branch claimed to be entitled to half a share of the legacy. The Treasurer had had considerable correspondence with the Branch in the matter and recommended that the Glasgow claim should be met.

Dilapidations at 15, Grosvenor Crescent. It was reported that Mr. Syrett had been negotiating with the Waller Trust in the matter of dilapidations at 15, Grosvenor Crescent and had now made an offer of £1,000 in total settlement of their claims. Provision for such expenditure had been made in the Budget.

RESOLVED: "That the report of the Finance Committee and Treasurer be approved and adopted."

820. PROBLEMS THAT WILL ARISE DURING THE PERIOD OF OCCUPATION OF GERMANY AFTER THE CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES. After a brief discussion the Executive were generally of the opinion that those of the United Nations which had actually been engaged in hostilities in Europe should be associated with the armies of occupation in Germany.

821. LORD DAVIES: COMMUNICATION FROM MISS RATHBONE. The Committee learned with regret that Miss Rathbone had met with an accident, and asked that a message of sympathy and hope for her speedy recovery should be sent to her.

Miss Rathbone had written a letter, suggesting that it would be a gracious thing if the Executive would send a message to Lord Davies, who was seriously ill, congratulating him on the accomplishment of his life's work as implied in the recent Government announcement on the future international authority.

Dr. Garnett stated that he had himself written on similar lines to Lord Davies and had received a reply from his secretary who had said that Lord Davies was too ill to see the letter.

Some members of the Committee doubted whether the Government's proposals were all that Lord Davies would have wished, and after discussion it was left to the Chairman to send such a message as he considered appropriate.

822. COMMUNICATION FROM THE COMMISSION ON A JUST AND DURABLE PEACE INSTITUTED BY THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES OF CHRISTIAN AMERICA. An appeal to the President, Congress and People of the United States, bearing the signatures of more than 1200 persons connected with religious institutions in the U.S.A., was reported.
823. CANADIAN LEAGUE OF NATIONS SOCIETY. A letter signed by the President and Secretary of the Canadian League of Nations Society was read to the Executive.

H. D. Courtney
CHAIRMAN

June 29th 1944.

1944
MAY 23 1944
COPY

Ministry of Information,
Malet Street, W.C.1.

23rd May, 1944

Dear Mrs. Noel-Baker,

I am afraid that the Government's recent appeal to the public to avoid travelling and to call off meetings and conferences in the immediately preceding months makes us feel that the preparations for United Nations Day in this country should not go further. It would be quite anomalous that at a time when there is a general cancellation of conferences already fixed the Government should be found to be promoting a series of meetings all over the country with all the travelling and movement to and fro that are entailed by the holding of them and the preparations for them.

We do not feel that an event of this sort ought to be launched unless it can be presented in a really effective way, with the genuine co-operation of the various national interests involved, and on a nation-wide scale. It is plain that these conditions will be lacking in the present year. I greatly regret that the public-spirited activities of your Committee should thus be rendered abortive, but I fear I can see no alternative to a decision to abandon the plans for this year.

We are re-inforced in this point of view by our information from the United States. We understand the American Authorities feel that, as observances this year must be planned against the background that quite possibly the Armed Forces of the United Nations will shortly be undergoing their greatest trials, they should be restricted to solemn exchanges of salutes and messages and to the flying wherever possible of the flags of the United Nations on 14th June.

Yours sincerely,

BRENDAN BRACKEN.

Mrs. P.J. Noel-Baker,
United Nations Day Committee,
11, Maiden Lane,
W.C.

2.6.44.
S.1135

DRAFT PACT FOR THE FUTURE INTERNATIONAL AUTHORITY

Extract of a letter from Mr. F.W. Harris, Past-President of the North Staffordshire District Council, to the Chairman of the Executive Committee.

Some proposals by Mr. Harris concerning the Draft Pact were submitted to Lord Cecil and, at Lord Cecil's suggestion, Mr. Harris has elaborated these in the following statement which he wishes to be considered by the Executive Committee:

"My suggestion is :-

For one of the delegates to the Assembly of the League of Nations to be elected by a free vote in the House of Commons; one by a vote in the House of Lords; and one to be appointed by the Government.

In the early days of the League, delegates were appointed with some regard to popular opinion and were not merely nominees of the Government. The Assembly functioned better then than afterwards.

Later on it became the custom for all three delegates to be appointed by the Government. This meant that only Government opinions were expressed in the Assembly, and those sections of opinion in the Country which might be opposed to the views of the Government had no guarantee of their being made known at the Assembly.

This is obviously all wrong, and I maintain that the suggestion made by me would be a far better one than that hitherto in practice.

Whilst writing may I say that I have seen the suggestion made by the Beddington, Carshalton, and Wallington Branch on this matter, and which has the same object as my own suggestion; I rather like the Carshalton idea that the delegates should be free to vote as individuals and not necessarily in a body.

In conclusion I trust that both my own and the Carshalton suggestions will have careful consideration at the hands of the Executive and that something will be done to introduce into the Draft Pact a method of electing delegates which shall ensure that the deliberations of that Body will be of an unfettered character so that its decisions may have a greater weight of popular and instructed public opinion behind them."

S.1138
28.6.44.

Notes by Lord Cecil for reply to Mr. F.W. Harris
(see minute 817a of Executive)

Mr. Harris makes two proposals:-

1. National delegates to the League should be elected, as to two of them, by the Houses of Parliament, only the third being appointed by the Government. I think it clear that each country should decide for itself how it chooses to be represented in the International Organisation. It would be impossible, for instance, to dictate to Russia who should speak for her internationally. The proposal must, therefore, be considered as applying to this country.

Mr. Harris is mistaken in supposing that in the earlier days of the League representatives of the United Kingdom were appointed differently. They were always nominated by the Government. In that respect all nations acted on the same principle and I think rightly. The Assembly of the League was, by its nature as well as by the Covenant, an Assembly of States. The individuals were there to put forward the view of their country and not their own. No doubt the arguments which they used were what appealed to them personally. But in using them each had to have regard to the constitutionally expressed wishes of their country. Otherwise the Assembly would have carried little weight anywhere.

Early in the League's history, one of the British delegates was a member of one of the Parties in Opposition. In the course of a discussion in the Assembly he censured the action of a Foreign Government. There was a good deal to be said for his view. But it caused difficulty in our relations with the foreign country concerned. Thereafter our delegates were bound not to express opinions contrary to those held by the Government and I have come to feel that only so can an International Assembly have the necessary authority. There are in existence bodies which are appointed by Parliaments or other bodies of national importance. One the whole they have little influence on international affairs - certainly not enough to prevent war.

2. Mr. Harris also approves of the suggestion that representatives of a country should be free to vote as individuals. No country would agree to be bound by such a vote. At present, national representatives have - or ought to have - behind them all the power of their country. In dealing with questions which may involve peace or war that is essential. Only if this is fully understood and supported can we hope that aggressors will be restrained. A vote as an individual binds only the individual and internationally is of little importance.

On the other hand, the League had a number of Committees appointed to examine different questions. Indeed, by its rules, the Assembly could not, except in cases of emergency, vote on any proposal until it had been examined by a Committee. In Committees, therefore, there was a much greater liberty of action than in the Council or Assembly and they usually voted by majority. In some of them, experts sat, not as representing their countries, but as individuals. All Committees reported to the Council or Assembly who, therefore, as representing the States-Members of the League, gave their decision. In this way the advantages of individual and State action were effectively combined - at least for any question which did not directly or immediately involve war.

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 29TH, 1944 AT 2.15 P.M.

PRESENT: Miss Courtney, (in the Chair), Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Lord Cecil, Dr. Clark, Miss Fawcett, Dr. Garnett, Mr. A. J. Howe, Mr. J. Macdonald, Mr. G. le M. Mander, Dr. Murray, Mrs. Noel-Baker, Mr. H. S. Syrett, Mr. A. E. W. Thomas, Sir Ralph Wedgwood, and Mr. C. W. Judd.

824. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on June 15th 1944 were confirmed as circulated.

825. MISS COURTNEY. Dr. Murray, on behalf of the Executive, warmly welcomed Miss Courtney on her return from the U.S.A.

826. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 814 - Daily Mail, it was reported that Lord Lytton had written, as requested, to the Editor of the Daily Mail.

On Minute 817(a) - Communication from Mr. F. W. Harris, Lord Cecil placed before the Committee the attached draft notes which he had prepared for the reply the Executive had asked him to send to Mr. F. W. Harris. Members of the Committee were asked to communicate to Lord Cecil any comments they wished to make on the draft.

On Minute 818 - Sovereignty, Lord Cecil said that he had given careful consideration to the Committee's request that he should prepare a short statement on the subject of sovereignty and did not feel that he would be the best author of such a paper.

After discussion, Dr. Garnett was asked to prepare a first draft and to discuss it with Professor Brierly before submitting it to the Executive.

827. DEATH OF LORD DAVIES. The Executive placed on record their profound sense of loss which the cause of world peace had sustained by the death of Lord Davies, and their deep sympathy with his family. It was reported that Lord Lytton had already sent a message of condolence, in the name of the Committee, to Lady Davies.

The Secretary stated that, in addition to the Memorial Service held at the Temple of Peace in Cardiff, a Service had been held in London on June 27th at which several of the Union's Officers and members of the Executive Committee had been present.

Among messages of condolence received by the Union was a radiogram from the Treasurer of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies in Geneva. This was the first communication which had arrived from the Federation since the outbreak of war.

828. MISS C. H. STOHR. The Executive learned with deep regret of the death of Miss C. H. Stohr, who was a sister of Lady Napier and who had for many years been the Secretary of the Cape Town Branch of the South African L.N.U. Since the outbreak

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of war, Miss Stohr had been solely responsible for keeping the Cape Town Branch in existence, and on several occasions she had given generous donations to the British L.N.U.

The Secretary was asked, on behalf of the Committee, to send a message of condolence to Lady Napier and to the Chairman of the Cape Town Branch.

829. GENERAL COUNCIL. A copy of the circular letter sent to Branch Secretaries and Members of the Council on June 19th regarding the procedure the Executive Committee proposed to follow in the circumstances arising out of the cancellation of the General Council Meeting, was laid before the Committee.

*Proposed
agenda
for Council
meeting*

No objections having been received from Branches and members of the Council, it was:

On the motion of Mr. Mander

RESOLVED (1) That subject to the deletion of Lord Davies' name as Vice-President and Trustee, the persons named in Appendix A of the Agenda for the General Council be re-elected for the year ending June, 1945.

On the motion of Lord Cecil, seconded by Dr. Murray,

RESOLVED (2) That, subject to the deletion of Lord Davies' name in the General List, and to the addition of the name of Professor Paton for Scotland in the Regional List, the persons named in Appendix B of the Council Agenda be elected to serve on the Executive Committee for the year ending June, 1945.

It was also

RESOLVED (3) That the term of office of the Co-opted Members contained in Appendix C of the Council Agenda be extended until the December meeting of the Council.

(4) That the question of appointing a Trustee to succeed Lord Davies be referred to the Finance Committee for consideration and report.

The Executive then considered the motions appearing on the Council Agenda and decided as follows:

The Name of the Union. The Administration Committee already has under consideration the question of a change of name.

Post-War Organisation of the Union. The Warwickshire & Birmingham Federal Council had offered to submit a memorandum on the subject, and the matter was referred to the Administration Committee for consideration and report.

Draft Pact for the Future International Authority. The Committee took note of the amendments suggested in the motions submitted by the Southampton, Bodington, Carsnalton & Wallington, Burslem, and Taunton Branches, and in a letter written by the officers of the Reigate & Redhill Branch, all of which would be considered if and when the Draft Pact came under revision in the future. The

occasion for such revision might well be the meeting of the Conference which it was understood the U.S. Government hoped to arrange for the purpose of drawing up detailed proposals for the general international organisation agreed upon at the Moscow Conference. The Executive would welcome discussion by the General Council on the amendments suggested if still relevant when the Council next meets. In the meantime Branches and members of the Union should be reminded that it is the Union's policy to support the Moscow Declaration and be urged to do all they can to forward that policy.

The Future International Authority. To suggest to Branches and other local organisations that they should pass resolutions in the sense of this motion at any meetings they may be arranging in the summer months.

Terms of International Settlement. To hold this motion over for consideration at the next meeting of the Council if Mrs. White still desires to move it.

The Atlantic Charter. A resolution in similar terms having already been adopted by the Executive and forwarded to H.M. Government, no further action was called for.

United Nations Organisation for Educational and Cultural Reconstruction. To adopt the resolution; to forward clause (1) to the President of the Board of Education, the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education, and the American Educational Delegation; and to communicate the whole resolution to the London International Assembly and the C.E.W.C.

<u>The Co-operative Movement.</u>	} To hold these motions over for consideration by the Council at its next meeting, if the movers still desire to submit them.
<u>L.N.C. Campaign for the I.L.O.</u>	
<u>The Economic Basis of Peace.</u>	

Nazi Policy of Massacre and Extermination. To adopt this resolution and forward it to H.M. Government and to the Press.

830. INTERNATIONALISATION OF AIRWAYS AFTER THE WAR. The Secretary reported that Lord Lytton hoped to see Air-Vice-Marshal Bennett at Huntingdon on July 3rd.
831. ADMINISTRATION COMMITTEE. Miss Courtney reported on a meeting of the Committee held earlier in the day when the terms of reference of the Women's Advisory Council had been considered. On her advice the Committee had decided to reconsider the proposed new constitution and recommended that the terms of reference should be revised.

On Miss Courtney's recommendation it was

RESOLVED: That the terms of reference of the Women's Advisory Council should be on the following lines:

- (1) To consider and advise upon the best means of securing the support of women, either individually or through their organisations, for a general international organisation of all peace-loving States for the maintenance of international peace and security.
- (2) To keep the Executive Committee informed concerning the opinions of women's organisations on all matters - political or economic, social or educational - affecting the organisation of peace in the post-war world.

- (3) To advise upon such of these matters as are made a subject of special study by any of the constituent societies, or concerning which they have special knowledge and experience.
- (4) To consider and advise upon any other matters which the Executive Committee may from time to time refer to it.

The above recommendation was approved and adopted.

832. **RECOGNITION OF THE PROVISIONAL FRENCH GOVERNMENT.** A letter was read from the Hon. Secretary of the Warwickshire & Birmingham Federal Council regarding the refusal of the British and American Governments to recognise the provisional French Government and enquiring if the Executive intended making any representation to H.M. Government on the subject. Having regard to the negotiations which it was understood were at present taking place between the British Government and the provisional French Government, the Committee decided to adjourn this matter for discussion at a later meeting.
833. **LONDON INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY.** Mr. Judd reported that, at its last meeting, the L.I.A. had had before it an interesting paper on "The Place of Religion in Post-war Reconstruction". The Colonial Commission had now completed its Report on "Colonial Reconstruction after the War" and a drafting committee of the L.I.A. was now preparing a pamphlet setting out the various Reports on "The Future World Organisation," "Collective Security", etc. On the request of several members it was agreed to send to all members of the Committee for information copies of the paper on the Place of Religion in Post-War Reconstruction.
834. **COUNCIL FOR EDUCATION IN WORLD CITIZENSHIP.** Mr. Judd reported that, during the current term, a successful series of separate week-end conferences on different Allied countries had taken place in London.

A meeting had been held at the Central Y.W.C.A. recently when the results of a competition on International Health work after the War had been announced. The competition had aroused very considerable interest, and Dr. Charles Hill, the Secretary of the British Medical Association and Brigadier Crew, Head of the Biological Research Department of the War Office, among others, had addressed the meeting in the Y.W.C.A.

United Nations Day (June 14th) had been celebrated in several thousand schools, some of which had made and flown the unofficial "United Nations Flag" and many of which had arranged for special talks to be given on the United Nations.

Present conditions, unfortunately, made it impossible for the C.E.W.C. to organise its normal summer activities.

835. **RESOLUTION FROM SKIPTON BRANCH.** A resolution was reported from the Skipton Branch expressing appreciation of the appointment of additional staff at H.A. and the hope that it might soon be possible still further to increase the staff.
836. **DATE OF NEXT MEETING.** It was decided that the next meeting should be held on Thursday, July 20th, it being left to the Chairman to summon a special meeting in the interval if circumstances rendered such action desirable.

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837. CO-OPTATIONS. At the conclusion of the ordinary business, a meeting of the elected members of the Executive then present was held to consider co-optations to the Committee for the year ending June, 1945, and it was

RESOLVED: That the persons named below be again co-opted to serve on the Executive:-

H. L. Bullock
 Dr. Hilda Clark
 Mrs. Dugdale
 Miss P. Fawcett
 Miss E. Gale
 D. L. Lipson, M.P.
 Dame Adelaide Livingstone
 J. Macdonald
 Mrs. Noel-Daker
 Lord Sankey
 A. E. W. Thomas
 Miss E. Waite
 Sir Ralph Wedgwood
 Prof. Basil Williams

The Committee having noted that the following members had not attended meetings of the Executive for some considerable time, the Secretary was asked to inquire of each of them if they wished to be co-opted again to the Committee:

Lord Addison
 Rev. Gwilym Davies
 Miss Megan Lloyd George M.P.
 T. Lodge
 R. W. Seton-Watson
 K. Zilliacus.

Further co-optations were adjourned for consideration at the next meeting.

H. D. Courtney.

CHAIRMAN

July 20th 1944.

APPENDIX A.

Hon. President:

RI. Hon. Wm. Watson S. CHEEVER, C.H., M.P.

Joint President:

RI. Hon. the Viceroy CECIL
GILBERT MURRAY, O.M., D.C.L., LL.D., D.Litt.

Vice-Presidents:

RI. Hon. A. V. ALEXANDER, C.H., M.P.
RI. Hon. C. R. ADLER, M.P.
Sir THOMAS BARKER, Bt., K.C.V.O., F.R.S.
His Grace the ARCHBISHOP of CANTERBURY
RI. Hon. J. R. CAVEY, M.P.
RI. Hon. the Viceroy CLARENDON
Most Hon. the MARQUESS of CREVE, K.G., G.C.V.O.

Hon. Members of the Executive Committee:

RI. Hon. ANTHONY EDEN, M.C., M.P.
Miss PHILIPA FANCTE
THE MODERATOR OF THE FREE CHURCH FEDERAL COUNCIL
RI. Hon. D. LLOYD GEORGE, O.M., M.P.
THE VICECHIEFS CLERKS
Sir ARTHUR HAWORTH, Bt.
THE HIGH COMMISSIONERS FOR AUSTRALIA
THE HIGH COMMISSIONERS FOR CANADA
THE HIGH COMMISSIONERS FOR DENMARK
THE HIGH COMMISSIONERS FOR NEW ZEALAND
THE HIGH COMMISSIONERS FOR SOUTH AFRICA
RI. Hon. the LORD HERVILL, K.C.V.O.
RI. Hon. the EARL of LYTON, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.
Very Rev. the CHIEF RABBI
RI. Hon. the Viceroy SAMUEL, G.C.B., G.C.E.
THE MODERATOR OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND
RI. Hon. Sir ARCHIBALD SINCLAIR, Bt., K.T., C.M.G., M.P.
Field Marshal the RI. Hon. J. C. SMYTH, K.C.
~~See General List, page 14, for full list.~~

Chairman of Executive Committee:

RI. Hon. the EARL of LYTON, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

Honorary Treasurer:

H. S. SWIFT, C.B.E., LL.D.

Trusts:

RI. Hon. the LORD CAVEY

Hon. Secretaries:

CLARENDON, HAYES & CO.

Editors:

DELOITTE, FRENDS, CRIPPTERS & CO.

APPENDIX B.
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

GENERAL LIST:

Major VIVIAN ADAMS, M.P.
Mrs. CORBET AHERN
Professor S. BROUSSELY, M.A.
Miss E. D. COFFEY
Very Rev. the DEAN of CROFT
RI. Hon. the LORD DAVIES
W. AYRE-FORSTER
J. C. MANSELL GARNETT, C.B.E., Sc.D.

Lady HALL
Lady LAYTON
J. R. LESLIE, M.P.
G. H. C. MANSON, M.P.
Hon. HAROLD NICHOLSON, C.M.G., M.P.
RI. Hon. the EARL of PAULI, K.C.M.G.
Miss E. RATHERGIE, D.C.L., M.P.
H. S. SWIFT, C.B.E., LL.D.

REGIONAL LIST:

Northern - - - - - WILFRED ROBERTS, M.P.
North-Western - - - - - Sir ARTHUR HAWORTH, Bt.
North-Eastern - - - - - CHESTERFIELD H. D. SHAW
West Midlands - - - - - Mrs. F. F. BIRCH
East Midlands - - - - - W. CARLY WILSON
South-Western & Western - - - - - F. M. STUBBS
Southern - - - - - NOWELL C. SMITH
South-Eastern - - - - - Valued
Eastern - - - - - Mrs. E. PEARCE
Midland - - - - - A. J. HOWES, Mrs. G. A. HANSELL
London - - - - - Valued
Wales - - - - - W. ARNOLD

APPENDIX C.

CO-OPTED MEMBERS:

Miss D. M. BAKER, B.A.
Miss THREE BURNING
R. BERNARD, M.P.
Rev. G. M. BERRY, D.D.
Mrs. PENEY BRIDANT
Professor W. LYON DEANE, LL.M.
Professor J. J. HERBERT, O.H.M., D.C.L.
Sheff. House, MIDDLESBROUGH, LL.D.
Sir MONTAGUE TOWNOR
Duchess ELIZABETH CADRURY, D.B.E.
E. J. CARRIBRY
Col. DAVID CARNEGIE, C.B.E., F.R.S.
Miss L. CHARLESFOOTE, B.A. (retired)
The Council for Education in World Citizenship
RI. Hon. the LORD BISHOP of CARLISLE
Miss A. W. CLARENDON
Commissioner A. G. CONNINGHAM
J. P. DALRY
H. H. ELLIS
A. FENLAY
Professor T. SARGENT FROBCKER
Miss Mrs. FRANCIS
D. M. FOOT, M.P.
RI. Hon. ISAAC FOOT
H. C. A. GAYNE, M.A.
CATHLENE H. GREEN, M.A.
W. GREVILLE
H. WILSON HARRIS
W. W. HERR
Miss E. M. HERRICK
M. L. JONES, M.A.
Miss LILLIAN JAMES
F. N. KENNEDY
C. W. KENNEDY, M.A., D.Sc.
Professor H. LATTICEFAY, LL.D., D. Jur.
Sir WALTER LAYTON

P. H. B. LYON, M.C., M.A.
Miss ELIZABETH MACDONALD
C. A. MACGONNELL
Professor A. P. MCGARR, C.B.E., LL.D.
His Grace, L. C. P. MILMAN, C.M.G.
His Grace, Sir H. OSBORNE MANLY, K.B.E.,
C.B., C.M.G., D.D.
President of the MEMBERS' CONFERENCE
OF THE I.C.S.
Miss MRS. SAMUEL DICKINSON
LADY NINETEENTH
Mrs. F. C. OSBORNE
The Lady PARSONS
GEOFFREY PERRETT
Very Rev. the DEAN of PORTSMOUTH
CATHEDRAL
Professor J. HENRY RICHARDSON, M.A.
Rev. T. H. ROBERTSON, D.D.
Very Rev. the DEAN of St. PAUL'S
Sir ARTHUR SALTER, K.C.P., M.P.
H. SHARMAN, M.A.
RI. Hon. Sir HERALD SLESSEE
H. E. SMART, M.C., M.A., B.Sc., Ph.D.
LEONARD SMITH, B.Sc.
LEONARD SMITH
Miss E. M. TANNER, B.A.
H. G. TANNER
Miss HELEN WARD
F. W. WEAVER
Professor C. K. WEBSTER, M.A., LL.D.
Miss E. M. WHITE
Miss J. WHITE
H. GRAHAM WILKIN, M.P.
HAROLD WILSON
H. G. WOOD, M.A., D.D.
HERBERT WORKSLEY
M. F. WREN

and the Members of the Executive Committee for the time being.

9. THE NAME OF THE UNION. (*Northamptonshire Federal Council*).
The General Council urges the Executive to examine the possibilities of a change of name of the League of Nations Union owing to the difficulties created in any attempt to increase membership owing to the association of the phrase "League of Nations" with the failure of the signatories to implement the Covenant.

10. POST-WAR ORGANISATION OF THE UNION. (*Warwickshire and Birmingham Federal Council*).
The General Council instructs the Executive Committee to review, in consultation with the Branches, the post-war organisation of the Union throughout the country, with particular reference to the financial relationship between Headquarters, Regional or Federal Councils and the Branches.

11. DRAFT PACT FOR THE FUTURE INTERNATIONAL AUTHORITY.

(a) *Southampton Branch.*

The General Council asks the Executive Committee to reconsider the Draft Pact with a view to making provision therein as follows:

1. A LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY to enact International Law binding on all member-States by a two-thirds majority; States to have representation and voting power in accordance with their status and importance.
The President to hold office for a term of five or seven years. All deliberations to be in public.

2. AN EXECUTIVE COUNCIL of representatives of the four big Powers and of not less than five other States appointed every five or seven years by the Assembly to carry out the decisions of the Assembly and the Judiciary and to be responsible to the Assembly for so doing. It shall report fully to the Assembly and be subject to it. The will of the Assembly as shown by the two-thirds majority must always prevail.

The Council also to be the Defence Committee of the Authority and for the purpose of providing security to member-States and preventing aggression and also with a view to rendering national armaments obsolete the Authority must be armed by an adequate International Police Force.

3. A JUDICIARY consisting of a Permanent Court of International Justice to settle all legal disputes and a Permanent Equity Tribunal to determine political disputes before the cognisance of the Permanent Court of Justice. The Award given by these Bodies shall be submitted to the Assembly for confirmation or rejection, and in the event of rejection either of the disputants shall have the right to appeal again after the lapse of three or five years.

(b) *Bedlington, Carlisle and Wallington Branch.*

That the Executive Committee be recommended to make the following amendments in its Draft Pact for the Future International Authority:

Article II, para. 4.

Omit all words after "number" in line 3, and substitute the following:

"As regards the Assembly, half of the representatives appointed by each Member-State shall be appointed by the

government of that State and half elected by its parliament or some other body. Representatives appointed by governments may be changed at any time. Representatives elected by parliaments or similar bodies shall hold office for a period of three years, and shall be eligible for re-election. In the Assembly each individual representative shall have one vote. In the Council each Member-State shall have one vote."

Article III.

(a) Insert the following words before the first paragraph:

"Except where otherwise expressly provided or prescribed, the decisions at any meeting of the Assembly shall require a two-thirds majority of representatives present. Each Member-State shall be entitled to dissent from any decisions so arrived at, in which event the International Authority must be informed of such dissent within a time limit to be prescribed by the Assembly."

(b) Omit the words "Assembly or" from lines 2 and 6.

(c) Insert the words "of the Council" after the word "Members" in line 4.

(c) *Burslem Branch.*
That the Executive Committee be recommended to make the following amendments in its Draft Pact for the Future International Authority:

Declaration, Clause 1.

Delete "Faith" and substitute "Neighbour."

Article I, Clause 3.

Delete the words "without giving two years' notice of its desire to do so."

Article I, Clause 4, line 3.

Delete "unanimous" and substitute "majority."

Article III.

Delete the first two paragraphs and substitute the following: "Except where otherwise expressly provided or prescribed, the decisions at any meeting of the Assembly or Council shall require the agreement of two-thirds of the Members present and voting, and shall be accepted as binding by those Members who voted for it."

Article V, Clause 2.

Delete "seven" and substitute "five."

Article VI, Clause 1.

After "at" insert "Geneva or London."

ADDENDUM TO PRELIMINARY AGENDA.

Item 11 Draft Pact for the Future International Authority.

(d) *Taunton Branch.*

The General Council asks the Executive Committee to consider the following suggestions with a view to their being incorporated in the Draft Pact.

Article 1, Para. 4. For 'unanimous' substitute 4/5ths majority.

Article 1, Para. 5.

The Economic and other advantages of membership should be made so obvious that every State would desire to enjoy the advantages of full Membership. Within a reasonable period it shall be obligatory for all States to become permanent members, any State failing in its duty as a member to be liable to the application of Sanctions.

Article XII.

Supervision should cover whole field of Propaganda activity as well as Armaments. Any tendency to disturb international relationship by speeches or in print should be watched and dealt with promptly by an International Committee working through the Government of the country concerned.

The level of Armaments should be subject to periodic revision.

Article XVII.

The Pact should be subject to periodic overhaul and revision at definite dates.

12. **THE FUTURE INTERNATIONAL AUTHORITY.** (*Executive Committee.*)
The General Council notes that, on April 18, the Prime Minister, in answer to a question in the House of Commons, said that "if the League of Nations had been properly backed up things might have been different," and urges that the Union should devote its utmost efforts to secure that the International Authority to be set up at

the end of the war shall receive the fullest support of this country, including the use, if necessary, of its armed forces.
The Council is further of opinion that the greatness and glory of this country are deeply concerned with the part it plays in the maintenance of World Peace.

13. **TERMS OF INTERNATIONAL SETTLEMENT.** (*Mrs. E. M. White, Co-opted.*)
That this Council, recalling the section of the Atlantic Charter which states the United Nations "desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned," deplors the proposals—initiated by Russia and approved by Great Britain—that Poland should be "compensated" by acquisition of western territory of almost wholly German population, and strongly urges a more realistic approach to a stable peace in Europe.
14. **THE ATLANTIC CHARTER.** (*Executive Committee.*)
The General Council believes that the principle embodied in Article 2 of the Atlantic Charter, that territorial changes should not be made except with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned, is sound and should be applied in conjunction with the other provisions of the Charter.
15. **UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION FOR EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL RECONSTRUCTION.** (*Executive Committee.*)
- I. The General Council
Records its deep appreciation of the decision by the President of the Board of Education, the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education and the American Educational Delegation to promote the formation of a United Nations Organisation for Educational and Cultural Reconstruction.
Trusts that the new Organisation will be speedily established, with an adequate United Nations Secretariat, and sufficient financial support, and
Looks forward to its further development, within the framework of a General International Organisation, as a permanent International Organisation for Education which will help to provide the moral and intellectual basis of peace.
- II. The General Council congratulates the London International Assembly, the Council for Education in World Citizenship and their Joint Commission on this successful outcome of their work.
16. **THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT.** (*London Regional Federation.*)
The General Council of the League of Nations Union
Congratulates the Co-operative Movement on the celebration this year of the centenary of the Rochdale Pioneers;
Recalls that special provision is made in our By-laws for the affiliation of the Co-operative Union, Wholesales, local Societies and Guilds;
Notes that the development of co-operation is advocated in our recent reports on Social and Economic Reconstruction and on Colonial Settlement; and
Expresses the hope that Co-operators may play a great part in the future establishment of peace and prosperity in the world.

17. **L.N.U. CAMPAIGN FOR THE I.L.O.** (*Mr. Herbert Elvin, Co-opted.*)
That this General Council of the League of Nations Union

- Recognising that
(a) as long as Social Injustice continues, the "peace and harmony of the world are imperilled";
(b) the Atlantic Charter emphasises that "improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security" should receive "the fullest collaboration between all nations" in the post-war world;
(c) unless and until these objectives are achieved there cannot be lasting World Peace;

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

18. **THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF PEACE.** (*Mrs. E. M. White, Co-opted.*)
That the only sound basis for an enduring international peace is an economic one, which would enable all countries to enjoy that sufficiency of natural products and civilised amenities which is now enjoyed only by the more fortunate in a few powerful nations;
The Council therefore asks H.M. Government to regard economic planning to this end as the great priority in peace-making.
19. **NAZI POLICY OF MASSACRE AND EXTERMINATION.** (*Executive Committee.*)
The General Council
Realising that the development of events in Europe which it is hoped will lead to rapid victory will expose to special danger certain sections of the population, especially the Jews, to whom the Nazis are applying a policy of massacre and extermination;
Acknowledges with gratitude the statement made by President Roosevelt and by His Majesty's Government; and
Urges that all steps be taken by those responsible for military developments of the United Nations to rescue the possible victims of this Nazi policy.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

Temple Bar 6140
4682

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

Branch Letter 221

19th June, 1944.

Dear Secretary,

As you already know from my letter of June 9th, the Executive Committee have been obliged to decide, in accordance with the Government's wish concerning travel, that the meeting of the General Council due to be held in London on June 29th and 30th should not be held.

The Administration Committee and Executive have now considered most carefully certain questions arising from that decision and have come to the following conclusions:-

1. That in view of the possibility that the war may be brought to a victorious end before many more months have passed, the time has come when we must strengthen the Union. Only so can we be better prepared to do all that we ought to do at the right moment to help to ensure that the new "general international organization" is formed on the right lines and that it has, from the beginning, full and whole-hearted public support.
2. That we should all of us start to prepare for the December meeting and that each Branch and all the various district and regional organisations should aim at being represented at that meeting so that, at what may well be a decisive moment in the Union's work, there may be one of the finest meetings of the General Council that have ever been held.
3. That in the meantime, each District, County and Regional Federation be asked to hold a special conference of representatives from its own Branches. The Executive feel (a) that this would be the most effective way, in present circumstances, to enlist the active help of all the branches in strengthening the Union throughout the country and in preparing its policy for the December meeting, (b) that they could perhaps themselves give their best assistance to the Branches in this work if it could be arranged for two or three members of the Committee to visit each of these special district, county or regional conferences.

I shall be writing to many of the District, County and Regional Councils about these special conferences, but it would help the Executive very much if - without waiting for them to take the initiative - each Council that is able to do so would be good enough to let me know what would be a convenient date for such a conference.

This proposal does not, of course, exclude the possibility of a special meeting of the Council being held before December and, if an early termination of the war or other circumstances made it desirable to call such a meeting, I feel sure that everyone would do their best to make it a great success.

With regard to the business that would normally have been carried out by this month's meeting of the General Council, the Executive

- a) Provisionally adopted, on behalf of the General Council and subject to ratification by the Council when it next meets, the Annual Report for 1943, and the Audited Balance Sheet and Income and

-2-

Expenditure Account for that year. These will now be published so soon as possible.

- b) Will itself consider at its next meeting the various resolutions and amendments which would have been considered by the Council.
- c) Decided that, since no amendments have been received to the list of persons proposed for election as Officers (see Appendix A of Preliminary Agenda) they shall be deemed to have been elected unless any objection is raised by members of the Council before June 29th. *
- d) Decided that, since the number of members nominated on the General and Regional Lists (see Appendix B of Preliminary Agenda) for election as members of the Executive Committee does not exceed the number of places to be filled, they shall be deemed to have been elected by the General Council unless any objection is raised by members of the Council before June 29th. *

If these arrangements are agreeable to the members of the Council it will be possible for the work of the Union to proceed in accordance with the Bye-Laws and Rules of the Royal Charter. And it is hoped that, by visiting the various regions of the Union during the next few months, members of the Committee may be able to give them useful assistance in all their efforts.

Yours sincerely,

* Unfortunately, since these decisions were taken, we have learned of the death of Lord Davies whose loss will be mourned by all the members of the Union. Lord Davies had been proposed for re-election as one of the Vice-Presidents of the Union, our Trustee and a member of the Executive Committee (General List). Unless I hear to the contrary I shall assume that you and all the members of the Council would be prepared, in the circumstances, to leave it to the Executive Committee to elect another Trustee.

