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20 May 1943



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Confidential

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION held at No.25 Eccleston Place, London, S.W.1. on THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 6th, 1941, at 11 a.m.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Mrs. Beale, F.M. Burris, Lord Cecil, Miss K.D. Courtney, Miss F. Fawcett, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Lady Hall, A.J. Howe, Dr. Gilbert Murray, W.T. Pritchard, Miss E. Rathbone, M.P., Nowell Smith, A.E.W. Thomas, F.W. Weaver and Major Freshwater.

194. MINUTES.

In Minute 186 - Social and Economic Reconstruction, it was agreed to delete "early" in the fifth line and to insert "in June" after "Council" in the sixth line.

In Minute 190 - Education in World Citizenship, it was agreed to delete the words "Management Committee of the" in lines six and seven.

Subject to these amendments, the minutes of the meeting held on October 30th, 1941, were confirmed as circulated.

195. CANADIAN LEAGUE OF NATIONS SOCIETY. The Chairman reported the following cable received from Mr. Inch, Secretary of the Canadian League of Nations Society:

"Grateful Post Letter Telegram any agitation change Union's name. Is agitation serious? Our Toronto Branch is raising matter."

It was agreed to inform Mr. Inch that there was no agitation in this country to change the Union's name, but that there was some discussion about the name to be given to the new international authority which would be set up after the war. If that international authority were given a new name, the Union would naturally wish to consider changing its own title.

196. AIR COMMANDER WALSER. The Chairman reported a communication he had received from Air-Commander Walsler who was greatly interested in post-war settlement and in general agreement with the Union's Statement of Policy, and who would like to be associated with the Union in its work. He has now retired from the R.A.F. and was working at the Foreign Office. The Chairman suggested to the Executive that they might wish to consider inviting Air-Commander Walsler to join the Committee.

Lord Cecil thought that, before any action was taken, it would be desirable to obtain more information about Air-Commander Walsler's position in the R.A.F., and after discussion the Chairman promised to write to Air-Marshal Garrod on the subject.

197. INTERNATIONAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION. The Executive had before them the following resolution adopted by the Romford Branch:

"That, after the war, the L.N.U. Executive should use its influence so that the League of Nations should take up the question of Education in international ideals throughout the world, and to this end should set up an International Office of Education on the lines of the I.L.O.

After Mr. Nowell Smith had reported that the subject of the resolution was included on the agenda for the next meeting of the Education Council, it was agreed that an interim reply

should be sent to the Romford Branch, stating that the Executive had read their resolution with interest and that the Council for Education in World Citizenship would consider the matter and present a report.

Dr. Garnett had hoped that a motion on the subject would be submitted to the forthcoming meeting of the General Council and, in the absence of a motion from the Executive, he would have liked to table one himself. Having been informed that the last date for receiving such motions had already passed and that the Preliminary Agenda was now in the printer's hands, Dr. Garnett gave notice that he would table a motion on the subject for the Annual Meeting of the Council in June, 1942, and expressed the hope that, after the Chairman had reported to the General Council on "Education in World Citizenship" at the December meeting, the President would allow him also to make a short speech.

198. **MEMBERSHIP.** The Executive had before them a report (S.937, copy filed with these minutes) showing that, during the months July to October inclusive, 15,642 membership subscriptions (394 new) had been paid, as compared with 17,229 (302 new) during the corresponding period of 1940.

199. **DISCUSSION WITH SIR ROWLAND EVANS AND PROFESSOR KEETON.** At the invitation of the Executive, Sir Rowland Evans (author of LET IT ROLL) and Professor G.W. Keeton (author of an article in the POLITICAL QUARTERLY advocating union with America now) attended the meeting and were welcomed by the Chairman.

A memorandum by Sir Rowland Evans had previously been circulated to members of the Executive (copy filed with these minutes). It dealt briefly with the proposals contained in LET IT ROLL, and also with the entry of Russia into the war and the signing of the Atlantic Charter, both of which had taken place since the proposals were first formulated.

A statement of his views was made orally to the Executive by Professor Keeton.

Many questions were put to Sir Rowland Evans and Professor Keeton by members of the Committee and showed that there was little, if any, fundamental difference between the views held by the two visitors and those set out in the Union's Statement of Policy.

K.D. Courtney.

20th November, 1941

Confidential

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
held at No. 25 Eccleston Place, London, S.W.1.,
on Thursday, November 20th, 1941, at 2 p.m.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), F.M.Burris, Dean of
Chichester, Miss K.D.Courtney, Mrs. Dugdale,
Miss P.Fawcett, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, A.J.Howe,
Lady Layton, D.L.Lipson, M.P., J.Macdonald,
G. le M. Mander, M.P., Dr. Gilbert Murray,
W.T.Pritchard, Miss E.Rathbone, M.P., Miss E.
Waite, Sir Ralph Wedgwood and Major Freshwater.

200. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on November 6th, 1941,
were confirmed as circulated.

201. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES

On Minute 195 - Canadian League of Nations Society, Miss
Courtney reported that the Canadian Society, following upon
a discussion by their Executive of the L.N.U. Statement of
Policy, had issued a questionnaire to their Branches which
had subsequently been printed with the replies received. It
was suggested that information concerning the activities of
the Canadian and other Dominion Societies should be given in
HEADWAY, and that copies of the Canadian Society's printed
reports should be made available for members of the Executive.

On Minute 196 - Air Commander Walsler, the Chairman reported
that he had written to Air-Marshal Garrod as requested by
the Executive, but had not yet received a reply. On the
motion of Dr. Murray it was agreed that, if a favourable
answer were received, the Chairman should invite Air-
Commander Walsler to join the Executive.

202. B.U.L.N.S. Dr. Murray reported that while, for various reasons,
the B.U.L.N.S. had in many Universities almost ceased to exist,
there were other societies in the Universities interested in the
study of international affairs. In Oxford the B.U.L.N.S. and
the New Commonwealth and Federal Union Societies had joined
together and formed a new organisation, COSMOS, of which Sir
William Beveridge and Dr. Murray were Joint Presidents. During
the week-end of November 8th and 9th, at the invitation of the
Master of Balliol and Mr. John Blunden of Cambridge, a meeting
had been held at Cambridge at which some 150 students from
Universities and Training Colleges had discussed the possibility
of taking some common action in regard to the study of inter-
national affairs. As a result of that meeting it had been
unanimously agreed to set up a federation of student societies
for the promotion of international co-operation with the
following objects:

- (a) to promote international co-operation for freedom,
peace and social progress;
- (b) to study international affairs;
- (c) to provide a forum for the discussion of post-war
settlement, including the possibilities of international
government and of social and economic reconstruction.

A further meeting was to be held at Oxford in the near future
when a constitution for the federation would be drawn up, and
afterwards submitted to the Executive for its approval.

P.T.O.

Mr. Judd and his assistants would undertake the secretarial work in connection with the new federation as they had done for the B.U.L.N.S. Dr. Murray added that it was hoped to obtain subscriptions for the new body, and the Secretary stated that, apart from the provision of secretarial assistance, the annual cost to the Union would appear to be some £25 to £30 for postage, duplicating, etc.

It was further reported that Trustees had been appointed to deal with the funds standing to the credit of the B.U.L.N.S.

After discussion, the Executive gave provisional approval to the above proposal.

203. **WOMEN'S ADVISORY COUNCIL.** Miss Courtney reported on a meeting of the Women's Advisory Council held on November 10th, when a speaker from the American Inpost had addressed the Council.

The W.A.C. had been endeavouring to form study groups on America among the various organisations represented on the Council, and notes for speakers and suggested syllabuses had been drawn up. But, for various reasons, very few organisations had formed such Groups. The W.A.C. hoped that the material which had been prepared might be found useful in schools.

It was hoped to arrange a social function early in the New Year when Mrs. Biddle would be invited to meet members of the W.A.C. It was also hoped to arrange for members of the Executive Committee and the W.A.C. to meet the representatives of American women's organisations who were shortly to visit this country.

The Women's Voluntary Service were being invited to join the W.A.C.

The above report was approved by the Executive.

204. **MINORITIES.** Miss Courtney reported on a meeting of the Minorities Committee held on November 20th at which a draft interim Report had been drawn up for consideration by the Executive at its next meeting and for submission to the General Council in December. Mr. Macartney, who was mainly responsible for the Report, would be glad to present it to the Council if it could be taken at 11 or 11.15 a.m. on Wednesday, December 10th.

It was agreed to have recond copies of the Report available at the Council Meeting; to invite Mr. Macartney to present the Report to the Council at the first session (Wednesday morning), and to ask the Procedure Committee to arrange accordingly, taking into consideration that Mr. Syrett had asked for the Budget to be taken at the beginning of the third session (Thursday morning).

205. **UNION ACTION AT ELECTIONS.** Consideration was given to the following proposal contained in a motion submitted by the Chelsea Branch to the last Annual Meeting of the General Council and referred by the Council to the Executive for study and report:

"In the event of a General Election not only to issue the usual questionnaire but to give full publicity to the replies of the candidates and actively support whichever candidate advocates our policy irrespective of party".

The Chairman reminded the Executive that it had, from the beginning, been the Union's practice, in accordance with its strictly non-party character, not to support any candidate but officially to issue a questionnaire, to publish the candidates' answers, and to leave L.N.U. members in the constituencies to take such action as they thought fit as individuals.

Miss Waite read to the Executive certain suggestions for giving active support by the Union to parliamentary candidates advocating the L.N.U. policy (copy filed with these minutes).

Mr. Lipsch, Miss Rathbone, Lady Layton, Miss Courtney, Mr. Kander, Dr. Garnett and the Chairman drew attention to the difficulties and dangers involved in such a practice, and, after a full discussion, it was agreed that, for the present no change should be made in the practice hitherto followed by the Union in regard to parliamentary elections. But Branches should be asked at all By-Elections and General Elections to arrange for meetings of all the candidates at which they would be invited to state their views on the Union's policy and to answer questions from the audience, the fullest publicity being given to the proceedings.

It was also agreed that local Branches should be asked to see that, wherever possible, Union members were represented on the local Committees responsible for the selection of Parliamentary candidates.

The Chairman was asked to inform the Council of the above decision in his speech on the action taken by the Executive since the last Council Meeting.

206. **LEAGUE'S LONDON OFFICE.** The attention of the Executive was drawn to a paragraph in the SPECTATOR of November 7th, commenting on the fact that, at the present time, when every foreign Government domiciled in Great Britain numbered among its Ministers men who had been delegates or officials at Geneva, there was no adequate League of Nations office in existence in London. It was felt that a League office could perform a useful function at the present time in collecting information from Geneva and from the League's organisations in America, as well as from the various Governments now in London.

After discussion it was, on the suggestion of Dr. Garnett, agreed to invite the opinion of Captain Walters concerning the desirability of re-establishing a League office in London. It was suggested that Captain Walters might be willing to discuss with the Executive at a future meeting what action might be taken.

207. **LONDON INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY.** In reply to a suggestion from Mrs. Dugdale that more publicity should be given to the work of the London International Assembly, Miss Courtney said that any proposals on the subject which members of the Executive cared to make would be carefully considered by the General Purposes Committee of the Assembly.
208. **MR. JOHN T. CATERALL.** After receiving a report from the Secretary concerning the need for a Staff Speaker, in which reference was made to his recent correspondence on the subject with the Treasurer and other Officers of the Union, it was

RESOLVED: "That Mr. John T. Catterall be appointed Staff Speaker at a salary of £338 a year, plus such fees as the Union may receive for his services up to a further £100/£120 a year."

It was understood that fees received for Mr. Catterall's services in excess of £120 a year would be used to reduce the basic salary of £338.

The Executive were reminded that Mr. Catterall had, for some 15 years before the war, addressed thousands of meetings for L.N.U. Branches. His long association with the Union's work and his acquaintanceship with Branches would enable him, when speaking for them, also to be of assistance in other ways.

The Secretary was asked to remind Mr. Catterall that the Union's most urgent need at the present time was an increase of membership, and to deal with this in all his speeches.

Lyllon
Chairman.

4.12.41.

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L.N.U. ACTION AT GENERAL ELECTION.

- a. Branches be requested to issue questionnaires and investigate records of candidates.
- b. With the authorisation of the Election Agent, a Branch should issue a statement giving the information gathered under a. above, and for the following reasons should openly support one candidate:-
 - i. It is not fair to a candidate to ask for answers to a questionnaire which will have no result.
 - ii. The electors in most cases will not decide for themselves and indeed will scarcely bother to read inconclusive documents.
 - iii. It is unfair to the Union's speakers to make no decision, as they are bound to be asked "whom do you support?"
- c.
 - i. The decision to support a particular candidate to be taken by a majority vote of the members of the Branch, all to have an opportunity to record, orally or in writing, their opinion.
 - ii. Individual members not to be bound by the Branch's decision; few, however, would place their Party feelings above their loyalty to L.N.U. principles.
- d. Support should take the form of:-
 - i. Offering canvassers and other workers to the candidate.
 - ii. Authorise the Agent to state that the Union is officially supporting his candidate.
 - iii. After consultation with the Agent, hold public meetings stating that the Union supports a particular candidate.

(It is understood that the legal position is that any statement or meeting will be in order if authorised by the Agent.)

CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION, HELD AT NO. 28 ECCLESTON PLACE, LONDON, S.W.1. ON THURSDAY, DECEMBER 4TH, 1941 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Professor Brodetsky, F.M. Burris, Lord Cecil, Miss K.D. Courtney, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss P. Fawcett, Lady Hall, Sir Arthur Haverth, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Brig. General Milner, Dr. Gilbert Murray, W.T. Pritchard, Nowell Smith, A.E.W. Thomas and Major Freshwater.

209. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on November 20th, 1941 were confirmed as circulated.

210. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 201 - Air Commander Walsler, after the Committee had carefully considered a letter which the Chairman had received from Air-Marshal Garrod, it was

RESOLVED: "That Air Commander Walsler be invited to join the Executive Committee".

On Minute 206 - League's London Office, a letter from Mr. Frank Walters was read, concerning the desirability of re-establishing a League office in London (copy filed with these minutes), and it was agreed to invite Mr. Walters to discuss the matter with the Executive at the next meeting on December 18th.

On Minute 208 - Mr. John T. Catterall, the Secretary reported that Mr. Catterall would take up his appointment with the Union on December 8th, 1941.

211. LADY VIOLET BONHAM CARTER. The Chairman read to the Committee a letter from Lady Violet Bonham Carter, stating that her weekly B.B.C. Board Meeting was held on Thursday afternoons and was frequently preceded by other preparatory work in the mornings. In these circumstances she found it impossible to attend meetings of the Executive and felt that she ought to tender her resignation. After discussion, the Chairman was asked to write to Lady Violet, requesting her to continue membership of the Executive and to attend meetings whenever possible, and adding that, if at any time a seat on the Executive was needed, she would be informed.

212. WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR. The Chairman reported letters he had received from Mr. Arnold Forster and Mr. Syrett. Mr. Arnold Forster had suggested small amendments in the Executive's revised draft of Clauses 20 - 22 which were considered by the Committee in minute 215 below.

Mr. Syrett considered that the revised statement was too detailed.

213. INDIA. Lord Lytton reported a letter from Lady Layton suggesting that Union Branches who wished to study the question of India in the same way as they were studying colonial problems etc. should be supplied with factual information from Headquarters. In reply to Lady Layton, the Chairman had reminded her that the General Council and the Executive had always

held that the subject of the Indian Constitution was outside the scope of the L.N.U., but he had promised to bring the matter before the Executive.

After considerable discussion in which many members of the Committee took part, Lord Lytton was asked to prepare, for consideration by the Committee, a statement on India defining the limits within which Union Branches could properly study the subject, and what would obviously be outside the Union's province.

214. MINORITIES. The Executive had before them the draft Report on Minorities (S.940 and S.913) prepared by the sub-Committee.

Lord Cecil reminded the Executive that many of the smaller Powers, now our Allies, greatly disliked the Minorities jurisdiction of the League, and he felt that if the Executive adopted and published the draft Report a tremendous controversy would be stirred up which would be highly dangerous to the whole conception of minority jurisdiction. He personally could not approve of the draft Report until he knew what was proposed in regard to procedure. In his view, procedure was the most important thing; the actual phrasing of legislation was not so important.

Mrs. Dugdale strongly urged that the draft Report should not be submitted to the General Council at its forthcoming meeting but should be deferred until the Annual Meeting in June.

Professor Brodetsky supported Mrs. Dugdale and urged that the Executive should have an opportunity of considering the fundamental principles contained in the Report very fully before submitting it to the Council.

After further discussion, it was agreed not to present the draft Report to the General Council in December, but to ask Miss Courtney, as Chairman of the sub-Committee, to inform the Council that a draft Report had been prepared but the Executive Committee had not yet had time to consider it. It was therefore proposed to postpone the matter till the next meeting of the Council in June, when the final Report would be circulated to Branches.

It was further agreed that, as soon as possible, a special meeting of the Executive should be held in order to discuss the draft Report, and that Mr. Macartney and/or Mr. Habbott should be invited to attend the meeting.

Miss Courtney suggested that if, after the Executive had discussed the Report, they wished to see substantial alterations made in it, the re-drafting of the Report should be undertaken by a strengthened Minorities sub-Committee.

215. DECEMBER MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL. The Executive had before them the Preliminary Agenda for the Council Meeting, together with amendments submitted by Branches etc. It was agreed:

That the members named below be invited to take charge of the various items in the Council's Agenda, and that the following decisions be taken in regard to those items.

1. Report of Chairman of Executive Committee. Lord Lytton.
2. Motion to grant "urgency". The Executive shared the view expressed by Lord Cecil and the Chairman that the motion for which the Tyne District Council were asking "urgency" could have been submitted at the proper time for inclusion in the Preliminary Agenda and was not therefore one for which "urgency" ought to be granted.

3. Social and Economic Reconstruction. To invite Lady Hall to move 3 (a), (b) and (c), with the word "fully" inserted before "achieved" in line 5 of motion (a);

Not to support the amendments tabled by Mr. H. Elvin and the East of Scotland District; and

to ask the Procedure Committee to suggest to the Godalming Branch that their amendment be altered by the substitution of the word "welcomes" for "endorses" in line 1, and by the deletion of all the words after "News Sheet" in the third paragraph.

4. Library Report. Mr. Nowell Smith.

5. Roll Call. The Secretary.

6. Presidential Address by Lord Cecil.

7. Minorities. Miss Courtney; to report to the Council as agreed in minute 214 above.

8. WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR. Amendments to the Executive's revised draft of Clauses 20 to 22 of the Statement submitted by Mr. Arnold Forster were considered (see minute 212 above) and it was agreed

To ask Lord Lytton to move the Executive's motion, amending the first and last sentences of paragraph 23 as follows:-

23. The general obligation which rests upon all Member States alike should include the withholding of all aid from the aggressor even if this should involve them in risks of retaliation.

In determining an aggressor or in deciding upon action to prevent aggression, no State directly interested shall be entitled to vote; and

Not to support the amendments by Mrs. E.M. White, Clapham Branch, East of Scotland, Birmingham District Council, or the motion of the Kensington Branch.

9. Budget for 1942. Mr. Syrett.

10. Atlantic Charter. Miss Courtney; not to support the amendments by Mr. Elvin and Clapham Branch, but to support the amendment of Mrs. E.M. White subject to the inclusion of the word "allied" before "States".

11. League Constitution. To ask either Lord Cecil or Dr. Murray (whoever is not in the Chair) to deal with this motion on behalf of the Executive.

12. Ethiopia. To support the motion of the St. Ives Branch, subject to the insertion of the word "country's" before "freedom", and to the deletion of all the words following "freedom"; and

to ask Mr. Arnold Forster to deal, on behalf of the Executive, with the amendment tabled by Mrs. E.M. White, and not to support it.

P.T.O.

13. Report on Colonial Settlement. To ask Miss Freda White to move the following motions on behalf of the Executive:

The General Council of the League of Nations Union:-

- (1) Welcomes the establishment by His Majesty's Government of a committee in the Colonial Office to study post-war colonial policy, and also of an advisory committee on labour. It hopes that both committees will work in conjunction with the colonial experts of allied countries now in Britain. The Council believes that the constitution of a section of the International Labour Office in this country for the duration of the war would greatly facilitate planning for the raising of colonial labour standards.
- (2) Requests the Industrial Advisory Committee to consider the methods by which international collaboration could be applied to the various problems mentioned in the Report of the Sub-Committee on Colonial Problems. To this end, the principles of trusteeship, impartiality, and publicity upon which the Mandatory System is based should be maintained, and the system itself adapted to the circumstances of the post-war world.

14. Peaceful Change. Mr. Nowell Smith to propose Executive Committee's motion.

15. London International Assembly. Miss Courtney to propose Executive's motion.

216. OVERSEAS COMMITTEE. Lord Cecil proposed that, since the Advisory International Committee appointed by the Executive on September 19th, 1940 had, for various reasons, not really functioned, its work should for the future be undertaken by a reconstituted Overseas Committee who should be given the same terms of reference as the Advisory International Committee (see minute 164 of 19.9.40). He further proposed that the following should be invited to serve on the Overseas Committee and that Mrs. Dugdale should be asked to accept the Chairmanship.

Major Cazalet, Miss Courtney, Lord Davies, Lord Dickinson, Mrs. Dugdale, Mr. Arnold Forster, Lady Gladstone, Mr. Keyser, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Miss Darnley Naylor, Mr. Alan Thomas, Mr. H.D. Watson, Sir Ralph Wedgwood and Miss Freda White.

It was suggested that a representative of the London office of the I.L.O. should be invited to attend the meetings of the Overseas Committee as an observer.

Mrs. Dugdale welcomed the proposed revival of the Committee and said she would be glad to act as Chairman on condition that Mr. Alan Thomas accepted membership of the Committee.

After discussion, Lord Cecil's proposal was approved and adopted, and the Secretary was asked to communicate with Mr. Alan Thomas, sending him the terms of reference of the Overseas Committee and inviting him to accept membership. If, as was earnestly hoped, a favourable reply was received from Mr. Thomas, it was agreed that invitations should also be sent to the other persons named above.

- 5 -

217. MEMBERSHIP. The Executive had before them a report (S.942 copy filed with these minutes) showing that during November 92 new and 5,029 renewal subscriptions had been collected compared with 91 new and 4,022 renewals in November 1940, and that from July to November inclusive, 20,764 membership subscriptions (486 new) had been paid, as compared with 21,402 (393 new) during the corresponding period of 1940.
218. DEED OF ASSIGNMENT. Authorisation was given for the use of the Union's seal on a deed, assigning to the Union an Insurance Policy belonging to a member of the staff.

K. D. Coartney.

Chairman.

18. 12. 44.

Extract from a letter from Mr. Frank Walters, The Royal Institute of International Affairs, Foreign Research and Press Service, Balliol College, Oxford, 28.11.41.

"My views about a League office in London are as follows:-

(1) It is not quite true that there is not a League office in London now. Besides the old office now located in Miss Smith's flat there is a Treasury office in which two or three officials are working. In substance, therefore, the work of the old London office of the League is being carried on quite efficiently. The H.C. for Refugees has also kept his office going.

(2) I am strongly in favour of having a special branch of the Secretariat set up in London for the period of the war. It should, I think, include a representative of the Health Section and two representatives of the Economic Section, of whom one should have had experience with the Nutrition Committee. Their object would be to keep in touch with the work that is now being done and the plans that are being made by the Inter-Allied Committee, the Leith-Ross Committee and so on. This means, of course, that it would be no use their coming here unless it was done on the invitation, or at least with the full agreement, of H.M.G., and with full access to the work of these organisations.

I would, of course, be willing to attend a meeting of the Executive Committee at which this subject is up for discussion, though my deafness is something of a handicap in committee work".

3.942.

4.12.41.

MEMBERSHIP REPORT

For Executive Committee 4.12.41.

	1940.		New	1941.	
	New	Ren.		Ren.	Total
Jan.	102	5,165	21	3,555	3,584
Feb.	144	8,797	94	5,632	5,726
March	347	13,206	69	4,577	4,646
April	298	11,682	33	6,226	6,259
May	287	11,931	97	3,986	6,083
June	145	7,071	90	3,998	4,088
	1,323	57,852	414	29,972	30,386
July	71	5,235	123	4,306	4,429
AUG.	85	4,335	79	4,367	4,446
Sept.	52	2,658	81	2,423	2,507
Oct.	94	4,699	103	4,153	4,261
Nov.	91	4,082	92	6,029	5,121
	393	21,009	486	20,278	20,764

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION HELD AT NO. 25 ECCLESTON PLACE, LONDON, S.W.1. ON THURSDAY, DECEMBER 16th, 1941 at 2 P.M.

PRESENT: Miss K.D. Courtney (in the Chair), Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Professor Brodetsky, Lord Cecil, Miss Fawcett, Lady Layton, D.L. Lipson M.P., Dame Adelaide Livingstone, J. Macdonald, G. le H. Mander M.P., Dr. Gilbert Murray, W.T. Pritchard, Nowell Smith, Sir Ralph Wedgwood and Major Freshwater.

219. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on December 4th 1941, were confirmed as circulated.

220. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 210 - 201 - Air Commander Walser, it was reported that Lord Lytton had written to Air Commander Walser inviting him to join the Executive but had not yet received a reply.

On Minute 216 - Overseas Committee, it was reported that Mrs. Dugdale had accepted the Chairmanship of the Overseas Committee and that Mr. Alan Thomas had also agreed to serve on it. Invitations had been sent to the other persons named in minute 216, and Miss Courtney and Dame Adelaide Livingstone expressed their willingness to join the Committee. It was reported that Lady Gladstone, while warmly thanking the Executive for their invitation, regretted that her duties with the Red Cross made it impossible for her to accept.

221. RESOLUTIONS OF GENERAL COUNCIL. The Executive had before them the text of the resolutions adopted by the General Council at its December meeting (copy filed with these minutes).

1. Japan. It was reported that the resolution had been communicated immediately to the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary, and had been acknowledged by them.
2. Social and Economic Reconstruction. It was agreed that the first paragraph of resolution 2(a), as well as 2(b) and (c) should be communicated to H.M. Government.

After Mr. Macdonald had reported that several members present at the Council Meeting, although not in favour of the precise amendment submitted by Mr. Elvin, were strongly of opinion that H.M. Government should be urged to take some action in regard to economic and social reconstruction without waiting for the war to end, it was agreed to ask the Industrial Advisory Committee to consider and report to the Executive how the principles of social and economic reconstruction contained in the Atlantic Charter might begin to be put into practice by H.M. Government at the present time.

3. WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR. After considering the request of the General Council, it was agreed

that the following footnote should be added to the words "Regional General Staff" in clause 25 of the Statement of Policy:

*Members of the Regional General Staff might be asked to make a public declaration of loyalty on the same lines as the undertaking given by the Secretary-General of the League and all officials of the rank of Director or above, which reads as follows:

"I solemnly undertake to exercise in all loyalty, discretion and conscience the functions that have been entrusted to me as of the League of Nations, to discharge my functions and to regulate my conduct with the interests of the League alone in view and not to seek or receive instructions from any Government or other authority external".

It was agreed to adjourn until the next meeting (when it was hoped Lord Lytton and Lord Cecil would be present) consideration of the appointment of an "expert body of people to examine and report on the respective responsibilities of the International Authority and of the continental or regional Confederations in respect of sanctions" as proposed by Sir George Young on behalf of the Kensington Branch.

5. The Atlantic Charter. It was agreed that this resolution, the final drafting of which had been left to the Executive, should be amended to read as follows and be communicated to H.M. Government:

"That the General Council of the League of Nations Union,

Welcomes the Atlantic Charter;

Is gratified and encouraged by the joint statement of Anglo-American co-operation in peace as well as in war, and the adhesion thereto of the U.S.S.R. and other Allied States..

Further, the Council warmly welcomes the authoritative exposition of the Charter contained in President Roosevelt's Message to Congress and its reference to the need for freedom of religion and freedom of information* and

Earnestly hopes that H.M. Government is now working out machinery by which the principles contained in the Charter may be put into operation, and will enter into consultation with other anti-Axis Powers.

*in addition to the "freedom from fear and want" contained in the Charter itself.

6. Ethiopia. It was agreed that this resolution should be communicated to H.M. Government.

7. Colonial Development. It was agreed that paragraph (1) of the resolution should be communicated to H.M. Government. Paragraph (2) was referred to the Industrial Advisory Committee for consideration and report.

10. League Constitution. It was agreed to adjourn until the next meeting consideration of the motion of the Withington Branch.

222. LEAGUE'S LONDON OFFICE. At the invitation of the Committee, Mr. Frank Walters attended the meeting and discussed with the Executive the desirability of re-establishing a League office in London.

Mr. Walters reminded the Executive of the efficient manner in which Miss Janet Smith was carrying on the existing League office within the present limitations. He did not think any useful purpose would be served by having in London representatives of the political side of the League's work, but he thought it would be highly desirable to have two or three people belonging to the Economic and Health sections who could follow, and contribute to, the work of the Inter-Allied Committee which was already discussing questions of the needs of Europe for reconstruction after the war. He drew the attention of the Executive to a speech delivered by Mr. Attlee just before he left for the I.L.O. Conference in the U.S.A. in which he had stated that the Government intended to use the League organs for reconstruction purposes after the war. These references in Mr. Attlee's speech, although they had not appeared in any British newspaper, had been published in full in the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR of 18th October. Mr. Walters suggested that such a League office as he had in mind need only be on a modest scale and could be financed out of League funds. The small staff might perhaps be strengthened, in practice, by ex-members of the Secretariat who, like himself, might be prepared to give assistance without actually rejoining the Secretariat.

The Committee warmly welcomed Mr. Walter's suggestion and after discussion it was agreed to ask Lord Cecil to discuss the matter with Mr. Eden and to report to the Executive when he had done so.

223. INDIA. The Executive had before them a memorandum prepared by the Chairman in accordance with minute 213 of the last meeting (S.944, copy filed with these minutes). The Committee decided to adjourn detailed discussion of the memorandum until Lord Lytton could be present, but the following brief discussion took place.

Dr. Murray thought the memorandum was a valuable and interesting one but suggested that, to some people, it might appear to be dealing with mere technical detail. He thought the memorandum would be improved by the insertion in the fore-front of a paragraph somewhat on the lines of the letter appearing in THE TIMES of December 18th, recognising that the Indian problem involved very big questions but emphasising that the L.N.U. was specially concerned with international action while the details of the settlement in India were domestic ones for the reasons set forth.

Lady Layton suggested that several Branches which had considered the question regarded India as being in a key position between the Far East and ourselves, and they saw the necessity of resolving the problems there as one of the necessities for the future peace of the world. They were also of the opinion that there were certain internal problems which linked up with world problems, as for instance the Moslem question which, like the Jewish problem, was not a national one. Lady Layton referred to the passage in Lord Lytton's memorandum

dealing with the representation of India on the League, and drew attention to the possibility within the next few years of the British Indian part of the delegation being chosen by the Indians themselves. She agreed that the L.N.U. ought not to pass resolutions dealing with the internal problems of India, but suggested that when Branches wished to study the question the Executive should supply them with a factual memorandum giving not only the official view but also the Indian view of the various aspects of the problem. The draft memorandum which she had submitted to Lord Lytton had been prepared for that purpose. The Chairman suggested that Lady Layton should write personally to Lord Lytton regarding the various points she had raised on his memorandum.

Mr. Lipson suggested, and it was agreed, that it would be helpful to the Executive in giving further consideration to this matter if Lady Layton's memorandum, with such amendments as she might wish to make in the light of the discussion, were circulated to members, not as a substitute for Lord Lytton's paper but as a possible basis for discussion by Branches.

It was also agreed that the subject of India should be included early on the agenda for the next meeting.

224. **STUDENT FEDERATION FOR INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION.** The Executive had before them the draft Constitution for the Student Federation for International Co-operation, to the setting up of which they had given provisional approval on November 20th. After discussion, during which it was suggested that Clause 12 of the Constitution should specify the number of representatives (five) which the Federation would be entitled to appoint to the General Council of the L.N.U., it was agreed to welcome the draft Constitution of the Student Federation for International Co-operation and to extend to the Federation the good wishes of the Executive.
225. **CLOSING OF OFFICE FOR CHRISTMAS.** It was agreed that the office should be closed from 5 p.m. on Wednesday, December 24th until 10 a.m. on Monday, December 29th.
226. **DATE OF NEXT MEETING.** It was agreed that the next meeting of the Executive should take place at 11 a.m. on Thursday, January 8th instead of on January 1st.

Lipson
Chairman.

15.1.22.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE
LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION AT ITS MEETING IN LONDON
ON DECEMBER 16th and 17th, 1941.

1. JAPAN. The General Council of the League of Nations Union desire to express their condemnation of the treacherous attack by Japan on the British Empire and the United States under cover of a fraudulent pretence of peace negotiations;

They warmly welcome the statements of the Prime Minister and President Roosevelt, and the action they have taken in meeting this challenge; and

They pledge their whole-hearted support of every measure which the Government may take to bring the war to a successful conclusion and to restore peace to a world now involved in war by three greedy and unscrupulous nations.

2. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION.

- (a) The General Council

Expresses its warm approval of the statements enumerated in the Atlantic Charter regarding access to trade and raw materials, improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security, and freedom from want. It would point out, however, that such aims can be fully achieved only by international action, and urges H.M. Government to use the machinery of the I.L.O. and the Economic and Financial Sections of the League in preparing plans for translating these statements and principles into a practical policy of post-war social and economic reconstruction;

Warmly welcomes the draft Report on Social and Economic Reconstruction and the Industrial Advisory Committee's recognition of the need for "the more equitable distribution of incomes and guaranteed minimum conditions of life and work", together with the declaration that "an extension of international control over the economic action of national States" will be necessary with "some abandonment of economic sovereignty and some degree of international government in the economic sphere".

In view of the urgent need for the education of public opinion in preparation for the far-reaching social and economic changes here outlined,

The General Council recommends that the Report should be the subject for meetings throughout the country, and should be given full publicity in the Union's propaganda and in the columns of HEADWAY and the NEWS SHEET.

- (b) The General Council of the League of Nations Union views with deep satisfaction the renewal of the Conference of the International Labour Organisation that was held in October in the United States;

Warmly appreciates the action of H.M. Government in treating the Conference as of sufficient importance to warrant the attendance of the Lord Privy Seal; and

Expresses its thanks to the Government of the United States of America for facilitating the holding of the Conference.

- (c) The General Council of the League of Nations Union

Welcomes the creation by the St. James' Palace Conference of the Bureau under the direction of Sir Frederick Leith Ross and trusts that the Bureau will be as widely international in character as is possible.

The Council hopes that the Bureau will work in close co-operation with the I.L.O. and the Economic and Financial Sections of the League in preparing plans for the immediate feeding and relief of the peoples, for the transfer of industry from a war-time to a peace-time basis, and for the general financial and economic assistance of Europe in the period immediately following the armistice and prior to the post-war settlement.

3. WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR.

- (i) That Clauses 20, 21 and 22 of the Statement of Policy, adopted by the General Council on June 27th, 1941, be replaced by:

20. It is necessary to consider next the operation of the League in dealing with aggression, whether threatened or committed without warning. The responsibility of the International Authority for maintaining peace, like its responsibility for promoting economic and social welfare, must be shared by all its members. The States Members of the Authority are therefore bound to take collective action to resist an act of aggression in any part of the world as a crime committed against themselves, and this obligation is not limited by geographical considerations.
21. This resistance may take one or more of three forms:-
- (a) Collective representations to any State threatening aggression, with a clear statement of the measures which will be taken if the aggression takes place.
- (b) Political and economic measures.
- (c) Armed intervention by military force.
22. All States Members of the International Authority shall be bound to take whatever action is possible to them to prevent or stop aggression, and the obligations under (a) and (b) rest upon all alike. In the case of (c), every State would naturally resist with such force as it may possess any attack upon its own territory, but the resistance offered by a small State could not be expected to succeed without help from others. Hence the need for collective resistance.

Similarly, in such collective resistance States that are relatively weak could not be expected to act except in concert with those that are militarily strong, and the initiative must always be taken by the latter. Hence the need for a nucleus of Powers in every Region, whether situated in the area or not, who accept a special obligation to employ their whole strength, military and civil, should it become necessary to resist aggression in the areas accessible to them. Some of these Powers will be concerned in a single area, others in more than one; but in either case acceptance of such a special obligation would not exempt them from their general non-belligerent obligation in other regions.

23. The general obligation which rests upon all Member States alike should include the withholding of all aid from the aggressor, even if this should involve them in risks of retaliation. Whenever military action is taken for the suppression of aggression, the State taking such action should obtain the sanction of the International Authority either beforehand or, in case of emergency as soon as possible afterwards, in determining an aggressor or in deciding upon action to prevent aggression; no State directly interested should be entitled to vote.
24. The obligations undertaken, whether of the full or of the limited character contemplated, should be precisely defined in advance in regulations by the International Authority to meet any possible contingency, and failure to fulfil them in any particular crisis should automatically cancel membership of the International Authority. This is necessary in order to prevent any excuses for evasion being made when the crisis arises, and to ensure that any would-be aggressor should know in advance what would be the consequences of his aggression.
25. The States undertaking the full obligations in any particular region should constitute a Regional Confederation for the area to which their full obligation is limited, and in order that their action, whenever they are called upon to act, may be prompt and effective, they should employ at least a Regional General Staff.*

*The Executive Committee were asked to add a sentence defining the obligations which members of the Regional General Staff would be expected to undertake. It was suggested that these should be on the same lines as the obligations resting on members of the League Secretariat.

In 1932 the Assembly directed that the Secretary-General and all officials of the rank of Director or above should in future make the following declaration of loyalty before the Council in public session

"I solemnly undertake to exercise in all loyalty, discretion and conscience the functions that have been entrusted to me as () of the League of Nations, to discharge my functions and to regulate my conduct with the interests of the League alone in view and not to seek or receive instructions from any Government or other authority external."

This Declaration is to be made by:

- The Secretary-General; to the League of Nations.
- Officials of the rank of Director or above; to the Secretariat of the League of Nations.
- Other officials; to the Committee on Appointments.

26. What particular Powers shall constitute the nucleus here contemplated and to what regions their unlimited obligations shall apply can only be determined by the International Authority after consultation with those States which are best qualified to undertake the responsibility of military resistance in different parts of the world, subject to the foregoing qualifications. Articles 10 to 17 of the Covenant should apply to all the States Members of the International Authority.

(ii) That Clauses 23 to 25 of the Statement as adopted on June 27th, be renumbered 27, 28, 29.

A motion submitted by the Kensington Branch was withdrawn after the Chairman of the Executive Committee had assured the mover that the Executive would do its best to find an expert body of people to examine and report on the respective responsibilities of the International Authority and of the continental or regional Confederations in respect of sanctions. Sir George Young, the mover of the motion, promised to submit suggestions for the consideration of the Executive concerning the advice the Executive might seek and the kind of persons who might be asked to give it.

4. BUDGET FOR 1942.

That 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.

5. THE ATLANTIC CHARTER.*

That the General Council of the League of Nations Union, Welcomes the Atlantic Charter;

Is gratified and encouraged by the joint statement of Anglo-American co-operation, in peace as well as in war, the authoritative exposition thereof contained in the message of President Roosevelt to Congress, and the adhesion thereto of the U.S.S.R. and other Allied States; and

Earnestly hopes that H.M. Government is now working out machinery by which the principles contained in the Charter may be put into operation, and will enter into consultation with other anti-Axis Powers.

*The final drafting of this resolution was left to the Executive Committee to determine.

President Roosevelt's Message to Congress submitting the Atlantic Charter contained the following reference to "the Four Freedoms".

"It is also unnecessary for me to point out that the declaration of principles includes of necessity the world need for freedom of religion and freedom of information.

No society of the world organised under the announced principles (the Charter) could survive without those freedoms which are part of the whole freedom for which we strive".

6. ETHIOPIA.

That the General Council of the League of Nations Union

Recalling the wrongs done to Ethiopia, and rejoicing at her liberation from the Italian invader;

Recalling the pledges of the Covenant of the League of Nations and the promises of the Atlantic Charter to all the invaded lands;

Urges H.M. Government without further delay to annul British recognition of the Italian claim to possess Ethiopia and the recognition of King Victor Emmanuel of Italy as Emperor of Ethiopia; to recognise forthwith the independence of Ethiopia and to enter into diplomatic relations with her Government; and not to impair such recognition by attempting to impose any conditions prejudicial to complete Ethiopian freedom.

7. COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT.

That the General Council of the League of Nations Union

(1) Welcomes the establishment by H.M. Government of a committee in the Colonial Office to study post-war colonial policy, and also of an advisory committee on labour. It hopes that both committees will work in conjunction with the colonial experts of allied countries now in Britain. The Council believes that the constitution of a section of the International Labour Office in this country for the duration of the war would greatly facilitate planning for the raising of colonial labour standards.