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 20TH, 1944 AT 2.15 P.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Mr. W. Arnold, Lord Cecil, Dr. Hilda Clark, Miss K.D. Courtney, Miss F. Rawcett, Miss Gale, Dr. Garnett, Mr. A.J. Howe, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Mr. J. Macdonald, Dr. Murray, Mrs. Noel-Baker, Mr. H.S. Syrett, Mr. A.E.W. Thomas, Sir Ralph Wedgwood, Professor Basil Williams, and Mr. C.W. Judd.

838. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on June 29th were confirmed as circulated.

839. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 826 - 817a. Communication from Mr. F.W. Harris. It was reported that Lord Cecil had replied to Mr. Harris on the lines of the memorandum submitted to the Executive at its last meeting.

On Minute 826 - 818 - Sovereignty, the Committee had before them a copy of a letter written by Dr. Garnett to Professor Brierly and of Professor Brierly's reply (filed with these minutes). After a letter from Lord Perth had been read, supporting strongly the views expressed by Professor Brierly, it was agreed that no further action be taken for the present.

840. DEATH OF SIR DANIEL STEVENSON. The Executive Committee placed on record their profound sense of loss at the recent death of Sir Daniel Stevenson who had for many years been a Vice-President of the Union. The Secretary was asked to send, on behalf of the Committee, a letter of condolence to the Secretary of the Glasgow Branch.

841. CO-OPTIONS. The Chairman read to the Committee letters received from the Reverend Gwilym Davies, Miss Megan Lloyd George, Mr. T. Lodge, Professor Seton Watson and Lord Addison, in reply to the inquiry whether or not they wished to be co-opted again to the Committee.

It was agreed that the four first named be co-opted to the new Committee. The Secretary was asked to write to Lord Addison, expressing the Committee's hope that he would be willing to continue to serve on the Executive on the understanding that the Committee would ask to reconsider the position if at any time a vacancy were needed. A reply not having been received from Mr. Zilliacus, the Secretary was asked to write to him again.

842. DESIGN FOR A CHARTER OF THE GENERAL INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION. The Executive had before them a tentative draft for a Charter of the General International Organisation prepared by a group of Americans who had had experience in the work of international organisations. Miss Courtney stated that the preparation of the document had been largely inspired by the Executive's Draft Pact. She emphasised that it was only a preliminary draft and in several respects - notably the proposal for both a General and a Political Council - the authors already wished to make alterations.

Dr. Murray stated that he had received a copy of the Charter from Mr. Bash and had replied in some detail, defending the Executive's Draft Pact on the points where it differed from the Charter.

Lord Cecil also reported that he had received a letter from Mr. Aydelotte on the subject.

After discussion, Lord Cecil, Dr. Murray, Lord Lytton and Miss Courtney were asked to go through the Draft Charter clause by clause with a view to preparing a considered reply which, after approval by the Executive, would be sent to the authors of the Charter.

843. FINANCE COMMITTEE. Mr. Syrett reported orally on a meeting of the Committee held on July 16th when the following matters had been discussed:

Dilapidations at 15, Grosvenor Crescent. The Treasurer had been in correspondence with the Waller Trust, but, since they still maintained their full claim, the Finance Committee advised that the matter be left in abeyance until after the war.

Salaries and Wages. The Committee recommended the Executive to make certain increases in the wages of two members of the staff as from July 1st.

They had further recommended that, having regard to the increased cost of living, a further war bonus of 5s. 0d. per week be paid to the full-time members of the staff as from July 1st, a proportional amount being paid to part-time workers.

Superannuation. The Committee recommended that provision should be made for members of the staff who (a) have been in the service of the Union for not less than ten years or (b) are receiving £200 per annum, to participate in the Staff Superannuation Scheme. If the five members affected were willing to come into the scheme, the additional annual cost to the Union would be £45. In the case of two members of the staff, it was recommended that, if they agreed to participate in the scheme, the necessary small adjustments should be made in their wages.

Trustee. The Committee recommended the Executive not to appoint a Trustee to succeed the late Lord Davies.

Press Cuttings. For various reasons the Committee felt that, under present conditions, it would not be advisable for the Union to subscribe to a Press Cutting Agency, but recommended instead that an expenditure of not more than £20 a year should be made on newspapers, periodicals etc., the selection being left to the Head of the Intelligence Department.

New Publications. The Committee had agreed to the publication of a single sheet leaflet designed for "the man in the street" and of a leaflet containing Dr. Murray's answer to the League in a B.B.C. Brains Trust.

The above report was approved and adopted.

Alternative Office Accommodation. Mr. Syrett further reported that the Finance Committee had been considering with Lord Lytton and Miss Courtney the question of securing alternative office accommodation for H.Q. in the event of the present offices being rendered uninhabitable by enemy action. The Committee recommended that, in such an event and pending any other arrangement that might be made, members of the staff should be instructed to report to the L.R.F. office at 32, Fitzroy Square.

The Chairman said that, having regard to the present indiscriminate form of air attack, he had advised against renting alternative accommodation in London since it was not unlikely that such accommodation might be destroyed before it could be used. He reported that Central London Electricity had offered the Union alternative premises in Grosvenor Place but a large expenditure of money would be required before they could be rendered habitable.

The possibility of the evacuation of H.Q., or of some departments, into the country was discussed, and reference was made to an offer of accommodation which had generously been made by Mr. Mander. The Chairman felt that arguments which had been used against evacuation in 1939 no longer applied, and, in reply to a question from Lord Cecil, he thought a possible arrangement might be for certain parts of the office work to be carried on from some provincial centre while meetings of the Executive and other committees continued to be held in London. After further discussion, it was left to the Chairman, Treasurer and Secretary, to explore all possibilities and, in case of need, to take immediate action.

The Committee asked that an expression of their very cordial thanks should be conveyed to Mr. Mander for his generous offer of accommodation.

844. ASSIGNMENT OF INSURANCE POLICIES. On the motion of Mr. Syrett it was agreed that the insurance policies taken out on behalf of Mrs. MacCormack (who resigned on June 13th) and Miss Luffman (see minute 846 below) be assigned to them free of charge, and that authority be given for the use of the Union's seal on the assignment.
845. INTERNATIONALISATION OF AIRWAYS AFTER THE WAR. The Chairman reported that he had been obliged to postpone his visit to Air-Vice-Marshal Bennett.
846. ADMINISTRATION COMMITTEE. The minutes of the meeting held on June 29th (on which an oral report had been made in Minute 831) were formally approved and adopted.

The Chairman made an oral report on the meeting held earlier in the day when the following matters had been discussed.

HEADWAY. Replies to a questionnaire sent to a number of HEADWAY readers had been placed before the Committee and, after detailed consideration, various suggestions for improving the paper had been recommended, notably

- (a) a section dealing with the theoretical aspects of international problems (international law, security, the form of the international authority etc.);

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- (b) reports on current international affairs (meetings of international conferences etc.);
- (c) interviews with prominent personalities in the Union, including some of the principal Branch workers, and perhaps also articles on what members of H.M. Forces are thinking about international arrangements after the war;
- (d) more articles by prominent people in the international world, including leading statesmen of other countries.

The Editor had been asked to draw up a suggested policy for HEADWAY in the future, embodying the above suggestions and indicating what additional expenditure would be required to carry them into effect, for submission to the Finance Committee.

Women's Advisory Council. A revised draft constitution for the W.A.C., approved by that Council at its last meeting, had been recommended for adoption by the Executive. Copies of the revised constitution were placed before the Executive.

Scottish National Council. A revised constitution for the Scottish National Council had been drawn up and, subject to a favourable report from Professor Paton, the Executive were recommended to approve and adopt it.

Regional Conferences. It was reported that Conferences were being arranged for Hampshire (at Southampton?), Northamptonshire (at Wellingsborough), Sussex (at Worthing), Tyneside (at Newcastle) and that it was hoped to arrange a Merseyside Conference at Liverpool.

Staff. The resignation of Miss Luffman, who was leaving in order to take up an appointment with U.N.R.R.A. was received with great regret, it was left to a Selection Committee, consisting of Dr. Murray, Miss Courtney, Mr. Nowell Smith, Miss Charlesworth and Mr. Judd, to appoint a successor, and the Secretary was asked to convey to Miss Luffman the Committee's grateful thanks for the work she had done and their best wishes for her future work with U.N.R.R.A.

Membership. The Chairman reported an improvement of 795 in the membership figures for June 1944 as compared with the corresponding month in 1943. But the total membership figures for the first six months of 1944 were 689 less than in the previous year.

Mr. Richard Law's Speech to London Rotary Club. It was recommended that, if the approval of Mr. Richard Law and of the London Rotary Club were forthcoming, the speech delivered by the Under-Secretary of State on June 14th should be issued as a L.N.U. leaflet.

The above report was approved and adopted.

847. U.N.R.R.A. Several members of the Committee spoke of the unsatisfactory methods which appeared to be employed for recruiting staff for U.N.R.R.A., and it was suggested that an opportunity might be taken of discussing the matter with Lord Halifax and Sir Arthur Salter. Miss Courtney undertook to prepare some notes on the subject which might form the basis of such discussion.
848. RECOGNITION OF THE PROVISIONAL FRENCH GOVERNMENT. Further consideration was given to the communication from the Warwickshire and Birmingham Federal Council (see minute 832 of last meeting). The Secretary was asked to inform the Federal Council that the Executive had read with satisfaction, since their letter was received, that an agreement had been reached between General de Gaulle and the American Government with the support of the British Government, which the Executive earnestly hoped would operate successfully.
849. LONDON INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY. Miss Courtney reported that the I.I.A. hoped shortly to wind up its work by setting out in a form which could be printed a brief account of what certain of the Commissions concerned with international organisation had been able to achieve. A drafting committee was now engaged in drawing up the report.
850. COUNCIL FOR EDUCATION IN WORLD CITIZENSHIP. Mr. Judd reported that, in place of the summer schools and conferences which had this year had to be abandoned, the C.E.W.C. had offered to send speakers to the School Farming Camps.
851. RESOLUTIONS FROM STOKE (COVENTRY) BRANCH. The following resolutions were reported:
- (a) In the opinion of the Committee of the Stoke (Coventry) Branch of the L.N.U., a more generous policy on the part of the Government for the entry of Refugees into this country from Nazi occupied Europe is urgently needed; we therefore urge the Executive Committee to press the Government to take every possible step in this direction.
 - (b) As the feeding of the Greeks has been so successful we strongly recommend that attempts should be made to feed other occupied countries, especially France, Belgium and Holland where conditions are so appalling.

The Secretary was asked to remind the Branch of the resolution adopted by the Executive on June 29th on the subject of Nazi Persecution.

In regard to (b) it was felt that H.M. Government were thoroughly aware of the great anxiety existing in this country on the subject and of the immense support that they would receive if they found any way of dealing with the problem before the cessation of hostilities. But the really important thing was to make U.N.R.R.A.'s organisation so thoroughly efficient that the moment the war came to an end effective action could be taken immediately.

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852. DATE OF NEXT MEETING. It was agreed to leave it to the chairman to decide, in the light of the then existing circumstances, whether or not meetings of the Executive should be summoned during August.
853. CLOSING OF OFFICE FOR AUGUST BANK HOLIDAY. It was agreed, on the motion of Dr. Garnett, that the office should be closed from Friday evening, August 4th until Wednesday morning, August 9th.

Lytton
CHAIRMAN

7th Sept. 1944.

COPY.

37, Park Town,
Oxford.

30th June, 1944.

My dear Brierly,

At a meeting of the L.N.U. Executive, a fortnight ago, I suggested that we ought to make an effort to combat the dangerous notion that the post-war international organisation, for the maintenance of peace and security and for the promotion of international co-operation, must either (a) be "based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states", as the Moscow Declaration has it, or else (b) be a "world-state". The Committee agreed, and decided "to issue a short statement on the subject". Lord Cecil was asked if he would be good enough to prepare a draft.

But, when the Committee met again yesterday, Lord Cecil said that the draft ought to say more about the theory of sovereignty than he could easily write currente calamo or without more enquiry than he could easily undertake. Our thoughts all turned at once to you, and I was asked to invite your help.

What is needed is, I fancy, a brief paper explaining to the peoples of the allied nations, and particularly of Britain and America, that, as you have put it on p. 39 of your book on The Law of Nations, sovereign independence is "an impossible theory for a world which contains more states than one"; and that the problem for the makers of the coming peace is not whether sovereign nations shall or shall not sacrifice their sovereignty to the post-war international organisation but how much they shall sacrifice and whether there is to be, as Moscow intended, equality of sacrifice all round from small and large states alike.

The need for such an explanatory paper has, it seems to me, been enhanced by recent events in the United States. I am thinking of President Roosevelt's "We are not thinking of a super-state" when putting forward his peace plan; and of the Chicago platform of the Republican party with its

1. "We shall seek to achieve such aim [including peace and freedom based on justice and security] through organised international co-operation and not by joining a world state".
2. "We favour responsible participation by the United States in post-war co-operative organisation among sovereign nations".

The need would, I think, be met by quite a short addition to what you have already written on pages 6 - 7 and 36 - 39 of your book. Could you do this for us?

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) Maxwell Garnett.

COPY.

Greensward,

Headington Hill,
Oxford.

7 July, 1944.

My dear Garnett,

I have been thinking over your suggestion that I should write something about the necessity for some sacrifice of sovereignty by states entering an international organisation. But the more I think of it, the more doubtful I am of the wisdom of doing so in view of the situation of the question in America and the impending conference at Washington.

It seems to me that the Chicago platform for tactical reasons is trying to have the best of both worlds - the Party in being driven into some form of organisation by one win but it is necessary to reassure the isolationist wing that that will not involve any sacrifice of American sovereignty. The fact is of course that in one sense that is true, and in another it is not. It depends upon what meaning you give to that elusive word. Obviously it must involve some loss of freedom to choose the national policy, but it can be argued that that is not a loss of sovereignty because it is a loss, accepted by agreement, and it is one of the results of being sovereign that a state can make any agreement it likes.

I think too that the President, either from conviction or for tactical reasons, feels it necessary to play up to this view.

Now, it seems to me that for us to weigh in and insist that any international organisation will involve sacrifices all round would be ill-advised just now. It is true of course, but so long as the Americans find solace in assuring one another that the sacrifices will not be sacrifices of sovereignty, why disturb them? Is it not wise to hope that "sovereign", as an adjective applied to the state, will gradually become a conventional epithet as it has in the phrase "Our sovereign lord, the King"? That is a process which will inevitably begin if you get an international organisation established even on the co-operative or League model, and it will be accelerated to the extent that the organisation makes good. Why explain to people that they are in fact losing their sovereignty in the process, especially as, in one meaning of the word, it can quite honestly be argued that they are not?

I think it is worth remembering too, in regard to the American situation, how elastic a word sovereignty is. In American law the individual States are still sovereign, though a political philosopher would hardly so describe them. But if Americans can believe that the States reburied their sovereignty after being merged in the Union, it ought to be quite easy for them to believe that the Union will retain its sovereignty if it enters an international organisation even with fairly wide commitments. My own view is "let them".

At any rate perhaps you would think over what I have written, and if you think fit ask the L.N.U. Executive to do so.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) J.L. Brierly.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION
WOMEN'S ADVISORY COUNCIL

Women's National Organisations which recognise the importance of establishing a new International Organisation after the war are invited to become members of the Women's Advisory Council of the League of Nations Union. In its reference to the "League of Nations" the Union today means the enduring purposes of the League's Covenant and the fulfilment of Point 4 of the Moscow Declaration - "the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organisation, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states... for the maintenance of international peace and security".

TERMS OF REFERENCE

The Women's Advisory Council is appointed;

- (i) To provide a forum for study and exchange of opinions on international affairs.
- (ii) To consider and advise upon the best means of securing the support of women, either individually or through their organisations, for a general international organisation for the maintenance of peace.
- (iii) To keep the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union informed concerning the opinions of Women's Organisations on political, economic or social matters involving international co-operation.

CONSTITUTION

The Women's Advisory Council shall consist of:

- (1) Two Representatives from each member organisation constituted on a national basis or forming a separate self-governing section of a nation-wide organisation of both sexes.

If any representative is unable to attend a meeting of the Council, her organisation may appoint a substitute who will have the same powers of voting as the regular representative. Organisations may send visitors - without the right to vote - to meetings of the Council.

- (2) Co-opted Members.

AFFILIATION TO THE L.N.U.

Each member organisation willing to co-operate with the Union and wishing to be kept in close touch with its work by means of HEADWAY and other literature can become an Affiliated Member of the Union on payment of 25. 5s. 0d annually.

Each Affiliated Member is entitled to appoint one representative to the Union's General Council.

Branches of such member organisations may become Corporate Members of the Union on an annual payment of £1. 1s. 0d or Associate Members on annual payment of 10s. 6d.

Representatives of such member organisations may become individually registered members of the Union on payment of a minimum sum of 5s. 0d a year.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION
SCOTTISH NATIONAL COUNCIL

CONSTITUTION: Adopted 3rd June, 1944

1. The object of the Council shall be to further the work of the League of Nations Union in Scotland by:
 - a. Combining the District Councils and Branches in a National Council for mutual assistance and support.
 - b. Arranging National Conferences, Youth rallies, Speakers' tours, Summer Schools and Propaganda drives.
 - c. Conducting negotiations with other Scottish National bodies to further the general objects of the Union.
2. Membership of the Council shall be open to the District Councils, all recognised Branches of the Union in Scotland and such Border Branches outside Scotland as may desire association.
3. Representation on the Council shall be by delegates in the proportion of one to each 100 paid-up members or part thereof, with a maximum delegation of five from each Branch and two from each of the District Councils.
4. The Officers, who shall be elected for one year at the Annual General Meeting shall be:
 1. Honorary President,
 2. President,
 3. Vice-Presidents, (Three in number)
 4. Honorary Secretary
 5. Honorary Treasurer, and
 6. An Executive Committee which shall consist of the above office-bearers and of twelve members elected from the delegates.
5. Finance. The Council shall determine at the Annual General Meeting the scale of contributions deemed necessary for expenses.
6. Procedure. The Annual Meeting shall be held before the 30th April in each year, at which reports for the year ended 31st December shall be submitted by the Honorary Secretary and Honorary Treasurer. At this meeting the officers for the year shall be elected (see Rule 4). Notice of the meeting shall be given at least six weeks prior to the meeting. Notices of resolutions must be forwarded to the Honorary Secretary four weeks before the meeting and nominations of officers must be in the Honorary Secretary's hands four weeks before the meeting. Emergency resolutions may be taken on the agreement of two-thirds of the delegates present and voting.
7. The Honorary Secretary shall circulate an Agenda with details of resolutions and nominations two weeks before the meeting to all affiliated Branch Secretaries.
8. A Special General Meeting of the Council shall be called either under the instructions of the Executive or on the request of five Branches in writing to the Honorary Secretary.
9. No alteration may be effected in this Constitution without a two-thirds majority of the delegates present and voting after due notice of the alteration has been given as laid down in Rule 6, a quorum of twenty delegates being necessary before the motion can be put to the meeting.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 11 MAIDEN LANE, LONDON, W.C.2, ON THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 7TH, 1944 AT 2.15 P.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Mr. W. Arnold, Professor Brodetsky, Lord Cecil, Dr. Hilda Clark, Miss Courtney, Miss Fawcett, Mr. W. Arnold Forster, Dr. Garnett, Lady Hall, Miss Hansell, Mr. A. J. Howe, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Mr. T. Lodge, Mr. J. Macdonald, Dr. Murray, Mrs. Prior, Professor Seton-Watson, Mr. Nowell Smith, Mr. H. S. Syrett, Professor Basil Williams and Mr. Judd.

854. MINUTES The minutes of the meeting held on July 20th, 1944 were confirmed as circulated.
855. DEATH OF SIR ARTHUR HAWORTH. The Committee placed on record their deep sense of loss which the cause of the Union had sustained in the death of Sir Arthur Haworth. The Chairman reported that he had already, in the name of the Executive, sent a message of condolence to Lady Haworth, and read to the Committee the reply he had received.
- The Committee asked that a message of condolence should also be sent to the Manchester District Council, of which Sir Arthur Haworth had been Chairman for very many years.
856. MISS HANSELL AND MRS. PRIOR. The Chairman welcomed Miss Hansell and Mrs. Prior who were attending the Executive for the first time.
857. LETTER FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO LORD CECIL. Lord Cecil read to the Executive a letter, dated September 1 which he had received from the Prime Minister, and the reply which he had sent to Mr. Churchill (copies filed with these minutes). The Executive expressed their deep satisfaction at the Prime Minister's letter and, after discussion, Lord Cecil was asked to enquire of Mr. Churchill's Private Secretary whether or not the letter might be used for publication.
- Miss Courtney suggested that, if the permission of the Prime Minister were forthcoming, his letter might form part of a report to be issued to the press on the occasion of the Birthday Party for Lord Cecil on September 14th.
858. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 841 - Co-optations, it was reported that a reply had still not been received from Mr. Zilliaccus to the Secretary's letters enquiring whether or not he wished to be co-opted to the new Committee. Four vacancies (including the Regional vacancy caused by the death of Sir Arthur Haworth) remained on the Executive and, on the motion of Dame Adelaide Livingstone, it was

RESOLVED: "That Miss Elizabeth Monroe be invited to serve on the Executive."

It was agreed that the remaining vacancies should, for the present, be left open.

On Minute 847 - U.N.R.R.A., Lord Cecil reported that he had seen Lord Halifax on August 2nd who felt that the person most likely to be able to help in regard to the staffing of U.N.R.R.A. was Sir Arthur Salter. At Lord Halifax's suggestion, Lord Cecil had written to Sir Arthur Salter through the British Embassy, enclosing a memorandum which Miss Courtney had been good enough to prepare. Lord Halifax had also suggested that an opportunity should be taken of discussing the matter with Mr. Richard Law.

After thanking Lord Cecil for the action he had taken, Miss Courtney expressed the opinion that nothing further now needed to be done. She understood that Government offices had been asked to do all they could to facilitate the staffing of U.N.R.R.A. and thought it possible that within a week or two some good appointments would be made.

859. DESIGN FOR A CHARTER OF THE GENERAL INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION
 The Executive had before them a memorandum (S.1143, copy filed with these minutes) prepared by the Chairman and Lord Cecil on the basis of notes submitted by Dr. Murray and Miss Courtney. They also had before them a memorandum (S.1140 copy filed with these minutes) of a more detailed character prepared independently by Mr. Arnold Forster.

Mr. Arnold Forster said that before drafting his paper he had discussed the matter with Professor Burdall of the University of Illinois who was now working at the State Department and who had been associated with the drafting of the Charter. While agreeing that a most useful purpose would be served by underlining, as did the Officers' memorandum, the points of agreement, between the Charter and the Executive's Draft Pact, he nevertheless thought that it would be well to make clear to the authors of the Charter the main points of disagreement. He had already sent his memorandum to Professor Manley Hudson with a covering letter.

Dr. Garnett warmly welcomed Mr. Arnold Forster's paper, but suggested that it might be better to refer to "political and general" rather than to "political and economic" matters.

After further discussion it was agreed that the Officers' memorandum should be communicated to the authors of the Charter as the Executive's general conception of the problem, and that a note should be added to the memorandum referring to the paper (also to be enclosed) which Mr. Arnold Forster had prepared for the Committee and which contained a detailed examination and criticism of specific points.

860. DUMBARTON OAKS CONFERENCE. The Committee were of the opinion that, in view of the great importance of the matter and in order to avoid the dangers of last time, the peoples of the world should be informed of the conclusions of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference in regard to international security before the Governments were pledged to definite action, and that steps should be taken to urge upon H.M. Government the immediate publication of the conclusions of the Conference when the proceedings terminate.

Reference was made to the statement by Mr. Cordell Hull at the Public Opening Session of the Conference that

"These conclusions will be made available to the peoples of our countries and of all countries for public study and debate".

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Lord Cecil expressed his willingness to draft a letter on the above lines for communication by the Chairman to Mr. Eden.

861. AUSTRALIAN LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION. The Committee had before them a communication from the Australian League of Nations Union (S.1141, copy filed with these minutes) containing "a statement of its general opinion and final aim with regard to world order", and "a statement of its attitude to the world position during and after the present war" which had been adopted at a Conference of Australian Branches held at Canberra a few months ago.

The Secretary was asked to send a letter to the Australian L.N.U., expressing the Executive's warm approval of their statement and congratulating them on the splendid work they are doing under the present difficult conditions.

The Editor was asked to bear the statement in mind for publication in a future number of HEADWAY.

862. GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING. The Committee considered arrangements for the meeting of the General Council and after discussion it was

RESOLVED: That the next meeting of the General Council be held on Thursday, Friday and (if necessary) Saturday, November 30th, December 1st and 2nd, in the Conway Hall, Red Lion Square.

863. ALBERT HALL MEETING. It was suggested to the Executive that, if they considered it desirable to hold a Mass Meeting in the Albert Hall at the conclusion of hostilities in Europe, a pencilling of the Hall ought to be made within the next week or two when it was understood the authorities would again be taking bookings. After discussion, during which arguments for and against were put forward, it was generally agreed that it would be desirable to hold such a Mass Meeting in the Albert Hall and it was left to the Secretary to pencil a few dates provisionally, e.g. November 15th, November 22nd, November 29th, December 6th.

864. AFRICAN COLONIAL PROBLEM. The Committee had before them a Memorandum on the African Colonial Problem prepared by a sub-Committee of the London International Assembly (copy filed with these minutes). It was suggested that the Executive might wish to have this paper printed for distribution to Branches etc. as a contribution to study on the subject, or alternatively that copies might be purchased for this purpose if the report were published by the Assembly.

After discussion it was agreed to leave this matter over for consideration at a later date in the light of the action, if any, which the L.I.A. might decide to take.

865. ADMINISTRATION COMMITTEE. The minutes of the meeting held on July 20th, on which an oral report had been made at the last meeting of the Executive, were formally approved and adopted.

The Chairman made an oral report on the meeting held earlier in the day when the following matters had been discussed:

HEADWAY. The Administration Committee had further discussed the future of HEADWAY and had considered a memorandum by the Editor giving in detail an estimate of the additional annual expenditure (not exceeding £160) that would be involved if the suggestions made for improving the paper were adopted. The Committee had recommended, subject to the approval of the Finance Committee, that the additional expenditure be authorised.

PROFESSOR ARTHUR NEWELL. On behalf of the Administration Committee the Chairman made certain proposals that were warmly welcomed by the Executive and he undertook to discuss them with Professor Newell and with Mr. Syrett at the first opportunity.

Regional Conferences. A report was given on the arrangements already made for a series of Regional Conferences. Dame Adelaide Livingstone suggested that particulars of the Conferences should be circulated to the members of the Executive in case any of them (in addition to the speakers) might find it possible to attend.

Mr. Arnold Horster expressed the hope that a Conference for the South-western region would be arranged either at Plymouth or Exeter.

866. LONDON INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY. Miss Courtney made an oral report on the L.I.A., and said that the Drafting Committee had prepared a pamphlet describing the decisions of the L.I.A. in regard to a World Organisation which was in course of being printed. Many members of the L.I.A. had already left the country and it was not therefore proposed to hold another formal meeting. But the Report of the Commission dealing with Social and Labour Problems would be presented to the General Purposes Committee who would decide what action should be taken with regard both to this report and to the reports on "War Criminals" and "The African Colonial Problem" which had been adopted by the Assembly but had not yet been published.

In reply to a question from Dr. Garnett, Mr. Judd stated that he had already written to Professor Cassin and M. Rolin asking them to convey greetings from the Union to our friends in the League of Nations movements in France and in Belgium, as and when they came into contact with them, and to say how very much the Union looked forward to resuming its co-operation with them in the near future.

Dame Adelaide Livingstone reported on the arrangements which were being made for a Farewell Tea Party to members of the L.I.A. on September 18th. Invitations had been sent out in the name of Lord Cecil and about a hundred acceptances had already been received.

It was agreed that the cost of the party should be borne by the Union.

867. COUNCIL FOR EDUCATION IN WORLD CITIZENSHIP. Dr. Murray reported that Miss Luffman was still serving as Assistant Secretary to the C.E.W.C. and that Mrs. Brown had been appointed to succeed Mrs. McCormack.

The proposals made by the Joint Committee of the C.E.W.C. and the L.I.A. both for the re-education of Germany and the rebuilding of the educational instruments in the occupied countries had been much discussed. The Foreign Office had appointed a Committee on the subject with Professor Dodds as Chairman, and Dr. Murray had written several articles for publication in this country and in America.

RELEASE DATE: THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1944.

THE PRIME MINISTER TO LORD CECIL.

The Prime Minister has sent the following letter to Viscount Cecil of Chelwood on the occasion of his 80th birthday (September 14) :-

10, Downing Street,
Whitehall.

My dear Bob,

Many happy returns of your eightieth birthday. It must be a satisfaction to you to see that the great causes of international peace and justice for which you have so faithfully pleaded are now being triumphantly vindicated by the sword.

This war could easily have been prevented if the League of Nations had been used with courage and loyalty by the associated nations. Even in 1935 and 1936 there was a chance, by making an armed Grand Alliance under the aegis of the League, to hold in subjection the rising furies in Germany or at the very least to enter into armed conflict on terms far more favourable than those eventually forced upon us. We tried our best, and though the road has been one of tragedy and terror, the opportunity will surely be offered again to mankind to guard themselves at least for a few generations from such frightful experiences.

You may be sure that I shall act in accordance with the spirit and principles of the League, but clothing those principles with the necessary authority.

You are entitled to mellow reflections even while the storm still rages. Accept my very best wishes.

Yours very sincerely,

(signed) WINSTON S. CHURCHILL.

Lord Cecil has replied:-

Chelwood Gate,
Haywards Heath,
Sussex.

My dear Winston,

Thank you very much indeed for your letter. It is extremely kind of you to have thought of your old friend in the midst of your tremendous responsibilities. I deeply appreciate it.

What you say about the League is, I think, quite true. The Governments had agreed to the Covenant without taking it seriously. To them any genuine attempt to apply its provisions against the threatened storm was "midsummer madness". You always saw the realities of the situation. There is a passage in one of your earlier books on the last war in which you visualise a League acting with force against an aggressor. But most people persisted in trusting to vague aspirations for peace. However, largely through you we have been given another chance and I hope we may be wiser. All depends on whether the Peoples can be made to understand the plain truth of the future and are not led away to put their faith only in social and economic reforms.

Again thanks,

Yours ever,

CECIL.

With the compliments of the
LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION,
11, MAIDEN LANE, W.C.2.

FOR THE FAVOUR OF NOTICE.

S.1139.

CONFIDENTIAL

May 30, 1944.

(Tentative Draft)

A Design for a Charter of the

GENERAL INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

Envisaged in the Four-Nation Declaration of October 30, 1943 and in the Senate Resolution of November 5, 1943.

Introductory Note

In the Moscow Declaration of October 30, 1943, the Governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, and China recognized "the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organization, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving States, and open to membership by all such States, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security." In a resolution of November 5, 1943, the Senate of the United States recognized the necessity of a general international organization in identical terms.

The lines to be followed in building such a general international organization have therefore become a matter of immediate interest to the people of this and other countries.

Acting solely in their private capacities, a group of Americans who have had experience in the work of international organizations have endeavored to block out the lines which in their judgment might best ensure the efficacy of a general international organization. In a series of conferences held over a period of several months, they have sought to draw upon the experience of the past as well as upon the numerous suggestions which are current; they have been aided especially by the statement on "The International Law of the Future" recently issued by two hundred Americans and Canadians actively interested in international law.

The Design which follows is not offered as a text of the Charter, its provisions being confined to the outstanding problems which present themselves. Special attention is called to three features of the Design:

- (a) The Charter would apply to all States as the basic instrument of the international law of the future. Universality is contemplated, not as a goal of aspiration, but as a fundamental concept. Every State would have a place in the general international organization, and no State would be privileged to remain wholly aloof from the organized community of States.
- (b) The Charter would not attempt to lay out ready-made solutions of international problems. Instead, it would create agencies, procedures and methods by which solutions might be sought in the future according to the wisdom of the time.
- (c) The Charter would create definite obligations for States with respect to the maintenance of peace, but with respect to promoting the general welfare it would place the emphasis on consultative arrangements for voluntary cooperation among States.

While the members of the group were not unanimous on every point, the Design represents the general views of the group at the present stage of their deliberations. The following men, among others,

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took part in the conferences devoted to the preparation of the Design:

FRANK AYDELOTTE, Princeton, New Jersey
 Director of the Institute for Advanced Study; American Secretary of the Rhodes Trustees; Chairman of the Educational Advisory Board of the Guggenheim Foundation
 Formerly President of the Pennsylvania League of Nations Association

FRANK G. BOUDREAU, New York City
 Executive Director of the Milbank Memorial Fund
 Official of the Health Organization of the League of Nations, 1925-1937

MALCOLM W. DAVIS, New York City
 Associate Director of the Division of Intercourse and Education of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
 Formerly Associate Secretary General of the International League of Red Cross Societies; member of the Executive Committee of the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation

CLARK M. EICHELBERGER, New York City
 Director of the League of Nations Association; Director of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace
 Formerly official of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies

RAYMOND B. FOSDICK, New York City
 Under-Secretary General of the League of Nations, 1919-1920

HUNTINGTON GILCHRIST, New York City
 Official of the League of Nations Secretariat, 1919-1928

MANLEY O. HUDSON, Cambridge, Massachusetts
 Judge of the Permanent Court of International Justice; member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration
 With the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, Paris, 1918-1919; member of the League of Nations Secretariat, 1919-1926; legal adviser to the International Labor Conference, 1919, 1920, 1924

PHILIP C. JESSUP, New York City
 Professor of International Law, Columbia University
 Secretary pro tempore of the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, 1943

HERBERT L. MAY, New York City
 Vice-President of the Permanent Central Opium Board and Acting Chairman of the Drug Supervisory Body affiliated with the League of Nations

PHILIP C. NASH, Toledo, Ohio
 President of the University of Toledo
 Formerly Executive Director of the League of Nations Association

GEORGE RUBLEE, Washington, D.C.
 Member of the Allied Maritime Transport Council, 1918-1919; Legal Adviser to the American Delegation at the London Naval Conference, 1930; Director of the Inter-Governmental Committee on Political Refugees, 1938-1939

JAMES T. SHOTWELL, New York City
 Professor Emeritus of the History of International Relations, Columbia University; member of the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation; Chairman of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace; Director of the Division of Economics and History of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
 With the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, Paris, 1918-1919

PRESTON W. SLOSSON, Ann Arbor, Michigan
 Professor of Modern European History, University of Michigan
 With the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, Paris, 1918-1919

ARTHUR SWEETSER, Washington, D.C.
 With the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, Paris, 1918-1919;
 official of the League of Nations Secretariat, 1919-1942

QUINCY WRIGHT, Chicago, Illinois
 Professor of International Law, University of Chicago; Director
 of the Foreign Bondholders Protective Council

Secretary: Louis B. Sohn
 Langdell Hall, Cambridge, Massachusetts

Design for a Charter of the
 GENERAL INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION (GIO)

I. Nature of the GIO

1. The primary aims of the GIO should be to maintain international peace and security and to promote the well-being of all peoples.
2. The GIO should be established by a Charter applicable as the basic instrument of international law to all States.
3. (a) The Charter of the GIO should be launched, on behalf of the community of States, by the United Nations and by such other States as may associate with them for the purpose.
 (b) The Charter should become operative upon its acceptance by a prescribed number of States, including certain named States.
4. (a) The Charter should provide that the GIO shall at all times comprise all existing States, and hence no provision should be made for the expulsion or withdrawal of any State.
 (b) A list of the States existing at the time should be annexed to the Charter.
5. The Charter should provide that the GIO, upon its establishment, will supersede the League of Nations.