(2) Requests the Industrial Advisory Committee of the Union to consider the methods by which international collaboration could be applied to the various problems mentioned in the Report of the Sub-Committee on Colonial Problems. To this end, the principles of trusteeship, impartiality, and publicity upon which the Mandatory System is based should be maintained, and the system itself adapted to the circumstances of the post-war world.

8. PEACEFUL CHANGE.

That, with a view to implementing Article 19 of the Covenant and facilitating peaceful remedies for international grievances, the Council and Assembly of the League should set up a permanent advisory body of competent persons empowered to hear and examine any matter of dispute not referable to the P.C.I.J., and to make recommendations thereupon to the Council or Assembly.

In the event of the Council or Assembly deciding in favour of the proposal of the advisory body, such a decision should have the same effect as a decision taken under Article 13 (4) of the Covenant.

9. LONDON INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

That the General Council

Welcomes and approves the establishment of the London International Assembly.

10. LEAGUE CONSTITUTION. The following motion submitted by the Withington Branch was withdrawn after Lord Lytton and Lord Cecil had assured the mover (Mr. L.F. Behrens) that the matter would be carefully considered by the Executive Committee;

The General Council

Remembering how often the effectiveness of the League to prevent war was impaired by States Members withdrawing their support or appropriate action in periods of crisis, and believing that in a reconstructed League it will be necessary for States Members to make a more complete and a less revocable surrender of their liberty of action;

Requests the Executive Committee of the Union to consider whether the constitution of the League could be amended so that the responsibility of taking action to preserve or to restore peace would be entrusted, not to a Council of representatives of States, subject to the vagaries of policy of their individual Governments, but to an Executive, composed of persons charged with the function of carrying out the provisions of the Covenant and the wishes of the Assembly undisturbed by the timidity and selfishness of national Governments, and

Looks forward to the report of the Executive Committee of the Union at the next ordinary meeting of the General Council.

THE L.N.U. AND INDIA

Memorandum by the Chairman

Some of our Branches and members have expressed a wish to study the subject of India, and a few years ago some members of our Youth Groups tabled a Resolution on the subject for the General Council. This was ruled out of order by the President on the ground that the Indian constitution was an internal matter and therefore outside the scope of the L.N.U. The subject has again cropped up in connection with Article III of the Atlantic Charter and a request has been made for some guidance from the Executive Committee.

It is argued that the form of Government desired by the people of India is an issue between Britain and India, and as both of these countries are members of the League of Nations the Indian constitutional struggle is an international question, and therefore within the sphere of the League of Nations and a proper subject for study and discussion by the L.N.U. The argument is plausible, but it ignores some of the relevant facts regarding the position of India in the League of Nations. That position is altogether exceptional. India is a Member State of the League by virtue of the fact that Mr. Montagu, as Secretary of State for India, signed the Treaty of Versailles, thus constituting India an original Member. If India were to apply for membership of the League today, she would not be eligible under the rules, not being "a fully self-governed State". The only action which India can take as a Member State of the League is action by the Government of India, i.e., by the Governor-General in Council.

Recognition is thus given to the fact that India is a State - a single political unit. This State is composed of the British Indian Provinces, which are today completely self-governing, and the Indian States, which are not self-governing but are governed by hereditary Princes under the suzerainty of the Government of India. The only authority qualified to speak or act on behalf of all the States in the Indian peninsula is the Governor-General. He is appointed by the Government at the Assembly of the League and represents the Government of India and is composed of representatives of the Indian Princes and of the British Indian Provinces. It is quite independent of the British delegation, but can only act with the approval of the Government of India.

India is also represented on the I.L.O. The delegation there consists of representatives of the Government, the employers and the workers. The official members are appointed by the Government of India, and the members of the other two groups are elected by the organisations of Indian employers and workers respectively. Each of the three acts quite independently in the interests of those whom it represents.

Any issue between the Government of India and either the British Government or the Government of any other country is an international matter of which the League would take cognisance, and which would therefore be within the scope of the L.N.U. But a matter of controversy between any two or more sections of the population of India, or between the Government of India and any of the people subject to its authority is an internal matter which would be beyond the scope of the L.N.U. to discuss or pass Resolutions about.

P.T.O.

Within the political State which the British have created on the Indian continent efforts have been made for many years now to create a national unity, so that the Government of the whole country can become both national and representative. This movement has met with such success in British India that all the Provinces are now completely self-governing, and the only problem that remains is that of making the whole country self-governing in its external as well as its internal affairs. It is obvious that the only form of Government which could unite the self-governing Provinces and the autocratically governed Indian States is a federal one. In the last Government of India Act an attempt was made to find a federal basis which would be acceptable to all parties. Unfortunately this attempt was not successful. The Princes have not accepted the proposed federal constitution, and the clauses of the Act which deal with the Central Government have not come into operation. Another attempt will have to be made as soon as the war is over.

The details of this constitutional problem, the relations between the Hindu and Moslem communities or between the Provinces and the Indian States, the claims of Congress or the Moslem League, the Indianisation of the Services or of the Army, the treatment of civil disobedience, etc., are as much matters of internal administration as would be racial, political, religious or industrial controversies in any European State. It was on this ground that Resolutions concerning the Indian constitutional issue were ruled out of order by the President of the L.N.U. Council.

On the other hand, it could not be said that the subject of India would never be within the scope of the L.N.U. A dispute might well arise between the Government of India and the Government either of a British Dominion or of a foreign State regarding the treatment of Indian subjects or some other matter, and such a dispute would be an international issue between two States Members of the League of Nations.

On the whole it seems desirable that the history of India, and the problems - whether political, social, economic or industrial - which are common to that country as well as others should be studied as closely as possible by our members, but that Resolutions should not be passed by our Branches or discussed by the General Council on matters which belong to the internal administration of that country. Books relevant to such study might usefully be supplied by our library. The better the Indian constitutional problem is understood by our members, the easier it will be for them to understand the distinction between internal and external matters.

Draft Constitution

1. The Student Federation for International Co-operation (Established by the British Universities League of Nations Society) is a federation of students and student societies in the Universities and Colleges of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.
2. The aims of the Federation are:
 - a. To promote international co-operation for freedom, peace and social progress.
 - b. To study international affairs.
 - c. To provide a forum for the discussion of post-war settlement, including the possibilities of international government and social and economic reconstruction.
3. The Federation shall take no partizan action in matters of public policy.
4. The Federation shall seek to have a member society in every University, University College and Training College and in considering applications the Federation shall if possible be represented in each University and College by one society only, which should be open to people of all political parties.
5. The officers of the Federation shall be the President, Treasurer and Secretary; the Treasurer and Secretary to be graduates.
6. The control of the Federation shall be in the hands of a general Council consisting of the officers, of representatives of the member societies which have paid subscriptions for the current year, and of four representatives from the Trustees of the British Universities League of Nations Society. Member societies shall be entitled to be represented on the Council according to the following scale:

1	representative for a society with from 10-49 members
2	representatives " " " " " 50-99 " "
3	" " " " " 100-149 " "
4	" " " " " 150-199 " "

 and one additional representative for each 100 members thereafter. If any society is unable to send to any meeting of the Council the full number of representatives to which it is entitled, their votes may be exercised by the representatives of the society who are present at the meeting.
7. At the discretion of the Council observers may be admitted to its meetings.
8. The Council shall hold an Annual General Meeting - and such other meetings as may be necessary - to conduct the affairs of the Federation, to elect officers and the Executive Committee, to receive the Treasurer's financial report and statement of accounts and to adopt a budget of expenditure for the current year.
9. The Council shall have power to elect Vice-Presidents who shall be ex officio members of the Council.
10. The Executive Committee shall consist of the President, Treasurer, Secretary and 3 ordinary members elected by the Council and shall have power to co-opt. The Executive shall be empowered to conduct the affairs of the Federation in accordance with the policy laid down by the Council and shall be responsible

- to the Council at its meetings. Whenever possible the Federation shall cover in part or whole the expenses incurred in attending meetings of the Executive.
11. The officers of the Federation shall convene the ordinary meetings of the Executive and the Council and an emergency meeting of the Council shall be called on the demand of at least 10 member societies.
 12. The Executive Committee shall have power to appoint representatives to serve on the General Council of the League of Nations Union and to such other organisations as invite representation.
 13. Annual subscriptions shall be at the rate of:

10s.	from societies with a membership of 50 or less
4l	" " " " " more than 50 but not more than 100
2l 15s.	" " " " " more than 100 but not more than 200
22	" " " " " more than 200.

 together with an additional 7s. 6d. for each 100 members over 200. Marginal cases of financial difficulty may be considered by the Executive Committee.

Individual members shall pay an annual subscription of not less than 2s. 6d.
 14. No motion involving an expenditure of more than 25 may be passed at any meeting of the Federation until the opinion of the Treasurer has been stated either in person or by letter, and the Federation shall be responsible for debts incurred in its name only when provision for them has been made at a duly constituted meeting of the Council or Executive Committee.
 15. All accounts opened in the name of the Federation shall be audited.
 16. Proposed amendments to the Constitution cannot be accepted unless they have been circulated to members of the Council so that adequate consideration can be given to them by member societies during term time.

CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION HELD AT NO. 25 ECCLESTON PLACE, S.W.1. ON THURSDAY, 16TH JANUARY 1942 AT 2 P.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Professor Brodetsky, F.M. Burris, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Miss K.D. Courtney, Miss P. Pawcett, Sir Arthur Haworth, A.J. Howe, Lady Layton, J.K. Leslie M.P., Dr. Gilbert Murray, W.T. Pritchard, Miss E. Rathbone M.P., Nowell Smith, A.E.W. Thomas, Miss E. Waite, Air-Commodore Walser, Sir Ralph Wedgwood and Major Freshwater.

227. MINUTES. The Minutes of the meeting held on December 18th were confirmed as circulated.

228. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 220 - 216 - Overseas Committee, it was reported that the following had agreed to serve on the new Committee: Mrs. Dugdale (Chairman), Major Cazalet, Miss Courtney, Lord Dickinson, J.A. Keyser, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, A.E.W. Thomas, Sir Ralph Wedgwood, Arnold Forster, H.D. Watson and Miss Freda White.

On Minute 224 - Student Federation for International Co-operation. Mr. Judd reported that a successful conference had been held at Sheffield on January 5th to 7th at which 13 Universities and 24 Training Colleges had been represented, and at which the draft Constitution for the Federation had been adopted with slight modifications. The conference programme had included lectures by Mr. Arnold Forster, the Headmaster of Rugby, Mr. Soo (author of "Lady Precious Stream") and others.

229. SIR RALPH WEDGWOOD. The Chairman had conveyed to Sir Ralph Wedgwood the congratulations and good wishes of the Executive on his new Honour. Sir Ralph warmly thanked the Committee for their message.

230. AIR COMMODORE WALSER. The Chairman welcomed Air Commodore Walser who was attending the Executive for the first time.

231. INDIA. The Committee had before them the memorandum (S.944) prepared by the Chairman, consideration of which had been adjourned from the last meeting, together with a paper written by Lady Layton (S.946) which it was suggested might be of use to L.N.U. Branches in studying the problems of India.

After considerable discussion in which many members of the Committee took part and during which a letter from Mr. James Macdonald was read, it was agreed that a note should be published in HEADWAY, stating briefly the grounds on which the subject of India had been ruled out of order by the President of the General Council, but stating also (as in the Chairman's memorandum) that it was desirable that the history of India should be studied in order that Union Branches might more readily understand the distinction between internal and external matters relating to the Indian constitutional problem. In that connection, memoranda on the subject were available and would be supplied on application to Headquarters.

It was agreed that both the memorandum by the Chairman and that by Lady Layton should be sent to enquirers on the subject.

The Secretary was asked to draft the notice for HEADWAY and to submit it to the Chairman and Lady Layton for their approval before publication.

232. **LEAGUE OFFICE IN LONDON.** The Executive had before them a confidential memorandum by Mr. Frank Walters dealing with the proposal to invite the Acting-Secretary-General to send a small group of members of the technical services of the Secretariat to London for the duration of the war (S.947, copy filed with these minutes). It was agreed to ask Lord Cecil if he would be good enough to discuss the proposal with the Foreign Secretary at a convenient moment, and to report to the Executive when he had done so. The Secretary was asked to communicate the Executive's request to Lord Cecil.

233. **GENERAL COUNCIL.** Consideration was given to the proposal made to the General Council by Sir George Young, on behalf of the Kensington Branch, for the appointment of an "expert body of people to examine and report on the respective responsibilities of the International Authority and of the continental or regional Confederations in respect of sanctions".

A letter from Sir George Young making more detailed proposals was read (copy filed with these minutes).

The Executive agreed with the Chairman that, so far as the military, naval and air aspect of sanctions was concerned, it would not be practicable or desirable to attempt to set up a committee of experts during the period of the war. But a discussion might be held between members of the Executive Committee and certain League officials now in London in order to ascertain their reactions from a League administrative point of view to the proposals contained in "World Settlement after the War".

After discussion it was agreed that such a meeting should be held, and it was left to the Chairman to decide which League officials should be invited to attend and to fix a date for the meeting. Members of the Executive desiring to be present were asked to send their names to the Secretary. It was suggested that the matter might also be discussed by the London International Assembly.

The Executive also had before them the following motion submitted to the General Council by Mr. Behrens on behalf of the Withington Branch and withdrawn on the understanding that the Executive would consider the proposal:

"The General Council

Remembering how often the effectiveness of the League to prevent war was impaired by States Members withdrawing their support of appropriate action in periods of crisis, and believing that in a reconstructed League it will be necessary for States Members to make a more complete and a less revocable surrender of their liberty of action;

Requests the Executive Committee of the Union to consider whether the constitution of the League could be amended so that the responsibility of taking action to preserve or to restore peace would be entrusted, not to a Council of representatives of States, subject to the vagaries of policy of their individual Governments, but to an Executive, composed of persons charged with the function of carrying out the provisions of the Covenant and the wishes of the Assembly undisturbed by the timidity and selfishness of national Governments, and

Looks forward to the report of the Executive Committee of the Union at the next ordinary meeting of the General Council."