II. Structure of the GIO

6. (a) The principal organ of the GIO should be an Assembly, meeting annually or more frequently as occasion may require.
 (b) Each State should be entitled to appoint representatives in the Assembly, and should be free to select them in the manner which it considers most appropriate.
 (c) The Assembly should have power to pass upon the credentials of States' representatives.
 (d) The Assembly should have power, in accordance with rules previously adopted, to restrict the participation of a State's representatives under certain conditions.
7. (a) Each State represented in the Assembly should have one vote.
 (b) Unanimity should not be required for action by the Assembly; a special majority vote should be required with respect to certain matters, and in some cases this majority should be required to include the votes of the States represented in the Political Council or in the General Council, or of the States continuously represented in the Political Council.
 (c) In principle, all questions of procedure should be decided by a simple majority vote.
 (d) The Votes of States having less than 100,000 inhabitants should not be counted for any majority required in the Assembly.
8. (a) A Political Council, meeting at stated intervals and as occasion may require, should be created to deal with international matters which are chiefly of political significance.
 (b) The Political Council should consist of the representatives of eleven States. After an initial period of five years the Assembly should have power, acting with the concurrence of the Political Council, to increase the number of States represented to fifteen.
 (c) The States to be represented in the Political Council during the initial period of five years should be designated in the Charter; the four States designated as having the chief responsibility for the maintenance of peace should continue to be represented after the expiration of the initial period until one or more of

them may be replaced by the Assembly on account of essential changes in relative responsibility.

- (d) Subject to the foregoing provision, the States to be represented in the Political Council continuously or for limited periods of time should be selected by the Assembly, with reference to the importance of their role and responsibility in international affairs.
- (e) A State not represented in the Political Council should be entitled to participate in its deliberations on any matter specially affecting the interests of that State.
9. (a) Each State represented in the Political Council should have one vote.
- (b) Unanimity should not be required for action by the Political Council; a special majority vote should be required with respect to certain matters, and in some cases this majority should be required to include the votes of the States continuously represented in the Political Council.
- (c) A State should not have a vote in the Political Council on any occasion in which its un-authorized use of force is in question.
- (d) In principle, all questions of procedure should be decided by a simple majority vote.
10. (a) A permanent Security Committee of the Political Council should be charged with responsibility for preventing or suppressing the use of force by States in their relations with other States.
- (b) The Security Committee should be composed of the representatives of the States continuously represented in the Political Council, and of the representatives of such additional States as may be selected by the Assembly acting by two-thirds vote including the votes of States continuously represented in the Political Council.
- (c) A simple majority vote, including the votes of the States continuously represented in the Political Council, should be required for decisions by the Security Committee.
- (d) A State should not have a vote in the Security Committee on any occasion in which its un-authorized use of force is in question.
11. (a) A General Council, meeting at stated intervals and as occasion may require, should be created to deal with international matters other than those committed to the Political Council.
- (b) The General Council should consist of the representatives of fifteen States. After an initial period of three years, the Assembly should have power, acting with the concurrence of the General Council, to increase the number of States represented to twenty-one.
- (c) The States to be represented in the General Council during the initial period of three years should be designated in the Charter; the seven States designated as having the more general interests in international affairs should continue to be represented after the expiration of the initial period until one or more of them may be replaced by the Assembly on account of essential changes in relative position.
- (d) Subject to the foregoing provision, the States to be represented in the General Council continuously or for limited periods of time should be selected by the Assembly, with reference to the importance of their role in international affairs.
- (e) A State not represented in the General Council should be entitled to participate in its deliberations on any matter specially affecting the interests of that State.

12. (a) Each State represented in the General Council should have one vote.
- (b) Unanimity should not be required for action by the General Council; a special majority vote should be required with respect to certain matters, and in some cases this majority should be required to include the votes of the States continuously represented in the General Council.
- (c) In principle, all questions of procedure should be decided by simple majority vote.
13. (a) The first Secretary General of the GIO should be named in the Charter, to serve for an initial period of five years; thereafter, the Secretary General should be elected by the Assembly on the nomination of the Political Council.
- (b) The Secretary General should be authorized to participate in the deliberations of the Assembly, the Political Council, and the General Council, and to lay before these bodies any international matter which he may deem appropriate.
- (c) The Secretary General should have responsibility for contacts of the GIO with various international organizations, public and private.
14. (a) The Secretariat of the GIO should be under the direction of the Secretary General.
- (b) The members of the Secretariat should be selected on the basis of individual competence and recruited upon as wide a geographical basis as possible.
- (c) The higher officers of the Secretariat should be appointed by the Secretary General with the approval of the Political Council; other members of the Secretariat should be appointed by the Secretary General.
- (d) The members of the Secretariat should be independent of any control by the States of which they are nationals, and they should neither seek nor receive instructions from any source other than the Secretary General.
- (e) The members of the Secretariat should enjoy diplomatic immunities in the territory of all States, subject to waiver by the Secretary General.
- (f) The seat of the Secretariat should be at . . . The Assembly should have power to transfer the seat elsewhere.
15. (a) The Assembly should have power to determine what general international organizations with specialized responsibilities should constitute parts of the GIO, and to adapt their basic instruments to the Charter of the GIO.
- (b) The Permanent Court of International Justice should be continued as the chief judicial organ of the GIO, and the Assembly should have power to adapt its Statute to the Charter of the GIO.
- (c) The International Labor Organization should constitute a part of the GIO, and the Assembly should have power to adapt its Constitution to the Charter of the GIO.
- (d) The Assembly should have power to take over as agencies of the GIO any special agencies associated with the League of Nations which it may deem to give promise of continuing usefulness, and by appropriate arrangements to acquire properties held by the League of Nations.
16. (a) The Assembly should have power to deal with all questions relating to the budget of the GIO, to decide upon methods of providing funds, and to fix the proportions in which States should contribute.
- (b) Each State should be bound to pay its contribution promptly, and the Assembly should have power to determine the consequences of failure to discharge this obligation.
- (c) In accordance with regulations to be established by the Assembly, the budget of the GIO should include provisions for reimbursing States for the expenses incurred in their representation in organs or agencies of the GIO.

III. Maintenance of International Peace and Security

17. (a) The Charter should proclaim the duty of each State to refrain from any use of force and from any threat to use force in its relations with other States, except on behalf of the CIO and with its authority.
(b) The Charter should provide that a State should be free to oppose by force an unauthorized use of force made against it by another State, subject to immediate reference to the Political Council.
18. The Assembly should have power to deal with any matter affecting the peace of the world or the good understanding between peoples on which peace depends.
19. (a) The Political Council should have power, acting in accordance with policies adopted by the Assembly and subject to general control by the Assembly, to deal with any specific situation in which the peace of the world is jeopardized.
(b) The Secretary General should be authorized to convoke the Political Council in the event of any such emergency.
20. (a) The Security Committee of the Political Council should have power to act on its own initiative in any case of an imminent menace to peace. In all other cases, the Security Committee should act only with the specific authorization of the Political Council or the Assembly.
(b) The Security Committee should have power, subject to the approval of the Political Council, to organize the technical bodies necessary for the maintenance of peace.
21. The Political Council should have power, subject to the approval of the Assembly, to organize such regional security committees as may be needed.
22. (a) Each State should be pledged to take such military and economic measures for the maintenance of peace as may be prescribed by the Assembly on proposals by the Political Council, and the Assembly should have power to provide for distributing the burdens which such measures may entail.
(b) Each State should be pledged to refrain from interference with any action taken by the Security Committee in execution of its powers.
(c) Each State represented in the Security Committee should be pledged to take part, to the full extent of its resources, in any action which may be decided upon by the Security Committee for preventing or suppressing a use of force.
23. The Assembly should have power, by special majority vote including the votes of the States continuously represented in the Political Council, to prescribe limitations with respect to the size and type of armaments to be maintained to be maintained by States, and to establish agencies and methods for supervision and control of armaments.

IV. Settlement of Disputes Between States

24. The Charter should proclaim the duty of each State to use none but pacific means in seeking to settle its disputes with other States.
25. The Permanent Court of International Justice should have jurisdiction over all disputes in which States are in conflict as to their respective legal rights and which are not pending before the Political Council, such jurisdiction to be exercised upon an application by any party to the dispute.

26. (a) The Political Council should have power, acting on its own initiative or at the request of any State, to take cognizance of any dispute between States which is not pending before the Court. If it does not succeed in bringing about a settlement of the dispute by other means, the Political Council should have power, by two-thirds vote including the votes of the States continuously represented, to give a decision binding on the parties to the dispute.
(b) The Political Council should be authorized to transfer a dispute to the Assembly, and the Assembly should thereupon have power, by two-thirds vote including the votes of the States continuously represented in the Political Council, to give a decision binding on the parties to the dispute.
(c) In dealing with a dispute, the Political Council or the Assembly should have power, by simple majority vote, to request the Permanent Court of International Justice to give an advisory opinion on any legal question connected with the dispute.
(d) A State which is a party to a dispute should not have a vote on any question relating to the dispute, either in the Political Council or in the Assembly.
27. (a) In the event of a failure by a party to a dispute to comply with a decision of the Permanent Court of International Justice or of the Political Council or Assembly, the Political Council should have power, by two-thirds vote including the votes of the States continuously represented, to take such action as it may deem to be necessary for giving effect to the decision.
(b) A State should not have a vote in the Political Council when its failure to comply with a decision is under consideration.

V. Promotion of the General Welfare

28. (a) The Charter should proclaim the duty of each State to cooperate in measures to be taken for the extension of human freedom and for the satisfaction of human needs.
(b) The Assembly should have power to organize cooperation among States directed to the furtherance of these aims.
29. (a) The Assembly should have power to create and maintain such special agencies, general or regional, as may be needed for promoting the general welfare, and to define the powers of these agencies.
(b) The Charter should particularly envisage the need for creating or continuing special agencies to facilitate international cooperation with respect to such matters as:
- (1) International trade.
 - (2) International finance and investments.
 - (3) International transport, by land, by sea, and by air.
 - (4) International communications.
 - (5) International commodity arrangements.
 - (6) Food and agriculture.
 - (7) Public health and nutrition.
 - (8) Narcotics and other dangerous drugs.
 - (9) Population and migration problems.
 - (10) Cultural and scientific interchange.
30. The General Council should have power, acting in accordance with policies adopted by the Assembly and subject to general control by the Assembly, to coordinate the activities of general international organizations having specialized responsibilities.

31. (a) The Charter should proclaim the duty of each State to treat its own population in a manner which will not violate the dictates of humanity and justice.
(b) The Charter should declare that any failure by a State to live up to this obligation is a matter of concern to the community of States, and the Assembly should have power to take cognizance of it as such.
32. (a) The Charter should proclaim the principle that the well-being and development of dependent peoples form a sacred trust of civilization.
(b) To secure the performance of this trust, the Assembly should have power, by two-thirds vote, to recommend measures to be taken by States which have direct responsibility for dependent peoples.
(c) The Assembly should also have power to create permanent agencies, general and regional, which would report to the Assembly annually concerning the problems of dependent peoples.
(d) The States which have direct responsibility for dependent peoples should have a duty to make periodical reports to such agencies, and to permit such local investigations as the agencies may deem to be necessary.
33. The Assembly should have power to take the measures necessary to assure the effective execution of any mandate which may be conferred upon a State by the CIO, with respect to a particular territory.
34. The Assembly should have power to assume responsibility for the administration of any territory which may be placed under the direct control of the CIO, and to create the agencies which may be needed for such administration.

VI. Agreements between States

35. (a) The Charter should provide that every agreement entered into between States after the Charter becomes operative shall be registered with the Secretariat.
(b) The Charter should provide that any organ of the CIO may disregard any agreement between States which is not registered with the Secretariat in accordance with the foregoing provision.
(c) The Secretariat should publish the texts of all agreements registered.
36. The Permanent Court of International Justice should have jurisdiction, on application by any party to an agreement between States which has not been fully executed, to give a declaratory judgment that because of an essential change of circumstances the agreement has ceased to be binding.
37. (a) The Political Council should have power, by two-thirds vote and with the concurrence of the Assembly given by two-thirds vote, to advise the revision by the parties of any agreement between States which has not been fully executed, on the ground that it is not adapted to existing conditions.
(b) If any party to the agreement fails to cooperate in the revision advised, the Permanent Court of International Justice should have jurisdiction, on application by any other party, to give a declaratory judgment that the agreement has become unduly onerous and has therefore ceased to be binding.
38. The Political Council should have power, by two-thirds vote and with the concurrence of the Assembly given by two-thirds vote, to advise the readjustment by the States concerned of any situation the continued existence of which might endanger good understanding between States.

VII. Supremacy of International Law

39. (a) The Charter should proclaim the duty of each State to carry out in full good faith its obligations under international law.
(b) The Charter should declare that any failure by a State to carry out its obligations under international law is a matter of concern to the community of States, and the Assembly should have power to take cognizance of the failure.
40. (a) The Charter, as the basic instrument of international law, should prevail over all agreements between States.
(b) The Assembly should have power, by two-thirds vote, to declare that any provision in an agreement between States is inconsistent with the Charter; for this purpose it should have power, by simple majority vote, to request the Permanent Court of International Justice to give an advisory opinion.
(c) Any provision in an agreement which is thus declared by the Assembly to be inconsistent with the Charter should not have legal effect.
41. (a) The Assembly should have power to adopt general conventions to be submitted to States for acceptance.
(b) The Assembly should also have power, by two-thirds vote including the votes of the States continuously represented in the Political Council, to adopt general rules of international law which shall be binding on all States.

VIII. Amendment of the Charter

42. (a) The Charter should provide that amendments may be adopted by the Assembly by two-thirds vote including the votes of the States represented at the time in the Political Council, but that no vote on adoption may take place before one year has elapsed after the amendment was formally proposed.
(b) An amendment should enter into force one year after its adoption by the Assembly, but if within that period formal objection has been expressed by as many as ten States the amendment should not enter into force unless within the following year it is again adopted by the Assembly by two-thirds vote including the votes of the States represented at the time in the Political Council.

S. 1143
4.9.44.THE AMERICAN PLAN.(Memorandum by Lord Cecil and Lord Lytton,
based on notes by Dr. Murray and Miss Courtney)

The American plan for a General International Organisation has the same objects as the L.N.U. plan for an International Authority, but provides different machinery. Both follow closely the general outline of the League of Nations.

The objects common to the C.I.O. and the I.A. are:

1. The preservation of peace by collective resistance to aggression.
2. The promotion of human welfare by international collaboration.
3. The subordination of national interests to general welfare.
4. The establishment and codification of a system of international law which all States will be expected to recognise and conform to.
5. The creation and perfection of machinery for the settlement of international disputes.
6. In general, the establishment of an organisation by means of which the corporate public opinion of the States of the World can decide what is the common welfare to which the Member-Nations are called on to contribute.

The main differences of machinery in the two plans are:

1. The L.N.U. plan proposes an organisation with a General Assembly of all the States Members and a Council of the Four Signatories of the Moscow Declaration and five members elected by the Assembly. The L.N.U. plan also provides for a Defence Committee consisting in the first place of the four Moscow Powers, with provisions for the admission of other members. The American plan proposes an organisation with a General Assembly and two Executive Councils, and for general matters, the other for political matters.
2. The L.N.U. plan restricts membership to States having the same objects, and provides machinery for election, resignation and expulsion. The American plan envisages the automatic membership of all States.
3. The L.N.U. plan retains the unanimity procedure of the League of Nations, with modifications; the American plan provides for decisions by majority in certain cases.

As the objects set forth above as common both to the L.N.U. and the American plan were also the objects of the Covenant of the League of Nations, and as in the opinion of the L.N.U. the machinery of the Covenant was adequate to achieve them had that machinery been used, they have in their plan preserved as much as possible of the machinery of the Covenant, and such changes or additions as they have suggested are designed to increase the likelihood of the machinery being used in the future. As part of this purpose the scope of the

-2-

organisation is clarified and enlarged.

The object of those who drafted the American plan appears to be to disguise as much as possible the resemblance between their plan and the Covenant of the League of Nations, hoping thereby to increase the likelihood of the U.S.A. joining the new organisation. This is natural enough and differences in nomenclature and detail are not very important.

In the opinion of the L.N.U. the question of security is the crux of the whole problem. If only aggression can be effectively prevented, and no nation allowed to resort to war for the promotion of national interests, any form of organisation which can find general acceptance and which can be amended as circumstances require, may be relied on to secure the other objects aimed at. In all such matters the Covenant worked very well. It only failed to prevent the present war, and that failure involved the failure of everything else. Unless there is sufficient force behind the law to prevent breaches of the peace, and unless that force is effectively used against any law breaker, no world organisation will be of any permanent value, and none of the other objects can be achieved.

It is necessary, therefore, above all things to understand why the force which was behind the Covenant was not used when it should have been used, and to consider what force can be put behind the law in future and how to ensure that that force will be used and not abused.

Taking these three questions in order, the failure to use force to stop aggression was mainly due to the attitude of the larger countries. The refusal by the U.S.A. to accept the League was a formidable discouragement. To considerable sections of official opinion, particularly in England, the preservation of peace by international action became thenceforward a forlorn hope. Even in spite of this the majority of the European peoples, with the exception perhaps of Germany, were favourable to the idea. They were certainly very keenly desirous of peace. But for various reasons they were ignorant of their rights and their duties under the Covenant. The Governmental attitude both here and in France was half-hearted and when the time for action came Ministers refused to give a lead to their people. The prevailing view was that the great thing was to avoid war by almost any sacrifice. Hence came the policy of appeasement and the repeated concessions to German threats.

But this policy was not due to acquiescence in war. Indeed, it is scarcely a paradox to say that the war was brought about by too great a devotion to peace.

The truth is that the smaller countries were unable, without the help of their larger neighbours, to fulfil their obligation under the Covenant to prevent aggression. And the governments of the larger countries, though they had accepted the Covenant, never seem to have appreciated the fact that they were bound by its terms to maintain peace, if necessary, by force.

If a repetition of this disaster is to be avoided, the first essential is that in the new international organisation it should be made unmistakably clear that those countries which join it are bound to see their whole strength to suppress an aggression wherever it may occur or be threatened. Without that nothing can be done. It is the cardinal necessity to

which all else is subordinate. This result can only be achieved if the forces of peace are overwhelmingly strong. In other words, the Four Moscow Powers must be ready to use their strength for peace. It is for that reason that the L.N.U. plan proposes that these Powers shall, in the first place, accept a special obligation on the subject. The L.N.U. are convinced that it was the failure of those countries which could have done so to restrain Axis aggression as soon as it showed itself that produced the war and a retribution can only be prevented if the duty to prevent it is recognised and accepted by those who have the power to do so. That does not mean that the Four Powers are to be International Dictators. On the contrary, they should act as the accredited agents of the whole of the United Nations who are to give what help they can. The Four should be the executive hand for peace for the whole of the International Organisation, reporting to it and relying on its support and approval. If by these means freedom from fear can be attained, the L.N.U. believe that the other desiderata will follow. Experience shows two things; first, that the machinery of the League and of the I.L.O. was able to carry out social and economic reforms and, secondly, that such reforms were quite powerless to preserve peace without the backing of physical force. It is on these principles that the proposals of the L.N.U. are founded.

Notes by Mr. Arnold-Forster on the
Draft Design for a Charter of the G.I.O.

I think the Draft is valuable in many respects: but that it suffers from a confusion of thought and wording as regards universal membership and the conditions for participation in the G.I.O.; from dangerous ambiguity on the crucial question of the power and authority of the G.I.O.: from too summary an omission of the questions of disputes concerning matters claimed to be "domestic" in character; from the weakness of its treatment of peaceful change; and from what I regard as a serious error of policy as to the separation of political and economic matters.

I

UNIVERSAL MEMBERSHIP

The Draft emphasises that "the G.I.O. shall at all times comprise all existing States". The introductory Note says that "Universality is contemplated not as a goal of aspiration, but as a fundamental concept." The covering Memorandum of Aug. 1, on the other hand, says that "the most far-reaching feature of the Design is the idea of universality by which eventually all nations shall be bound by the law and all shall have the right to participate in the agencies of the community". (It seems that the latter implies a radical change of policy).

If the intention is that all States shall be accounted participating Members from the outset, entitled to all the benefits of membership and bound by all the Charter's obligations, this appears to me quite unrealistic.

1. In the first place, "all existing States" should surely be qualified by the proviso that they must have full control of their international relations. If there were no such condition for membership, Nebraska would be as qualified for membership as Norway; but that, presumably, was not intended. Thus at least one of the qualifications for membership prescribed in Article I of the League Covenant is indispensable.
2. Secondly, there must surely be a definite act of acceptance of this Charter; for it is not solely a Declaration of social ethic but is in part a contract to fulfil specific obligations involving positive action. No external act by A, B and C can be a substitute for the acceptance of these obligations by States D, E and F. It would be reasonable for the G.I.O. to declare, as an obligation incumbent on all States, that "aggression", as determined by an international authority, is a crime against the whole community of nations, and therefore that concerted action will be taken by the G.I.O.'s members to prevent and frustrate such criminal actions. But it would be futile to say to "all States" that each State is bound to pay its contributions promptly, (Cr. Clause 16b); or that "every agreement entered into between States.. shall be registered with the Secretariat" (Cr. 35 a); or that "all States" will be "pledged" to take such measures for the maintenance of peace as may be "prescribed" by the Assembly. In such cases the element of initial assent remains indispensable.

3. Thirdly, there must surely be some conditions for active participation and for enjoyment of the benefits of effective membership. The element of community of purpose remains indispensable. A State which persistently shows itself hostile to the essential purposes of the organization may injure the organization if its continued participation is permitted. The Moscow Declaration indicates that membership should be reserved to "peace-loving States" for certain specified common purposes. Article VII of the Mutual Aid Agreement of Feb. 1942 says that the concerted economic action referred to should be "open to participation by all other countries of like mind". The Covenant prescribed explicit and sincere acceptance of the obligations of the Covenant, (including general limitations of armaments) as a condition of membership. And this Draft itself seems to recognize that participation cannot be unconditional, for it says (6 d) that "the assembly should have power... to restrict the participation of a State's representatives under certain conditions". What conditions? The criteria indicated in the Covenant, the Moscow Declaration and the Mutual Aid Agreements are all, it may be said, open to objection: but the need for some discrimination is surely clear. Indeed, it is recognized in the Draft. The "right" to participate in the agencies of the community must remain a conditioned right: it is misleading to say without qualifications that all nations shall have that right, though it is most desirable that all should qualify for it.

It would be very convenient if, by barring the exclusion of any State and prescribing the perpetual inclusion of all States, we could somehow dodge the quarrels that may arise over the effective admission of Germany to the G.I.O. But no juristic formula concerning nominal membership can really achieve this: to suppose so would be to misjudge the extent of the distrust engendered by German policy: the real bug arises not over nominal "membership" but over the right of participation - a right which, as the Draft itself recognises cannot be left unqualified.

4. The Draft emphasizes that "no provision shall be made for the expulsion or withdrawal of any State". Here again I think the proposition is illusory. It would be very convenient if, by a rule of non-withdrawal, we could debar States from exploiting the threat of withdrawal for purposes of blackmail. But we cannot. For the substance of such a threat is not mere cancellation of a nominal membership but withdrawal from active, loyal participation. And such participation cannot be secured by decree: it must be won: there is no juridical short-cut from international anarchy to international commonwealth.

I need hardly say that in time a federal system, in which all the united States have expressly renounced certain powers and functions of full statehood in favour of a federal government, the formula of non-withdrawal, no secession may be appropriate. But that would be a misleading analogy: in this case the G.I.O. will be dealing with States which (according to the Draft) will retain their own armed forces, their own Foreign Offices.

I suggest that these difficulties arise from the confusion to which I referred at the start. There is a field within which a Declaration of permanent, inescapable obligations of right is appropriate. There is also a field in which express acceptance of obligations is necessary. The two are here confounded, with embarrassing consequences.

POWERS AND AUTHORITY

It is most desirable that the international organization should acquire effective control of certain keys of power: "world government for certain purposes" is a sound aim. And one of the major problems before the authors of a new Charter will be to judge how far in this direction it will be advisable to go at this stage, having regard to the circumstances of the time.

The Draft's chief weakness, I think, is its ambiguity on this crucial point. In particular, I suggest that the words "should have power", repeatedly used, are positively dangerous - dangerous since they tend to confuse the contract to co-operate with the transfer of power.

The Draft says that the G.I.O. or its organs "should have power" to do this and that.

- (1) This might mean simply that it is desirable that the G.I.O. should acquire effective control of the power necessary to enable it to fulfil these functions, including the enforcement of its decisions in the last resort;
- (2) or it might mean that, in the view of the Drafters, the Charter should oblige the members to transfer their own compulsive powers and executive authority to correspondent organs of the G.I.O.;
- (3) or it might conceivably mean merely that the G.I.O. should be given legal title to prescribe action (perhaps by mandating or by being endowed with the effective control of power necessary to ensure their carrying out.

Which is intended?

The ambiguity of these words "should" and "power" runs through the whole Draft.

- A) For instance, Clause 18 says that "The Assembly should have power to deal with any matter affecting the peace of the World". Was not the Covenant more realistic in saying that any war or threat of war is a matter of concern to the whole League and that the League "shall take whatever action may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations". That wording may be defective, but it does at least allow for realistic assessment of the power available in relation to the risks of action. It is so dangerous to lead the unthinking into supposing, from a phrase, that the international organization has in fact been endowed with a supremacy of power, if in reality that power still resides elsewhere.
- B) Again "The Political Council should have power... to deal with any specific situation in which the peace of the world is jeopardised". If the authors of the Draft merely mean that the Council should be given legal competence to consider, and do what they can about such matters it is not inexpedient to use such words as "should have power". Power of enforcement is one thing, legal competence another.
- C) "The Assembly should have power... to prescribe limitations of armaments to be maintained by States". Surely, no such Assembly will be able to "prescribe" anything of the sort. It will be able to promote an agreement between States and to provide for the machinery required for supervising such an agreement: but its actual "power to prescribe" will be no more than that possessed by the League under Article VIII of the Covenant. For the G.I.O. will not be a federal government. What is the good of "prescribing" such limitations unless the Assembly has the intention and the means of enforcing its prescriptions (upon non-subscribers as well as subscribers).

- (D) Clause 24 says that "the Charter should proclaim the duty of each State to use none but pacific means". All right. (That is a declaration of social ethic).

But Clause 25 adds that the Permanent Court "should have jurisdiction over all disputes" concerning the rights of States; and the Political Council (Clause 26) "should have power to deal with any dispute between States which is not pending before the Court". Surely that is much too loose a statement.

- (E) Of course it is desirable that the Court should acquire such jurisdiction; but the formula cannot solve the problem that arises when a State (such as the U.S. in the past and the U.S.S.R.) persistently refuses to submit to that jurisdiction. Is there the least chance that at this stage the judgments of the P.C.I.J., delivered in the absence of one of the disputants, will be enforced against a passive but recalcitrant State which denies its competence? The formula is dangerous, not merely useless; for it masks the essential point that what really matters is not simply the giving of the Court's judgment but the carrying out of the judgment with the assent (however grudging) of the peoples affected.
- (F) The formula about the powers of the Political Council (Clause 26) is even more questionable: for it masks the difference between disputes claimed to be "domestic" in character and disputes admittedly international. It adds that if "a settlement of the dispute by other means" is not achieved (presumably pacific means are intended) "the Council should have power by two-thirds vote...to give a decision binding on the parties to the dispute".

This two-thirds vote is to include "the States continuously represented in the Political Council". But "a State which is a party to a dispute should not have a vote".

Suppose then that a dispute arose between U.S.A. and Japan, or Australia and Japan, about discriminatory immigration laws. Would the U.S. or Australia accept as "binding" a decision by the Political Council in such a dispute? If they would plead that the issue was "domestic", then is not the text over-simple?

It is reasonable and necessary to provide for acceptance in advance of third-party judgments in all classes of international disputes. It is reasonable and desirable to narrow the field that may be reserved by States as being of exclusively domestic concern. But if any such reservation will still be insisted on (e.g. by the United States) then it is surely desirable to qualify so loose a phrase as "all disputes".

- (G) To return to the major point. The formula "should have power" is ambiguous just at the point where clarity is most necessary. It can be read by the advocate of a far-reaching policy of transfer of power as implying such transfer. It can also be read by the opponents of such a policy as meaning merely a concession of legal competence to a body which will in fact remain consultative and advisory, with no executive power. Such an ambiguity blinds the reader to the real choice, the urgent problem: it presents a facade of agreement which might mask basic disagreement on the whole principle of sanctions.

III

PEACEFUL CHANGE

Article XIX of the Covenant was too weak. I think Clause 36 is still too weak. In particular, it does not assure to the claimant a fair opportunity of getting his claim considered by an impartial expert body. I welcome, however, the main idea of Cl. 36. But this leaves to the Court a responsibility which is

likely to involve political consequences. It is right to empower the Court to declare that in its view a judgment given on the basis of existing law would no longer satisfy the requirements of equity. But I suggest that, in such case, the Court ought not to be charged itself with declaring the agreement to be invalid: the Court should advise the Council, and should suspend giving judgment on the basis of existing law pending the Council's decision. The decision to void the agreement should be the Council's function (owing to its probable political implications) rather than the Court's.

The P.C.I.J. is not analogous to the Supreme Court of the federal U.S.A.

IV

SEPARATION OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC MATTERS

The Draft proposes that there should be two bodies - a Political Council to deal with situations which jeopardise peace, and a General Council to deal with other international matters. I feel bound to say with candour that this seems to me a retrograde idea, condemned by experience. The field is not thus divisible. Is civil aviation, oil, tariff policy, colonial policy, credit policy economic or political? Of course it is both. To reduce trade barriers and combat "antarky" is as much political as economic, being connected with collective security, disarmament etc., as well as with commercial interests.

The proposed division is positively dangerous, since it may stimulate the tendency to argue that the nation is interested in the one activity rather than the other and can afford to hold back in the one field whilst pressing ahead in the other. How futile that policy is was painfully demonstrated, I venture to say, by the sterility of most of America's contributions in the economic field between 1927 and 1939. The assumption then was that America was interested in economic issues and social welfare, but not in "security". It would be tragic if that error were now stood on its head.

The Draft draws a surprising distinction between "definite obligations...with respect to the maintenance of peace" - and purely "consultative arrangements for voluntary co-operation" as regards promoting the general welfare. I think this too is a retrograde policy, based on the fallacious distinction between the political and economic aspects of peace-building. The I.L.O. Charter is right in emphasising that economic welfare and social justice are part of the foundations of peace. To say that part of the foundations is to imperil the whole. To accept obligations is the one part whilst accepting merely "consultative arrangements" in the other would be to undermine the rock of confidence and stultify the whole enterprise of building up a peaceful commonwealth.

POSTSCRIPT

Since writing the foregoing Notes I have seen the revised documents of Aug. 1 (Design for a Charter) and the covering Note. In view of the revisions in these texts and explanations I venture to add this further comment.

1. Membership. The intention seems to me to be obscured rather than clarified by the revisions.

One the one hand, the document emphasizes that membership of the G.I.O. is to be universal from the outset, and automatic. "All existing States shall at all times be comprised in the G.I.O."; Universality is not to be "a goal of aspiration" but "a fundamental concept".

On the other hand, the covering Note says that "The most far-reaching feature of the Design is the idea of universality by which eventually all nations shall be bound by the law and shall have the right to participate in the agencies of the community". The revised document adds that representatives in the Assembly (i.e. active participation) is to be denied the States whose Government is not "recognised". (It is not stated whether the "recognition" is to be accorded by the G.I.O. collectively). It is also stated (s.d.) that the Assembly "should have power to restrict the participation of a State's representative under certain conditions". Is the intention that membership should be "universal" "at all times", or "eventually"? Surely this apparent conflict should be cleared up

2. Exclusion. The revised document claims (page 6) that "no States would be encouraged to form a rival and hostile organisation because of their being left out". Is there not here an underlying confusion? The intention (according to the preceding sentence) is that some States - those whose governments may not be "recognised" or whose participation has been "restricted" - will be "left out" from active participation. Some States, being hostile to the essential purposes of the associations, will not in fact derive all the benefits of active membership. In short, some States may be "left out" of all that matters to them; to say that they will be kept in is a juridical formula which may have some formal advantages; but the concession of a formal right of adhesion, or of purely nominal "membership", does not justify the claim on page 6.

3. I venture to ask, is not the underlying idea really something like this?

- (a) It is desirable to affirm that all Nation-States are, as of right, indelibly, members of a hypothetical world community of States. (It is assumed for this purpose that all peoples are comprised in one way or another in Nation-States).
- (b) It is desirable that certain general obligations of peace-keeping should be declared, as being of universal validity, irrespective of their universal endorsement.
- (c) It is desirable that the future G.I.O. should, through its representative Assembly, declare these general obligations, since this Assembly will be the nearest approach to a world-representative body.
- (d) It is also desirable that the members of the G.I.O. should, by their mutual Charter, accept specific obligations both to respect and to protect - by force if necessary - those basic obligations of peace-keeping. (Cf. Art. XIII of the League Covenant)

- (e) It is desirable that all States which are in full control of their foreign relations should be active members of the G.I.O., subscribing to its engagements with loyal intent to fulfil them, and enjoying the benefits of participation.
- (f) It is necessary, however, that such membership should be confined to States whose governments have been formally "recognised" (not separately but jointly) by the States Members of the G.I.O.; and that such "recognition" should be dependent on certain conditions, viz - that the State in question should have satisfied the G.I.O. Assembly (say a two-thirds majority) that it accepts and will carry out the Declaration of Principles of Peace, and the rights and duties prescribed by the Charter.

My point is that the G.I.O. cannot and will not admit the active participation of any State which does not in fact voluntarily pledge itself to do and refrain from doing certain acts. There must therefore be a condition for participation, viz. express assent. Moreover, the G.I.O. will not extend to all States the full benefits of membership, irrespective of whether the States contribute to its effort or not. So that purely nominal membership of the G.I.O. would not amount to more than a juridical formula.

But the declared principles of peace-keeping, as formulated by the G.I.O., will be incumbent upon all Governments and peoples, irrespective of their express endorsement.

Don't confuse the Declaration, which imposes obligations of right with the Contract, which embodies pledges to act, voluntarily endorsed.

4. Political Council and General Commission

I note that the "General Council" is now to be called "General Commission". Does this imply a subordination to the Political Council? If so, should not this be explained. I still think the division undesirable and unrealistic.

No encouragement should be given to the dangerous illusion that the positive, constructive side of peace-building is of lesser importance, and can be served by lesser engagements than the negative, preventive side.

5. Preventive measures

I welcome the addition in B (a).

6. Sanctions

I note that the Council "should have power to prescribe the military and economic measures to be taken by States for the maintenance of peace, and each State should be obligated to take such measures". This raises one of the crucial questions of tactics.

Let us assume that the authors of the Draft desire (as I do) that the G.I.O. shall acquire effective control of power to protect the peace - power adequate to the task, in all cases; power. Sure to be used, in all cases of lawless violence; power effectively controlled by a representative authority whose impartiality and resolution and general competence is trusted.

The tactical problem is now to plan the advance from a contract to co-operate to an actual transfer of power to a supranational body.

I suggest that the words "should have power to prescribe" are dangerous since they camouflage the reality.

Consider the implications from an American standpoint, and then from the standpoint of, say, a Norwegian.

Is there the faintest chance that Congress would endorse a commitment to use American armed forces at the prescription of a Council on which the U.S. was not directly represented? Surely the answer must be No. Indeed, it will be a remarkable constitutional development if Congress does endorse such a commitment in relation to a Council on which, as it happens the U.S. is to be permanently represented by a Government spokesman.

If that is likely to be the American reaction, is it not likely to be the Norwegian and Dutch?

My point is that, as regards commitments involving the use of national armed forces, it is necessary for political reasons to proceed with special care. Otherwise adhesion to the whole enterprise may be wrecked. Even the words of Article 16 paragraph 2 of the Covenant ("the Council shall recommend what contribution of armed force"...) aroused the passionate opposition of conservative elements in England; it was objected that this amounted to "putting the British Navy at the disposal of a Committee consisting mainly of foreigners". I anticipate a similar opposition in the U.S., reinforced by stronger constitutional arguments.

Such words as "should have power to prescribe" means one thing in a Federal Society in which States have renounced State control of armed forces; they mean quite another thing in an association of States which (according to this Draft) will have made no such transfer of power. I am afraid that, in the circumstances to which the Charter will initially have to apply, such words will prove to be a dangerous equivocation.

AUSTRALIAN LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

Foreword

Convinced that this war will have been fought in vain unless a more stable international order is established, representatives of our Branches throughout Australia met at Canberra a few weeks ago to consider the aims and work of the Union.

The statement which follows was endorsed unanimously by all representatives present. We believe it indicates a realistic approach to the most urgent need of our day -- the promotion of effective international co-operation, both for the maintenance of peace and for the general welfare of all peoples.

We also believe that all good citizens who give thought to the matter must agree with these principles; and we therefore invite them all to join the Union, and help to form a solid, active, and organised body of public opinion for their support.

R. E. GARRAN, President.
R. J. F. BOYER, Vice-President.
H. A. WOODRUFF, Vice-President.
E. DAVYER-GRAY, Treasurer.
RAYMOND G. WATT, National Secretary.

21st February, 1944.

- A. As a statement of its general opinion and final aim with regard to world order conference affirms the following:-
1. That the security, prosperity and welfare of the world or any part of it require an inclusive world organisation; and that regional pacts alone, however extensive, are not sufficient for the attainment of those ends;
 2. That the basic principles of such an organisation should be --
 - a. No nation should be allowed to resort to armed force for the attainment of its external aims;
 - b. There should be established an equitable system of investigation of disputes for redressing injustices among nations, by an international tribunal, whose decisions shall be enforced by the world organisation, invested with armed power adequate for this purpose;
 - c. National sovereignty should be abated to the extent necessary for the effective operation of these principles.
- B. As a statement of its attitude to the world position during and after the present war, conference affirms the following:-
1. After this war the preservation of peace and the work of world rehabilitation will for a period depend primarily on the continuing unity of the four great Powers, Russia, the United States, China, and the British Commonwealth.

2. It is, however, the duty of those Powers, already recognised by them, to build in association with all free peoples, a permanent world organisation.
3. Conference therefore affirms that the four great Powers, regarding themselves as trustees for the peoples of the world should at the earliest possible moment take the lead in formulating and declaring a plan for progressively sharing the responsibility of world security and welfare on a democratic basis with all other nations, including in due course our present enemies.
4. Recognising the progress made towards international co-operation by the various administrative boards now operating under the United Nations and by the instruments of the League of Nations still functioning in such spheres as Labour, Health, and Intellectual Co-operation, conference is of opinion that these organisations form an indispensable foundation for permanent world machinery.

C. GENERAL

1. Believing that the social health of each nation affects that of every other, conference affirms the desirability of promoting the highest possible measure of social security and welfare in all nations.
2. Conference emphasises that there is urgent need for continuous education in all countries, including our own, in the duties and responsibilities of world citizenship, and in understanding of the outlook and problems of other peoples; further, that the provision of such education is a function not only of individual governments, but also of the world organisation.

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, SEPTEMBER 21ST, 1944 AT 2.15 P.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Dr. Hilda Clark, Miss K.D. Courtney, Miss P. Fawcett, Miss M. Gale, Dr. M. Garnett, Lady Hall, Miss G. Hansell, Mr. A. J. Howe, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Mr. T. Lodge, Mr. J. Macdonald, Mrs. Noel-Baker, Mrs. T. Prior, Miss Rathbone, Mr. Alan Thomas, Sir Ralph Wedgwood, Professor Basil Williams and Mr. Judd.

869. MINUTES. The minutes of the last meeting held on September 7th, 1944 were confirmed as circulated, subject to the insertion of the words "so as not to exclude education" after the word "suggested" in the third paragraph of minute 859.

870. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 857 - Letter from the Prime Minister, the Executive expressed their deep satisfaction that, with the Prime Minister's permission, the correspondence between himself and Lord Cecil had been communicated to the press and had been published in full in most London dailies and many provincial papers.

On Minute 858 - 841 - Co-optations, on the suggestion of Mr. Alan Thomas, the Chairman expressed his willingness to write to Mr. Zilliacus inviting him, if he was not willing to continue to serve on the Executive, to state his reasons for the information of the Committee.

On Minute 860 - Dumbarton Oaks Conference, the Chairman read to the Executive the letter which he had written to the Foreign Secretary on September 20th in response to the Committee's request.

It was suggested that, when Mr. Eden's reply was received, consideration should be given to the desirability of publishing the correspondence in HEADWAY.

On Minute 863 - Albert Hall Meeting, the Executive were informed of the dates in November and December on which the Albert Hall was at present available. After discussion it was agreed to make a provisional booking of the Hall for Tuesday, December 5th.

On Minute 865 - Regional Conferences, in reply to a question from Dame Adelaide Livingstone, the Secretary reported that, since all the arrangements were not complete, details of the Regional Conferences had not yet been circulated to the Executive. It was agreed that information regarding the Conferences already arranged should be communicated immediately to members of the Executive, who should be asked to inform the Secretary if they would be willing to attend any of the Conferences with a view to discussing the work of the Union with Branch representatives.

-2-

On Minute 865 - Professor Arthur Newell. The Chairman reported a recent conversation with Professor Newell. He understood that the Associates for Anglo-American Understanding had agreed with Professor Newell that they should in future advocate full British and American participation in a world organisation. In these circumstances, Professor Newell felt under an obligation to continue his work for the Associates and would probably not be able to consider an invitation to join the Union's staff. The Chairman hoped, however, to arrange for a meeting between a few representatives of the Associates and of the Union with a view to considering how closer union could be achieved between the two bodies so as to make more effective their work for aims they shared.

On Minute 867 - Council for Education in World Citizenship
Reconstruction Dr. Garnett made a brief statement to the Committee setting forth the reasons why, in his opinion, the United Nations Organisation for Educational and Cultural ~~Revisions~~ (plans for which had been made at the recent Conference of Allied Ministers of Education) should come into active being immediately, and suggesting that the Union should make representations to the Foreign Secretary on the subject. After discussion, it was agreed to ask Dr. Murray if he would write, as Chairman of the C.E.W.C., to Mr. Eden.

871. MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL.

- (a) Procedure Committee. It was

RESOLVED: "That the Procedure Committee, consisting of Lady Hall, Mr. Leonard Behrens, and Mr. Alan Thomas be re-appointed."

- (b) Motions for submission by the Executive. It was

RESOLVED: (1) That notice be given in the Preliminary Agenda that the Executive will submit a resolution on the new International Organisation and International Security, and that the draft of such a resolution will be prepared and circulated to Branches so soon as the results of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference are known.

(2) That Dr. Garnett be asked to draft a resolution on the United Nations Organisation for Educational and Cultural ~~Revisions~~ *Reconstruction* for submission by the Executive to the General Council.

- (3) That the following resolution on the Atlantic Charter, prepared by the Executive for the summer meeting of the Council, be included in the Agenda for the forthcoming meeting:-

"The General Council believes that the principle embodied in Article 2 of the Atlantic Charter, that territorial changes should not be made except with the freely expressed wishes of the

-3-

peoples concerned, is sound and should be applied in conjunction with the other provisions of the Charter".

- (4) That one session of the Council be devoted to a discussion on the Role of the Union in the Post-War World.
- (5) That subject to their consent, the following additions be made in the list of Vice-Presidents and Co-opted Members of the Council:

Vice President: The Reverend John Baillie, M.A., D.Litt. (ex-Moderator of the Church of Scotland)

Co-opted Members: Lady Violet Bonham-Carter
Mr. P. J. Noel-Baker, M.P.

- (c) Name of the Union. A discussion took place regarding the desirability or otherwise of changing the name of the Union, and the Committee were reminded that, if any proposal on this subject were to be placed before the Council in December, it would have to be done at a Special Meeting of which two months' notice had to be given to Branches. After discussion, in which many members of the Executive took part, it was agreed not to make any proposal to the Council at the next meeting, but to consider the matter further in the light of the discussion which will take place at that meeting if the resolution submitted by the Northamptonshire Federal Council for the summer meeting is again put forward for consideration.
- (d) Conference of Branch Secretaries. See minute 872 below.
- (e) Subscription Rates. Reference was made to the recommendation of the Administration Committee (minute No. 60) that reconsideration should be given at a special session of the next General Council to the question of subscription rates in the light of the alteration in the Rules which had been adopted by the General Council in December 1937 but which had, in fact, never been put into operation. After discussion it was agreed to ask the Chairman, in his Report to the Council, to explain why the new Rules had not been applied.

872. ADMINISTRATION COMMITTEE. The minutes of the meeting held on September 7th (on which an oral report had been made in minute 865 of the Executive) were formally approved and adopted.

Miss Courtney reported on the meeting of the Committee held earlier in the day when the following matters had been discussed.

Composition of Committee. Mrs. Noel-Baker had been invited to join the Administration Committee.

National Peace Council Petition. Reference had been made to (1) a Petition organised by the National Peace Council in which Branches of the Union had been asked to co-operate and on which several of them had asked for guidance from the Executive; (2) a request by the National Peace Council to the Chairman of one District Council of the Union to assist in the formation of a local Peace Council on the basis of a statement of policy issued by the N.P.C.

The Administration Committee was strongly opposed to branches of the Union, as such, co-operating in the Petition or in the promotion of local Peace Councils associated with the policy of the National Peace Council, and particularly so since the Petition and statement of policy had nothing to say about security against aggression.

General Council Meeting. The Committee had recommended that, instead of holding the usual Conference for Branch Secretaries during the actual meeting of the Council, an evening party should be arranged for informal discussion.

Correspondence between the Prime Minister and Lord Cecil. The Committee had recommended the publication of this correspondence in a leaflet and poster.

Future Role of the Union. A proposal had been adopted that an ad hoc committee should be set up immediately to consider and make recommendations concerning the future development and role of the Union after the war, including the organisation, staff, financial and other arrangements that would best ensure the success of its work.

On the motion of the Chairman it was

RESOLVED: That the following be asked to serve on the ad hoc committee:

Miss Courtney, Sir Ralph Wedgwood, Lady Hall, Mr. Howe, Dr. Garnett, Mr. Alan Thomas, Miss Gale, Mrs. Whitfield, Mr. Vernon Bartlett, Commander Stephen King-Hall, Mr. C. le M. Mander, Mr. Nowell Smith and Mrs. Noel-Baker.

and the hope was expressed that Mr. Noel-Baker might also be able to attend one or two meetings of the Committee.

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

Miss Courtney further reported as follows:

London Regional Federation. Mr. Howe had informed the Committee that the L.R.F. were anxious to appoint an Assistant Organiser, and had asked for some financial assistance to that end. The Committee were, in principle, strongly in favour of such an appointment being made and had asked Mr. Howe to discuss the financial aspects with the Federation and with the Hon. Treasurer.

Posters. The Committee had recommended the appointment of a small committee to advise and assist in the preparation of posters.

After Mr. Walker had, at the Chairman's invitation, reported to the Executive a discussion with Mr. Henrion of the Artists' International Association on the subject of poster publicity, it was agreed that such a committee should be set up and that the following be invited to serve on it:

-5-

Lady Hall, Dr. Garnett, Mr. Arnold Forster, Mrs. Noel-Baker and Miss Hansell, together with such poster artists as they might co-opt after consultation with Mr. Henrion.

The report of the Administration Committee was approved and adopted together with the decisions recorded above.

873. LABOUR DOMINIONS CONFERENCE. Mrs. Noel-Baker drew the Committee's attention to the Labour Dominions Conference which was at present taking place in London, and suggested that a useful purpose might be served if an opportunity could be found for members of the Executive to meet the delegates to the Conference. After discussion it was agreed that, if possible, a tea party should be arranged at Gunter's, and Mrs. Noel-Baker was asked to ascertain on which date, or dates, Lord Lytton and members of the Conference would be able to attend.
874. LONDON INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY. Dame Adelaide Livingstone reported on the farewell Tea Party which the Executive had arranged on September 18th for the members of the L.I.A. about to leave London and at which 21 nationalities had been represented. Addresses had been given by Lord Cecil, Mr. Masaryk, Mr. Agnides, M. de Baer and Professor Arthur Newell, and reports had appeared in five London and three provincial papers. The cost of the party had amounted to £23.7s.6d.

The Committee expressed their gratitude to Dame Adelaide Livingstone and asked that an expression of their thanks should also be conveyed to Mr. Miles, Mr. Bishop and Mile. Fuchsova.

875. REPORT BY MISS PARNELL. At the invitation of Miss Courtney, Miss Parnell made a report on her recent visit to Branches in Westmorland which was received with much interest by the Committee.

Kyllen
CHAIRMAN
October 5th 1944.

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, OCTOBER
5th, 1944 AT 2.15 P.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Mr. W. Arnold,
Lord Cecil, Dr. Hilda Clark, Miss Courtney,
Mrs. Dugdale, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Lady Hall,
Mr. A. J. Hope, Mr. J. R. Leslie, Dame Adelaide
Livingstone, Dr. Gilbert Murray, Lord Perth,
Mrs. Prior, Miss Rathbone, Lord Sankey,
Mr. Nowell C. Smith, Mr. H. S. Syrett, Mr. Alan
Thomas, Mr. Seton Watson, and Mr. Judd.

876. MINUTES: The minutes of the last meeting held on September
21st, 1944 were confirmed as circulated.

877. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 870 - 858 - Co-optations, the Chairman stated
that he had written, as requested, to Mr. Zilliacus but
had received no answer.

The Secretary reported that, at Miss Monroe's
request, he had sent her information regarding the policy
of the Union. For reasons of ill-health she did not
feel able to accept the invitation to join the Executive
at the present time, but if a vacancy occurred later on
and the Executive's invitation were renewed she would
gladly consider it.

On Minute 863 - Albert Hall Meeting, the Secretary was
asked to cancel the provisional booking of the Albert
Hall for December 5th and to endeavour to secure a
pencilina for one of the following dates: February 14th,
15th, 21st or 22nd.

On Minute 873 - Labour Dominions Conference, it was
reported that, unfortunately, it had not been found
possible to arrange a party for delegates to the Labour
Dominions Conference. A letter received by Mrs. Noel-
Baker from Mr. Coldwell, the Leader of the Canadian
Labour Party (copy filed with these minutes) was read,
and it was agreed that, if the permission of the writer
were forthcoming, the letter should be circulated to the
press. It was also suggested that the letter might be
communicated to certain leaders of the Labour Party, and
the Secretary was asked to discuss this suggestion with
Mrs. Noel-Baker.

Lord Lytton drew attention to the fact that two
posters were being published by the Union for display
by local Branches, one containing a letter from Mr. Eden
and the other containing the Prime Minister's letter to
Lord Cecil. Since these posters were likely to remain
up for some time, it was probable that some of them
would still be displayed when the General Election took
place. It was therefore hoped to prepare a third poster,
containing, perhaps, short extracts from the report of
the Conference of Dominion Labour Representatives.

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878. GENERAL COUNCIL: MOTION ON INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION ORGANISATION. The Executive had before them a draft motion prepared by Dr. Garnett in accordance with minute 871 of the last meeting. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the motion be approved and adopted in the following amended form for submission by the Executive to the forthcoming meeting of the General Council:-

"The General Council of the League of Nations Union

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

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

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

879. LETTER FROM M. BOREL. The Executive had before them a letter dated 9th September from M. Emil Borel, President of the French Federation of League of Nations Societies (copy filed with these minutes). The Secretary was asked to reply to M. Borel and to inform him that the Executive Committee had cordially welcomed his letter, that they would be delighted to have a meeting with representatives of the French Federation so soon as circumstances permitted, and that in the meantime they would be very glad to receive further information regarding the present position of affairs in the French Federation. Mr. Judd was asked to enclose with his letter a copy of the Draft Pact so that M. Borel and his friends might be informed of the lines on which the Union has been working.
880. COMMUNICATION FROM THE AUSTRIAN LEAGUE OF NATIONS SOCIETY. A letter from M. Muller Sturmheim of the Austrian League of Nations Society, enclosing a draft of a "Law of Humanity" (copy filed with these minutes) was placed before the Committee. The Secretary was asked to thank M. Muller Sturmheim for his communication.
881. ADMINISTRATION COMMITTEE. The minutes of the meeting held on September 21st, on which an oral report had been made in Minute 872 were formally approved and adopted.

Arising out of the meeting held that morning, the following report was made.

The Future Role of the Union. Lord Lytton reported a letter he had received from Mr. Syrett, pointing out that the new ad hoc Committee had omitted any representation of (1) the Union's local organisations and (2) the Finance Committee. The Chairman had replied that, since the Officers of the Union were ex officio members of all committees, it had been assumed that the Finance Committee would be represented by Mr. Syrett on the ad hoc Committee. Lord Lytton assured Mr. Syrett that the Committee would

keep in close touch with him on all questions involving finance and, if he found it impossible to attend any of the meetings, it was hoped that he would delegate a member of the Finance Committee to do so.

In regard to representation of the Branches, the Chairman said that that had been deliberately omitted from the Committee at the present stage. It was felt that it would be difficult to secure anyone from the provinces who could attend all the meetings in London, but it was intended, after the Committee had made a preliminary survey and had prepared a skeleton programme, to consult representatives of Branches.

In reply to a further question from Mr. Syrett, Lord Lytton said that the Committee would not be asked to consider any questions of policy.

Prime Minister's Letter to Lord Cecil. The Chairman reported a communication from the Warwickshire Federal Council suggesting that the Prime Minister's letter was so important for the Union that every possible step should be taken to secure additional publicity for it, and offering to subscribe £100 for the purpose. Two possible means of securing publicity had been suggested by the Federal Council: (a) a slide which could be thrown on the screen between cinematograph performances, and (b) a short trailer film. On (1) the Administration Committee did not think the expense would be justified, and on (2) inquiries were being made of the Ministry of Information.

882. DUMBARTON OAKS CONFERENCE. The Chairman referred to the letter which he had written, at the Committee's request, to Mr. Eden and said that, apart from a formal acknowledgment from the Private Secretary, he had received no reply.

Reference was made to an article in the ECONOMIST 23.9.44 on the subject of the Conference, and to various reports appearing in other sections of the press.

Lord Perth referred to a recent statement by Lord Cranborne in the House of Lords to the effect that the Conference had reached agreement on roughly speaking 90 per cent of the official proposals. The agreement would be submitted to the smaller Powers for their views and comments, and subsequently there would be a full international conference of all the Powers, including the Big Four.

Reference was also made to a debate which was to take place in the House of Lords on October 11th, in which Lord Perth hoped that Lord Cecil and/or Lord Lytton would speak at an early stage.

883. PROBLEMS THAT WILL ARISE DURING THE PERIOD OF OCCUPATION OF GERMANY AFTER THE WAR. The discussion opened with a reference by Lord Lytton to a meeting he and other members had had with the Polish League of Nations Society on the previous day when questions arising out of the occupation by Russia of Polish territory had been mentioned and when it had been suggested that the best way of dealing with the situation would be to have an Anglo-American military mission on the spot to report on what was taking place.

The General opinion was expressed that it would be difficult for the Union to take any public action in this matter, but it was suggested that an opportunity might be found privately to enquire of the Prime Minister or

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Foreign Secretary what the actual situation was.

The Committee then considered the treatment of Germany after the war, and the Chairman referred to two letters on the subject received from local Branches of the Union.

A discussion followed in which many members of the Executive took part, and in the course of which reference was made to the result of a Gallup Poll published in the NEWS CHRONICLE. Many members of the Committee felt that the opportunity ought to be taken at the forthcoming meeting of the General Council to educate not only L.N.U. members but also the general public on matters relating to the future of Germany, although some members thought that the subject could not easily be dealt with in the form of a resolution.

It was finally agreed to ask Lord Cecil to prepare a draft statement for the Executive, indicating the broad lines on which the L.N.U. thinks the United Nations should base their treatment of Germany after the war.

Lord Cecil expressed his willingness to prepare such a draft. It was further agreed that a notice should be included in the Preliminary Agenda to the effect that the Executive hopes to submit a statement to the General Council at its forthcoming meeting.

884. REGIONAL CONFERENCES. Brief reports were made on Regional Conferences held at Bournemouth on September 27th, Wellingborough on September 30th and Bristol on October 4th, two of which had been followed by evening public meetings.
885. COUNCIL FOR EDUCATION IN WORLD CITIZENSHIP. The Secretary spoke of an interesting experiment at Stockport where the local Branch of the Union with the help of the C.E.W.C. had organised a Conference attended by 600 boys and girls and at which addresses had been given by Professor Arthur Newell, Professor Brodetsky and Mrs. Wallbridge. An Organising Committee for the Conference had been set up under the auspices of the C.E.W.C. on which all the local Head Masters and Mistresses had been represented - the actual organisation of the Conference had been undertaken by the local Branch Secretary.
- A conference of representatives of Youth Organisations held at the V.W.C.A. during the previous week had unanimously passed a resolution asking the C.E.W.C. to do all it could to assist the "Service of Youth" Organisations, now associated with the Ministry of Education and Local Education Authorities, in the same way as it was already assisting the schools.
886. LONDON INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY. Miss Courtney reported on a meeting of the General Purposes Committee of the L.I.A. held on the previous afternoon, when the question of printing further Reports dealing (1) with the Punishment of War Criminals and (2) with the African Colonial Problem had been considered. The Committee had decided to print the first Report and, if the sales of that pamphlet were such as to justify further expenditure on printing, to consider the publication of the Colonial Report.

The General Purposes Committee had also had before them a Report from the Economic and Social Committee which had not been submitted to the Assembly. The Chairman of the Committee had now returned to Belgium and, in the circumstances it had been decided to circulate the Report

-5-

in a duplicated form to the Governments of the various United Nations and to consider what, if anything, further could be done at a later meeting.

The Committee also had under consideration a proposal that a book on the work of the London International Assembly, containing a preface by Lord Cecil and including some of the Commissions' Reports, should be published.

887. INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN. A communication dated September 26th was reported from the International Council of Women, inviting the Union to send a representative to a meeting on October 10th when resolutions would be submitted by the International Council of Women Equal Moral Standard Committee, in co-operation with the International Bureau for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children and the International Federation for the Abolition of State Regulation.

Dr. Murray stated that he had, at the organisers' invitation, sent a message to the meeting, and it was agreed that Mrs. Roberts (Hon. Sec. of the Women's Advisory Council) should be asked to attend the meeting as an observer.

888. NATIONAL CONGRESS FOR FRIENDSHIP AND CO-OPERATION WITH THE U.S.S.R. A communication dated 26th September was reported regarding a National Congress to be convened by the National Council for British-Soviet Unity in London on November 4th and 5th. The Secretary was asked to attend the Congress as an observer.
889. CORPORATE MEMBERSHIP. The Brighton Road Baptist Church, HORSHAM, was admitted as a Corporate Member of the Union, and the fixing of the Union's seal to the Certificate was authorised.

Lilly
CHAIRMAN
October 19th 1944

COPY

HOUSE OF COMMONS
CANADA

Goring Hotel,
London.

September 27th, 1944.

Dear Mrs. Noel-Baker,

It is with deep regret that I find myself unable to accept your invitation to attend the meeting of the League of Nations Society. As a former member of the Executive of the L. of N. Society, and now one of the Hon. Vice. Presidents of our National Council of the Society, it would have given me the greatest pleasure to have been with you.

The idea behind the League is very much alive to-day. It may live again in the Society itself or in an organisation similar to it. This time we must see that the statesmen of our countries remain true to its principles. The League did not fail: the leaders of great nations failed the League.

I offer you then my very best wishes for a most successful meeting. May you in Britain, we in Canada, and men and women of goodwill in all the world, work together for the realisation of social justice and collective security through which alone peace can reign perpetually.

With all good wishes,

Believe me,

Most sincerely,

(Signed) M.J. COLDWELL

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER TO LORD CECIL FROM MONSIEUR EMILE
BOREL

FRENCH FEDERATION OF LEAGUE
OF NATIONS SOCIETIES.

PARIS, 9th September, 1944.

The President of the League
of Nations Union,
15, Grosvenor Crescent,
LONDON.

Mr. President,

In renewing contact with you after more than four years of hard trials, my first duty is to greet you, you personally and all the League of Nations Union, in the name of the French Federation. I want to express to you the profound admiration which we feel for the magnificent attitude of the British Commonwealth during this war

We are convinced that unity of effort, more than ever necessary, will enable us in the future to win that peace for which we have worked together for 25 years.

This brings me to tell you of our future projects. Already we are beginning to re-organise our society, after some annoyances, such as the destruction and pillage of our offices.

We shall do this all the more rapidly since international conferences are at the present moment trying to build the future bases of the organisation for peace, and we remember the important part played in 1919 by our association and groups during the work which ended in the creation of the League of Nations.

Do you not think it would be useful for representatives of our two associations to hold a meeting as soon as possible, either in London or in Paris, which would make it easier, on the one hand, to find the common attitude which we should take to those serious problems which beset us and, on the other hand, to re-organise our international Federation.....

It may be that it will prove necessary for us to change the name of our organisation, while, of course, devoting ourselves to the same work. Have you found it necessary to consider this possibility?

I am putting this last question to you as an example among the numerous ones which we shall be called upon to examine very shortly.....

EMILE BOREL

President of the French Federation of
League of Nations Societies.

4, rue Froidevaux

Paris (14)

COPY

Tel. PADDINGTON 7646

AUSTRIAN LEAGUE OF NATIONS SOCIETY

29 Dorset Square,
London, N.W.1.

Dear Mr. Judd,

On behalf of the Executive Committee of our Society I have the honour of enclosing herewith a draft of a "Law of Humanity" (Rights of Man) with the request to further the idea by the League of Nations Union and by the London Assembly.

It is our deepest conviction that there cannot be a lasting peace without an ethical and moral minimum standard in every country. The enclosed draft represents such a minimum. It is based on experiences made on the Continent and under Nazi rule.

The draft differs in many respects from that of Mr. H.G. Wells. Mr. Wells asks for too much whereas our draft makes suggestions which can easily be accepted by any country which sincerely wishes to remain or to become reliable member of the human family.

Of course, the embodiment of a "Law of Humanity" into the respective State Constitution remains an internal matter of the respective nations, but international influence will be necessary to induce the different states to act accordingly. For instance no state should be admitted to the new League of Nations whose constitution doesn't contain the "Law of Humanity" etc. We missed in the Draft for a new Covenant made by the League of Nations Union this consideration.

It is our deepest wish that the London Assembly and the League of Nations Union should take up the leadership in this important matter.

Looking forward to your kind answer,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

E. MULLER STURMHEIM.

S.1145
2.10.44.LAW OF HUMANITY

(A minimum standard for Europe)

The fact that Germany, a country once regarded as a civilised state, abolished the most elementary human rights, is an extremely serious danger-signal. Where is the guarantee that a similar development might not emerge in other countries?

Mankind has to be protected from a repetition of the German example. It should be recognised that bestiality does not confine itself to the land where it was born and attained mastery. The evil proved to be more dynamic and more contagious than the good. This is the reason why a country where the law of humanity has been abolished becomes a danger to all other countries.

There are many means of preventing bestiality from becoming the fundamental law within the boundaries of a certain state. All possibilities will have to be used, national and international.

International measures could be taken by an International Organisation, adequately equipped with power.

Among the measures of a national character the incorporation of the Law of Humanity into the different state constitutions as a completely separate part could gradually gain a decisive role in the protection of human rights in any political development. This Law of Humanity should become the minimum standard for Europe.

It is true that the Law of Humanity (Rights of Man) were laid down in almost all European constitutions, even in Germany's. One could therefore rightly ask: "If it be so, where is the sense in suggesting the incorporation of the Law of Humanity as an effective measure of protection?"

The answer is: "The Law of Humanity was mixed up with other laws; it was not strikingly distinct from the other state laws, and lacked the special psychological effect so badly required of a law like the Law of Humanity".

Above all, the Law of Humanity, so far as it was embodied in the constitution, could be abolished by a majority of votes, sometimes not even by a qualified majority.

What I suggest is as follows:

- a) To separate the Law of Humanity from all other laws, to isolate it as an independent part of the head of the constitution;
- b) To make it impossible to invalidate it in a legal or in legally disguised way.

The stipulation in point a) aims at the Law of Humanity being recognised by every civil servant and citizen as the highest law in the state. This stipulation is also from a psychological point of view highly important. Hitherto only the Nazis and Fascists took psychological factors very carefully into account. This fact should be a warning to the democracies.

The stipulation in point b) aims at the Law of Humanity being prevented from becoming a shuttlecock of parties in parliaments. Every power, whether of an individual, a political

arty, or the state itself, must be limited. Everything, be it good or evil, which is unlimited in power leads to disaster.

I am aware, that the legal embodiment of the Law of Humanity as I suggest it offers no guarantee for its strict observance. But I believe that its privileged position at the head of the constitution, its majestic isolation from all other laws, will have a great psychological effect, and thus diminish the danger of being infringed.

The 14 articles of my draft are by no means new ideas; I do not claim novelty for my suggestions. But all of them can easily be fulfilled by every state if it wants to be regarded as a civilised state.

I do not regard e.g. the state taking care of its citizens from the "grave to the grave" as a human right. It is, of course, the moral duty of every community to aim at the best social conditions, but the state cannot often afford to supply its citizens with the highest form of social security, medical treatment etc. Economic and political conditions within the boundaries of the respective state influence to a less or higher degree its social policy.

But so far as social institutions are available they have to be accessible on equal terms to all citizens, without exception. To decide and to enforce this, lies within the power of every state. The enjoyment of all existing social benefits on equal terms by all citizens can, therefore, be regarded as a human right which every state could fulfil.

The right to emigrate from state A to state B must also be declared as a human right, but the permission to enter and to settle in state B cannot be proclaimed as a human right. It must be left to the decision of every country whether or not it allows foreign citizens to enter and to settle. (In this respect my draft differs from Mr. H.G.Wells' "Freedom of Movement" in his "Rights of Man"). It is, however, obvious, that the immigration problem is of extremely great importance for the future economic and political conditions in the world. This problem will have to be solved on an international basis and by international agreements.

It is impossible to force e.g. Australia to recognise immigration into her territory as a human right, i.e., that everybody who wishes to settle within her territory can do so without the consent of the Australian authorities. The immigration conditions of every country are determined by internal political and economic factors, and the governments must have their say. In view of the fact that the immigration problem affects highly the future maintenance of peace and prosperity, the increase of immigration into countries fit for new settlers will have to be achieved by international agreements, i.e. by mutual understanding.

And here are some further remarks to the draft:

- (1) In every country the laws should be divided into three independent parts:
 - (a) Laws whose change or abolition can be carried out by a simple majority of votes;
 - (b) Laws whose change or abolition can be carried out by a qualified majority;
 - (c) Laws which can be neither changed nor abolished - the Law of Humanity.

- (2) Every state should establish a special Court with the task of examining whether an existing law, or a law to be issued, is in contradiction with the Law of Humanity. No law can be valid or put into force without approval of this Court.
- (3) The head of the state must affirm not only the state constitution, but also the Law of Humanity. Every civil servant must do likewise.
- (4) The meaning and inward spirit of the Law of Humanity must be taught in every school, university and adult schools etc. It should be obligatory for all students for academic degrees to write a dissertation on the Law of Humanity and its importance to the development of mankind.

But these measures applied within the boundaries of the state will not be sufficient. The experiences of the past are too tragic. The observance of the Law of Humanity must be assured internationally.

An International Court, the judges of which should be composed largely of laymen, shall strictly watch the observance of the Law of Humanity in every country, and intervene immediately where necessary, even if it might be interpreted as an interference into internal affairs of another state. If the Law of Humanity is at stake, the principle of non-intervention, so painfully guarded in international relations, should not be applied where the Law of Humanity is concerned.

It should never be overlooked that a state which infringes the Law of Humanity constitutes a danger to all other states. This fact, substantiated by events in the past, especially by the German example, fully justifies intervention. More than this: it is a duty to intervene.

It is within the power of every state to prevent such intervention in a very simple way: the state has merely to observe the Law of Humanity within its boundaries.

THE LAW OF HUMANITYPREAMBLE

Recognising that the highest task of the state is to foster the happiness of its citizens, and further recognising that every human being is in possession of inalienable rights, we declare the following principles as the eternal and unshakeable foundation of our state. They are the expression of our strife for truth, justice and humanity. These principles must not be abolished, either by a person or by a corporate body. They are the ever burning and shining torch of the Law of Humanity, which shall never become extinct within our state. We hope to contribute to the happiness of mankind and to the maintenance of world peace by protecting and observing the Law of Humanity as the highest and most venerable law of our state.

ARTICLE 1

The personal freedom of every inhabitant of our state is an inalienable right. Detention should only be possible when based on law already in force. The public trial has to take place not later than six weeks after detention. If discharged the defendant is to be set free immediately.

ARTICLE 2

Everyone is equal before the law. No law of our state must discriminate against an inhabitant or a group or tolerate any discrimination whatsoever.

ARTICLE 3

Teaching of, and incitement to hatred of races and nations whether it be by writing, speech, deeds or in whatsoever way, is incompatible with the interest and honour of our state.

ARTICLE 4

Freedom of religion, freedom of thought, freedom of speech and freedom of the press are guaranteed by our state.

ARTICLE 5

Everybody within our territory is entitled to listen to foreign broadcast, to buy and to read foreign books and papers, to use any foreign public sources of information. This applies also to future inventions for transmitting information.