In this connection the Chairman reminded the Executive of the proposal he had made some years ago for the appointment of a permanent Chairman of the League Council who would not be a representative of any national Government.

It was agreed that the Chairman's proposal, as well as the proposal made by the Withington Branch should be submitted for discussion at the meeting with League officials, but that the precise text of the Withington motion should not be circulated.

Miss Courtney suggested, and it was agreed, that the meeting should also consider the question of setting up machinery through which public opinion could be made to function at meetings of the International Authority.

234. **MAJOR CAZALET.** The Executive cordially welcomed an offer by Major Cazalet to report to the Executive on Thursday, February 5th on the experiences he had gained during his recent extensive tour in Russia and other countries.
235. **DR. GARNETT.** The Executive learned with regret of Dr. Garnett's illness, and the Secretary was asked to convey to him the sympathy of the Committee and their best wishes for his speedy recovery.
236. **LEAGUE CONFERENCE.** Miss Courtney briefly reported on a very successful series of meetings recently held in Washington to discuss the League experiment, at which addresses had been delivered by experts on practically every branch of the League's activities and to which wide publicity had been given. She referred to a memorandum she had received from Mr. Noel-Baker suggesting that a similar conference should be held in this country, particularly since there were in London, at the present time, many leaders of Allied Governments and other persons who had been closely associated with the League in the past.

It was agreed that this matter should be included on the agenda for the next meeting, and that Mr. Noel-Baker's memorandum should be circulated to members. It was suggested that, if such a conference were held, it might be organised by the London International Assembly.

237. **AMERICAN LEAGUE OF NATIONS ASSOCIATION.** The following telegram received from the American L. of N. Association was read:

"League of Nations Association held Board Meeting and Public Dinner in Washington January 10th to commemorate twenty-second anniversary of coming into being of League of Nations. National Board voted send you greetings and express its admiration for the faith that the Union has had for two decades. All of us believe that out of tragedy of second world war will come opportunity to rebuild structure of international peace on an even firmer foundation based upon experience of past twenty-two years and ideals of Atlantic Charter. We look forward to working with you in future as in past."

The Secretary was asked cordially to thank the American Association for their message and to inform them of the Executive's consideration of the proposal in minute 236 above.

238. **MEETINGS OF EXECUTIVE.** It was decided to continue for the time being, the present arrangement regarding days and times of meetings of the Executive.

239. **MINORITIES.** The Secretary was asked to consult Lord Cecil, Dr. Murray, Mr. Macartney and the Chairman with a view to fixing a mutually convenient date for discussion by the Executive of the draft Report of the Minorities Committee. It was also agreed to invite Miss Freda White to attend the Executive's meeting when the report was under discussion.
240. **LADY HORSLEY.** The Executive Committee recorded their profound regret at the loss which the Union as a whole, and the Kensington Branch in particular, had sustained in the death of Lady Horsley, and their deep appreciation of the untiring efforts which she had made, for so many years, in the cause of world peace. The Secretary was asked to send a message of sympathy to the Kensington Branch.

K. D. Courtney
 Chairman.
 29. 1. 42.

MEMORANDUM ON INDIA FOR USE OF L.N.U. BRANCHES IF WANTEDThe Government of India Act, 1935.

The Act embodied the final results of the prolonged investigations and discussions which began with the appointment of the Simon Commission in 1927. It consists of two main parts, Part I giving autonomous responsible government on the British parliamentary model to the 11 Provinces of British India (subject to certain 'safeguards' in the power of the Governors), and Part II uniting the British Indian Provinces and the Indian States, which occupy nearly half the area of India, in an All-India Federation with a central government responsible to a federal legislature for all departments except Defence and External Affairs. The Act provided for a great extension of the franchise to over 30 million voters including 6½ million women. Seats were reserved for Moslems and other minorities voting by separate electorates; this arrangement was based on the Communal Award of the British Government made in the absence of an agreed settlement by the communities themselves. Women also had reserved seats in all the legislatures, and Mrs. Pandit was made Home Secretary in the first U.P. elected Congress Ministry.

The New Constitution in Action 1937-39.

Part I of the Act came into operation in April 1937. Congress obtained sweeping majorities in 7 of the 11 Provinces, and Congress governments found that they need not have feared the use of emergency powers by the Governors which deterred the Working Committee from allowing Congressmen to accept office for several months. It is generally admitted that the ministries worked on the whole with success, and initiated a number of measures of social and economic reform. Coalition governments with Moslem premiers were formed in the Punjab and Bengal.

Opposition to Federation.

Meanwhile the Federal part of the Act hung fire. Negotiations with the Princes as to the conditions of their accession (and the Act provided that at least half must be ready to join) proved very difficult, and other provisions of the Federal scheme were opposed, though for differing reasons, both by Congress and by the Moslem League. No agreement between the main interests concerned had been reached by the summer of 1939, and shortly after the outbreak of war the Viceroy announced that preparations for Federation would be suspended.

Growth of Communal Tension.

The two years of provincial autonomy resulted in a great access of strength and influence to the Moslem League, and a growth of hostility towards Congress, said to be due to the non-inclusion of Moslems (except members of Congress) in the Congress ministries, and to the alleged oppression of Moslems by minor Congress officials in the Congress provinces. The extent to which Hindu Moslem

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relations have deteriorated may be gauged from the fact that Mr. Jinnah, leader of the Moslem League, ordered the celebration in December 1939 of a "Day of Deliverance" when Congress governments ceased to function. The breach was further widened at the conference of the Moslem League in Lahore in March 1940 when a resolution was passed in favour of "Pakistan", i.e. the separation of a union of predominantly Moslem regions from the rest of India, as independent states. It is true that Congress claims to be a non-communal party and certainly includes large numbers of Moslems in its ranks, but it is undeniable that they are a very small proportion of a Moslem community, which now numbers some 30 millions in the whole of India, determined not to submit to the permanent rule of the Hindu majority. It must be remembered that the position is not comparable to that of majority rule in a democratic country where the majority at one election may be the minority at the next.

Political Developments from the Outbreak of War till July 1941.

There was bitter resentment at the declaration of India's participation in the war without her consent, though Congress had been foremost in condemning aggression in China and Abyssinia and the betrayal of democracy in Spain and Czechoslovakia. The Viceroy informed party leaders privately of his intention to declare India a belligerent, but there was no consultation of the legislatures. The Working Committee of Congress immediately issued a statement asking for a declaration of war aims as they affected the future of India, and being dissatisfied with the Viceroy's reply, ordered the Congress ministries to resign. Interviews and negotiations continued, and in July 1940 the Congress Working Committee made what is known as the Poona offer, an offer of full co-operation in the war effort if Government would recognise the independence of India after the war. This offer involved the temporary retirement of Mr. Gandhi since it was incompatible with his pacifist position.

Viceroy's Proposals of August 1940.

In reply the Viceroy issued a new statement reiterating the promise of free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth as the goal for India, and offering that the future constitution should be framed by Indians themselves as soon as possible after the conclusion of the war. He further invited representative Indians to serve on his Executive Council. These proposals were rejected by Congress as not meeting their demands, and the Moslem League refused co-operation on the Executive Council on the ground of dissatisfaction with the representation offered. Mr. Gandhi was then recalled to the leadership of Congress and decided to inaugurate civil disobedience on a limited scale. Specially selected Congress members from each province announced their intention of making speeches against India's co-operation in the war, and courted arrest under the Defence of India rules. The campaign started in October 1940 and resulted in the imprisonment of most of the Congress leaders, the premiers and the majority of the ministers of the Congress provinces, and many members of the legislatures. The movement was at its height in the spring of 1941 but has since declined very considerably.

Conference of Moderate Leaders, March 1941.

In the hope of breaking the deadlock Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, a distinguished Indian politician who took a leading part in the Round Table Conferences, called a Conference in Bombay which proposed: (1) The Viceroy's Executive Council should be reconstructed and consist wholly of non-official Indians, to whom all portfolios including Finance and Defence (working under the British Commander-in-Chief) should be transferred. The Council should be given joint and collective responsibility, and be treated as on the same footing as a Dominion government. (2) A declaration should be made for the conferment of Dominion Status within a definite time limit after the war.

Expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and setting up of National Defence Council, July 1941.

In July 1941 Government announced that it had been decided to proceed with the expansion of the Executive Council on non-party lines. The changes are purely administrative, but in the new Council there are 8 Indians and 4 Europeans, thus giving for the first time a majority to non-official Indian members. A National Defence Council was set up consisting of about 20 members from British India and 9 from the Indian States, and to link up the war effort throughout the country. Congress is, of course, not represented on the Defence Council and the Moslem premiers, who had accepted membership, have resigned in compliance with the decision of the Working Committee of the Moslem League.

Effect of New World Situation on India.

The entry of Russia into the war, and Japan's wanton attack on the A.B.C.D. powers, has brought the war very much closer to India. The war for India is now very clearly one of self-defence - her life lines are endangered - and she is within reach of Japan's bombers. This has very considerably altered her political outlook, as Russia and China, with whom Congress has always had great sympathy, are her declared allies.

She has become a vital source of supply not only for the campaign in Libya and the forces in the Middle East, but also for Burma and the Far East.

For some time there has been dissatisfaction in the Congress ranks with the unrealism of Civil Disobedience against the war effort. In December 1941, there was a partial release of Satyagraha (civil disobedience) prisoners, including Jawaharlal Nehru and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, president of the All India Congress Party, and Mr. Gandhi has partially suspended Civil Disobedience. This was followed by a meeting of the Congress Working Committee in Christmas week - and the second resignation of Mr. Gandhi, on finding that the majority of the Committee would no longer support his pacifist stand.

The All India Congress Party has been summoned for January 15th and it will be for it to decide whether Civil Disobedience movement shall be continued, or opposition in some other form or whether there shall be co-operation with the war effort in the defence of India.

8

Suggestions for breaking the Deadlock.

The release of prisoners has been welcomed on all sides, and many suggestions have been put forward both here and in India for bridging the gulf. In various forms, a reconstitution of the Central Executive is so proposed as to make it more fully representative of Indian opinion, an Indian cabinet under the Viceroy - the present British ministers, especially Home and Finance, becoming what they are in fact, permanent officials, and the Commander-in-Chief remaining British.

Secondly, that coalition ministries, similar to those recently set up in Orissa and Bengal should if possible be created in the 6 remaining provinces where ministries resigned in 1939.

Thirdly, that Government should again offer all expert help that Indians may require from Great Britain or the Dominions in drafting a revised constitution acceptable to all parties in India - to be brought into operation immediately after the cessation of hostilities. All these proposals pre-suppose some reconciliation of the two principal political parties, Congress, the Moslem League, and their willingness wholeheartedly to support the war effort.

It is quite clear that India's total war effort is necessary in face of the dangerous situation in the Far East, and it cannot be achieved without full co-operation of all elements. The release of prisoners and Mr. Gandhi's resignation affords an opportunity for a fresh approach on both sides.

India's War Effort

The spirit of the peoples of India is with Britain in the struggle against Nazism. In spite of the political deadlock India is contributing magnificently to the war effort in men, munitions and money. Recruitment to the Indian army is entirely on a voluntary basis, and is expected shortly to reach 1,000,000 men. The young Indian Air Force has been rapidly expanding, and Indian naval strength is growing. Indian Forces have already played a memorable part in all the campaigns in the Middle East. Indian technicians are being trained both in India and in England. A vast extension of industry is enabling India not only to meet nearly all her own requirements in arms, munitions and general equipment, but also to make an immense contribution of supplies to the common effort through the Eastern Supply Council and Provision Centre, which has its headquarters at Delhi.

India and the League

India was one of the original members of the League of Nations as a signatory of the Peace Treaties of 1919 and as such was given the same status as the Dominions.

This India includes both the Indian States which are governed by hereditary Princes under the suzerainty of the Government of India, and the British Indian Provinces which are now self-governing. The only authority, as

the Federal Scheme of the Act of 1935 has not come into being, that can speak for this India, is the Governor-General in Council - the viceroy - and he appoints the delegation for Geneva, from India itself. It is quite independent of the British delegation.

India is also represented on the I.L.O. and has a permanent seat on its Governing Body as one of the leading industrial countries of the world. Its delegation consists of representatives of the Government, the employers and the workers. The official members are appointed by the Government of India, and the members of the other two groups are elected by the organisation of Indian employers and workers respectively. Each of the three acts quite independently in the interests of those whom it represents.

India's Place in the Post-War World.

India's recent adherence to the declaration of 26 Powers at Washington that she will make no separate peace and accepts the Atlantic Charter is only one sign of her position in the world.

It is of vital concern to the League that India should resolve her internal problems (civil war between Moslems and Hindus would certainly affect the whole Moslem world) and her relations with the British Commonwealth. The war has brought home to all free nations the absolute necessity of international co-operation, and in whatever shape her final free constitution may be drawn, she will need either to remain a member of the British Commonwealth or to join some even wider group of nations alike for the purpose of her defence and her economic development.

Her geographical position makes her a vital link between the East and the West, and the League is therefore deeply concerned that she should become united and strong politically and physically - working wholeheartedly in the closest harmony with those countries now engaged in a death struggle against the forces of evil and disruption.

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CONFIDENTIAL

S.947.
8.1.42.

Memorandum by Mr. Frank Walters on the question of inviting the Acting Secretary-General to send a small group of members of the technical services of the Secretariat to this country for the duration of the war.

- (1) The economic and financial section, the health section and, I believe also the transit section of the Secretariat, are still doing useful work. This work would obviously profit from having one or two people collecting information in this country.
- (2) Though nothing completely definite has as far as I know been said in public on the subject, H.M.G. has certainly suggested that they do contemplate using the Secretariat amongst other available forms of machinery in connection with post-war reconstruction of various kinds. Indeed, it would be ridiculous not to do so since the Secretariat still possesses a knowledge of the administrative services in different countries, both as regards machinery and as regards personnel which exists nowhere else; and in spite of the destruction going on in Europe some part of the network which it had built up will still exist. As regards health, for instance, the Secretariat is still following developments in Europe as a whole and is, I believe, the only organisation which is doing so. But if this machinery is to be used effectively some connection should be made now between it and the official committees in London which are working out plans in this field, i.e. the Leith-Ross Committee and any inter-allied organisations which are believed to be being set up or contemplated.
- (3) It would be a pity not to raise the matter with Lester now, since it will certainly take some time to select the people and get them over to this country and nobody knows when the relief work will have to begin to function.
- (4) It cannot be doubted that such a move would be welcomed by the United States which has for a good many years now taken a full part in all this side of League work.
- (5) The cost of the new office would of course fall on the League budget. Its cost to the budget would not be great since it is not suggested that new staff should be engaged. I do not know whether it would actually be possible for them to use the existing League office in London, but in any case the accommodation for a group of about three people would not be a difficulty (the League budget at present supports four offices in London, viz. 1. the old League office; 2. the old I.L.O. office; 3. the Treasurer and a small staff; 4. the High Commissioner for Refugees and his small staff).
- (6) The group might consist if possible of one economist, one member of the health section and one official who has followed the work of the Nutrition Committee of the League. If it were possible to get M. Aghnides over to take charge of it, that would be to my mind an ideal arrangement; if not, several other possible arrangements for this purpose could be worked out. (It is invited to do so by Mr. Lester and by H.M.G. I would be prepared to give part-time to this on a voluntary basis).

12. 16. 1941
W.S.
12. 16. 1941

Dear Sir,

As to the Experts Committee - Experts as the title calls
 imply either 1. Stampede or starting start milling round
 into meaningless meanings harming each other into
 dilemmas. I suggest constituting them as an advisory
 Committee and consulting each separately. They should
 not only be representatives of their professional families
 but also of factors in our problem. E.g. Prof. Robbins
 federalist economist (Chatham House). Prof. Todd
 political scientist (Federal Union). Prof. Keeton
 lawyer (New Commonwealth Institute) etc. a first step
 towards making these movements stop patching and start
 fighting in its own field on a common front. also,
 though less important, an advisory Committee of experts
 representing the allied Poles so as to co-ordinate their
 policies as far as possible. Content could should rest
 with a D. N. U. Committee of experts - Lord Cecil and
 Sir ~~Spencer~~ Wood Baker - which also would keep
 contact with the parties and keep all clear with the
 Prime Minister. I would sketch out for the D. N. U.
 Committee a skeleton scheme of for a League of
 "Federalists" within the four corners of your Statement
 of Policy and Cecil's last chapter - indicating the
~~main~~ difficulties which would be dealt with by federalism
 and the developments which should be referred to experts
 either for a solution or for settlement with their organisations.

In this way, ~~we~~ by finding out and
 following up lines of least resistance and greatest common
 measure we might so exploit experts for diplomatic
 deals as to get a long way through the wood - or even
 perhaps out of it. Any way any thing on your 12.9.41
 that looks over used to welcome with utroops - and
 a good run would not only give the League but
 go far to win the war - and the peace.

Yours Faithfully
Francis Payne Young

CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT 25
ECCLESTON PLACE, LONDON, S.W.1, ON THURSDAY, 29th JANUARY 1942,
AT 2 P.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Professor Brodetsky,
P.M. Burris, Lord Cecil, Dean of Chichester,
Miss K.D. Courtney, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss P. Fawcett,
Sir Arthur Haworth, Lady Layton, Dame Adelaide
Livingstone, J. Macdonald, Dr. Gilbert Murray,
Nowell Smith, H.S. Syrett, Miss E. Waite, Air-
Commodore Walser, Sir Ralph Wedgwood, Leonard
Wolf and Major Freshwater.

241. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on 15th January 1942,
were confirmed as circulated.

242. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 232 - League Office in London, Lord Cecil
suggested that it might be better if, in the first
instance, he discussed the proposal contained in
Mr. Walters' memorandum with Sir Alexander Cadogan
rather than with the Foreign Secretary. The Execu-
tive agreed with Lord Cecil's suggestion.

243. EDUCATION COUNCIL. Mr. Nowell Smith reported that from January
3rd to 5th the Management Committee of the Education Council
had met at Jordans Hostel when, in addition to the usual
administrative business, a discussion had taken place on a
draft Statement he had prepared on Education and World Citizen-
ship. The statement would be submitted to the full Education
Council when it met in Oxford at Easter, and afterwards to the
Executive. Proposals for arousing greater interest in the
subject of education in world citizenship were also discussed
by the Management Committee.

From January 5th to 7th a Conference was held at Sheffield
to inaugurate the new Student Federation for International
Co-operation (as reported in minute 238 of the last meeting).

From January 8th to 12th, a further Conference for senior
school pupils took place at Leighton Park School, Reading, when
some 120 boys and girls from 58 schools had attended as
boarders. Owing to the difficulty of obtaining sufficient
accommodation, applications from some 200 pupils had had to
be refused. Mrs. Parkes, who had attended as an official
observer from the Board of Education, regarded it as "a
most significant conference".

Dr. Murray supplemented Mr. Nowell Smith's statement with
a further report on the Conference at Leighton Park, and said
there was no doubt about the keenness, great interest and
good spirit of those attending.

The Chairman thanked Mr. Nowell Smith and Dr. Murray for
their reports, and expressed the Executive's great appreciation
of the work of the Education Council.

244. TIME AND PLACE OF FUTURE MEETINGS OF EXECUTIVE. The Chairman
having reported that the Union was again in possession of the
Board Room at H.Q. office, it was, after discussion, agreed
that future meetings of the Executive should be held there,
and that on and after February 19th, the meetings of the
Committee should begin at 2.0 p.m.

P.T.O.

245. **MINORITIES.** The Executive had before them the draft Report and Treaty prepared by the Minorities sub-Committee (copy filed with these minutes). Mr. Courtney, Mr. Mabbott and Miss Freda White were present by invitation.

The Chairman reminded the Executive of the discussion which they had had on the subject at the meeting on December 4th. In regard to procedure, Mr. Macartney stated that the Minorities Committee had always intended, if asked, to go on and try to work out a procedure for minority jurisdiction. He had, himself, in consultation with a number of other people, already been working out a revised procedure.

After considerable discussion, in which many members of the Executive took part, it was agreed

- (a) That some minority protection is necessary;
- (b) That such protection does not mean giving to any minority community special rights by virtue of their being members of such a community, but rather of ensuring to them the possession of the same rights as are enjoyed by the majority;
- (c) That the Minorities Committee be asked to consider whether protection can be practically achieved (a) by the adoption of a standard system, or (b) by a general system with a strong commission to apply it in detail; and, if the latter, to indicate to what extent.
- (d) That if it were possible to get rid of minorities altogether by an exchange or transfer of population without undue hardship, such action would be desirable, but that the reasons why transfer cannot provide the only solution of the problem should be stated rather more fully than in the report, and if possible some actual experiences recorded.
- (e) To ask the Minorities Committee to reconsider their report in the light of the above, and also to draw up a revised procedure for minority jurisdiction.

On the suggestion of Miss Courtney it was further agreed that, for the purpose of reconsidering the draft Report, the existing Minorities Committee should be enlarged and strengthened. It was left to the Chairman and Miss Courtney to invite further members to serve on the Committee.

246. **PROPOSED CONFERENCE.** The Executive had before them a memorandum by Mr. Noel-Baker (S.949, copy filed with these minutes). The organisation of such a conference was considered, and it was suggested that Mr. Judd might be able to undertake this if additional secretarial assistance were provided for him, but that existing commitments in respect of the Education Council and the International Assembly would have to be taken into consideration.

After discussion, the Secretary was asked, in consultation with Mr. Judd, to prepare, for consideration by the Executive at a future meeting, a draft programme for a conference on the lines proposed, giving details of the organisation, staff and funds which would be required.

- 3 -

247. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Executive had before them resolutions adopted by the Wallington Branch at a public meeting, the Tyne District Council Committee and the Oxford Branch Committee (copies filed with these minutes).

(a) Wallington. It was agreed to thank the Branch for their resolution and to remind them that, in the opinion of the Union, the only way to get rid of air bombardment was to abolish national air forces, but that that would be less likely of achievement without the creation of an international air force.

(b) Tyne District Council. It was agreed to enquire of H.M. Government if there was anything in the new Yugoslav-Greek Pact which was likely to prejudice the freedom of the Albanian people.

(c) Oxford Branch Committee. The attention of the Executive was drawn to a recent letter by Lord Cecil in THE TIMES, with the views in which the Committee was cordially in agreement. After discussion, Mr. Nowell Smith and Dr. Murray were asked to draft, for consideration by the Executive, a statement drawing distinction between vengeance and justice, and suggesting precise action which the Executive might take to counteract anti-German propaganda. *indiscriminate*

248. MEMBERSHIP. The Secretary gave an oral report on membership. Subscriptions paid in 1941 were 70 per cent. of those paid in the previous year, but the return for the Liverpool district was not yet available and the total percentage would therefore be higher.

In December 1941, more than twice as many new members were enrolled as in December 1940.

Lyllon
Chairman
5. 2. 42.

DRAFT REPORT ON MINORITIES.

The Committee circulated to a number of persons interested in minority problems a preliminary memorandum on minorities and a brief questionnaire on the subject and began its work with a discussion of the replies to this questionnaire.

The Committee was unanimous in holding that there should be some form of minority protection after the war, and that this protection should be exercised by that international body which had the widest membership and powers adequate to the task.

On the question "which minorities should be protected?" there was a difference of view and no final decision was taken. Some members held that protection should be extended to all minorities in Europe (with the possible exception of the U.S.S.R.). One member held that protection should be limited to the minorities in those territories of Europe whose frontiers have been redrawn since 1910, a protection which would be embodied in separate treaties, signed by the various states concerned. He held that the Great Powers of Western Europe would almost certainly refuse to accept minority obligations, or, if they did, would be unwilling to see them effectively enforced against themselves and therefore necessarily lukewarm in enforcing them against others. He also pointed out that France was a country of immigration and any such country might prefer to exclude immigrants altogether rather than risk the perpetuation of unassimilated foreign elements. Other members of the Committee recalled the discontent expressed by the Minority Treaty States at their invidious position and maintained that the Committee should present what it held to be the right solution even if it could not be carried through at a peace settlement against recalcitrant political forces. The point about France was recognised to be a serious one and it was met by the suggestion that immigrants should be refused the right to the full protection of language and organisation accorded to indigenous minorities. (See below.) The question raised between a general European minority covenant and separate minority treaties with selected states was left undecided.

The Committee was opposed to the adoption of transfer of populations as a general solution of minority problems, except in special cases or as a last resort, in view of the human suffering involved and the economic difficulties of the process. The Committee were agreed that German colonists, settled since the outbreak of war in alien territories would constitute such a special case. There was some difference of opinion on the question how far, if at all, the menace of other German minorities should be recognised by transferring to Germany German minorities already settled in territories before 1939. One member of the Committee held that this would probably be advisable, at least in Poland. One member of the Committee was not prepared to reject the principle of transfer as a general solution and urged that the subject should be studied at an early date.

p.t.o.

The Committee then drafted the model Minorities Treaty attached to this Report, which it believes to set forth those provisions for the adoption of which the League of Nations Union might reasonably ask the Government to press at the end of the war. The Committee records with satisfaction that it agreed unanimously on the overwhelming majority of the clauses in this draft.

The draft follows in many respects the Minorities Treaties of 1919, but contains considerable alterations, additions and some omissions, as compared with those Treaties. The Committee believes that these changes, which were suggested by the experience of the working of the Treaties, and of the minorities legislation, should constitute a substantial improvement on the 1919 texts.

In one respect the draft differs fundamentally, as a matter of principle, from the 1919 treaties. The latter conceded the theoretical justification of making the state the national state of the chief nationality, seeking only to give a degree of protection to the minorities. The draft goes back for its inspiration on this point to the Hungarian Nationality Law of 1868, and assumes the principle that all citizens of the state, without distinction of nationality, race, language or religion, are in theory equal partners in the state. The priority necessarily enjoyed in many respects by the majority nation arises out of the practical requirements of administration, etc. The difference between the two forms may be small in practice, but in principle it is fundamental, and in making this change, the Committee was convinced that it was taking the only line which could be defended in theory.

Another important change is that, whereas in certain cases the existing treaties provided protection for all inhabitants of the state concerned, the present draft confines the proposed protection to nationals (citizens) of the state. The Committee believed that a Minorities Treaty could not properly impose on a state rules to govern its behaviour towards persons who were not its own citizens. The protection of such persons is important indeed, but is the province either of the state whose nationals the persons concerned are, or of the League as a whole.

Throughout the draft the word "nationality" has been added to the three minority criteria of race, language and religion. This addition, urged in the past by the representatives of several minorities, was approved by the Federation of League of Nations Societies, and may stop a possible leakage in the system of protection.

Many of the other modifications of the 1919 text are of form rather than substance, the drafting of the 1919 treaties having been hurried and careless in many respects.

The text of the draft is largely self-explanatory; but the following notes are added to show the ideas which the Committee had in mind, particularly where it altered the 1919 text. The references in square brackets are to the Polish Minorities Treaty of 1919.

Art. I. [VII.1.] contains the general principle of equal treatment which has appeared in practically all Minority Treaties, and seems unexceptionable. It is difficult to enforce, but impossible to omit.