ARTICLE 6

Nobody must be made responsible for deeds done by others, whether they are relatives or not.

ARTICLE 7

The family is a holy institution. Children must not be separated by force from their parents, parents from their children, or married people from each other.

ARTICLE 8

Everybody is entitled to be provided with properly paid work, according to his knowledge and abilities.

ARTICLE 9

Everybody is equally entitled to enjoy all possibilities of instruction and education available in our state. For those who have no means the state must provide.

ARTICLE 10

Everybody is equally entitled to enjoy all social institutions (social security, medical treatment, family allowances etc.) available in our state.

ARTICLE 11

Everybody within our territory has the right to freedom of movement and to settle in any part of our state. Everybody may leave, and every citizen may return to our country at will.

ARTICLE 12

Nobody possessing the citizenship of our country can be deprived of it.

ARTICLE 13

Every civil servant is fully responsible for his acts carried out in his official capacity, no matter whether he acted by order of superiors or on his own initiative.

ARTICLE 14

No law and no regulation issued by any authority can be valid or put into force if in contradiction with the principles laid down above. No law of our state can come into force without a guarantee by a special permanent Court of our state that it is not in contradiction with these principles, called the Law of Humanity.

London, 1944

Dr. E. Muller-Sturmheim
c/o Austrian League of Nations
Society
29 Dorset Square, London,
N.W.1.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 11 MAIDEN LAINE, LONDON, W.C.2. ON THURSDAY, OCTOBER 19TH, 1944 AT 2.15 P.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Mr. W. Arnold, Mr. F.M. Burris, Lord Cecil, the Dean of Chichester, Dr. Clark, Miss Courtney, Mrs. Dagdale, Miss P. Fawcett, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Lady Hall, Miss Hansell, Mr. A. J. Howe, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Mr. T. Lodge, Dr. Gilbert Murray, Mrs. Noel-Baker, Lord Perth, Mrs. Prior, Mr. Nowell C. Smith, Mr. Alan Thomas and Mr. Judd.

890. MINUTES. The minutes of the last meeting held on October 5th, 1944 were confirmed as circulated.

891. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 877 - 863 - Albert Hall Meeting. the Secretary reported that the Albert Hall was free on only one of the four dates suggested, viz: Wednesday, February 14th, 1945. A pencilling had been secured for that date.

On Minute 877 - 873 - Labour Dominions Conference. it was reported that extracts from Mr. Coldwell's letter had been circulated to the press but, so far as was known, had not been published.

892. MR. FREDERICK WHELEN. The Chairman, on behalf of the Committee, cordially welcomed Mr. Whelen who had just returned to this country following the liberation of France. Mr. Whelen had been travelling en route from Geneva to London when the German occupation of France took place in June 1940. Since that time he had been in France, and had spent more than twelve months in a German internment camp.

893. ADMINISTRATION COMMITTEE. The minutes of the meeting held on October 5th, 1944, on which an oral report had been made in Minute 881 were formally approved and adopted.

On Minute 86 - Future Meetings. the Chairman reported a message from Mr. Macdonald who was unable, on account of ill-health to attend the Executive meeting, and who, although he had been present throughout the meeting of the Administration Committee, had no recollection of the decision recorded in the above minute having been taken. If the decision as recorded were correct, Mr. Macdonald wished to move that the Administration Committee be disbanded.

The Chairman and other members of the Administration Committee agreed that the minute was an accurate one, and Lord Lytton and Miss Courtney pointed out that the decision meant no more than that the Administration Committee would not meet as a matter of routine on the first and third Thursdays in the month during the life of the ad hoc Committee on "The Future Role of the Union". But when there was any particular business to transact the Administration Committee would, of course, be summoned.

834. THE FUTURE ROLE OF THE UNION. It was unanimously

RESOLVED: That Mr. Macdonald be invited to join the ad hoc Committee set up in Minute 872 of September 21st.

Mr. Judd reported that acceptances had now been received from all those who had already been invited by the Executive to serve on the new Committee. It was hoped to hold the first meeting in about a week's time when Mr. Vernon Bartlett expected to be back in this country.

895. REGIONAL CONFERENCES. Dr. Garnett reported on a Regional Conference which he and the Assistant Secretary had attended at Southampton on October 14th. The proposals of Dumbarton Oaks had been discussed fully and a resolution on the subject had been adopted. The whole proceedings had, in his opinion, been well worth while.

Lord Lytton spoke of the Regional Conference which he and the Secretary had attended in Birmingham on October 14th at which eighty-six representatives of 27 Branches had been present. The proposals of Dumbarton Oaks and the future work of the Union had been fully discussed.

896. TREATMENT OF GERMANY AFTER THE WAR. Lord Cecil stated that he had given careful consideration to the Executive's request regarding a statement on the Treatment of Germany after the War, but felt that the most important task confronting the Union at the present time was to get an informed public opinion in support of the organisation for the maintenance of peace as set out in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. He had therefore confined his statement to that matter (see Minute 897) without in any way desiring to say that a further statement on the treatment of Germany should not be considered also by the Executive, if the Chairman or some other member would draft it.

Lord Lytton reminded the Executive that a note had already been included in the Preliminary Agenda for the General Council to the effect that the Executive would submit a memorandum dealing with the treatment of Germany after the War, and he had so informed the Branch representatives at the Regional Conference he had recently attended in Birmingham. He entirely shared Lord Cecil's view regarding the importance of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. But at the same time he felt that the Union was clearly entitled to express its views about the treatment of Germany after the war since, upon the terms of the treaty of peace, depended the question of whether there was to be another war or not. It would be a very responsible business to prepare such a statement but that was no reason for shirking it, and in any case many Branches were looking for guidance from the Executive. The Chairman added that he had already prepared some rough notes on the subject.

Lord Perth shared Lord Cecil's view and hoped that the Executive would exercise great care in dealing with the post-war treatment of Germany.

After further discussion in which several members of the Committee took part, and in the course of which reference was made to the pamphlet recently published by Sir Walter Layton and to a leaflet issued by the Union of Democratic Control, it was agreed to ask the Chairman to prepare a statement for consideration by the Executive. Lord Lytton said that he would send his first draft to

Lord Cecil for his observations before putting it in a form for submission to the Committee.

897. DUMBARTON OAKS PROPOSALS. Lord Lytton read to the Executive the reply he had received from Mr. Eden to the letter which, at the Committee's request, had been written to the Foreign Secretary on September 20th.

A general discussion took place on the proposals of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference for the establishment of a general international organisation under the title of "The United Nations", and the Committee then proceeded to consider, paragraph by paragraph, a draft statement of policy (S.1146 copy filed with these minutes) prepared by Lord Cecil. Amendments suggested by Dr. Gilbert Murray and Mr. J. Macdonald, as well as observations by Sir Ralph Wedgwood were placed before the Executive.

During the discussion, in which many members took part, certain amendments were agreed upon by the Committee. Others were referred for consideration by Lord Cecil who undertook to redraft the memorandum in the light of the discussion and to submit a revised draft for consideration by the Executive at its next meeting, with a view to its being communicated to the General Council.

Miss Courtney suggested, and the Committee agreed, that at the General Council Meeting the statement on Dumbarton Oaks should be submitted before the statement on the Treatment of Germany after the War.

(During the latter part of the discussion Lord Lytton had to leave the meeting and the Chair was taken by Miss Courtney).

898. GENERAL COUNCIL. On the proposal of Lady Hall it was agreed that Mr. Vernon Bartlett, Mr. Harold Nicolson and Lady Violet Bonham Carter should be invited to attend the General Council Meeting during the session which would be devoted to a discussion on the Future Role of the Union and to give the Council their views on the part the Union might play in the post-war world.
899. CORPORATE MEMBERSHIP. St. Paul's Church, S. Harrow was admitted as a Corporate Member of the Union, and the fixing of the Union's seal to the Certificate was authorised.

H. D. Courtney
Nov 2nd 1944

16.10.44
S.1146.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION
DRAFT STATEMENT OF POLICY

by Lord Cecil.

(For consideration by Executive Committee on 19th October,
1944)

By the publication of the Dumbarton Oaks Draft, the plans for the maintenance of Peace after the War have become much more definite. All future discussion of the subject in L.N.U. and elsewhere must take account of this Draft. In the first place we may safely treat certain points as agreed. International peace is recognised to be essential. Security must be the foundation of all future International progress. Without it, proposals for Social and Economic reform are useless. Security cannot be attained by the efforts of one nation or group of nations. It must be the result of an International Agreement and Organisation.

Further, the machinery of such an Organisation must include a General Assembly of the representatives of all the Nation-Members; it must have a Court of International Justice on the lines of the present one and there must be a Secretary-General with all and more than all the powers of the League Secretary-General, together with a secretariat similar to that of the League. So far there is no divergence from the Geneva system, the "spirit and principles of the League" have been observed. There follow some important provisions designed to "clothe it with the necessary authority". A Security Council is to be created with five "Permanent" members and six "Elective" members, just like the Council of the League. Unlike the League Council, the Security Council is to be exclusively charged with the prevention of aggression, the Assembly being precluded from interfering with any such matter if the Council has taken it up. Further, the Council have the right to direct what steps should be taken to prevent Aggression and all members of the Organisation are bound to carry them out. How decisions are to be arrived at on this point is not yet decided. The Union may perhaps think that the League conception that its members were all jointly and severally bound to suppress Aggression may turn out to be the most practical way of avoiding difficulties raised by any system of voting.

There is to be a Staff Committee to advise the Security Council on technical matters and the Nation-Members are to be bound to reserve a certain portion of their armed forces to be available for Security purposes. Again, it may be found that nothing short of the unlimited obligation to prevent aggression implied by the Covenant will be adequate. Even so, more precise definition of the actual security duties of the Nation-Members would be desirable.

There are various other proposals in the Dumbarton Oaks Draft, such as the establishment, under the Assembly,

-2-

of a Social and Political Reform Committee and the possible creation of Regional machinery. Nothing is said about Political questions other than those threatening war; nor about Colonies, Mandates, Minorities or the I.L.O., though it is understood that the latter is to be preserved. These and other questions will no doubt be dealt with later.

It is thought that the attitude of the L.N.U. must be to give cordial support to the scheme as far as it goes, though no doubt there are many points besides those here mentioned on which our Members will rightly ask for further information. In any criticism which any of us may be inclined to make, we must remember that the vital thing is to secure real support for whatever international scheme on these lines is finally adopted. We must never forget that, as the Prime Minister has so impressively said, "This War could easily have been prevented if the League of Nations had been used with courage and loyalty by the Associated Nations." That was not done, partly because the peoples of the civilised world, and particularly of our own country, never fully appreciated what they could do and what they were bound to do under the Covenant and partly because the official world regarded the League with indifference or distaste. That must not occur again and it is the business of the Union to sink all else in a vigorous educational campaign to prevent it. Unless that is accomplished, this scheme, like its predecessor, will assuredly fail with consequences too appalling to contemplate.

Other questions of importance will have to be dealt with in the Peace Treaty. There is the punishment of War Criminals, the occupation of Germany and its possible division, the feeding of the starving millions in Europe and the reconstruction of her economic life. Above all, there will be many thorny territorial claims to be disposed of. But we are a League of Nations Society and your Committee has therefore confined this statement to a discussion of the proposals for a substitute for the League, believing that on the satisfactory solution of that problem depend all hopes of a real Peace.

CONFIDENTIALLEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 11 MAIDEN LANE, LONDON, W.C.2, ON THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 2ND, 1944 AT 2.15 P.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Mr. W. Arnold, Mr. F.M. Burris, Lord Cecil, the Dean of Chichester, Dr. Clark, Miss Courtney, Miss Rawcutt, Lady Hall, Miss Mansell, Mr. A.J. Howe, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Mr. J. Macdonald, Dr. Gilbert Murray, Mrs. Noel-Baker, Lord Perth, Mrs. Prior, Mr. Nowell C. Smith, Mr. Alan Thomas, Professor Basil Williams and Mr. Judd.

900. MINUTES. The minutes of the last meeting held on October 19th, 1944, were confirmed as circulated.

901. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 891 - 877 - Albert Hall Meeting, it was suggested that the provisional booking of the Albert Hall for February 14th should now be cancelled and a pencilling obtained for a later date. After discussion it was left to the Secretary to act, in consultation with the Chairman, when a closure for February 14th was asked for by the Albert Hall authorities.

902. DEATH OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY. The Executive placed on record their deep sense of the loss which the cause of world peace had sustained by the death of Dr. Temple who had, for many years, been a Vice-President of the Union. The Secretary was asked, on behalf of the Committee, to send a message of sympathy to the Rev. I.H. White-Thomson.

903. DEATH OF LORD DAVIES. The Secretary was also asked, on behalf of the Executive, to send to the Executive Committee of the Welsh National Council a message of sympathy in the death of Lord Davies, who was Chairman-Elect of that Committee.

904. MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL. The Executive had before them the Preliminary Agenda for the forthcoming Meeting of the General Council.

On Item 16 - The Co-operative Movement, the question was raised whether this motion was in order for a body such as the Union's General Council. In the course of discussion, reference was made to the Centenary celebrations of other organisations closely interested in international affairs, e.g. the Y.M.C.A., and the opinion was also expressed that, if the motion were submitted to the Council, certain opposition might be aroused which would have an undesirable effect.

Lady Hall stated that the resolution had been considered by the Procedure Committee at the time of the preparation of the Agenda for the summer meeting, and, as a result of representations made by that Committee to the L.R.F., the wording of the resolution had been modified.

After further discussion, the Secretary was asked to write to the L.R.E., informing them of the discussion at the Executive Committee and asking them to withdraw the motion from the Final Agenda. The members of the L.R.E. present at the meeting thought their Committee would be agreeable to such withdrawal.

On Item 11 -- Draft Pact for the Future International Authority. The Executive had before them a memorandum from the Beddington, Carshalton and Wallington Branch in support of the motion they had submitted to the General Council.

The Executive felt that no useful purpose would be served by the General Council discussing in detail the wording of the Draft Pact since any discussions on the future World Organisation ought now to have as their basis the official proposals of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference. It was therefore agreed to suggest to the proposers of motions under item 11 that they should deal with the points raised in their motions during the discussion on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals (see minute 906 below).

Programme. It was reported that the programme for the Council would be as follows:

Thursday. (Morning Session). Routine business, including Report by the Chairman of Executive and consideration of such resolutions as are likely to be quickly disposed of.

(Afternoon Session). Lord Cecil's Presidential Address in which he would deal with the Dumbarton Oaks proposals and submit the Executive Committee's statement of policy and resolution, followed by a general discussion on Dumbarton Oaks.

Friday. (Morning Session). Continuation of discussion on Dumbarton Oaks if not completed at previous session, followed by discussion on the Treatment of Germany after the War.

(Afternoon Session). Discussion on The Future Role of the Union, and consideration of such other resolutions as time may permit.

Saturday Morning. Consideration of any resolutions not already dealt with.

905. COMMUNICATION FROM LORD CECIL. The Chairman read to the Executive the following letter which the Secretary had received from Lord Cecil:-

My dear Judd,

I have arrived at the conclusion that I ought to resign the Presidency of the Union. My reasons are quite obvious -- increasing age and deafness.

In saying this I should like to make it clear that I do not propose to sever my connection with the Union. I shall always be delighted to do anything I can to help it and if my advice is at any time required by

U.N.R.R.A.
Training Centre,
Witton House, Reading.

Dear Judd,

I am very sorry I cannot be present at the Executive on Thursday.

May I make one comment on the draft on Dumbarton Oaks. I think the paragraph on top of p.2. is too weak. The Union should I believe make this point unequivocally that no State should be judge in its own cause, and that the retention of a right of veto by any of the Great Powers would gravely imperil that confidence in their trusteeship which is a necessary condition for the healthy growth of the organisation.

I think the last sentence of the same paragraph is not fortunate. Dumbarton Oaks does in its 5th Principle affirm the obligation to assist in action to restrain aggression; and the formula "jointly and severally" does not I fear get round the Soviet Government's objection.

Yours sincerely,
(signed) W. Arnold-Forster
(Principal)

the Executive Committee or by anyone else, I shall always be at their service. Further, if for any reason it should be thought desirable that I should continue to discharge my duties as President until further arrangements have been made as a consequence of my resignation, I should be very willing to do that.

I propose to announce my resignation at the Council of the Union because I feel that it would be much better if should be publicly stated so as to avoid any suggestion that my action indicates any difference of opinion or any disapproval of the course pursued by the Executive Committee or by the Union in any other respect.

Yours very sincerely,

CECIL.

Many members of the Executive, speaking both from their personal point of view and on behalf of L.N.U. Branches, expressed their profound dismay at the prospect of Lord Cecil's resignation from the Presidency of the Union, particularly at the present critical juncture. The Committee were unanimous in asking Lord Cecil if he would consider postponing any public announcement of his resignation at least until the Meeting of the General Council in June, 1945.

906. DUMBARTON OAKS PROPOSALS.

(a) Statement of Policy. The Executive had before them a revised draft of the Statement of Policy (S.1149, copy filed with these minutes) prepared by Lord Cecil in the light of the discussion at the last meeting of the Committee. Amendments to the revised draft submitted by Mr. Arnold Forster and Lord Perth were placed before the Committee, and other amendments were suggested by members present at the meeting.

It was finally left to Lord Cecil to incorporate in the statement such further amendments as were accepted by the Executive, and it was agreed to submit the statement in its final form to the General Council at its forthcoming meeting.

It was further agreed that, in the light of the Council's discussion of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, the Executive should consider what, if any, alterations the Union would wish to see made in the proposals with a view (if necessary) to revising the Statement of Policy and submitting such a revised draft to the Council at an early date.

(b) Resolution for General Council. The form of resolution for submission to the General Council was then discussed by the Executive, and the following rough draft was suggested by Lord Cecil:-

"The General Council of the League of Nations Union,

Having considered the Dumbarton Oaks scheme and the memorandum prepared by the Executive Committee,

Desires to welcome warmly the proposal to set up an International Organisation on the lines of the Moscow Declaration, and

-4-

Requests the Executive Committee to consider the best way of supporting the proposal together with any amendments thereto."

The Chairman thought the resolution ought to ask the Executive to explore the possibility of improving the character of the Organisation proposed at Dumbarton Oaks in the light of any suggestions which might be made during the discussion at the Council Meeting.

Dr. Murray reminded the Committee that the Union had been urging for many years that there should be an international organisation for the maintenance of peace more or less like the League of Nations, and hoped therefore that the resolution would include a note of triumph.

It was finally left to Lord Cecil to draft the resolution for submission to the Council.

907. TREATMENT OF GERMANY AFTER THE WAR. A memorandum prepared by the Chairman in accordance with Minute 896 was placed before the Executive. It was agreed that the statement, in the attached form, should be submitted to the General Council as a report from the Executive Committee.
908. COMMUNICATION FROM THE NEW COMMONWEALTH. A communication, dated October 20th, from the New Commonwealth (copy filed with these minutes) was placed before the Executive.

After the Chairman had outlined the kind of proposal he would be prepared to make to the New Commonwealth it was agreed that the Chairman and Secretary should be asked to meet its representatives. The Committee felt that no useful purpose would be served by further discussions with Federal Union.

Lyell
Nov. 16. 1944

SL1614
10.11.44.

THE TREATMENT OF GERMANY

In considering the treatment of Germany after the war one over-riding consideration should govern our attitude to every proposal - namely, how can a recurrence of German aggression in the future be most effectively prevented? The complete and unconditional disarmament of Germany is, of course, necessary - there are no two opinions about this - but the experience of the last twenty years shows that disarmament is not enough. The problem is not how to disarm a defeated enemy - that is a simple matter - the problem is how to keep that enemy powerless to strike again. This cannot be done by one generation. Whatever conditions are imposed upon a country after its defeat in war, they will be ineffective, if that country continues to be an enemy, unless future generations in the victorious countries are willing to continue their enforcement.

There are two ways in which a future German aggression can be prevented:

- (1). The first is that the German people should cease to wish to make war on their neighbours.
- (2). The second is that, so long as the wish to make war remains, successive generations should be willing to enforce the conditions which will make it impossible to gratify the wish.

The first is, of course, the most effective remedy and should be the ultimate aim of any long term policy, but experience has taught us that it is far too dangerous to rely on, and for immediate action the second alternative is the only possible course.

In considering the measures to be taken with Germany after the war, therefore, we should constantly have in mind what the attitude of successive generations will be towards any action we may consider necessary to deprive Germany of the power to make war in the future. In this connection it is relevant to recall a conversation which Andre Maurois had with Lord Lothian in 1936. In his autobiography - *Call Me Man Happy* - Mr. Maurois records that he met Lord Lothian in London when the re-occupation by Germany of the Rhineland seemed imminent. Lothian asked Maurois what France would do, if Hitler marched into the Rhineland. Maurois replied, "I am not in the confidence of the Government, but I hope the French army will not permit it." "And by what right?", said Lothian, "Germany can do what she likes in her own back garden".

This conversation shows that it is not sufficient to make a treaty with or impose conditions upon an enemy, unless the conditions are such that a later generation will feel itself morally justified in enforcing them. There is no doubt that those who decreed the demilitarisation of the Rhineland in 1919 contemplated that any attempt by Germany to re-occupy that territory would be resisted by force, yet only fifteen years later France received no support from her Allies in resisting the first threat to her security. In fact the matter which requires special study by those who would prevent another war is not so much the settlement made at the end of the last war, but the reason for the reluctance of those who won that war to use the power which they possessed to enforce the conditions which they had imposed upon their defeated enemy.

In the light of past experience we must realise that reasons of economy will prevent nations that have no aggressive intentions from maintaining large armed forces in peace time for defence, especially if the only potential enemy has been completely disarmed.

P.T.O.

-2-

Other reasons will cause strong popular feeling against a lengthy occupation of enemy territory. These considerations suggest the following measures as the most effective means of preventing future aggression:

- (1) Complete and unconditional disarmament.
- (2) An efficient system of inspection to ensure that disarmament is complete.
- (3) When the general occupation is ended, the maintenance of small garrisons in a few key positions.
- (4) The occupation to be shared by as many nations as possible, so as to prevent too heavy a burden falling on any one.
- (5) An effective system of collective security measures.
- (6) The avoidance as far as possible of territorial changes which future generations may not be willing to maintain.
- (7) The establishment of sound and equitable economic conditions, so that it may be possible for nations to live comfortably within their frontiers and to trade freely with their neighbours.
- (8) An efficient international organisation for the ventilation of grievances, the rectification of conditions that can be proved to threaten the peace of nations, and the effective execution of all treaties in the promotion of human welfare.
- (9) The re-establishment as soon as practicable of friendly intercourse and co-operation with Germany in the spheres of science, art and learning, so as both to lessen the feelings of bitterness on both sides and to encourage Germany to place her ambitions in a field where she may justly expect great success with benefit rather than injury to the rest of the world.

If such conditions can be established and sincerely maintained, the long term policy of finding a form of world society, in which Germany can not only participate but excel without injury to her neighbours, may become realisable in the course of years.

S. 1149
27.10.44.Four-Power Talks at Dumbarton OaksRevised Draft Statement of Policy

by Lord Cecil.

By the publication of the Dumbarton Oaks Draft, the plans for the maintenance of Peace after the War have become much more definite. All future discussion of the subject in L.N.U. and elsewhere must take account of the Draft. On certain points there is general agreement. International peace is recognised to be essential. International Justice must be the Foundation of all future international progress. Without it, Justice cannot be assured and proposals for social and economic reform will come to nothing. Security cannot be attained by the efforts of one nation or group of nations. It must be the result of an International Agreement and Organisation.

Beyond this, it is proposed that the machinery of such an Organisation should include a General Assembly of the representatives of all the Nation-Members; it should have a Court of International Justice on the lines of the present one and there should be a Secretary-General with all and more than all the powers of the League Secretary-General, together with a secretariat similar to that of the League. The constituting document is called the "Charter".

The Assembly is to initiate studies and make recommendations, with the purpose of promoting international co-operation, on all political, social and economic questions or of adjusting situations likely to impair the general welfare, including the co-ordination of the policies proposed by any special committees. It is also to receive reports from these Committees and from the Security Council. It is also to apportion expenses among the members of the Organisation and approve the Budget. Important recommendations and questions affecting the Budget will be passed by a two-thirds vote, minor proposals by a simple majority. On all these matters each state will have one vote and no more. So far there is no serious divergence from the Geneva system, the "spirit and principles of the League" have been observed. There follow some important provisions designed to "clothe the Organisation with the necessary authority." (see the Prime Minister's letter to Lord Cecil).

A Security Council is to be created with five "Permanent" members and six "Elective" members, like the Council of the League. The members of the Organisation are, by the Charter, to confer on the Security Council, acting on its behalf, the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace. With this purpose, it is given large powers of promoting, by negotiation and arbitration or in other ways, the settlement of all international disputes. If the disputes are not so settled and peace is in that way or, indeed, in any other way, endangered, the Council may so decide and may determine what measures short of war should be employed to maintain peace or, if it thinks such measures are inadequate, it may take such armed action as may be necessary. The armaments required are to be provided by the members of the Organisation and, in order to meet special emergencies, certain Air Force contingents are to be kept ready for action. A Military Staff Committee is to be appointed to assist the Council in all these matters, including the regulation of the armed forces of the Members of the

The Assembly is not to deal with any security questions if they have been taken up by the Council and the Members of the Organisation are to undertake to carry out the decisions of the Council thereon. How those decisions are to be arrived at, whether by unanimity or by some form of majority, is understood to have occasioned some differences of opinion which have not yet been settled. The Union may perhaps think that the League conception that its members were all jointly and severally bound to suppress Aggression may turn out to be the most practical way of avoiding difficulties raised by any system of voting.

There are various other proposals in the Dumbarton Oaks Draft, such as the establishment, under the Assembly, of an Economic and Social Council and the possible creation of regional machinery.

It is thought that the attitude of the L.N.U. must be to give cordial support to the scheme as far as it goes, though no doubt there are many points besides those here mentioned on which our Members will rightly ask for further information. In particular, nothing is said about the International Labour Office (though it is believed that its preservation is intended), nor about the position of Mandates. A still more important omission is that there is no provision as to Publicity. As is said below, the success of any scheme for International Organisation depends on popular support, which cannot be obtained without Publicity.

For the same, if for no other, reason, there should be a declaration of the essential principles underlying the Organisation, on the lines of those set out in the Union's Draft Pact, e.g.

1. The principles of Freedom Justice and Good Faith should govern all international relations;
2. The welfare of the whole community of nations is the concern of every one of them;
3. Aggression is a crime against the whole community of Nations;
4. There should be no discrimination on the grounds of religion, race or language by any state in the rights or liabilities of its subjects or of any residents in its territories;
5. There should be the fullest collaboration between all nations to secure improved labour standards, economic advancement, social security and mutual understanding between their peoples;
6. The territorial integrity and political independence of all nations should be respected.

In any criticism which any of us may be inclined to make, we must remember that the vital thing is to secure real support for whatever international scheme on these lines is finally adopted. We must never forget that, as the Prime Minister has so impressively said: "This war could easily have been prevented if the League of Nations had been used with courage and loyalty by the Associated Nations." That was not done, partly because the peoples of the civilised world, and particularly of our own country, never fully appreciated what they could do and what they were bound to do under the Covenant, and partly because the official world regarded the League with indifference or distaste. That must not occur again and it is the business of the Union to sink all else in a vigorous educational campaign to prevent it. Unless that is accomplished, this scheme, like its predecessor, will assuredly fail, with consequences too appalling to contemplate.

S. 1150

27th October
1944.COMMUNICATION FROM THE NEW COMMONWEALTH.

20th Oct. 1944.

Dear Judd,

At a recent meeting of our Executive Committee the suggestion was made that it might be useful to explore once again the possibility of promoting some measure of co-operation between the three principal propagandist Societies working nowadays in the field of international affairs - L.N.U., Federal Union and New Commonwealth. The feeling was that, with the Dumbarton Oaks agreement as a basis, we might jointly consider to what extent we could co-ordinate our activities during the immediate future. Eventually it was decided that in the first instance we should approach the Union to ascertain your reaction to the proposition, and that for the time being no approach should be made to Federal Union. Mr. Mander was asked to represent us in any conversations that may take place, with Lord Esher and Sir Cyril Entwistle as "reserves".

So that you may be in possession of the fullest information, I think it may be useful to send you the enclosed copy of a Resolution * which my Committee adopted unanimously relating to the Dumbarton Oaks agreement, and perhaps with this before you you will kindly let me know if your Committee feels disposed to participate in the projected exploration of the situation.

Yours sincerely,

Sgd. N.B. Foot.

* See overleaf.

The EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE of the NEW COMMONWEALTH.

RECORDS its gratification that the proposals emanating from the recent conference at Dumbarton Oaks constitute a recognition of the basic principle that force must be made available for the restraint of aggression and the establishment of law and order among nations:

NEVERTHELESS the Committee considers that any system which fails to bring into existence an organic force, under the direct control of the international authority itself and which may not create machinery for the impartial settlement of all disputes cannot be regarded as wholly satisfactory, and

RESOLVES that the Society should continue its efforts to bring about the creation of an international authority approximating more closely to the plan envisaged in the New Commonwealth programme.

CONFIDENTIALLEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE
COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 11 MAIDEN LANE,
LONDON, W.C.2. ON THURSDAY, NOVEMBER
16th, 1944 at 2.15 P.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Lord Cecil, Miss K.D. Courtney, Miss P. Pawcett, Dr. H. Garbutt, Lady Hall, Miss Hansell, Mr. D.L. Lipson, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Mr. J. Macdonald, Dr. C. Murray, Mrs. Noel-Baker, Lord Perth, Mrs. Prior, Mr. Nowell G. Smith, Mr. Alan Thomas, Sir Ralph Wedgwood and Mr. Judd.

909. MINUTES. The minutes of the last meeting held on November 2nd, 1944 were confirmed as circulated.

910. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 905 - Communication from Lord Cecil, the following confidential note by Lord Cecil had been circulated to the Committee :-

10.11.44.

First let me thank the members of the Executive Committee who were good enough, at our last meeting, to express their confidence in me and their wish that I should retain the Presidency of the Union. I have given further thought to what they so kindly said.

It is not that I desire any relaxation of the official duties of President. They are not heavy and my co-President has always been most helpful to me about them. There are two points which press on me. One is personal. The judgment of a man of my age is bound to deteriorate. Either he becomes over reluctant to change or, feeling his time to be short, he "rushes his fences." I have known instances of both defects. If the affairs of the Union were quiescent, one might risk this difficulty. But they ought to be very far from quiescent. By the turn of events we have been given another chance to carry into effect the policy the Union was formed to promote - the international organisation of peace. This brings me to the second point - the urgent necessity for a revivification and rejuvenation of the Union. Is it not quite clear that we want all the energy and hopefulness of youth to create the enthusiastic Public Opinion which is necessary for success. And we have not got it. It is not reasonable to suppose that any such transformation can be accomplished under the leadership of a man of 80. Therefore I am afraid that, in spite of all the consideration of my colleagues, I ought to go as soon as I can do so without injury to the work in which we are engaged.

There is some force in the contention that just now is a bad time for change. The end of the European war, the General Election, a change of Government may be a bad time for an alteration in our officers. Objections of the kind can, no doubt, be made to any occasion. Still, I would not wish to do anything to add to the Union's difficulties. I am ready, therefore, to postpone my

resignation, but only on the terms that I may announce it as impending. I should, of course, make it clear that it was due to no difference of opinion but solely to the necessity of making a greater effort than ever before to urge upon the country the need for a whole-hearted support of our policy.

In the meantime I suggest the appointment of a very small campaign committee of three persons to organise action.

CECIL.

Lord Lytton, in the name of the Executive, assured Lord Cecil how deeply grateful the Committee were for the consideration he had been good enough to give to their appeal.

Lord Cecil said that when making the suggestion contained in the last paragraph of his note, he had overlooked the existence of the ad hoc committee already appointed by the Executive to consider the Future Role of the Union. He hoped, nevertheless, that the organisation of future action would be left to a very small group of people who could meet frequently.

On Minute 906 - Dumbarton Oaks Conference, the Executive had before them the Memorandum as redrafted by Lord Cecil (S.1157 copy filed with these minutes) and the resolution for submission to the General Council. Amendments to the resolution were suggested by Mrs. Noel-Baker and Mr. A.E.W. Thomas, and the resolution was finally adopted by the Executive in the following form:-

"The General Council of the League of Nations Union

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

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

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

Dr. Garnett said that, in view of the Executive's resolution, he had withdrawn the motion on The Reconstruction of the League of Nations standing in his name on the Preliminary Agenda, but he would like to see some such paragraph as the following added to the Executive's motion:

"The Council would, in particular, welcome amendments designed to subordinate the functional organisations proposed by the Conference at Bretton Woods, at Hot Springs and by the Allied Ministers of Education in London, to, and their harmonisation by, the General Organisation which should focus the world loyalty and have the support of all peace-loving people."

After discussion by the Committee, Dr. Garnett asked to be allowed to deal with this point in the course of a speech supporting the Executive's motion.

The Executive then considered the Memorandum for submission to the General Council and, after Lord Perth had referred to his amendments which had been put in his absence to the Committee at its last meeting but which had not been adopted, and after further discussion during which a vote was taken, it was

RESOLVED: That sub-paragraph 6 on page 2 of the memorandum be deleted from the document when printed in the Final Agenda.

911. **FUTURE ROLE OF THE UNION.** Lord Lytton reported that the ad hoc Committee appointed by the Executive in minute 872 had held its first meeting that morning and had made a general review of the problems before the Union. Consideration had been given to questions of publicity, the necessity of securing the allegiance of all political parties, and how the best use could be made of members, particularly among the younger generation, once they had been enrolled. A further meeting would be held in a week's time when a definite agenda would be submitted for consideration.

Lord Cecil welcomed the Chairman's report and expressed the opinion that, if the Union's organization were to be kept alive, an entirely new start ought to be made.

912. **INTERNATIONAL CONTROL OF CIVIL AVIATION.** The Executive had before them memoranda on World Air Transport by Four Civil Air Pilots which the Chairman had secured with the help of the Air Line Pilots Association (copies filed with these minutes). Lord Lytton hoped to obtain further opinions from practical experts in due course and would make periodic reports to the Executive.

The Committee received the memoranda with great interest and expressed their gratitude to Lord Lytton.

913. **COMMUNICATION FROM MR. ZILLIACUS.** The Executive had before them Mr. Zilliagus' reply (undated) to the letter which the Chairman had written at the Committee's request (see minute 870). Lord Lytton read to the Executive a reply which he had drafted to Mr. Zilliagus and, after discussion, on the motion of Mr. Macdonald, seconded by Mr. Thomas, the Committee approved the text of the Chairman's reply.

Mr. Thomas expressed the hope that the Executive would bear in mind the desirability of having someone on the Committee representative of the kind of views held by Mr. Zilliagus. The Chairman asked Mr. Thomas to make suggestions for consideration at a future meeting.

914. **COMPOSITION OF EXECUTIVE.** On the motion of Dr. Murray it was unanimously

RESOLVED: "That Miss Freda White be invited to join the Executive."