Art. II [VII.2. viii. 7] lays down the principle of religious freedom, equality and toleration. It differs from all other clauses in the Treaty in laying down not merely an equal right for all nationalities, but as regards freedom to exercise religion and to receive, but as regards freedom an absolute right. This is not strictly justified in the Minorities Treaty, but was already contained in the 1918 Treaties and even in earlier instruments, and no objection has ever been raised to this. It is, of course, arguable, that the clause might also be reproduced in the League Covenant, or whatever corresponding instrument emerges after the war.

The sentence on the allocation of public funds for religious institutions embodies only the principle of equal treatment.

One member wished to make this clause more detailed to include specific safeguards for ritual performances and practices. The majority of the Committee, however, felt that the time-honoured wording with which the article opens already provides the safeguards in question and that it should not be altered. The special needs of special minorities ought to be met, where necessary, by special provisions. In any case, the Committee felt that if, as the same member suggested, the Jewish problem was made the object of special treatment, another occasion would arise for providing the safeguards in question.

Art. III provides for equal treatment in public and economic life. It is more detailed than the corresponding clause in the Polish Treaty [VII. 2.] in its specific prohibition of discrimination in economic life.

One member of the Committee expressed doubts whether it was wise to include the obligation of equal admission to public employment. Where linguistic minorities were concerned, this would of course depend in practice on the possession by a member of the linguistic minority of the necessary linguistic qualifications, while in the case of racial and religious minorities, it might involve the repeal of a large amount of existing legislation in many states. He agreed to the clause as it stands, on condition that his strong misgivings were mentioned in the Report.

Art. IV. [VII.3.7] lays down the principle of linguistic equality in private life.

Art. V. deals with the necessary inequality in the degree to which languages must in practice be used in public life; e.g. in a state containing members of 14 or 15 linguistic groups, most of them very small, while another may comprise 50% of the total population of the country, all languages cannot in practice enjoy equality. As conditions vary from country to country, it is contemplated that for practical purposes a schedule should be drafted to suit the needs of each country. This schedule, like the rest of the Treaty, comes under the guarantee of Arts. XIII and XIV.

The second paragraph [cf vii.4. 7] is intended as a safeguard for persons belonging to very small linguistic minorities.

Art. VI. lays down the principle of equality in respect of the language of instruction in schools. The principle of equality does not, again, mean complete equality in practice, e.g. a linguistic group of a few hundred peasants cannot claim a university because a majority of 20 millions

possesses one. It does, however, lay down the principle that conditions being equal, there shall be no discrimination between persons speaking different languages.

In connection with education, the position often arises that members of linguistic minorities would be at a practical disadvantage if they did not speak the language of the majorities. The whole question is intimately connected with that of the language of administration, and the draft provides that the details shall in each case be set forth in a schedule which would be worked out in connection with Schedule A.

The stipulation that pressure should not be exercised on parents or guardians to influence their choice of a school corresponds to a wish often enunciated by minorities.

Art. VII [VIII. ix. 2. 7] lays down a principle of equal treatment, without binding a state to allow any private institutions of the kind mentioned, but as already mentioned, the absolute right to religious freedom and to religious instruction is contained in Art. II.

The second para. is an addition which the experience of past years has shown to be advisable.

Art. VIII corresponds to a desiderata often expressed by minorities and the Committee agreed that in theory, the principles which it sets forth ought to be followed. All members of the Committee, however, agreed that in certain cases a danger might arise that minority organisations or even persons outside the state, might exercise undue interference or tyranny over individual members of minorities, if too unrestricted a right of self-government were granted to minorities. The clause is thus hedged in with safeguards, and in this form, the Committee adopted it unanimously.

Art. IX is all that remains in the draft of the provisions regarding the acquisition of citizenship. The Committee was unanimous in feeling that, important as these clauses were, they did not belong in a minorities treaty, but ought to be embodied either in a Peace Treaty or in a separate instrument. The present Article constitutes an additional safeguard.

It has been suggested that if this clause is inserted in the Minorities Treaty, while the peace treaties already regulate the acquisition of citizenship and provide, as it is hoped that they should, machinery for their enforcement, a danger of double jurisdiction would arise. The Committee recognised the validity of this argument but was nevertheless on the whole inclined to let the clause stand.

Art. X is purely facultative, and would be inserted in a Treaty only if the State concerned were prepared to allow the formation of a "national group" - an institution which, while in certain cases in the past it has given rise to abuses, has in other cases given results admitted to be excellent from the point of view of the state and the minority alike.

It is assumed that other special clauses might well be inserted at this point in some of the Treaties.

Art. XI is an attempt to meet the difficulty mentioned above of countries of immigration, and indeed, the legitimate reluctance which any Government might well feel to admitting immigrants who might swell the numbers of its unassimilated minority elements. The Committee did not specify what were the exceptions which might be granted, feeling that these might vary in different cases. It thought, however, that in most cases only Art. VI, Art. VIII and possible Art. VII would be concerned.

Art. XII begins with a general safeguard [17]. The next four paragraphs are new, and contain what the Committee believes to be a useful innovation. The third of those paragraphs is designed as a safeguard in the case when the state denies the existence of a minority (as happened notably in the case of the Yugoslav Macedonians.)

Art. XIII and XIV - the guarantee articles - re-draft and strengthen the corresponding article [XII, 7] in the earlier texts. The ultimate powers of the Council and Permanent Court are left unaltered. On the other hand, the Council is given the explicit right to lay down its own procedure. The signatory state is not able to refuse its consent, by pleading the unanimity rule, and also pledges itself in advance to render any reports, etc., required by the Council.

These articles omit one qualification contained in earlier treaties - that limiting their application to the protection of minorities. The omission was deliberate, since the present treaty, unlike its predecessors, already limits itself strictly to the protection of minorities. This is, indeed, not absolutely true. Art. 2 lays down the absolute principle of religious freedom and thus provides the protection in this respect for nationals of a state who do not belong to minorities. Nevertheless, the Committee thought that experience showed that this inconsistency might safely be perpetuated.

The Committee hopes that these changes would make it possible for the Council effectively to enforce the Treaty. The question of procedure is a separate one, and the Committee hopes to deal with this in a subsequent report.

The Committee does not, of course, feel that in presenting this Report and Draft Model Treaty it has exhausted the subject of minority protection. The important question of proposing an improved procedure, is one which clearly arises, and on which the Committee would like to be allowed to make suggestions. But many other questions also are involved. The question has constantly arisen during the Committee's debates whether such and such a provision did not properly belong, not in a specific minority treaty but in the Covenant of the League itself, and perhaps in some general declaration of the Rights of Man. The Committee did not feel itself competent to go into the question of amending the Covenant or of drafting general declarations; but it recognised the relationship of those questions with that of the minorities treaties and ventured to suggest that the Union ought to appoint Committees to study them.

It was also suggested, and the Committee agreed, that the Jewish question constituted a special problem which required special treatment. The provisions in the Draft Treaty are clearly meant to cover Jews as well as other minorities, but the Committee did not think it possible to include in the Treaty all the special provisions which Jews might regard as suitable for their special needs. It cordially endorses the suggestion that the Jewish question which has many aspects besides those of minority protection in the ordinary sense of the term, should be made the object of special study.

Even apart from these questions, the Committee did not feel that its Draft Treaty exhausted the problem of the relationship between states and minorities. The Treaty, like its predecessors, is designed for the case of the sovereign state. Another position would clearly arise in the case of multi-national federations. The Committee considered briefly the effect of federation on the minorities problem. It agreed that the existence of federation would in itself render more tolerable the position of minorities in the member states and the federal machinery should include a minorities commission. It was also agreed, however, that the work of minority protection could not be adequately carried out by a federal authority, both because there might remain some minorities (e.g. the German minorities in a Danubian Federation) in which no state of the federation was benevolently interested and also because there is a danger (already noticeable in bilateral treaties during the period 1919-39) of sacrificing minority protection in the interests of good relations between the states concerned. For those two reasons it was held desirable that, if any wider organisation than the federation is established with adequate powers, this organisation should have supervision over minority obligations and should act as a court of appeal from any federal minority commission. This question, again, is, however, clearly one which calls for further study.

September, 1941.

DRAFT MODEL MINORITIES TREATY.
(Preamble)

1. All Ruritanian citizens shall be equal before the law and shall enjoy the same civil and political rights, treatment and security in law and fact, without distinction as to nationality, race, language or religion.
2. All citizens of Ruritania, without distinction of nationality, race, language or religion, shall be entitled to exercise freely, whether in public or in private, any creed, religion or belief whose practices are not inconsistent with public order or public morals, to receive instruction in such religion and to establish, manage and control the institutions necessary for these purposes. Ruritania agrees to abstain from any discrimination on grounds of nationality, race, language or religion in the enactment or application of regulations concerning such institutions, and where public funds are provided for such institutions under State, municipal or other budgets, to distribute them equitably and without discrimination.
3. All citizens of Ruritania, without distinction of nationality, race, language or religion, shall enjoy the same rights in regard to public employment, the exercise of any profession, participation in industry, trade and commerce, taxation, participation in public works or state, municipal or other public contracts, and all branches of education, not excluding general purposes of reconstruction.
4. All citizens of Ruritania shall enjoy equal freedom to use their own language, subject only to such qualifications as may arise out of the practical demands of administration and justice, and of the security of the State.

Consequently, all citizens of Ruritania shall be equally entitled to use any language in private intercourse, in commerce, religion, the Press and publications of any kind or at public meetings. No restriction, direct or indirect, shall be placed on the use of any language in these respects, nor shall any citizen of Ruritania be subjected to any pressure to forego this right, nor to any prejudicial treatment, direct or indirect, for using it.

5. The Principle of linguistic freedom and of equality of linguistic rights as between all citizens of Ruritania applies equally in official life. In order to bring this principle into conformity with the practical requirements of administration and justice, Ruritania agrees to apply the rules set out in the annexed schedule A.

All citizens of Ruritania shall receive adequate facilities for the use of their language, either orally or in writing, before the Courts. These facilities shall be granted even where the proportion of the linguistic minority does not reach the minima laid down in this schedule:

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6. All citizens of Ruritania shall be equally entitled to receive education in their own tongue. Ruritania undertakes to organise its public educational system in accordance with this principle. The regulations for the establishment and maintenance of public educational establishments of all kinds and the appointment and training of teachers shall contain no differentiation based on the difference of language, nor shall any pressure be placed upon any person, nor upon the parent or guardian of any child, to influence his choice of a school.

The Certificates of all educational institutions of equal grade shall receive equal recognition from the State in regard to professional qualification, public employment, entrance to universities, etc.

In order to combine the principles laid down in this article with the practical needs of administration and justice, Ruritania agrees in her public educational system to make adequate provision for the teaching of the language or languages officially used in the administrative and judicial system of the district where they live to pupils not speaking such language or languages as their mother tongue. For this purpose, Ruritania agrees to apply the rules set out in the annexed Schedule B.

7. All Ruritanian citizens, without distinction of nationality, race, language or religion shall have an equal right to establish, manage and control at their own expense charitable, religious and social institutions, schools and other educational establishments, with the right to use their own language and exercise their religion freely therein, and shall be assured an equitable share in the enjoyment and application of any sums which may be provided under the State, municipal or other budget for social, educational, religious or charitable purposes.

The Certificate of such educational establishments shall have equal validity with those granted by State educational establishments of the same grade, on condition that the State educational authorities shall have the right of inspection in regard to standard and efficiency of teaching and adequacy of equipment.

8. Ruritania agrees to proceed in questions relating to the national-cultural life of national minorities in Ruritania as far as possible in consultation with the members of the minorities concerned or their representatives, freely chosen by themselves and to allow to the minorities and their organisations as much self-government in their national-cultural life as is compatible with the unity of the Ruritanian state and the interests and wishes of individual members of the minorities.
9. Differences of nationality, race, language and religion shall not be made a reason or pretext for evading the stipulations regulating the acquisition of citizenship contained in... of the Treaty of Hentzau.
10. Ruritania permits the formation among its nationals of a Pelasgian national group, the details whereof are set out in the annexed Schedule C.

11. Ruritania shall be entitled to withhold the protection contained in clause.... to any persons acquiring Ruritanian citizenship after...., except in so far as such citizenship has been granted, at whatever date, under Article.... of the Treaty of Hentzau.
12. Ruritania agrees that the stipulations contained in the foregoing articles, including those contained in the annexed schedules, shall be recognised as fundamental laws, and that no law, regulation or official action shall conflict or interfere with these stipulations, nor shall any law, regulation or official action prevail over them.

Ruritania will establish a Court which shall have power to pronounce invalid any law or any State or municipal regulation which in the opinion of this Court conflicts or interferes with the stipulations contained in the foregoing articles, whether in their present form or as amended in the manner set out in Article 14.

The State of Ruritania or any of its citizens may apply to the Court to make such pronouncement and in case either of them is dissatisfied with a decision of the Court, it or he may, within one month after it was given, petition the Council of the League of Nations to apply to the Permanent Court of International Justice for an advisory opinion as to whether such decision is correct.

The same procedure may be followed should a difference arise between the authorities of Ruritania and any Ruritanian citizen as to whether the citizen is entitled to the protection set forth in any of the foregoing clauses.

In case the Court pronounces that any law or regulation is invalid or in case the Permanent Court of International Justice gives an opinion that the Court should have made such a pronouncement, Ruritania will, without delay, rescind, annul or amend such law or regulation.

13. Ruritania agrees that the stipulations contained in this Treaty constitute obligations of international concern.

It shall be the duty of the Council of the League of Nations to see that the stipulations contained in this Treaty are constantly observed. Ruritania hereby agrees that the Council of the League of Nations shall have the right to take any steps or to establish any machinery which may seem to it necessary to secure this object. Ruritania agrees to accept and carry out any recommendation to this effect which is in due form assented to by a majority of the Council of the League of Nations. Ruritania agrees to render any reports and supply any information required by the Council or its organs in the execution of their duties.

In case of any infraction, or danger of infraction, of any stipulation contained in this Treaty, the Council may take such action and give such direction as it may deem proper and effective in the circumstances.