915. **AGENDA FOR GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING.** The Final Agenda for the General Council not having been received from the printer in time for consideration at the present meeting, it was

RESOLVED: "That a special meeting of the Executive be held on Thursday, November 23rd at 2.15 p.m. for the purpose of discussing the Final Agenda for the General Council."

At the request of the Chairman, Lady Hall briefly outlined the programme for the Council as settled by the Procedure Committee and, during a preliminary discussion, the following decisions were taken by the Executive on items in the Preliminary Agenda:-

The New International Organisation and International Security. Dr. Murray to move Executive's motion.

Lady Hall stated that, in accordance with the decision of the Executive in Minute 904, she had written as Chairman of the Procedure Committee to the Branches which had proposed amendments to the Draft Pact, suggesting that they should deal with the points raised in their motions during the general discussion on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. The Executive would then consider the suggestions along with others that would be made by the General Council.

Post-War Organisation of the Union. Miss Courtney to take charge on behalf of Executive.

County Organisations. Miss Courtney to take charge, and to ask the movers, having heard the interim report from the ad hoc Committee, not to press their motion to a vote.

The Atlantic Charter. The Dean of Chichester and Lord Perth to move resolution on behalf of Executive.

United Nations Organisation for Educational and Cultural Reconstruction. Dr. Garnett to move resolution on behalf of Executive.

The Economic Basis of Peace. It was suggested that, after a discussion on the motion had taken place, the previous question should be moved on the ground that, in the absence of expert advice, the subject is not one on which the Union could usefully express an opinion.

It was further suggested that, after the Council Meeting, the Executive might invite a few economists to submit memoranda on the Bretton Woods Agreement.

League of Nations Union Campaign for the I.L.O. It was agreed that, if adopted by the General Council, this motion should be referred for consideration by the ad hoc Committee on the Future Role of the Union.

The Executive considered a suggestion by Mr. McLaughlin that a motion on the following lines should be submitted as a matter of urgency to the General Council:

"The General Council of the League of Nations Union

Welcomes the decision to hold a Conference of International Trade Unions in London in January next, and

Expresses the hope that its decisions will materially contribute to a peaceful solution of the world's industrial problems and so facilitate the work of the I.L.O."

The Executive did not feel able to propose such a motion, and, at the Chairman's suggestion, Miss Pawcett undertook to enquire of the L.E.F. if they would be willing to do so.

916. STAFF. The Chairman said that he had received a letter from the Honorary Treasurer concerning one member of the staff and one former member of the staff. It was

RESOLVED: That the Honorary Treasurer be authorised to make such arrangements as he thinks advisable, subject to confirmation by the other Officers.

917. UNITED NATIONS AND BROADCASTING. Copies of a letter written by Mr. Leonard J. Behrens to the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN on October 3rd had been circulated to the Committee. The Secretary was asked to thank Mr. Behrens very warmly for his letter and to say that it had been considered by the Executive. Although the Committee did not, for the moment, see its way to taking any action, it hoped that Mr. Behrens would raise the matter during the general discussion on the future International Authority at the General Council.
918. COUNCIL FOR EDUCATION IN WORLD CITIZENSHIP. Dr. Murray reported the arrangements which the C.E.W.C. were making again this year for a series of Christmas Holiday Lectures for school boys and girls. The meetings would take place in the Central Hall and would be opened by the Lord Mayor of London, M. Jan Masaryk, Lord Lytton, Sir Charles Reilly, Mr. John Morris, Mr. Herbert Morrison and Mr. Creech Jones would be among the speakers.

The Armistice Day Message to the Youth of Great Britain had been written this year by Mr. Richard Law, and had received a very wide circulation through the Local Authorities, Schools and Youth Organisations.

Dr. Garnett felt that insufficient time was allowed at Executive meetings for reports from the C.E.W.C. and asked if it would not be possible, in future, for the report to appear on the agenda immediately after the Minutes and matters arising therefrom. The Chairman recalled that, in order to meet the convenience of those members of the Executive who were also Members of Parliament, it had been agreed that wherever possible political questions should be taken first on the agenda; and Dr. Garnett said he would raise the matter again at the next meeting of the Committee.

919. LONDON INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY. Miss Courtney reported on a meeting of the L.I.A. held on November 15th, 1944 when some forty-five members representing thirteen countries had been present. On the proposal of the American delegates, the L.I.A. had agreed to continue to hold discussion meetings once a month. If discussion on any particular subject developed in such a way that any of the members desired to appoint a commission to go into the matter in detail, such members would be asked to take responsibility for the commissions.

Lord Cecil expressed the opinion that the urgent need

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at the present time was for each nationality in its own country to create a really effective body which would press not only for the adoption of an International Organisation but also for its effective functioning. He hoped that the delegates to the L.I.A. would be called upon to report on what could be done in their own countries. Miss Hansell suggested that this matter should be raised at the first of the L.I.A. monthly continuation meetings.

Dr. Garnett supported Lord Cecil and hoped that out of the L.I.A. a nucleus of the post-war Federation of League of Nations Societies would be formed.

Lyllon
CHAIRMAN
December 7th 1944

S. 1157.

10th November, 1944.

FOUR-FOUR TERMS AT DUMBARTON OAKS.

Memorandum by the Executive Committee.

By the publication of the Dumbarton Oaks Draft, the plans for the maintenance of Peace after the War have become much more definite. All future discussion of the subject in L.N.U. and elsewhere must take account of the Draft. On certain points there is general agreement: international peace is recognised to be essential; security must be assured; justice cannot be assured and proposals for social and economic reform may come to nothing; security cannot be attained by the efforts of one nation or group of nations; it must be the result of an International Agreement and Organisation.

Beyond this, it is proposed that the machinery of such an Organisation should include a General Assembly of the Representatives of all the Nation-Members; a Court of International Justice on the lines of the present one and there should be a Secretary-General with all and more than all the powers of the League Secretary-General, together with a secretariat similar to that of the League. The constituting document is called the "Charter".

The Assembly is to initiate studies and make recommendations, with the purpose of promoting international co-operation, on all political, social and economic questions or of adjusting situations likely to impair the general welfare, including the co-ordination of the policies proposed by any special committees. It is also to receive reports from those Committees and from the Security Council. It is also to apportion expenses among the members of the Organisation and approve the Budget. Important recommendations and questions affecting the budget will be passed by a two-thirds vote, minor proposals by a simple majority. On all these matters each state will have one vote and no more. So far there is no serious divergence from the Geneva system, the "spirit and principles of the League" have been observed. There follow some important provisions designed to "clothe the Organisation with the necessary authority." (see the Prime Minister's letter to Lord Cecil).

A Security Council is to be created with five "Permanent" members and six "Elective" members, like the Council of the League. The members of the Organisation are, by the Charter, to confer on the Security Council, acting on its behalf, the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace. With this purpose, it is given large powers of promoting, by negotiation and arbitration or in other ways, the settlement of all international disputes. If the disputes are not so settled and peace is in that way or, indeed, in any other way, endangered, the Council may so decide and may determine what measures short of war should be employed to maintain peace or, if it thinks such measures are inadequate, it may take such armed action as may be necessary. The armaments required are to be provided by the members of the Organisation and, in order to meet special emergencies, certain Air Force contingents are to be kept ready for action. A Military Staff Committee is to be appointed to assist the Council in all these matters, including the regulation of the armed forces of the Members of the Organisation.

The Assembly is not to deal with any security questions if they have been taken up by the Council and the members of the Organisation are to undertake to carry out the decisions of the Council thereon.

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Now those decisions are to be arrived at, whether by unanimity or by some form of majority, is understood to have occasioned some differences of opinion which have not yet been settled.

There are other proposals in the Dumbarton Oaks Draft for the establishment, under the Assembly, of an Economic and Social Council and the possible creation of regional machinery. Since Social and Economic questions seem likely to form an increasingly large element in the work of the Organisation, these proposals are of special importance.

It is thought that the attitude of the L.N.U. must be to give cordial support to the scheme as far as it goes, though there are many points besides those here mentioned on which our Members will rightly ask for further information. In particular, nothing is said about the International Labour Office (though it is believed that its preservation is intended, nor about the position of Mandates. A still more important omission is that there is no provision as to Publicity. As is said below, the success of any scheme for International Organisation depends on popular support, which cannot be obtained without Publicity.

For the same, if for no other, reason, there should be a declaration of the essential principles underlying the Organisation, on the lines of those set out in the Union's Draft Pact, e.g.

1. The principles of Freedom Justice and Good Faith should govern all international relations;
2. The welfare of the whole community of nations is the concern of every one of them;
3. Aggression is a crime against the whole community of Nations;
4. There should be no discrimination on the grounds of religion, race or language by any state in the rights or liabilities of its subjects or of any residents in its territories;
5. There should be the fullest collaboration between all nations to secure improved labour standards, economic advancement, social security and mutual understanding between their peoples;
6. The territorial integrity and political independence of all nations should be respected.

In any criticism which any of us may be inclined to make, we must remember that the vital thing is to secure real support for whatever international scheme on these lines is finally adopted. We must never forget that, as the Prime Minister has so impressively said: "This war could easily have been prevented if the League of Nations had been used with courage and loyalty by the Associated Nations." That was not done, partly because the peoples of the civilised world, and particularly of our own country, never fully appreciated what they could do and what they were bound to do under the Covenant, and partly because the official world regarded the League with indifference or distaste. That must not occur again and it is the business of the Union to sink all else in a vigorous educational campaign to prevent it. Unless that is accomplished, this scheme, like its predecessor, will assuredly fail, with consequences too appalling to contemplate.

S.11.44.
S.1153.

WORLD AIR TRANSPORT

Note by the Chairman.

I have been following up the subject of the international control of Civil Aviation which was brought before the Executive Committee by Professor Basil Williams. I promised to make periodical reports of progress to the Executive Committee, and in accordance with that promise I now submit this first report.

Instead of forming a Committee and getting oral evidence from experts, I have been collecting written opinions from Civil Air Pilots. The process takes time, because these Pilots are scattered all over the world, but I thought it was desirable to obtain the opinions of practical men who are actually engaged in piloting aircraft in different parts of the world. I think the accompanying first instalment of four separate opinions justifies the procedure and I hope to obtain more in due course.

These opinions were obtained for me by the Air Line Pilots Association, which is in effect the Civil Pilots Trade Union affiliated to the T.U.C. It is an international body and has branches in this country, America, Canada and Australia. It advises on conditions of employment, rates of pay, aerodromes, etc. The Secretary, A.D. Seward, at 7, Park Lane, W.1. (Tel: Grosvenor 2231) would be willing at any time to answer questions or give information.

The opinions expressed in the four papers which follow were written without any previous consultation between the authors. The first was written in Baltimore, the second in Cairo, the third in England, and the fourth in Durban. The authors of the last two are both now in this country.

The unanimity of opinion expressed as to the practicability and desirability of international control of Civil Aviation is very striking.

WORLD AIR TRANSPORT

by Captain David Brice

The idea of an International Airways as conceived by the Labour Party is probably the only solution to an apparently insuperable problem. But whilst being a theoretical solution it is doubtful whether its practical aspect could every be realized.

Already there seems to be an ever growing tendency for countries again to become nationally minded in the post-war years, and every day we are hearing of air transport talked of in terms of national prestige, national commerce and wealth, national necessity and national opportunity.

Perhaps more than anything else the present state of the psychological development of mankind will prevent such an idealistic concern from becoming anything else but a weapon for party politics.

As far as the technical difficulties are concerned, there seems to be little to worry about.

But before we consider them, such as they are, it is necessary to decide upon the internal set-up of World Airways.

Obviously it would be most impractical to put all the states in one gigantic pool, and then distribute them around the globe irrespective of their race, creed or colour. Such efforts would be futile.

The remedy would be to have national divisions in which the operative members would be based as far as possible in their own countries or possessions. These divisions would operate as separate units and could be responsible for several air lines, in much the same way as a Group in the R.A.F. is responsible for several squadrons.

Only in the higher direction of the company would it be necessary for nationals to get together on an international basis. Presumably such people would be intelligent and well educated, to whom the language question would be unimportant, and if such people were well chosen they could perhaps be relied upon to work for the good of humanity, and not for their own particular country.

Having decided this the first step then would be to break down the spirit of patriotism which has been held up as a torch of great virtue by every nation since its beginning. Perhaps nothing else has been so responsible for degrading man, as this philosophy. All his good and constructive ideas have been directed into narrow channels of nationalism, it has made of him a hypocrite, a liar and a cheat, it has stultified education, it has been directly responsible for all the troubles and strifes since the world began.

Break down this basic idea that any one country is better than its neighbour, and demonstrate that it is pointless to work for one section of humanity alone, and the greatest difficulty in the path of World Airways will be overcome.

Technically, it is difficult to see how anything but good could come out of the internationalising of air transport.

Complete standardisation would be essential, and in this each nation could contribute its own technical knowledge and discoveries. Imagine all the great aircraft manufacturers in the world getting together to build several super aeroplanes, all eager to share their own particular ideas and ready to pool their resources.

Out of this conclave would emerge several aeroplanes literally the best in the world. Each would have controls etc. labelled in the language of the country for which it was destined and once delivered it would be the responsibility of that particular division.

One vast international store-house would be responsible for the supply of aircraft engines and all necessary equipment, and this organisation would be controlled by a sub-committee of the Board of Direction. Each country would

contribute to the cost of this store-house, paying a sum commensurate with its national wealth and population.

Radio equipment and all the necessary devices for safe blind flying would be standardised, and crews would be trained in their respective countries to conform to standards previously agreed upon by all parties.

All traffic and operation problems would be discussed at meetings of various international boards to ensure that everywhere there was a uniform standard of knowledge.

All ground facilities would be constructed to conform to set standards, although the countries involved would be allowed to specify their own wishes in regard to aerodromes, marine-dromes, etc.

Once persuaded man into the necessary state of mind that it is more desirable to work for the international good than for the national, and all technical difficulties will fade into nothing, and in their place will rise up such a technical advancement as the world has never seen.

AUGUST/LOG

WORLD AIR TRANSPORT

Several articles have been received from Members in reply to the request for their views on the question, "Given the conditions that peace will, after this war, be maintained by a dominant International Force, is it a practical possibility to put all but internal domestic air lines on a basis where they might be operated by a World Air Transport Board?" which was published in our June issue. It is our intention to publish as many of those as possible during the next few months and two are included herewith.

From Captain W.N.C. Griffiths:

When I first saw this question in "The Log" I regret to say I read it through three or four times looking for a catch where probably none was meant. I also had to search for the reason. The trouble was I could hardly believe I was being asked to discuss possible troubles attendant on one small part of such a tremendous hypothesis as an International Force. But when I read between the lines I believe I found it, or at least it started me thinking.

I suspected the catch phrase "dominant International Force", particularly the word "dominant". It was too forceful and I had a feeling it meant someone was to be "dominated" in a manner that seemed pretty close to "domineered". It seemed as if the phrase disclaimed any impression I had gained from the rest of the question that this International Force was, or would be, actuated by the principles of the Atlantic Charter. I reasoned therefore that if "domineered" were meant discussing difficulties would be a waste of time, since World War No. III would be upon us before Board No. I could be formed. But, on the contrary if it did not mean this - if Nationalism and its big stick were to be thrown away

with the advent of the Charter - then anything would be possible internationally. Quite obviously the answer to this question had to be found first, otherwise the rest was just a lot of talk. I thought of F.D.R. and Churchill and wondered whether even they would know. But I had to give it up. I had to accept the question as it stood and get on with the rest. The reason for the question still gnawed.

Having presented myself with the enormous assumption that the Charter had prevailed I soon reached the conclusion that the difficulties of running a World Air Transport Board were as nothing compared to the difficulties of running a World, and therefore once we had overcome the latter the Board would fit into its place as easily as the last piece of a jigsaw. (Air Transport was bound to be last, anyway). I then considered the question of increased technical difficulties and wondered what we were missing at the present. Instruments, arbitrary measurements, metric systems, radio, fuel, languages, weather, airport control, aircraft design, and even currency coupons. No, as I had always thought, we seemed to have them all. Could there be any more? Then suddenly I saw the light. Was it not intended to remove or simplify these difficulties under the international system?

I had stumbled on the reason for the question. It was an answer to the variation of difficulties that was wanted, and whether it would be too difficult for us to get along with less of them after all these years. In other words, could we cope with a simplified system? Well, after all, I suppose we have, like Prune, grown too expert for this new, simple stuff. I should have got in touch with "Indicator" in the beginning.

From Captain W.J. Johnson:

As a firm believer in the idea that the only solution of the major problems of the world lies in International Co-operation and the breaking down of National barriers, I contend that a World Air Authority would help to keep the Peace.

The present Government has been extremely vague and evasive in stating its Post-War Plans for Civil Aviation, while the policy of the Labour Party has been quite definitely stated in "Wings for Peace" - Labour's Post-War Policy for Civil Flying.

What is it worth? Briefly, they desire a World Air Authority who would own World Airways. The present Governments of New Zealand and Australia also advocate a similar policy, and hateful though the idea of Socialism may be to some people we may have a Labour Government in this country after the war.

While it is obvious that Labour's proposals are absolutely impracticable for the immediate future, owing to the unknown attitude of the U.S.S.R., and uncompromising opposition of the U.S.A. to such a solution, their interim policy is worth examining.

The suggestion is that Regional Air Unions should be formed and generally controlled by a World Air Authority.

This policy has much to commend it when we compare the remarkable progress of Pre-War Civil Flying in the United States where a single authority was in control, with the chaotic situation in Europe. Here we had fifty Air Lines scrambling with the aid of competing subsidies for a limited amount of business, while the development of ground organisation, aids to navigation etc. was crippled by lack of a single authority.

Surely it is impossible to dispute the proposition that Europe is too small an area to support more than one controlled Air Line system if we hope to compete with the standards set by the U.S.A.

The idea of a number of Regional Air Unions, one embracing the Americas, one for Europe, a Soviet Air Union and possibly a Union for the Far East would be a possible step towards a complete World Authority.

There are many urgent problems which a World Authority of limited functions could tackle, such as the re-shaping of past Air Conventions on a more international basis.

Then there are the important subjects of International standards of Airworthiness, qualification of Pilots and Crews, Meteorological information and Navigational Aids.

Such an approach towards International Co-operation would no doubt come up against friction and quarrels which are likely to develop on World Air Routes from competing lines operating under National flags or under flags of Regional Unions, but it might, at least, succeed in reducing the severity of competition and promoting with the sanction of overwhelming economic arguments an increasing measure of agreement.

There is no doubt about whether the Pilots of the various European Allied Nations can work together in reasonable harmony, as this is already proved by our experience in the R.A.F. Personally, I would be glad to think that we have here the nucleus of the European section of an International Air Police Force and European Airways.

WORLD AIR TRANSPORT

By Captain W. Laing Stewart.

"Given the condition that peace will, after the war, be maintained by a dominant International Force, is it a practical possibility to put all but internal domestic air lines on a basis when they might be operated by a World Air Transport Board?"

I assume that it is not really suggested that external lines be operated by a World Air Transport Board but that they be operated to comply with the regulations to be drawn up and enforced by a World Air Transport Board.

The question of whether this can be successfully accomplished depends largely upon two factors

- 1) The extent to which the nations will co-operate;
- 2) The composition, scope and authority of the Board.

Referring to 1), the United Nations have co-operated to an admirable extent in making the Air Forces the most efficient and most deadly engine of destruction the world has ever seen - can they co-operate to the same extent in making the merchant air forces the safest and fastest form of transport the world has ever seen? Your guess is as good as mine! The cost of the latter, an instrument of peace, which has safety, comfort, pleasure and utility as its aim would be but a small fraction of the cost of the former. If it cannot be done this world is a very long way from being civilised.

Referring to 2), perhaps it would be advantageous to consider the scope of the Board first and then the desirable composition and the necessary allocation of authority will be more apparent.

I have drawn up the following list of items which have occurred to me would come under the jurisdiction of the Board. I do not pretend to have included all the matters which would concern it; on the other hand it may be that some of the items might be left to the appropriate Ministries of the various countries whose external lines would be governed by the Board.

1. Technical and Air Safety

- (a) Stressing of aircraft: safety factors, flying instruments, fuel measuring instruments, engine instruments etc.
- (b) Flying characteristics of aircraft: stalling speeds, take off and landing runs, limitations to the "stiffness" of flying controls, etc.
- (c) Safety Devices: insulation of fuel tanks, fireproof bulk heads, fire extinguishers, de-icing devices, feathering airscrews, distress equipment, life jackets, dinghy equipment, etc.
- (d) Pressurising, ventilation and air conditioning requirements.
- (e) Requirements as to the cubic space per head per crew member and per passenger.
- (f) Overhaul and inspection periods of airframes and engines.
- (g) Acceptance tests of engines.

2. Navigational, radio and range requirements.

- (a) Radio equipment.
- (b) Navigational equipment.
- (c) Radar equipment.
- (d) Minimum reserve of fuel to be carried.

3. Medical

- (a) Scope of medical examinations of crews, frequency of examinations and maximum number of hours to be flown per month and per annum, stand off periods after flights of 8 to 12 hours, depending on whether aircraft is pressurised and air conditioned or not and whether flight carried out at above or below say 8,000 ft.
- (b) First aid and nursing qualifications of stewards and air hostesses.
- (c) Sanitary and toilet arrangements in aircraft and (d) and (e) of 1.

4. Qualifications of air crews and ground operational personnel

- (a) Pilots (Medical fitness
Transport (Age
Licences (Navigational qualifications
Technical do.
Instrument flying do.
Blind approach do.
- (b) Radio Officers licences.
- (c) Engineer " "
- (d) Purser " "
- (e) Stewards " "
- (f) Air Hostesses " "
- (g) Maintenance engineer and maintenance inspectors licences.
- (h) Local or aerodrome control officers licences.
- (i) Route " "
- (j) Ground radio officers licences.

5. Aerodromes and Seadromes.

- (a) Dimensions of take-off and alighting areas.
- (b) Lighting facilities.
- (c) Proximity to obstructions, etc.

6. Meteorological facilities.7. Route control.8. Local control.9. W/T Codes.

From the above it will be apparent that each country would have to be represented on the Board by various specialists such as:-

- (i) An expert on stressing
- (ii) An expert on design
- (iii) An expert on maintenance
- (iv) At least three operative air line pilots, one land-plane, one flying boat and all three as practical navigation and flying experts.
- (v) A radio expert.
- (vi) An operative airline radio officer.

- (vii) A medical authority who had specialised in his subject relative to aviation.
- (viii) The Chief Inspector of Aerodromes.
- (ix) The Chief Inspector of Seadromes.
- (x) The Chief Meteorological Officer.
- (xi) The Chief Control Officer (external).
- (xii) The Chief Control Officer (internal).
- (xiii) The Chief Aerodrome Control Officer.
- (xiv) A flight engineer officers representative.

Each country would have to be allowed to choose its own members in its own way, for instance in this country they could be elected by the various appropriate societies and associations such as the Royal Aeronautical Society, the Society of Aircraft Engineers, the Society of Aircraft Constructors, the Radio Officers Association, the Meteorological Society of Great Britain, the British Air Line Pilots Association, etc.

The appearance of the International Board immediately takes on the complexion of an International Convention of Aerial Navigation and that is in effect what it would be except that it would be of a permanent nature and would meet at regular intervals, say every three or six months - each country would have its own team of World Air Transport Board inspectors endowed with sufficient authority to ensure the international working of the scheme.

In drawing up the various regulations the nations would of course have to modify their existing regulations and those modifications should be made with a view to adopting that which ensures more efficient or more complete equipment, greater safety or high qualifications.

The advantages of an efficiently functioning World Air Transport Board are too manifold and obvious to require more than a brief mention here. The question is not whether or not such a Board would be a practical possibility but whether any honest attempt will be made to form one and if formed whether the members will endeavour to improve the efficiency of world air transport as a whole rather than attempt to formulate regulations which will favour the manufacturers, operating lines, pilots, aircraft and equipment of their particular country. By setting dead line dates for the adoption of some or all of the regulations many of the latter tendencies could be discouraged.

The adoption of a World Air Transport Board would obviously mean that constructors of long range aircraft everywhere in the world would have to adhere to or exceed the same safety factors, would have to install the same standard of equipment and the same safety devices - even the handling and flying characteristics of those aircraft would be to some extent similar.

Crews would have to attain the same high standard of qualifications.

The regulations drawn up by the World Air Transport Board would probably be improved upon by some aircraft manufacturers and airline operators, not only to ensure even greater efficiency and safety but because such a policy would constitute excellent material for advertisement. The crews' qualifications would probably be exceeded to maintain the various professions on the highest possible levels.

The international nature of the Board would do much to ensure the zeal of its inspectors and also the airlines' determination never to be caught napping. It does not require much imagination to imagine how Pan-American would hate to have a British inspector of the World Air Transport Board at London find fault with the flow meters on the D.C.7, or how much E.O.A.C. would hate an American inspector of the Board to find at Idlewild that the Brabazon after a particularly long flight had not the required reserve of fuel.

The Representatives' fees, interpreters' fees and travelling expenses which the Ministry of Civil Aviation, Ministry of Transport or Air Ministry would have to meet would be infinitesimal compared with the advantages derived from such a scheme.

Last but by no means least let us consider the passengers - after all the success of commercial aviation depends to no small extent on the impression it makes on the air traveller. It would be a great consolation for the "customer" to know that no matter whether he was departing for distant lands from New York or Moscow in a snow storm, London in a fog, Shanghai in a typhoon or Khartoum in a sandstorm the aircraft, engines and crew which were conveying him no matter to what airline they belonged had all come through the same rigorous tests with flying colours.

In the past it has been said that "mails may be lost but never late, passengers may be late but never lost", but the aim not of any particular company nor of any particular country but of world air transport is that neither passengers nor mails shall be late nor lost.

The aim of World Air Transport, like that of the British Air Line Pilots Association, is "service with safety".

NOTES ON THE ABOVE.

Under the heading of "Technical and Air Safety" (b) I have referred to limitation to the "stiffness" of flying controls.

Now that large aircraft and blind landing systems are being developed I consider that it is high time that some limitations should be (?) placed on the "weight" of flying controls. At present there is no restriction to prevent an aircraft being operated even though it may take two men and a boy to apply any considerable amount of rudder, aileron, or elevator. I suggest that a certain maximum poundage should be permissible in order to put an aircraft into a rate two turns from straight and level flight at normal cruising speed in a matter of say 5 seconds and that a certain maximum poundage be permissible on the control column to pull an aircraft out of a 1,500 ft. minute dive into level flight in a period of say 10 seconds.

There are at least two four-engined aircraft (one British and one American) the controls of which should never have been passed by the constructors test pilots, though they have apparently been accepted quite happily by the airlines and/or services.

Referring to 3, Medical, I should like to make the following observations:

Though 125 hours per 30 days may be suitable for a pilot of 20 years of age, 85 hours or less may be adequate for a pilot of 40 or 50 years of age; similarly after a flight necessitating over 15 hours on duty (whether in the air or on the ground) three days may be sufficient for the pilot of 20 years of age to "unwind" - a pilot of 40 may require a much longer period. I doubt, with all due respect to our medical profession, whether any medical instruments or observations can accurately determine what the period may be - the pilot himself is the only accurate authority.

Referring to 4, Qualifications of aircrews, etc., (a) Pilots transport licences:

Instrument flying and blind approach tests should be carried out in the type of aircraft which the air line pilot concerned is normally operating - it is ridiculous to carry out these tests in a 7,000 lb. manoeuvrable twin-engined aircraft if the pilot concerned normally operates a very unmanoeuvrable 55,000 lb. four-engined aircraft.

Referring to 8, Local controls:

It is anticipated that the facilities available after the war will include:-

H.F. and M.F. W/T
H.F. and M.F. D/F
Radar
Radio range
and S.B.A. or an improvement upon it
R/T local control

The advantage of R/T for local control are so numerous that I anticipate that it will continue after the war. The language difficulty is to my mind easily overcome by the Chief Control Officer at each terminal being of the same nationality as the country in which the aerodrome is located. The Chief Control Officers will not necessarily have to be able to speak any other tongue than his own. Junior Control Officers of the nationality of the foreign lines operating from that aerodrome will be employed who can speak and understand the tongue of the Chief Control Officer in addition to their own. They will handle the incoming and outgoing foreign traffic according to instructions issued to them by the Chief Control Officer.

Referring to each country's representatives on the World Air Transport Board, I have included a Chief Control Officer (internal) - as the internal routes may cross those of the external routes and will probably be operating into the same aerodromes (feeder lines) he must be "in the picture" - similarly the suggestion recently made that transport pilots operating internal lines do not require the same instrument flying qualifications as those operating external routes is for obvious reasons so much nonsense.

S 1155

10. 11. 44.

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian.

3rd October, 1944.

Sir,

The moral and intellectual black-out, which the Nazi and Fascist regimes imposed upon nearly the whole of Europe, has been notably interrupted by broadcasts from the B.B.C., and from other national stations in the free countries, and this aerial warfare must be reckoned among the more important agents of the defeat of the enemy. Now, however, the audiences which were sustained and encouraged by these broadcasts are rapidly being liberated by the forces of the United Nations, and are re-establishing their own free institutions on their own territory. Soon it may appear incongruous, and even impertinent, for British or American stations to continue services, which were invaluable in the days of darkness: the revived French, Belgian, Netherlands and other Administrations will claim the right to undertake the spreading of truth to their own peoples, and this claim will have to be admitted. Apart from this claim, there is evident danger in propaganda broadcasts from one country in the language of another, broadcasts which could so easily disturb international relations and prepare the way for war. Does it follow that all broadcasts in foreign languages from this country and others should cease, and that the organisation which controls them should be scrapped?

The enemies of truth never die, and it will be a vital part of the maintenance of peace to prevent the establishment in any country of the black-out of news comments, by means of which the Nazis and Fascists established their grip on their unfortunate people and upon the peoples whom they subjugated. But this fight for access to knowledge, like physical warfare, must be a combined and not a purely national operation. It appears that there exists an Information Service of the United Nations, but so far the public knows little about it: would it not be possible and prudent to build up through this Service an organ for the continuous dissemination of broadcast truth, directed not by this or that nation, however powerful, but jointly by those States which have the desire and the duty to prevent a repetition of the miseries of the last five years? If such a service were organised, any State which in the future forbade its citizens to listen to the broadcast provided would brand itself as a potential disturber of the common peace.

Yours etc.,

(Leonard F. Behrens.)

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A SPECIAL MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 11 MAIDEN LANE, LONDON, W.C.2. ON THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 23RD, 1944 AT 2.15 P.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Lord Cecil, Miss K.D. Courtney, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Fawcett, Lady Hall, Miss Hansell, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Mr. G. Mander, Mrs. Noel-Baker, Miss Rebhorne, Mr. Nowell Smith, Sir Ralph Wedgwood and Mr. Judd.

920. LEGACY FROM MISS J. CRUDEN. ^(substantiated) The Chairman having reported that the Union had received a legacy of £1100 in three per cent. Savings Bonds under the will of the late Miss Jane Cruden, it was

RESOLVED: "That authority be given for the seal of the Union to be affixed to the deed of transfer."

921. GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING. It having been reported that Mr. Sean Lester was at present in London, it was unanimously agreed to invite him to make a short speech to the Council at the first session on November 30th.

Miss Courtney reported a message which had reached her from Miss Pyc in Paris stating that Madame Malaterre-Sellier (Treasurer of the French League of Nations Society) intended coming to London for the General Council Meeting and asking if hospitality could be arranged for her. In spite of numerous inquiries it had been found quite impossible to secure private hospitality, and the Committee agreed that the Union should defray the cost of entertaining Madame Malaterre-Sellier at a suitable hotel during her visit. It was further agreed that she should be invited to make a ten-minute speech to the General Council at the morning session on November 30th after Mr. Clifton Robbins and Mr. Sean Lester had spoken.

The Executive then discussed the items in the Final Agenda for the General Council which had not been considered at the previous meeting, and the following decisions were taken:-

The New International Organization and International Security. The Chairman reported a message from the Dean of Chichester suggesting that the following words should be added at the end of the Executive's urgency motion:

"In order to give effect to the principles of the Atlantic Charter to which the Union is fully committed."

The following amendment which the New Commonwealth proposed to move was also read to the Executive:-

To add at end:-

"In this connection the Council urges the Executive Committee to bear in mind that, although the Dumbarton Oaks proposals constitute a recognition of the basic principle that force must be made available

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for the restraint of aggression and the maintenance of law and order among nations, they cannot be regarded as wholly satisfactory inasmuch as they fail to bring into existence either an organic force, under the direct control of the international authority itself, or machinery for the impartial settlement of all disputes."

It was agreed to ask members of the Council not to press to a vote their amendments to the Executive's motion but to deal with any points they wished to raise in speeches during the general discussion on the understanding that note would be taken of all suggested amendments and consideration be given to them by the Executive after the Council Meeting.

Lady Hall reported that, as Chairman of the Procedure Committee, she had written to the Southampton, Beddington and Taunton Branches on the lines suggested by the Executive in minute 904.

World State. Miss Courtney to take charge of this motion on behalf of the Executive. The Committee felt it undesirable for the Council to pass this motion but agreed to bear it in mind.

Post-War Treatment of Germany. Lord Lytton was asked to present, for discussion by the General Council, the Executive's Report which represented the Committee's views of the general principles which should be applied in the post-war treatment of Germany. The Council should not be asked either to accept or to amend the document.

Dame Adelaide Livingstone suggested that in subparagraph (2) of the statement the words "and control" should be inserted after "inspection", and the Chairman promised to make this point when presenting the statement.

The Atlantic Charter. The Executive agreed to accept the amendment tabled by the Southampton Branch.

The Future Role of the Union. (see minute 922 below)

League of Nations Union Campaign for the I.L.O. Lady Hall to take charge on behalf of the Executive.

The Economic Basis of Peace. Lord Lytton to take charge on behalf of the Executive and, after a discussion on the motion has taken place, to move to proceed to the next business.

International Control of Long-Distance Aviation. Executive Committee to support the motion of the Edinburgh Branch and East of Scotland Organisation Committee.

Since previous experience had shown that meetings of the General Council on Saturday mornings were highly unsatisfactory Miss Courtney expressed the hope that the Council would agree to remain in session on the afternoon of Friday, December 1st in order to deal with any resolutions which would otherwise have to be taken on Saturday morning.

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923. THE FUTURE ROLE OF THE UNION. Lord Lytton reported on the meeting of the ad hoc Committee held earlier in the day when it had been agreed to undertake immediate preparations for a campaign throughout the country on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. A small Committee consisting of Miss Courtney, Miss Gale, Lady Hall and Mr. Mander had been appointed to deal with this matter and to assist the office in organising meetings and securing speakers. Proposals for obtaining more paid speakers for the Union were also under consideration.

The question of the Union's name had also been considered and it had been agreed that permission should now be sought for the alteration of the Union's name to "The United Nations Association of Great Britain". Since any amendment of the Union's name or Royal Charter required the sanction of the Privy Council, Lord Lytton had been asked to enquire of Mr. Attlee whether or not there would be any technical difficulty in the way of such an alteration if and when the authority of the General Council had been obtained.

Lord Cecil thought it would be better that the name should not focus people's minds on any particular form of organisation but instead on the broad general principle that there must be a General International Organisation for Peace. He therefore suggested that, if any alternation in name were to take place, it might be an advantage to use some such title as a "Society for the International Organisation of Peace".

After further discussion the Chairman's report from the ad hoc Committee was approved for communication to the General Council under item 18 of the Agenda.

Lord Lytton further reported that, at the next meeting of the Committee, consideration would be given to post-war development (staff, head office personnel, etc.) and at a subsequent meeting representatives of some of the Union's local organisations would be invited to meet the Committee.

Lytton
CHAIRMAN
December 7th 1944.

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, DECEMBER 7TH, 1944 AT 2.15 P.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), the Dean of Chichester, Dr. Hilda Clark, Miss Courtney, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Fawcett, Lady Hall, Mr. Howe, Mr. Leslie, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Mrs. Prior, Miss P. White, Professor Basil Williams and Mr. Judd.

923. MINUTES. Minutes of the meeting on November 16th and of the special meeting on November 23rd were confirmed as circulated.

924. OO-OPERATIONS. The Chairman welcomed Miss White who was attending for the first time as a member.

After a proposal by Lord Cecil had been reported, it was unanimously

RESOLVED: That an invitation to rejoin the Executive Committee be sent to Sir Arthur Salter.

925. VISIT OF MEMBERS OF FRENCH L. OF N. SOCIETY. Lord Lytton reported that M. Paul Boncour, M. Emile Borel, Madame Malaterre-Sellier and M. Jean Dupuy of the French League of Nations Society had flown to London to attend the General Council and that arrangements had been made for them to confer with members of the Executive on December 4th. The French society was restarting its work under great difficulties. All their papers had been destroyed by the Nazis in 1940. Until the delegates reached London they had not seen the Atlantic Charter, and the Dumbarton Oaks proposals had not yet been published in French.

The Chairman thanked Dame Adelaide Livingstone and Miss Courtney for the delightful hospitality they had extended to the conference on December 4th, and Miss Courtney spoke of the meeting between the French representatives and members of the L.I.N. held later the same day. She expressed warm appreciation of the tea party which the office had arranged and Mr. Judd was asked to convey the very cordial thanks of the Executive to all the members of the staff who had helped in the preparation of the tea.

926. GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING. The Executive had before them the resolutions adopted by General Council on November 30th and December 1st (copy filed with these minutes) and decided to take the following action: on the resolution concerning

The New International Organisation and International Secretary: to send the third paragraph of (1), and the whole (3) to the Foreign Secretary.

After the Dean of Chichester had read a letter from a member of the General Council who was also a member of the Chichester Branch, and after the Chairman had read a letter from Lord Cecil to the Secretary, it was

-2-

RESOLVED: (a) That a small committee be appointed to go through the Dumbarton Oaks proposals paragraph by paragraph in order to consider and recommend to the Executive what amendments the Union should suggest to H.M.C., having in mind the proposals made during the discussion at the General Council Meeting and the letter from the Dean of Chichester's correspondent referred to above.

(b) That the following be invited to serve on the Committee:-

Lord Cecil	Mr. Arnold Forster
Dr. Murray	Lady Hall
Lord Lytton	Mr. J.E. Leslie
Mr. Syrett	Mr. Winder
Miss Courtney	Lord Perth
Mr. Bullock	Sir Arthur Salter
Mrs. Dugdale	Mr. A.E.W. Thomas
	Miss Freda White

The Dean of Chichester drew attention to a pamphlet on the General International Organisation recently published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace which dealt with proposals for the international safeguard of human rights. He hoped that the pamphlet would be considered by the sub-Committee.

The Atlantic Charter: to send this to the Foreign Secretary.

International Control of Long-Distance Aviation: to send this to the Secretary of State for Air and the Foreign Secretary.

United Nations Organisation for Educational and Cultural Reconstruction: to send this to the Minister of Education and the Foreign Secretary.

Post-War Treatment of Germany: to print the Executive's statement, including the amendment suggested by Mr. Elvin, in H.B.D.M.Y.

Freshwater Memorial Fund: to refer to the Finance Committee the suggestion that the cost of issuing the Freshwater Memorial Appeal be defrayed out of the Union's general funds.

Reconstruction of the League of Nations Union: to refer this to the Special Committee.

(The Committee were of the opinion that the resolution as moved by Dr. Garnett and adopted by the Council omitted all the italic words after 'UNION' in the last paragraph.)

League of Nations Union Campaign for the I.L.O.: to refer this to the Special Committee.

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Lord Cecil's Presidential address: Mrs. Dugdale suggested that Lord Cecil's Presidential Address be printed as a pamphlet. The Executive were informed that a full report would appear in the January HEADWAY, and the Chairman expressed the hope that this report would consist of actual quotations from the speech.

927. FUTURE ROLE OF THE UNION. Lord Lytton reported that the ad hoc Committee, to be known in future as the Special Committee, had met on the previous day. Further steps had been taken to engage more paid speakers and a preliminary discussion on other matters would be continued on December 20th. He would make a further report on both meetings to the next meeting of the Executive. Dame Adelaide Livingstone had accepted an invitation to join the Special Committee.

928. REGIONAL CONFERENCES. It was reported that five more Regional Conferences had been held. Most of those had been attended by some 70 or 80 representatives from Branches over a wide area, and the Executive and office had been represented

at Worthing on October 30th by Miss Courtney, Mr. Judd and Captain Morton.

This Conference had been followed by a Public Meeting in the Town Hall, presided over by the Mayor and addressed by Lord Cecil. An audience of some 600 had been present.

at Bradford on November 4th by Miss Courtney, Professor Brodetsky and Mr. Judd.

This Conference had included a morning session for some 350 senior boys and girls from Secondary Schools arranged by the G.E.W.C.

at Sheffield on November 11th by Mr. Leonard Behrens and Mr. Judd.

at Liverpool on November 18th by Mr. Walker and Miss Parnell.

at Newcastle on November 25th by Miss Courtney, Mr. Judd and Miss Parnell.

It was also reported that Dr. Murray had addressed a meeting arranged by the London Regional Federation on October 28th, and that one further conference was being arranged in Manchester on December 16th.

Mrs. Prior stated that it was hoped to arrange a Regional Conference for East Anglia in the near future.

929. COUNCIL FOR EDUCATION IN WORLD CITIZENSHIP. In the absence of Dr. Garnett his proposal (see minute 918) was deferred for consideration at the next meeting.

930. ASSOCIATES FOR ENGL-AMERICAN UNDERSTANDING. The Chairman reported on a conference which he, Miss Courtney and the Secretary, on behalf of the Union, had held on the previous day with Professor Arthur Newell, the Chairman (Mr. Nicholls) and the Treasurer (Mr. Wynyard Wright) of the Associates for Anglo-American Understanding, regarding future co-operation between the two organisations.

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931. LONDON INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY. It was reported that the General Purposes Committee would suggest to the Assembly that, for the coming year Professor Arthur Newell and Miss Courtney be elected Deputy Presidents, and Mrs. Sargent Florence and Sir Ralph Wedgwood be elected Joint Chairmen of the General Purposes Committee.

Lord Cecil had been invited to continue as President, but, in the event of his being unable to accept, it had been agreed to invite General de Baer.

932. CLOSING OF OFFICE FOR CHRISTMAS. It was

RESOLVED: That all members of the staff be given one week's leave (to include Christmas Day and Boxing Day) and that it be left to the Secretary to make such arrangements for staggering the week's leave as may be necessary.

933. DATE OF NEXT MEETING. The Committee agreed not to meet again until Thursday, January 4th, unless circumstances made it necessary for the Chairman to summon a meeting before that date.

L. J. M.
CHAIRMAN
Jan 4th 1945.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

(For consideration under Item 3 of Executive Committee agenda for Dec. 7th)

TEXT OF RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT MEETING OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL HELD IN THE CONWAY HALL, 111, LION SQUARE ON THURSDAY AND FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 30TH AND DECEMBER 1ST, 1944.

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE ATLANTIC CHARTER.

The General Council of the League of Nations Union believes that the principle embodied in Article 2 of the Atlantic Charter, that territorial changes should not be made except with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned, is sound and should be applied in conjunction with

*Printed as appendix D in the Final Agenda.

the other provisions of the Charter, subject to such exceptional arrangements as may be necessitated by particular conditions, as for example where

- (1) The population has been massacred or evicted by invading forces and the land occupied by usurpers, or
- (2) An invading force has rendered the land uninhabitable by flooding or other means, thus rendering necessary the provision of alternative territorial accommodation.

INTERNATIONAL CONTROL OF LONG DISTANCE AVIATION.

The General Council of the League of Nations Union

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

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

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

POST-WAR TREATMENT OF GERMANY.

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

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

UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION FOR EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL RECONSTRUCTION.

The General Council of the League of Nations Union

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

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

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

REPORT BY CHAIRMAN OF EXECUTIVE. The report by the Chairman of the Executive on the action taken in accordance with resolutions adopted by the Council on December 3rd and 10th, 1943, and on the action taken by the Executive on behalf of the Council as a result of the cancellation of the June Meeting was approved and adopted. The latter included:-

- (i) Annual Report for 1943;
- (ii) Audited Balance Sheet and Income and Expenditure Account for 1943;
- (iii) Election of Officers;
- (iv) Election of Executive Committee.

Rates of Membership Subscription. After hearing a statement by the Chairman, the Council decided that the application of the increased rate of membership subscriptions agreed upon by the Council in December, 1937 should continue to be left in abeyance on the understanding that consideration would be given to the matter when a general re-organisation of the Union took place after the war.

Freshwater Memorial Fund. It was suggested by a member of the Council that the cost of issuing the Freshwater Memorial Appeal should be defrayed out of Union Funds in order that the whole of the contributions received might be devoted to the Memorial. The Chairman promised that the Finance Committee would consider this suggestion.

HONORARY PRESIDENT. On the motion of Lord Cecil, it was unanimously agreed to send the following telegram to the Prime Minister:-

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

CO-OPERATIONS TO GENERAL COUNCIL. Subject to the deletion of the name of Mr. Arthur Midday (deceased), the persons listed in Appendix C of the Final Agenda were co-opted to serve on the General Council until the next Annual Meeting in June, 1945.

BUDGET FOR 1945.

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

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION.

The General Council

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

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

suggests for the consideration of the Executive Committee that,

If the United Nations adopt the tentative proposal from Dumbarton Oaks that the post war League of Nations (or general international organisation) be called the United Nations, the reconstructed Union might be known as THE UNITED NATIONS UNION, a British society to foster mutual understanding and goodwill between the peoples of different countries and to advocate the full development of the United Nations into a union of all the world.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION CAMPAIGN FOR THE I.L.O.

The following resolution was adopted on the understanding that it would be referred for consideration by the ad hoc Committee on the Future Role of the Union:-

That this General Council

Recognising that

- (a) as long as Social Injustice continues, the "peace and harmony of the world are imperilled";
- (b) the Atlantic Charter emphasises that "Improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security" should receive "the fullest collaboration between all nations" in the post-war world;
- (c) unless and until these objectives are achieved there cannot be lasting World Peace;

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

COUNCIL FOR EDUCATION IN WORLD CITIZENSHIP.

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

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

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 11 MALDEN LANE, LONDON, W.C.2. ON THURSDAY, JANUARY 4TH, 1945 AT 2.15 P.M.

PRESENT:- Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Mr. W. Arnold, Lord Cecil, the Dean of Chichester, Miss K.D. Courtney, Mr. Gwilym Davies, Mrs. Durdale, Miss P. Fawcett, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Miss A.J. Hansell, Mr. A.J. Howe, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Mr. J. Macdonald, Dr. Murray, Mrs. Noel-Baker, Mr. R.W. Seton-Watson, Mr. Nowell Smith, Mr. H.S. Syrett, Sir Ralph Wedgwood, Miss Freda White and Mr. Judd.

1. MINUTES. Minutes of the meeting on December 7th, 1944 were confirmed as circulated.

2. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 924 - Co-optations, after the Chairman had read a letter from Sir Arthur Salter, it was agreed to invite him to receive the Executive Committee papers and to attend meetings as and when he felt able to do so.

On Minute 926 - General Council; Lord Cecil read the following letter written by Mr. Eden on December 2nd:

" I was glad to learn from Mr. Judd's letter of November 21st that the League of Nations Union is going on with its task of shewing the people of this country how much they are concerned in the construction of a World Organisation for the maintenance of international peace and security and the achievement of international co-operation in the solution of international economic, social and other humanitarian problems. The Dumbarton Oaks proposals have made a good start. But final success depends on peoples as well as Governments. Let us all give these matters our earnest attention with the determination to succeed."

Mr. Judd was asked to seek permission from the Foreign Secretary for the letter to be published in HEADWAY and communicated to the press.

3. PROFESSOR PATON. A letter from Professor Paton was reported explaining the circumstances which had prevented his attending recent meetings.
4. REV. GWILYM DAVIES. The Chairman welcomed Mr. Gwilym Davies who said that, although he could so seldom attend the Executive's meetings, the minutes and other papers which he read most diligently kept him in close touch with the Committee's work.
5. SITUATION IN GREECE. The Executive had before them a resolution adopted by the Bourneville Works Branch on December 20th and a communication dated December 15th from the Officers and Committee of Teddington & Hampton Branch. The Committee felt there was no action they could usefully take since events had now moved beyond the stage to which

the communications referred.

6. **FUTURE ROLE OF THE UNION.** After Mr. Judd had withdrawn, the Chairman made an oral report on meetings of the Special Committee held on December 7th and 20th, 1944. He said that the Committee at these last two meetings had discussed the future staff requirements of the Union and had come to a unanimous conclusion on two points

- (1) To recommend the Executive to confirm the appointment of Mr. Judd as Secretary of the Union with an increase of salary as from January 1st, 1945.
- (2) To recommend the appointment of a Publicity Officer as a whole time member of the staff to supervise and direct all the publicity of the Union.

The Executive Committee approved the first recommendation and authorised the Chairman to explore the second question and report again on the subject.

In conveying this decision to Mr. Judd, the Chairman said that it was the unanimous wish of the Executive Committee that he should be the Union's permanent Secretary and that he should receive the salary suggested by the Special Committee or such larger salary as the Finance Committee might feel able to recommend after taking into consideration the Union's existing obligations, the need for further expansion and the possibility of some increase in the salaries paid to certain other members of the staff. With reference to the proposed appointment of a Publicity or Public Relations Officer, the Chairman said that this Officer would, through the Secretary as the Union's Chief Executive Officer, be responsible for that side of the Union's work and for advising the Committee upon it.

In thanking the Committee for their invitation Mr. Judd said that, apart from the London International Assembly, most of his work for the Union hitherto had been with young people in the Universities, Colleges and Schools. He considered that the future success of that work would be of fundamental importance in building a stronger Union, and he would still wish to do whatever he could to assist it; but he realised that everything depended upon the setting up of an effective world organisation, the way in which it would be used, and the support of a very large and well informed public opinion in this country. He therefore felt obliged to accept the invitation which the Executive had decided to extend to him, and would do his best to be worthy of it. He was deeply grateful to them for giving him this opportunity to help in the making of a larger and younger Union after the war and regarded the invitation as an expression of their confidence in the staff as a whole and not merely in himself.

7. **COUNCIL FOR EDUCATION IN WORLD CITIZENSHIP.** After a proposal by Dr. Garnett had been discussed, it was agreed to leave it to the Chairman to decide what position the monthly Report on the C.E.W.C. should occupy in the Executive agenda in order to ensure that adequate consideration would be given to it.

Dr. Murray reported on the very impressive Conference which the C.E.W.C. had arranged at the Central Hall and which had been attended by some 1300 young people. The Chairman asked Mr. Judd to convey the congratulations of the Committee to everyone concerned with the organisation of these meetings.

After reference had been made to a speech delivered by Dr. Simonds, extracts from which had been widely reported in the press, Dr. Murray stated that the Conference that morning had unanimously adopted a resolution repudiating with indignation the press report that they had approved of the principle that hate was sometimes a desirable quality.

Several members of the Executive regretted that only a very brief reference to the connection of the C.E.W.C. with the Union was contained in the Conference programme and expressed the hope that this would be remedied in future.

After Dr. Murray had spoken of the desire expressed by many members of the C.E.W.C. for a badge, the Executive asked Dr. Murray to inform the Management Committee that they would have no objection to a badge being made available for the C.E.W.C. provided that it implied the link existing between the C.E.W.C. and the Union. Lord Lytton suggested that a suitable design might be the Union's "World and Stars" with the initials of the C.E.W.C. engraved on it.

8. **TITLE OF THE UNION.** Lord Lytton reported on a recent interview he had had with Mr. Attlee and an official of the Privy Council when he had been informed that (1) the Government had suspended all grants of Royal Charter for the duration of the war, and (2) that if and when an application were made by the Union for a new Charter or an amendment of the existing Charter, it was likely to be granted only if the position were the same as when the original Charter was granted, i.e. that the new international organisation was in existence with H.W.C. as a participating member. Mr. Attlee had also made it clear that if the Union adopted a title which merely signified that it stood for certain principles, however worthy, it would be unlikely to receive a Royal Charter.

Dr. Garnett read a letter he had written to the Chairman on December 22nd suggesting that without waiting for the revision of the Charter or the general acceptance of the tentative proposals from Dumbarton Oaks, the Union should become provisionally known as THE UNITED NATIONS UNION. In view of the Chairman's report, the Committee were not in favour of Dr. Garnett's suggestion, but it was agreed to ask the Special Committee to consider making an alteration in the heading of L.N.U. notepaper so as to include a reference to the Union's support of the principles underlying the Dumbarton Oaks proposals for a United Nations Organisation.

9. **PLACE OF RELIGION IN POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION.** The Executive received with interest the Report of a Commission of the L.I.A. on "The Place of Religion in Post-War Reconstruction" published by the S.P.C.K. Dr. Garnett suggested that the Executive should consider whether a more positive report on that subject could not be produced by the Union.

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10. POLAND, RUSSIA AND GREECE. The Chairman referred to a letter which he had received from the Dean of Chichester and to a memorandum from Sir Ralph Wedgwood. He felt that the matter raised in these two documents was so important that they should be circulated and considered at the next meeting.
11. REGIONAL CONFERENCES. It was reported that a Conference had been held in Manchester on December 16th when 60/70 representatives from 14 Branches had been present and when addresses had been given by Mr. Leonard Behrens and Miss Parnell.
12. MR. LEONARD BEHRENS. The Chairman was asked to send a message of congratulation and good wishes from the Executive to Mr. and Mrs. Behrens on the celebration of their Silver Wedding Anniversary.
13. AMERICAN L. OF N. ASSOCIATION. A communication (copy filed with these minutes) from the American L. of N. Association, pledging full support to the United Nations Organisation outlined in the Dumbarton Oaks agreement, was placed before the Executive.
14. TASMANIAN L.N.U. A communication dated October 4th from the Tasmanian L.N.U. was read to the Executive, suggesting the inauguration of an International Week throughout the world at the beginning of August in each year, and reporting on such an International Week held in Tasmania in 1944. The Secretary was asked to congratulate the Tasmanian Society on the work they are doing and to thank them for their suggestion but to say that, in the opinion of the Executive, the present is not an opportune time for acting upon it.
15. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. Resolutions adopted by the Leiston and Dartmouth Branches were received with interest.

Syden
 CHAIRMAN
 Jan. 18th 1945.

S:1178
E:12.44.

FOR RELEASE: October 10, 1944.

From:
League of Nations Association, Inc.
8 West 40th Street, New York, 18, N.Y.
Telephone: Longacre 5-2100

A pledge of full support to the United Nations organization outlined in the Dumbarton Oaks agreements was issued today by the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Association. The Board of the Association had previously authorized its President and Director to take steps to change the name of the League of Nations Association to embody the name of the United Nations organization. The statement of the Executive Committee follows:

"The delegates at Dumbarton Oaks have announced plans for the general framework of an organization which will be called The United Nations instead of the League of Nations. While the framework must be submitted to all of the United Nations before the organization can be set up, there is little doubt that the present plan will be substantially approved and adopted. There are still gaps to be filled in such as the question of whether a great power shall have a veto when it is party to a dispute. Nevertheless, the measure of success in planning for The United Nations is already so great as to justify wholehearted support by the League of Nations Association.

"In taking this stand, the League of Nations Association feels that it is both facing the future and maintaining its loyalty to the past. The statesmen, in planning The United Nations, have embodied the traditions of the Wilsonian ideal of a democratic world organization but have provided, as the result of twenty years of trial, error and

-2-

tragedy, something stronger and better.

"Contrary to published reports and criticisms, the tradition of a democratic world organization is maintained by making the General Assembly the paramount policy-making body in most matters except the actual enforcement of peace and security. The Charter of The United Nations will have more teeth than did the Covenant of the League of Nations. The proposed plan has direct provisions for the use of force to restrain aggression. These provisions come close to establishing an international air force which we have consistently advocated. The rule of unanimity, which sometimes paralyzed League action, has been modified and has been discarded in the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council.

"The plan provides adequate means for the peaceful settlement of disputes. In establishing an Economic and Social Council responsible to the General Assembly, the Charter will open the way to the development of adequate agencies in the field of economic and social cooperation.

"There remains the question of use to be made of the League of Nations property and its machinery which still functions, and what to do with mandates, control of opium and hundreds of international agreements which are tied to the League. It will be necessary in the near future to provide means of transfer so that the assets of the League may serve The United Nations.

"From now on, until the time Congress meets to consider the Charter of The United Nations, there should be in this country a nation-wide public discussion of this great forward-looking proposal. Every person should understand what the Charter of The United Nations means and what will be the role of the United States in the maintenance of

peace and security. The League of Nations Association, working with the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, will devote its energy to this all-important program of public education and discussion. Under these circumstances, the name of the Association will be changed to embody the name of the United Nations organization.

"For twenty-one years the League of Nations Association has consistently maintained that the only hope of avoiding world war is the organization of the nations for collective security and economic and social advancement. Through its educational program the Association believes that it has contributed to a wider understanding of the principles of international organization. As a result of its work with schools and colleges in past years, thousands of young people today in the armed forces or in their local communities are better prepared to face the task of building an international society.

"After The United Nations is established and participation by the United States is assured, the Association will continue its educational program, constantly bringing home to the American people the work of The United Nations; constantly reminding the American people of the obligations they have taken; and constantly surveying new fields of international endeavor open to The United Nations."

The Honorary Presidents of the Association are Judge John H. Clarke, who resigned from the Supreme Court to cooperate with Raymond B. Fosdick in the establishment of the League of Nations Association, and James T. Shotwell. The President of the Association is Dr. William Emerson of Boston. Clark M. Eichelberger is the Director.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 11 MALDEN LANE, LONDON, W.C.2, ON THURSDAY, JANUARY 18TH, 1945 AT 2.15 P.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Mr. W. Arnold, Lord Cecil, the Dean of Chichester, Dr. Hilda Clark, Miss K.D. Courtney, Miss P. Fawcett, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Lady Hall, Miss A.J. Hansell, Mr. A.J. Howe, Mr. J. Macdonald, Dr. Gilbert Murray, Mrs. Noel-Baker, Professor R.W. Seton-Watson, Mr. Nowell Smith, Mr. Alan Thomas, Sir Ralph Wedgwood, Miss Freda White, Professor Basil Williams and Mr. Judd.

16. MINUTES. Minutes of the meeting on January 4th, 1945, were confirmed as circulated.

17. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On 13 - American L. of N. Association. Lord Cecil read the following telegram from Mr. Clark Eichelberger: "League of Nations Association having dinner February 1st commemorate 25th anniversary League of Nations and 22nd anniversary of Association pledging our support now for United Nations as outlined Dumbarton Oaks. Please cable message".

The Executive approved of the following reply which Lord Cecil proposed to send: "Warmest greetings. Dumbarton Oaks proposals give us another chance to kill war. We must not miss it".

18. MISS GALE. The Executive learned with great regret that Miss Gale was compelled to resign her membership of the Committee since she had now taken up work which would prevent her attending meetings on Thursday afternoons. The Chairman had discussed the matter with Miss Gale who had said that if, at some future time, she became more free and were invited to rejoin the Executive, she would very gladly accept such an invitation; in the meantime she would remain a member of two sub-committees.
19. FINANCE COMMITTEE. In the absence of Mr. Syrett the report of the Finance Committee was adjourned until the next meeting.
20. FUTURE ROLE OF THE UNION. The Chairman reported on the Special Committee's meeting on January 11th. Certain suggestions by the Secretary regarding machinery for determining the policy and for organising and assisting the members of the Union had been considered, and after discussion the scheme envisaged by the Committee for the future was that the Executive should discuss and determine policy and that the Administration Committee should provide, organise and direct the machinery for carrying out such policy. It was possible that a third Committee might be found necessary to

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work with the Publicity Officer, but no progress on this subject could be made until the Publicity Officer had been selected.

The following decisions had also been reached:-

- (1) That though an income derived from the subscription of Members was a sound ultimate ideal which should be aimed at, it would be a long time before such an ideal could be realised, and that seven year covenanted subscriptions from wealthy members could not be dispensed with.
- (2) That it would be unwise to raise the subscription of 1/- from existing members since 3/4 of the existing membership was in the 1/- category and it was doubtful whether they would pay more. An appeal however might be made to existing subscribers to increase their subscription voluntarily, and 2/6 might be made the minimum subscription for new members in the future.
- (3) The present time would be very inopportune for an appeal to the branches for increased contributions as they were finding it very difficult to maintain their income and were inclined to grudge the amount which they already sent to Headquarters (£3 out of every £5 raised). A Campaign fund would therefore have to be raised by Headquarters, and the Executive should be asked to authorise this.
- (4) The Committee felt that it would be useless to try and raise funds or to increase the membership of the Union under its present name. They therefore recommended that, until such time as the existing Charter could be revised, application should be made to the Board of Trade to register a new Society under the name of the United Nations Union as had been done in the U.S.A. New members could then be enrolled in this society. The Secretary was asked to ascertain exactly what steps would be required to effect this object.

The Chairman's report was approved and adopted, Dr. Garnett reserving his opinion on the need for an Administration Committee.

21. **RUSSIA AND POLAND.** The Executive had before them a letter written by The Dean of Chichester to the Chairman on December 29th, and a Memorandum by Sir Ralph Wedgwood, together with comments on the two documents submitted by Professor Seton Watson, Professor Paton and Lord Perth (copies filed with these minutes.)

At the outset of the discussion the Chairman suggested the following points on which he hoped the Committee would agree:-

- 3 -

1. The primary consideration in settling such issues by the right procedure and at the right time should be the future peace of Europe.
2. The co-operation of Russia in securing the peace is essential.
3. The urgent necessity of convincing the smaller Powers that the new international organisation must provide for genuine international co-operation and not for imposing the will of the Great Powers on the smaller Powers.

In (2) Lord Cecil would have preferred the words "of the utmost importance" rather than "essential."

The Dean of Chichester, in presenting his memorandum, agreed with the Chairman's three points. He was only concerned with questions of principle or procedure and not with particular instances. If any territorial adjustments were made during the war they would not be sustained in ten years' time and would remain a moral disaster in the mind of the people and in the structure of any international organisation which was set up.

Sir Ralph Wedgwood explained that his memorandum had been written solely for the purpose of clearing his own mind, the Chairman and Lord Cecil had suggested that it should be discussed by the Executive. He felt that the time had come to get away from principles and to consider cases, and suggested that, after discussion, the Executive might appoint a small committee to report on the peace situation as it had developed and to recommend to the Executive the appropriate course of action.

The Chairman suggested that an alternative course would be for the Executive to ask Mr. Eden to receive a small deputation which could present the Committee's difficulties and hear the Foreign Secretary's views.

Dr. Garnett felt the Union ought to do its best to make a just peace, and use its influence to get debatable questions deferred for a general settlement after the war. However bad the final settlement might be, the Union ought to support a post-war political organisation on Dumbarton Oaks lines for the purpose of preventing any attempt to alter the bad settlement by war and for altering it by peaceful means.

Dr. Murray agreed with Dr. Garnett and pointed out that the Dumbarton Oaks proposals did not speak about justice but about the preservation of peace and prevention of war. There would be a great chance of improving things once war and the fear of war were abolished. Eventually something approaching federation might be secured.

- 4 -

Lord Cecil strongly supported the Dean of Chichester's first proposition but felt that the remaining propositions were inconsistent with the adoption of the first. He hoped the Committee would not express any opinion on the rights or wrongs of particular questions at the present moment when all the facts were not known. Moreover, any considerable change of territory ought not to be regarded as a question between two particular countries but as affecting the whole of the situation in Europe and the world. He favoured the appointment of an expert committee to examine all these questions at the end of the war.

A lengthy discussion followed in which many members of the Committee took part and at the conclusion of which the Chairman was asked to draft a statement expressing the views of the Executive Committee for consideration at the next meeting.

22. BRANCH RESOLUTION. The Committee received with interest a resolution from the Southampton Branch dealing with financial policy and world trade.
23. CORPORATE MEMBERSHIP. The Wilbraham Congregational Church was admitted as a Corporate Member of the Union, and the fixing of the Union's seal to the Certificate was authorised.

CHAIRMAN.

Feb. 15th 1945.

K. D. Courtney

Copy of letter from the Dean of Chichester

Dear Lord Lytton,

The debate on Poland and Mr. Churchill's speech on the maintenance of law and order in Greece have brought things to a crisis. The claims of Russia and its activities in many countries have caused public opinion in this country and in U.S.A. to wake up to the fact that there are serious dangers which may make any international order after the war impossible, unless clear principles are firmly held to. This offers a great opportunity to the League of Nations Union if we seize it.

Our propaganda for the creation of a World Organisation will make a wide appeal if we make it clear that the sketch at Dumbarton Oaks can become a hopeful reality if the following points are put in the forefront.

- (1) No final decisions in regard to future frontiers until after the war (especially where allied and neutral states are concerned)
- (2) No unilateral demands for the acquisition of territory on the mere basis of power.
- (3) No Power to be allowed to be a judge in its own case when a dispute arises.
- (4) No imposition of government by force on another people without their consent.
- (5) No large transfers of populations.

I think also that we must face the fact that there are two completely different conceptions for securing the prevention of war. One is a free association of nations who pledge themselves to common action to this end. The other is the inclusion of as many peoples, and as much territory, as possible in one tightly-knit organisation, ruled by military lines from one centre by a dominant group, led by a supreme ruler with dictatorial powers. I do not see how these two conceptions can be combined in one structure.

If you agree I should like this memorandum put before the Executive.

Yours very sincerely,
A.S. Duncan-Jones.

Dec. 29, 1944.

P.S. I should like to add

"No settlement by 3 men behind closed doors of the fate of millions of human beings."

But I suppose that it is not possible till public opinion gets more claimed.

S. 1188
11.1.45.

Poland/Russia)
E. Prussia

The situation which has now developed is not new, but there must be many (like myself) who have shut their eyes to it, and hoped that in some way the issue might be avoided. We have now got to face the facts.

Poland/Russia. I am prepared to believe that the Curzon Line was just as between the two countries, and to regard the question of Lvov as a matter of secondary importance. What is important is the manner not the matter of the settlement.

Just at a moment when we are asked to discuss the proposals for a new International Authority, one of the principal parties involved in those proposals has shown the way in which she will elect to settle differences in which she is concerned; and that way is the way of force with the merest formal concession to persuasion. Nor is there any indication on her part that the way adopted is special to this case, or that it will not be repeated when other cases arise.

On the other hand, there can be no question that such methods for the settlement of a difference are wholly incompatible with the principles, and with the usefulness, of any International Authority founded on the equal sovereignty of all peace-loving states. For the moment, we must note the Russian way as an ill omen for the future. NO immediate action is perhaps called for.

It is not so however with the second phase of the problem, the question of East Prussia. There, I submit, some action is forced upon us.

The question of E. Prussia is, in fact, no longer in doubt, since it seems hopeless to expect any effective protest from the other side of the Atlantic. E. Prussia is to be divided between Russia and Poland. Not only are "the wishes of the peoples concerned" to be disregarded (since it is known that they would be hostile to the change) but the peoples themselves are to be forcibly transplanted to other territory still remaining in German hands.

On this the following comments may be made:-

- (1) There is no need to argue the question of justice or injustice to Germany. Let it be admitted that German crimes justify any retribution that the allies may choose to inflict.
- (2) Equally no argument of justice or injustice will weigh against the transfer of the Rhineland. The provinces along the Rhine will be demanded by France, and the demand (we must assume) will be granted.
- (3) Though justice is not in question, we must still ask ourselves "will such a peace last? Can it be made to last?"

(4) It is quite evident that Germany will never reconcile herself to such dismemberment. The transference of the German population from the areas in question will not help towards reconciliation; on the contrary, it will add a deeper sense of injury.

(5) The situation can only be maintained by overwhelming armed force on a permanent footing. It is not too much to foresee that England and America will dislike the position in five years, and that in ten years they will refuse to defend it. Will Russia undertake to maintain the position? Nobody else can; and countries which depend on Russian help for the defence of their boundaries cannot expect that help for nothing.

(6) But there is the new International Authority, - the improved version of the League of Nations. Will that not provide the force to maintain the new settlement? It may do so; but (if so) it will be as the power-instrument of Russia and her satellite states; and it will be carrying out a policy of repression which will be distasteful to the U.S.A., Great Britain and the British Empire. Is that the ideal for which the League of Nations Union has been working, or wishes now to work?

If not, what are we going to do about it?

The General view of the Union members is, I believe, very clearly set out in the memorandum drawn up by Lord Lytton (S.1151 - Oct. 27th, 1944). In this it is laid down that

"It is not sufficient to make a treaty with or impose conditions upon an enemy, unless the conditions are such that a later generation will feel itself morally justified in enforcing them."

Later in the same memorandum Lord Lytton gives under nine heads the outline of the conditions which could wisely be imposed. The sixth head runs

"The avoidance as far as possible of territorial changes which future generations may not be willing to maintain!"

The phraseology is cautious, but can it be said to be consistent with the transference to non-german powers of E. Prussia and the Raineiland?

I am forced to the conclusion that the L.N.U. cannot any longer escape the issue.

either it is to become a mere "civil servant" of the Great Powers, striving dutifully to erect a structure of Collective Security on a rotten foundation

or it must come out into the open against a peace by dismemberment as a "bad" peace and as incompatible with any durable scheme for Collective Security. Most of all, it must dissociate itself from any proposals to mask such a peace with a facade of international idealism.

It is not merely a question of "saving our own souls"; it is, far more, a question of saving the ideal in which we believe. A League, whatever its name, which attempts to perpetuate a bad peace by a show of international fair-dealing and good words, must fail; and a second failure may be final.

R.D. WEDGWOOD.

Note on letter by the Dean of Chichester and Memorandum by
Sir Ralph Wedgwood

by
Professor Seton-Watson

After reading with genuine sympathy the statement issued by the sub-Committee of the London International Assembly on 'The place of religion in post-war reconstruction', and in particular the prefatory remarks of the Dean of Chichester, I turn with all the greater interest to the latter's letter to Lord Lytton, circulated before the last Executive. While grateful to him for raising certain fundamental issues on which our Executive has not yet committed itself, and which are certainly ripe for discussion, I feel quite unable to accept in their present form four out of the five points mentioned in the Dean's memorandum, or again his definition of 'the completely different conceptions for securing the prevention of war' between which, in his view, public opinion is divided.

Point Three is at once fundamental and categorically stated, and might, I should hope, win general acceptance. Indeed its rejection would stultify the whole position of the I.N.U.

Point One, as it stands, contains very serious pitfalls: for while it might be accepted as theoretically desirable (though by no means every believer in an international Organisation would assent to this assertion), it takes no account of the fact that territorial questions inevitably fall into two very different categories. A. There are those where a straight issue is involved between two rival views (e.g. Alsace-Lorraine, which must either be restored to France as it stood before, or retained in its entirety by Germany), and B. those in which the final decision is contingent upon one or several decisions taken in neighbouring countries. A good example of this second category is supplied by a problem of secondary importance in itself, but quite unusually entangled with other problems - namely the fate of Carpathian Ruthenia, which was reconquered by Hungary in 1939 and is now entirely held by the forces of Soviet Russia. Its status as an integral part of Czechoslovakia has been unreservedly recognised by Russia since 1941, whereas Britain, while declaring 'Munich' null and void, has not committed itself finally to any specific frontier line. If the Curzon Line should be secured by Russia, the argument in favour of her also acquiring the only remaining fragment of Ukrainian territory, is greatly strengthened: whereas if Russia should thereby secure direct territorial contact with Slovakia, some of the arguments which turned the scale in 1919 in favour of assigning Ruthenia to Prague, would fall to the ground. Much is likely to be heard this year of the vexed question of Ukrainian unity.

Point Two is also in need of redefinition, for the 'on the mere basis of power' would probably not be accepted as applicable by the offending party. To take a single example, the Russian case for including the three Baltic Republics

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within the Union, rests upon a number of other considerations which cannot just be dismissed, even by those of to whom they are unpalatable. I submit that before this Point could be accepted, it would be necessary to draw up a complete and carefully thought out list of cases to which a similar test would have to be applied, and then to argue out the pros and cons with a view to reaching an agreed presentation.

In passing, it has to be borne in mind that on the cases of the western frontier of Russia, the 'unilateral' demands put forward by the latter refer to territory which had in each case belonged to her for a considerable period and only passed out of her possession temporarily at the end of the last war.

Point Four, as an abstract proposition seems unexceptionable; but the implications which it contains are very far-reaching. It involves either the reference of such disputes to some kind of international authority, which will presumably announce a decision after investigation and public debate, and will then have the power to enforce such a decision on a refractory state, or the adoption of the principle of the Plebiscite, which was already difficult enough to put into universal practice after the last war, but which would today encounter infinitely greater obstacles. They obviously cannot be enumerated here, but the question of whether the plebiscitary method is practical and satisfactory, or if not, what alternative method should be adopted, is one which will play its part in our general discussion.

Point Five also needs restatement, terse though it is. The inclusion of the word 'large' reduces it from a question of ethics to one of expediency.

The question of Minority treatment has been radically transformed since 1919, and we must regretfully admit that the system associated with Geneva has failed and is not likely to be revived in anything like its previous form. Among the reasons for this are a) the sinister use of German minorities in a large number of other countries for fifth Column purposes and b) the fact that a whole series of precedents for the transfer of populations have been created by the Germans themselves both in respect of non-Germans (e.g. in Slovenia and Poland) and of Germans (e.g. in the Baltic Republics, in South Tyrol, the Volga districts, Gottschee, etc.). It could doubtless be argued that this principle of Transfer is above all a matter of degree: for instance, that while the obvious advantages to be secured from Poland and the world by expulsion of close on two million Germans from East Prussia and Danzig far outweigh the objections, any attempt to re-Polonise Silesia or to push the linguistic and political frontier back to the Oder (affecting as it would at least eight-ten million people) would involve real chaos and altogether untenable conditions. It should not be difficult to bring forward further arguments in favour of the view that Point Five is on an altogether lower level than the other four and should be regarded rather as a matter of practical convenience.

Notes suggested by Sir Ralph Wedgwood's Memo on Poland and Russia.

1. There is no sacrosanct eastern frontier of Poland. The numerous fluctuations correspond with rival Russian and Polish imperialist claims from days when Poland held Kiev, onwards till the three first Partitions. The line to which Polish Conservatives adhere so rigidly does not correspond with any frontier held by Poland for a long historic period. Historically, Lithuania is a better claimant than Poland, though that is indeed past history.
2. The line of 1920, claimed by the exiled government as immutable, in no way corresponds with the ethnographic frontier between Poland and her neighbours to the east.
3. The Curzon Line resulted from a serious attempt by experts to get a frontier as nearly ethnographic and just to both sides as possible. Instead of it the principle of a cordon sanitaire was adopted, and we have now reached a stage of recovery and military power, in which Russia very naturally objects to a settlement on such lines.
4. Lwow is a very ancient Polish city, a centre of deliberate Polandisation and geographically a Polish oasis in a wide Ukrainian sea. But of the Poles had shown some understanding for the principle of "do ut des" last year, a compromise might still have been reached and is perhaps still possible if Lublin can be prevented from taking the bit between its teeth.
5. Though stated in a letter to The Times by the Polish Ambassador, it is inaccurate to assert that the British guarantee of Poland in 1939 included the eastern frontier against Russia. What Britain guaranteed was a. her survival of Polish independence and b. her western frontier against Germany. This was made clear by the Foreign Under-Secretary in the House of Commons in the course of October 1939.
6. It may be doubted whether it is today, or even can be in the future, possible to hold a proper plebiscite with regard to the territory in dispute. For already in 1939 the Russians deported hundreds of thousands of people from Poland to Eastern Siberia, and many hundred thousands more left Poland during Germany's victorious campaign: then probably several millions have been killed, or evacuated by the Germans for forced labour, once the German-Soviet war began in 1941: and there must have been further large-scale movements of population in the territory in dispute since the Russians re-occupied it. In other words, the make-up of the population has been radically and irremediably modified since 1939. It follows that the census figures of 1912-1938 or of pre-1914 no longer form a guide to the situation: and the only fair method would be to conform, so far as possible, with the ethnographic boundaries as between Poles on the one hand and Lithuanians, White Russians and Ukrainians on the other. Thus the Curzon Line would appear to be the fairest of all historic lines.

If the Executive Committee should decide upon a detailed investigation of these problems, the question of the practicability and value of Plebiscites and of the occupying forces during the period required, raises a number of very delicate but quite fundamental practical points for further examination.

(Signed) R.W. SETON-WATSON.

S. 1190:
18.1.45.

Copy of letter from Professor Paton.

14 Merton Street,
Oxford.

14.1.45.

Dear Lord Lytton,

As I shall probably be prevented from attending the L.N.U. Executive on Thursday the 15th, may I send some observations on the problems raised by the Dean of Chichester and Sir Ralph Wedgwood?

It is almost impossible not to be disturbed both by the matter and by the manner of Russian policy as it gradually reveals itself. If, however, we are forced to attack this policy publicly, we must see to it that the occasion is propitious and that our grounds are adequate.

In this and other matters we should certainly be guided by principles; but it is difficult to formulate principles with precision and still more difficult to apply them with discretion. To single out one principle, however justified, and apply it by itself to a complicated problem may lead us far astray, as when Calvin Coullidge disposed of the problem of War debts by saying "They hired the money, didn't they?"

Of the five negative principles propounded by the Dean two seem to require some qualification. As regards No. 1, there may be special cases where an immediate decision on frontiers may be necessary to bring uncertainty to an end and to diminish the fevers and rancours which accompany it: an agreement between Russia and Poland at an earlier stage might have been of untold value. As regards No. 5, if territory has to be for good reasons handed over to another country, to return the inhabitants to their own country is more kind and more just to them, as well as less likely to lead to war, than their subjection to an alien rule. In such circumstances transfer of population under reasonable conditions ought not to be ruled out.

The main difficulties, however, arise when we apply our principles to complicated problems such as the treatment of East Prussia. With the utmost respect to Sir Ralph Wedgwood and the Atlantic Charter we cannot accept it as a self-sufficient and over-riding principle that the local inhabitants are entitled to an absolute veto over any territorial change which may be thought necessary in the interests of justice and of peace. Whether we like it or not, the future of East Prussia cannot be considered in complete abstraction from the future of Poland and the whole complex situation in Eastern Europe. And although this is no place to examine the problem in detail, there are certain points which ought not to be overlooked:-

- (1) The Germans and the Poles alike have spilled eastwards among peoples whom they regard as inferior, and this has been the source of endless trouble. It is unfair to force the Poles back into their own ethnographic territories, and at the same time to leave the Germans where they are.

(2) A reduced Poland can have no hope of independence if the Germans retain East Prussia.

(3) In pursuance of their traditional drive to the East the Germans have once again used their outlying territories as a base for wiping out the Polish State. One means of preventing them from doing so again is to take away their outposts of aggression; and it is salutary as well as just for them to learn that unprovoked aggression may lead to loss as well as gain.

(4) The force of this contention is not diminished by the fact that East Prussia is a bastion of aggression against Russia as well as against Poland.

As against such contentions we are bidden to set aside considerations of justice, and to ask only (1) what Germany will submit to in the long run, and (2) what we shall be prepared to enforce.

No wise man will deny the importance of these questions, but it may be maintained both that they ought not to be considered in isolation and that it is possible to answer them in different ways. Unless we are prepared to hand over to Germany the so-called Polish Corridor - with its Polish population - in defence of which we originally took up arms, the only alternative to the cession of East Prussia is a return to the status quo. To this Germany will never submit, and we already know that she regards it as an adequate ground for war. The final loss of East Prussia may be less of a grievance in the long run than the continual irritation of a gap between two parts of Germany. This would indeed not be the case if the East Prussians were subjected to a despised alien rule, and in this fact lies one of the strong grounds for transferring the population to Germany. Irredentism is aroused more by oppressed kinsmen than by lost territories. Furthermore the people of this country may be more prepared to defend what will become genuine ethnographical frontiers than to maintain the subjection of Germans outside Germany or even to maintain the control of Germans inside Germany.

If we look at the matter from a less exclusively British point of view, there is a real danger that we may seem to others to cherish Germany rather than her victims, to protect the potentially strong rather than the weak, not only to love our enemies but to ignore, if not to hate, our friends. This is one reason why we cannot set aside considerations of justice; for justice, if it is anything, must apply to all nations and not merely to some. A peace is not necessarily 'bad' because Germany will resent it: it cannot indeed be a good peace if it is unwelcome, but equally it cannot be a good peace if it is fundamentally unjust. Even on the uncertain prudential estimate of the lastingness of any peace we are entitled to ask whether a loss of territories on which German war-potential is based may not do more to weaken the German will to war, and come to make co-operation with Germany possible, than the assurance that however much she may try to seize the territory of others, we are prepared to guarantee the absolute integrity of her own.

If at some time we are obliged - as we may be - to declare our open hostility to Russian policy, let it be on a war issue like the imposition of communistic governments on those who do not want them. To choose an issue like that East Prussia, especially if we rest our case on grounds of expediency, would be to diminish our influence and perhaps to split our forces.

Yours sincerely,
H. J. PATON.

S:1191:
15.1.45.

Notes on the East Prussia question by Lord Perth

East Prussia minus the Memel Territory has an area of 14285 square miles constituting 7.6 of Reich territory, it has 2,333,000 inhabitants 3.6 of Reich population (the lowest per square mile in Reich)

It is situated geographically between the Vistula and Neeman rivers, which are both Polish for the main part of their course.

Much of the Eastern part of the territory was Polish up to 1773, the date of the first partition.

Nationalities are mixed. There are at least 300,000 Poles, probably double this number if partially Germanised Poles are taken into account.

A considerable percentage of the German population is employed in Prussian administration; the army etc.

East Prussia constituted the chief bastion for German aggression against Poland and the East.

Poland requires East Prussia strategically to protect Gdynia and Danzig which are otherwise threatened by Germany on both sides.

East Prussia is useless to Germany economically indeed the territory was an economic liability. If it became Polish there would be a large Polish hinterland and an increase of prosperity.

It is the stronghold of the Junkers. Nothing would bring home to the governing classes in Germany the fact that they have been defeated and that war does not pay better than the expulsion of the Junkers from East Prussia.

I cannot believe that the Junker Class will be popular in Germany after the war or that there will be any general wish to re-instate the Junker Land-owners.

There remains the question of the transfer of population. If, as I personally hope, Russia overruns East Prussia the great mass of Germans will take refuge in Germany; but in any case the problem of the re-settlement of the population of the various European countries is so vast that the transfer of 1^{1/2} to 1^{3/4} millions of Germans from East Prussia to Germany will not add greatly to the difficulties.

Of course all transfers of population cause much unhappiness and even misery in the initial stages, but after 3 or 4 years a very great improvement takes place as the settlement begins to be effective. I am clear that the exchange of population between Turkey and Greece resulted ultimately in real success.

For all these reasons even should the pre-war Eastern boundaries of Poland remain unaltered I would still strongly advocate that she should be given possession of East Prussia.

CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 11 MAIDEN LANE, LONDON, W.C.2 ON THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 1ST, 1945 AT 2.15 P.M.

PRESENT: Miss K.D. Courtney (in the Chair), the Dean of Chichester, Dr. Hilda Clark, Mrs. E. Dugdale, Miss P. Fawcett, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Lady Hall, Miss A.J. Hansell, Mr. D.L. Lipson, M.P., Mr. T. Lodge, Mrs. Noel-Baker, Professor H.J. Paton, Mrs. E. Prior, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, M.P., Professor R.W. Seton-Watson, Sir Ralph Wedgwood, Miss Prada White, Mr. W. Carey Wilson and Mr. Judd.

24. MINUTES. Minutes of the meeting of January 18th, 1945 were confirmed as circulated.

25. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

20 - Future Role of the Union, see Minute 38 below.

26. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE. The Committee were sorry to learn that Lord Cecil, Lord Lytton, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Mr. J.R. Leslie, Mr. Nowell Smith and Mr. Syrett were prevented by illness from attending the meeting.

27. I.L.O. It was reported that the Chairman had written to Mr. E.J. Phelan, Acting Director of the I.L.O., conveying the Executive's greetings to the Governing Body on the occasion of its London meeting.

28. FRENCH L. OF N. SOCIETY. A letter of thanks, written by M. Dupuy on behalf of the French Society's delegation which had visited London in December last, was reported to the Committee.

29. DEATH OF ADMIRAL DRURY-LOWE. The Committee placed on record their deep regret at the death of Vice-Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, who had served as a member of the Executive for many years before the outbreak of war. Lord Lytton was asked to send a message of condolence, on the Committee's behalf, to Mrs. Drury-Lowe.

30. RUSSIA AND POLAND. The Executive had before them a memorandum (S.1197 copy filed with these minutes) prepared by the Chairman at their request. Amendments suggested by Dr. Garnett and Mr. Macdonald in letters to the Chairman, together with a statement on "The Future of Eastern Europe" published by the Society of Friends' Peace Committee, were placed on the table.

Sir Ralph Wedgwood was unable to agree with the Chairman's proposals and suggested that, in place of a memorandum, the Executive should pass certain resolutions, either provisionally or definitely, which could be circulated to Branches for discussion in order to discover what support would be forthcoming from local organisations. Sir Ralph read to the Executive draft resolutions which he had prepared. It was then agreed that, in the absence of the Chairman and other members of the Committee, consideration of this matter be adjourned until the next meeting, and that, in the meantime, the draft resolutions suggested by Sir Ralph Wedgwood be circulated to members.

31. **TYNE DISTRICT COUNCIL.** A communication from the Tyne District Council dated January 2nd, concerning the action taken by H.M. Government in Greece, was adjourned for consideration at the next meeting.
32. **COUNCIL FOR EDUCATION IN WORLD CITIZENSHIP.** The Executive had before them the Annual Report of the Council for 1944.

Mr. Judd reported on the Annual Meetings of the Council which took place on January 4th, 5th and 6th in the County Hall. The members had been welcomed by the Chief Education Officer of the L.C.C. and the speakers had included Mr. Kenneth Lindsay, M.P., Mr. Gwilym Davies, the Principal of Lincoln Training College and the President of the National Union of Teachers. Particular attention had been given to the task confronting the C.E.W.C. in thinking out in terms of the new international organisation, how a world outlook and support for the new United Nations Organisation could be inculcated through the school curriculum, and a small group had been set up to consider the matter.

Several members of the Council had raised the question of how the boys and girls who were so interested in the work of the C.E.W.C. could more easily be passed on to general membership of the L.N.U. after leaving school, and consideration was being given to this problem.

Dr. Garnett expressed his deep gratification at the admirable report of the C.E.W.C. He hoped that at an early stage consideration would be given to the relationship between the C.E.W.C. and the Union, and to the need for relating the proposed United Nations educational organisation (U.N.O.E.C.R.) to the new general international organisation.

After further discussion, the Executive warmly congratulated the C.E.W.C. on their very encouraging Report for 1944, and it was agreed that copies of the Report should be circulated to a selected number of L.N.U. Branches for discussion at their meetings.

33. **FINANCE COMMITTEE.** The Committee considered a report on meetings of the Finance Committee held on November 28th and January 9th. It was noticed with interest that legacies amounting to £951.19s.1d. had been received in 1944, and it was suggested that the Secretary should send to each Branch a copy of the leaflet explaining how subscriptions and donations may be paid under Deed of Covenant, with rebate of Income Tax to the Union. The following matters required endorsement:-

On the report of November 28th, (3) Staff (with special reference to (a) Mr. Wholen, (b) Librarian, (4) Audit Fee.

On the report of January 9th, (2) Staff (with special reference to (a) the Secretary, (b) certain salary increases, (c) provision for the appointment of a Secretary of the C.E.W.C. to succeed Mr. Judd, and of an Assistant Secretary of Miss Luffman were appointed Secretary of the C.E.W.C., (5) Freshwater Memorial Fund.

On Minute 2 of January 9th, it was reported that the Management Committee of the C.E.W.C. had now unanimously decided that they would like to invite Miss Luffman to be Secretary, and their recommendations

concerning the provision that should be made for her salary and for the appointment of an Assistant were considered. After some discussion it was

- RESOLVED: (1) That the recommendations of the C.E.W.C. be approved on the understanding that these appointments will not in any way affect the right of the Special Committee to recommend any alterations it may think desirable in the present arrangements with the C.E.W.C.;
- (2) That it be left to the Hon. Treasurer to decide the exact salary, of about £250 and not more than £300, to be paid to the Assistant appointed to succeed Miss Luffman.

The report of the Finance Committee was then approved and adopted.

34. LONDON INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY. Miss Courtney reported that, following on a meeting of the L.I.A. addressed by M. Reus, a small committee (consisting of Lady Hall, M. Reus, Mrs. Sargent Florence and Sir Ralph Wedgwood) had drawn up a statement suggesting how the L.I.C. and other functional organisations might be included in the new international organisation. After detailed discussion at a special meeting of the L.I.A. the statement had been forwarded to the Governing Body of the I.L.O. and would also be circulated to the sub-Committee of the Executive which was now considering the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. At its next meeting the L.I.A. would consider the question of Civil Aviation and would hear an address by a speaker who had been present at the Chicago Conference.
35. CORPORATE MEMBERSHIP. Broughton Union Church, Salford, was admitted as a Corporate Member of the Union and the fixing of the Union's seal to the Certificate was authorised.
36. SPECIAL MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL. Miss Courtney having reported that the sub-Committee appointed by the Executive on December 7th to consider the Dumbarton Oaks proposals had almost finished its work, and having outlined the procedure which it was proposed to follow when the sub-Committee's findings were concluded, it was agreed that the Special Meeting of the General Council should be held about the middle of April, the exact date to be decided after consultation with Lord Lytton and Lord Cecil.
37. MR. HESTER. On the motion of Dr. Garnett, the Secretary was asked to send a message to Mr. Hester, expressing the Committee's sympathy in his illness and their best wishes for his speedy recovery.
38. SPECIAL COMMITTEE. Miss Courtney made the following report on the meeting of the Special Committee held earlier in the day.
- Former Members of the Staff. The Secretary had been asked to write to all members of the staff whose appointments were terminated at the outbreak of war, enquiring whether or not they would wish to rejoin the Union's staff if and when appointments became available.
- Campaign Committee. The Campaign sub-Committee, after making a survey of the whole country, had invited a

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selected number of Branches to undertake the organisation of "All Party Conferences" on the subject of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, at which the sitting Member of Parliament and the Candidates of other Parties, together with a representative of the Union, should be invited to state their views. The immediate response received from the Branches had been very encouraging. In addition there had been encouraging results from the visits paid by Captain Morton and Miss Parnell to the Branches and a considerable number of these Branches would now be willing to organise meetings if speakers could be found.

Travelling Lecturer. Some fifty applications had been received in response to the advertisement for a Travelling Lecturer, and six candidates had been selected for interview of which three had subsequently withdrawn. None of the candidates appeared to the Selection Committee to be entirely suitable and the Special Committee had therefore recommended that, instead of making a new whole-time appointment, an endeavour should be made to secure the services of other suitable speakers for short periods.

Change of Name. The Secretary reported his discussions with the Union's Treasurer and Hon. Solicitor as a result of which application was being made to the Board of Trade for the registration of the name "United Nations Union" or "Association" as a limited liability company.

Administration Committee. Further consideration would be given by the Special Committee, when Lord Lytton could be present, to the proposal regarding the future of the Administration Committee (see minute 20 of the Executive).

Finance. Further discussion had taken place on the report of the previous meeting (see minute 20 of the Executive) and paragraph (1) would be redrafted somewhat as follows:

"That though an income derived from annual subscriptions of members was a sound ultimate ideal which should be aimed at, it would be a long time before such an ideal could be realised and that larger donations covenanted or otherwise could not be dispensed with."

Lytton
CHAIRMAN

15th February 1945.

S. 1197
24. 1. 45.RUSSIA AND POLAND

From the discussion by the Executive Committee on January 18 of the letters from the Dean of Chichester and Sir Ralph Wedgwood three things emerged on which there appeared to be agreement.

1. That action by the Russian Government in Eastern Europe, and statements by the British Government to the effect that Poland should be compensated for the cession of territory to Russia in the east and south by the acquisition of territory in the north and west were disturbing and likely to prejudice the establishment of a durable peace after the war.
2. That it was impossible for the League of Nations Union to ignore these matters, since their own branches would expect some guidance from the Executive about them, and questions would be asked at meetings which would have to be answered.
3. That an attempt should be made at the next meeting of the Executive to define the attitude of the Union on these matters for the guidance of their members and for presentation to the Government either in writing or through a deputation to the Foreign Secretary.

I was asked at the end of the meeting to draft a statement which might form the basis of further discussion.

The following Memorandum is submitted with this object.

Memorandum

In order that the chances of securing an enduring peace may not be lost before the war is won, the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union urges H.M.G. 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 conditions in which may eventually be realised 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." This will involve the restoration to their own countries of populations that have been forcibly removed before the new elections are held.
- (2) That on all questions involving the rectification 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.
- (3) That in considering what action they will themselves advocate, or support, at the Conference which will decide these issues, they will adhere as closely as possible to the terms of the Atlantic Charter which has been accepted by all the United Nations, and that, if

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any departure is made, or appears to be made, from these terms, they will make it clear why such departure is considered necessary in the interest of the peace of the world.

It is necessary to add a few words in explanation of these recommendations.

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. It is not that we want 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, and cannot be created till the war is over.

The opinion which we represent, and which looks to us for guidance, is the opinion of plain 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 authority, 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. We have referred to the Atlantic Charter because that is a document which all can understand. What people will not understand is that such a document should be published and declared in the early days of the war to define the principles we are fighting for, and then ignored in the settlement at the end of the war.

The proposals of the conference 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, we hope they will be improved. But however perfect this instrument may be made, we would point out that it can never be more than an instrument. Its effectiveness will depend on the will to use it, and we are convinced that it will not be used unless the settlement which it is designed to maintain is recognised by the common people as a just one.

In conclusion we feel bound to add that things are being said and done today on topics which we think should be reserved for collective decision in the future. They are profoundly disturbing and we cannot defend them to our own members. We recognise that in the turmoil and confusion of war temporary measures may be thought necessary and full discussion is impossible. We deprecate irresponsible criticism of allied countries whilst we are engaged with them in a life and death struggle against a common enemy. But no war-time expedient must lead us to prejudice the ultimate interests of peace, and we implore H.M.G. to maintain the position that all these matters will require final submission to and decision by the collective judgment of the United Nations.

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, FEBRUARY 15TH, 1945 AT 2.15 P.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Lord Cecil, the Dean of Chichester, Miss Courtney, Miss Rawcett, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Lady Hall, Miss G.A. Hensell, Mr. A. J. Howe, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Mr. T. Lodge, Mr. J. Macdonald, Sir Geoffrey Mander, Dr. Murray, Professor Paton, Lord Perth, Mrs. Prior, Professor Seton-Watson, Mr. Nowell Smith, Sir Ralph Wedgwood, Miss Freda White, Professor Basil Williams, Mr. W. Carey Wilson and Mr. Judd.

39. VISIT OF MR. ERIC STANGROOM. At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Stangroom (a member of the Executive of the Canadian L. of N. Society and Special Assistant to the Minister of Labour in the Canadian Government) attended the meeting. He conveyed to the Executive the greetings of the Canadian Society and reported on their present work and on the action they had taken regarding a change of name. After answering several questions, Mr. Stangroom was warmly thanked by the Chairman and was asked to convey to his Society a message of greeting and goodwill from the Executive. Lord Lytton informed Mr. Stangroom of the two special Committees the Executive had appointed to consider (1) the Dumbarton Oaks proposals and (2) the Future role of the Union, and also referred to the proposed appointment of a Travelling Secretary to visit other countries (see minute 46 below) on which the Executive would welcome the views of the Canadian Society.
40. MINUTES. Minutes of the meeting of February 1st, 1945 were confirmed as circulated.
41. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 32 - Council for Education in World Citizenship. In reply to a question from Mr. Macdonald, the Chairman reported on the financial arrangements existing between the C.E.W.C. and the Union, and stated that all the work of the C.E.W.C. (e.g. the Christmas Holiday Lectures) was self-supporting and that out of any profit it was able to make on such work it employed the additional staff required.

Mr. Macdonald hoped that action would be taken to ensure that the young people who were being influenced through the C.E.W.C. eventually became members of the Union, and the Chairman said this was being borne in mind. Dr. Garnett expressed his intention of bringing before the Special Committee the question of future relations of C.E.W.C. to the Union.

On Minute 36 - Special Meeting of General Council, having in mind the desirability of the General Council's views on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals being made known to H.M. Government before the San Francisco Conference opens on April 25th, it was

RESOLVED: "That arrangements be made for the Special Meeting of the General Council to be held on Thursday, April 5th."

42. **DUMBARTON OAKS PROPOSALS.** The Chairman having stated that the sub-Committee, appointed by the Executive on December 7th to consider the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, had now completed its report, it was

RESOLVED: "That a special meeting of the Executive be held at 11 a.m. on Thursday, February 22nd to consider the sub-Committee's report."

43. **RECENT EVENTS.** The Executive noted with satisfaction four important events which had taken place since their last meeting: (1) Agreement and peace secured in Greece; (2) President Roosevelt's message to Congress published in THE TIMES of February 15th; (3) the debate in the House of Lords when the Government had agreed that national contingents which were to form the international air force should co-operate in peace time and have such joint manoeuvres as would render them effective as a single unit if they should ever be called upon to act; and (4) the Crimea Conference.
44. **RUSSIA AND POLAND.** The Executive considered the memorandum drafted by the Chairman (S.1197), an amendment by Dr. Garnett and observations by Mr. Macdonald, together with a memorandum by Sir Ralph Wedgwood (S.1204) copies filed with these minutes. At the outset of the discussion, the Chairman pointed out that, although certain details might be questioned, the Atlantic Charter had again been affirmed in the decisions of the Yalta Conference, since his memorandum was written.

Sir Ralph Wedgwood said that, in view of the outcome of the Yalta Conference, the draft resolutions he had submitted were no longer suitable. But in spite of the Yalta decisions he felt it was still necessary and urgent for the L.U. to express its view on the form which the ultimate peace settlement was taking by degrees, and he repeated that, before expressing its opinion, the Executive should take the Branches into consultation. The resolutions of the Yalta Conference should encourage the Union to take a stronger line in support of the Atlantic Charter than it had hitherto done, and he thought opinion in the United States would welcome British assurance of belief in the Charter.

During the discussion which followed, general approval of the Chairman's memorandum was expressed, subject to the redrafting of certain passages which were left to Lord Lytton to determine after the meeting.

It was agreed that the memorandum, as redrafted, should be communicated as a statement of opinion by the Executive Committee to Branches and speakers for their information and be published in HEADWAY, and that the resolutions contained in the memorandum be submitted to the General Council ~~at~~ ^{the Special Meeting in July.}

45. **TYNE DISTRICT COUNCIL.** The Executive considered a communication from the Tyne District Council dated January 22nd but felt that subsequent events had made the Council's resolutions out of date. The Secretary was asked to send to the Council, as soon as possible, a copy of the memorandum referred to in the previous minute.

(At this point Lord Lytton had to leave the meeting and the Chair was taken by Miss Courtney)

46. **FUTURE ROLE OF THE UNION.** The Chairman's report on the seventh meeting of the Special Committee on February 7th was read. It included (1) The future of the Administration Committee; (2) the position of Mr. Hills and the re-appointment of former-members of the staff; (3) action to

-3-

be taken within the next six months; (4) special Meeting of General Council; (5) Future work of Special Committee; and (6) Alteration in name of the Union.

On (3), the decision to consult the American Society about (i) the appointment of a Travelling Secretary to visit foreign countries and to encourage the formation of national societies, and (ii) the possibility of forming a temporary liaison committee of the societies in the principal allied countries was approved.

Dr. Garnett spoke of the unique opportunity afforded to the Union by the decisions of the Crimea Conference and referred to suggestions for immediate action which he had placed before the Special Committee and which had been referred to the Campaign Committee.

It was suggested that the question of publicity for the new general international organisation (included in Dr. Garnett's proposals) should be discussed with Mr. Eden when the Union's observations on Dumbarton Oaks are placed before him.

Miss Courtney made a further report on the meeting of the Special Committee held that morning when they had recommended that, if possible, a Public Meeting should be held in the Albert Hall on June 14th (United Nations Day) to launch the "United Nations Union" with a prominent member of the Government as the speaker. The Executive agreed that a penning of the Albert Hall for June 14th should be taken.

47. RESIGNATION OF MISS B. JONES. The resignation of Miss Jones, the Union's Librarian, was received with deep regret. The Secretary was asked to convey to her the Executive's very cordial thanks for her services to the Library and their best wishes for her success in the future. It was agreed that the insurance policies taken out on behalf of Miss Jones be assigned to her free of charge, and that authority be given for the use of the Union's seal on the assignment. The Secretary was authorised to arrange for the appointment of a successor in consultation with the Honorary Treasurer.
48. CORPORATE MEMBERSHIP. The Women's Meeting of Bermondsey Central Hall was admitted as a Corporate Member of the Union and the fixing of the Union's seal to the certificate was authorised.

A.D. Courtney
CHAIRMAN

March 15, 1945

S.1201.

31. 1. 45.

COPY OF LETTER WRITTEN BY DR. MAXWELL GARNETT TO LORD LYTTON.

27th January, 1945.

My dear Lord Lytton,

Thank you for your Memorandum on (much more than)
Russia and Poland. I like it immensely except in one
particular: namely that you seem to treat the Dumbarton
Oaks organisation as designed to preserve the post-war peace
settlement rather than as an instrument for changing the
status quo by peaceful means and preventing its being changed
by war. The last sentence of your penultimate paragraph
should, I think, be altered if you and the Committee agree
with me in seeing the post-war League as essentially dynamic
rather than static, an instrument of change rather than of
conservation, changing the peace settlement (if and when
the need arises) while preserving peace.

Yours sincerely,

(signed) MAXWELL GARNETT.

P.S. I suggest that the last sentence of the penultimate
paragraph of the memorandum might be altered to read:

Its effectiveness will depend on the will to
use it, and we are convinced that it will be
handicapped from the start if, in order to win
and hold public support, its first task must be
to alter important provisions of the settlement
which are recognised by the common people to be
unjust.

S. 1204

Memorandum by Sir Ralph Wedgwood

I have read Lord Lytton's memorandum with great care, and am in
general agreement with his statement of the case. Nevertheless
I am in doubt as to the adequacy of the steps which he proposes
to take.

The choice before us, as I see it, lies between acquiescence
in the setting aside of the Atlantic Charter, and a re-affirmation
of our belief in its validity. We cannot any longer defer our
choice. Lord Lytton's proposal, in my view, comes near to
acquiescence, though it is conditioned by a time limit.

In view of the serious issues at stake I do not think we
ought to take that step, or any other step towards a decision,
without calling our members into consultation. If we do so, it
will be our duty, as an Executive, to give a lead to our members.
The lead which I should wish the Executive to give (though I
speak only for myself) is set out in the following Resolution:

"1. The League of Nations Union welcomed the Atlantic
Charter, and gave warm public expression to that
welcome. The Union looked on the Charter as con-
taining the promise of a just peace, such as would
provide an enduring foundation for a new international
structure of Collective Security.

"2. The Union has observed, with increasing concern, the
evidence that the governments of the United Nations are
now tending more and more to disregard the terms of the
Atlantic Charter, and particularly of Point 2 of the
Charter, which runs:

"They desire to see no Territorial Changes that
do not accord with the Freely Expressed Wishes
of the Peoples Concerned."

Changes are being effected, or have been proposed which do
not accord with this principle.

"3. The League of Nations Union protests against these changes,
as inconsistent with a just or lasting peace, and calls upon
H.M. Government, in concert with any like-minded governments
among the United Nations, to make it clear to all the United
Nations that they adhere to Point 2 of the Atlantic Charter,
and are unable to recognise any transfer of territories
which is not in accordance with the principle there
enunciated."

COPY

8 Orchard Court,
Edgware,
Middlex.

30th January, 1945.

Rt. Hon. the Earl of Lytton, K.G.,
The League of Nations Union,
11, Linden Lane,
W.C.2.

Dear Lord Lytton,

As I am unable to attend both Committee Meetings on Thursday, I regret I shall not be present at the Executive in the afternoon.

In point 3 of your Memorandum on the recent discussion on "Prussia and Poland", I am glad you insert the proviso:- "if any departure is made....from these terms, they will make it clear why such departure is considered necessary in the interest of the peace of the world".

In this connection I am in entire agreement with Lord Perth's "Notes on the East Prussia question". In our eagerness to assert adherence to certain "principles" we are apt to give the impression that we are not averse to an attack upon Russia. I know that some of our ordinary members take this view, and I am further aware that it would be the view of a large number of people whom we want as new members of the Union.

East Prussia has been the source of "Junkerism" for many years, and if Lord Perth's suggestion to give the province to Poland will eradicate this pestilence, it is more than a good reason for any seeming departure from the terms of the Atlantic Charter.

The destruction of Nazism and Fascism, is the primary object of the war. To prevent their re-birth should be one of the principal objects of the peace.

Yours sincerely,

(signed) James Macdonald