P.t.o.

Ruritania further agrees that any difference of opinion as to questions of law or fact arising out of these Articles between the Ruritanian government and any Power, a Member of the Council of the League of Nations, shall be held to be a dispute of an international character under Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. The Ruritanian government hereby consents that any such dispute shall, if the other party thereto demands, be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice. The decision of the Permanent Court shall be final and shall have the same force and effect as an award under Article 13 of the Covenant.

14. The stipulations contained in this Treaty shall not be modified without the consent of a majority of the Council of the League of Nations. Any modification made with such assent shall not require the assent of (names of the States signatory to the Treaty, except Ruritania).

7c
S.949.
22.1.42.

PROPOSED CONFERENCE

Memorandum by P.J. Noel-Baker

1. During the last twelve months, organisations favourable to the League of Nations in the United States have been keeping up a constant propaganda about the League. Their general line has been to show that the League policy was right and that the war has come because the League was not supported.
2. In particular, they have carried through a number of Conferences at which lectures have been given about the work of the League by specialists in the different departments, e.g. political work, Arthur Sweetser; Disarmament, Mrs. Puffer Morgan; health work, Dr. Rajchman; Permanent Court of International Justice, Mr. Mackinnon Wood, etc. These Conferences have been held at Princeton, Washington and elsewhere, and have been very well attended and reported.
3. Owing to this propaganda and to the general trend of events, opinion has moved continually and rapidly in favour of the League. A recent Gallup poll of people whose names are in the American Who's Who showed the following percentages in answer to this question: "Are you in favour of the United States joining a League of Nations after the war?"
Yes: 61%. No: 23%. Neutral: 16%.
4. It is suggested that the time has come for similar propaganda in this country. This view has been expressed by a number of representatives of the allied governments now in this country. It is further suggested that one method of starting such propaganda would be to organise a Conference or Conferences similar to those held in Washington. We have in this country speakers of many nationalities who would make such a Conference a great success, e.g. the many members of the Secretariat and many members of foreign governments who were experienced delegates in Geneva and who are excellent speakers.
5. If such a Conference could be held it would be desirable to organise it at the earliest convenient date.

CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT 11 MAIDEN LANE, W.C.2., ON THURSDAY, 5TH FEBRUARY, 1942, AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Mrs. Corbett-Ashby, Mrs. Beale, F.H. Burris, Major Cazalet, Lord Cecil, Miss K.D. Courtney, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Philippa Fawcett, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, W.T. Pritchard, Nowell C. Smith, A.E.W. Thomas, E. Wallis-Jones, Air Commodore Walsor, Sir Ralph Wedgwood, Leonard Woolf and Major Freshwater.

249. MINUTES OF LAST MEETING HELD ON JANUARY 29TH. Mr. Nowell Smith called attention to the wording of the last line of para. (c) in Minute 247, and after some discussion it was agreed that the word "counteract" in this line should be altered to "modify indiscriminate".

Otherwise the Minutes were confirmed as circulated.

250. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES:

On Minute 242 - League Office in London
Lord Cecil reported that he had arranged to meet Sir Alexander Cadogan at 3.10 that afternoon to discuss the proposals contained in Mr. Walters' memorandum.

On Minute 245 - Minorities Committee, it was reported that a meeting of the Minorities Committee was being arranged for next week or the week following.

Lord Cecil proposed that Sir Ralph Wedgwood be asked to join the Committee and Sir Ralph agreed to do so, provided the time arranged was suitable; he could attend on the 12th or the 19th in the morning.

Dr. Garnett pointed out that, in effect, the Minorities Committee had proposed that a minority should be able to receive education in state schools in its own language at the expense of the State - entirely out of touch with the culture of the majority of the community. He thought this was a mistake, and asked that the Minorities Committee should give further consideration to this matter.

251. MAJOR CAZALET. Major Cazalet gave a most interesting, intimate account of his experiences when accompanying General Sikorski on his recent tour to Gibraltar, Malta, Iraq, Persia and Russia, and answered a number of questions. The Chairman expressed the Committee's thanks to Major Cazalet.

K. D. Courtney

Chairman.

19.2.42.

Confidential

MINUTES OF A MEETING of the EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE held at 11 Maiden Lane, W.C.2, on Thursday, 19th February, 1942 at 2 p.m.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair for the business recorded in Minutes 255-263), Miss K.D.Courtney (in the chair for the other part of the meeting), Mrs.Beale, F.M.Burris, Lord Cecil, Mrs.Dugdale, Miss Philippa Fawcett, Dr.Maxwell Garnett, A.J.Howe, J.R.Leslie, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, W.T.Pritchard, Nowell C.Smith, A.E.W.Thomas, Air Commodore Walser and Major Freshwater.

- 252 The Minutes of meeting of February 5th, 1942, were confirmed as circulated.
- 253 League Office in London (Minutes 250 - 242):
 Lord Cecil reported that he had had an interview with Sir Alexander Cadogan, who was quite sympathetic, but wanted to be sure that there would be no danger of overlapping and would himself talk to Mr.Frank Walters.
 Lord Cecil said that if he did not hear from Sir Alexander Cadogan in the course of next week he would write to him.
- 254 Minorities Committee:
 Miss Courtney reported that a meeting had been held that morning, attendance had been small, Professor Brodetsky had not been able to get to London, Dr.Murray was not well enough to travel and both Mr.Macartney and Mr.Mabbott had written that they were now unable to attend further meetings.
 Dr.Murray had written suggesting that there should be a simpler exposition of the whole Minorities problem; after stating what the Minorities problem really was and what had been done so far, it should set out what the post-war situation was likely to be and its possible solutions with regard to such questions as transfer of population, readjustment of frontiers, and securing to minorities as individuals all ordinary citizens' rights - the "Rights of Man".
 Mr.Mabbott was being asked to draw up a statement on these lines and to add as appendices any specific solutions such as the Model Treaty prepared by Mr.Macartney.
 Professor Brodetsky had written that the Report which the Committee had presented dealt with a stabilised condition of affairs which could not be worked out in the confusion of a post-war period. One of the immediate measures to be taken should be that Germans who had been planted out as Colonists in different countries should be sent home, they were not in the same class as other Minorities whose homes have perhaps been there for centuries.
 Lord Cecil had agreed to draft a paragraph about the immediate post-war situation in accordance with Professor Brodetsky's suggestion, and should Mr.Mabbott be unable to draw up a statement, Miss White would do so; the Minorities problem was one upon which the people in this country were least well informed.

- 255 Place and date of Meeting of the General Council:
 Consideration was given to a letter from the Warwickshire & Birmingham Federal Council proposing that the next meeting of the General Council should extend over a week-end, including the whole of Sunday, so that the Council might be representative "not only of people of leisure and those who are retired, but the working members of Branches."

After considerable discussion on the relative value of mid-week and week-end Meetings and the best place in which to hold such meetings, it was agreed that the next meeting of the General Council should be held in London, from Friday, June 19th or 26th, to the evening of Sunday, June 21st or 28th.

Mrs. Beale was asked to report this decision to the Warwickshire & Birmingham Federal Council.

- 256 Constitution of the Executive Committee:
 The Chairman read a letter from Mr. Noel-Baker resigning from the Executive owing to his appointment to a position in the Government. On the motion of Dr. Garnett it was agreed to send to Mr. Noel-Baker the warmest congratulations of the Executive on his return to office.
 At the request of the Committee Lord Cecil agreed to ask Mr. Harold Butler to join it.

- 257 Membership: The membership report for January showed that this year 69 new and 2,525 renewal subscriptions had been collected; last year there were 31 new and 3,553 renewals.

- 258 Anglo-Ethiopian Reunion: The Chairman referred to a communication from Lady Layton about an Anglo-Ethiopian Reunion to be held at the Institute of Archeology, Regents Park, on Thursday, March 5th, from 3-6 p.m. There would be speeches by representatives of the United Nations and members of both Houses of Parliament.

- 259 League of Nations Association: The Secretary reported that he had received the following cablegram from Mr. Eichelberger, of New York:

"Confidential for yourself and Executive
 Considerable sentiment here for changing name
 association to United Nations Association stop
 have you comments."

Lord Cecil saw no reason for a change of name and suggested that Mr. Eichelberger should be asked the reason and purpose of the suggested change. He thought one of the reasons might be because the League of Nations had been identified with pacifist sentiment. Other members thought the desire for a change of name might be accounted for by party feeling. Republicans still regarded the League as a creation of the Democrats.

It was agreed to send the following cablegram to Mr. Eichelberger:

"Does your suggested change of name indicate any change of policy stop we should like to know before commenting on your proposal stop we are not contemplating changing name of our Union unless and until international authority is set up with title other than League of Nations."

- 260 Albania: Consideration was given to the following resolution of the Tyne District Council:
- "The Tyne District Council Executive Committee accepts its Albanian Sub-Committee's recommendation that the League of Nations Union National Executive should demand that we invite Albanian representatives to all future meetings of the Allied Conference."

It was decided to inform the Tyne District Council that their resolution had been brought before the Executive, who regretted they did not feel they could take the action suggested.

- 261 International Students' Service:

A letter from Mr. Macdonald was read stating that a very successful conference of the International Students' Service had been held at Llangollen from February 13-15. The Vice-Chancellor of Liverpool University, Dr. McNair, had made an excellent League of Nations Union speech and there were speakers on Federal Union and the Federation of the Balkan and Scandinavian States. Mr. Macdonald had based his remarks on "World Settlement after the War"; he found the students keen on the subjects discussed and their outlook on the future very intelligent.

- 262 Economic Reform: Mr. Burris referred to a meeting in Bristol addressed by Lord Cecil on February 12th. Invitations were sent out by personal letter and about 230 people attended; in addition to Branch Secretaries and Workers there were present the Vice-Chancellor and five Deans of Faculty from the University, Directors of ~~the~~ ^{the} Stores such as the Imperial Tobacco Company and other people of importance and influence in the City.

Lord Cecil's visit had stirred up much interest, many of the questions raised after the speech dealt with matters of internal policy, such as employment after the war, and showed that the average intelligent business man confused the issue between the functions of a national and international organisation. He hoped Lord Cecil might write a letter of explanation which he could send to selected people.

Lord Cecil thought the meeting an admirable one. Some of the questions showed that the view was held by many people that what really mattered was economic change in this country, and that international organisation was of secondary importance.

After a discussion in which several members took part Lord Cecil said he did not believe that economic change would produce peace or that there is a universal remedy for these difficulties. As a matter of broad policy the Union was brought into existence for the establishment of peace, and he believed that could be best achieved by what was contained in the Covenant. The I.L.O. was on the right lines and should be extended, and the Economic Committees of the League should be supported and improved. He was surprised that so little was known about the immense amount of successful international economic work that had already been done by the League. The principal business of the League was to stop war, and until that was done economic changes were useless and could not be permanent.

Spfin
Chairman,

5.3.42.

CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT 11, MAIDEN LANE, W.C.2. ON THURSDAY, 5TH MARCH, 1942, AT 2 P.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), F.M. Burris, Lord Cecil, Miss K.D. Courtney, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Philipps Pawcett, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, J.R. Leslie, M.P., Dame Adelaide Livingstone, G. le M. Mander, M.P., W.T. Pritchard, Nowell C. Smith, H.S. Syrett, Miss E. Waite, Air Commodore Walsler, Sir Ralph Wedgwood and Major Freshwater.

263. **MINUTES.** The Minutes of the Meeting of February 19th were confirmed as circulated, but with "and of large industrial concerns" inserted after "big stores" in line 6 of minute 262.
264. **LEAGUE OFFICE IN LONDON.** (Minutes 253 - 250) Lord Cecil reported receipt of a letter from Mr. Frank Walters, dated February 26th. Sir Alexander Cadogan was not unfavourable to the views put forward by Mr. Walters, who had written to Sir Alexander suggesting that perhaps Mr. Sweetser might be the best person to have over here, he would be a useful link with various groups in the United States quite apart from the League aspect of the question. Mr. Walters also stated that the I.L.O. had not yet really started work; there was to be a meeting in London in April of the Emergency Committee, which will appoint a Reconstruction Committee. This seemed, to Mr. Walters, to suggest another point on which the Secretariat Organisations could be brought in, viz., through an invitation to collaborate, which could be proposed by the British Delegate to the Emergency Committee.
265. **MINORITIES.** Lord Lytton stated that he had prepared a draft report for the Executive on the Minorities Problem; he had included material he had received from Lord Cecil, Professor Brodetsky, Miss White and Miss Courtney. This draft report would be considered by members of the Minorities Committee; it would then be sent to the Executive who, he hoped, would be able to deal with it in time for it to be circulated for consideration by the General Council in June.
266. **ECONOMIC REFORM.** Arising out of the meeting which he addressed at Bristol in February, Lord Cecil said he had written the letters for which Mr. Burris asked, and expressed his personal thanks to Mr. Burris for the very fine work he was doing.

Dr. Garnett urged that more attention should be given to the reports of the Malvern Conference and of the Labour Party. He would like the Industrial Advisory Committee to give particular consideration to the following points:

That the production of essential goods after the war must not depend on the ability of a person to make private profit;

That finance must in future be the servant and not the master of economic policy if economic policy is to be the means of achieving social welfare.

267. **ANTI-GERMAN PROPAGANDA.** Mr. Nowell Smith agreed to draw up the statement asked for in Minute 247(c) "drawing distinction between vengeance and justice, and suggesting precise action which the Executive might take to counteract anti-German propaganda", and to submit it to Dr. Murray and embody suggestions Dr. Murray might make. Copies of the report would then be circulated for consideration by the Executive.

268. PROPOSED CONFERENCE.²⁴⁶ Consideration was given to paper S.355 (copy filed with these Minutes) prepared by Mr. Judd, containing the following alternative schemes:

- (a) A short week-end residential conference at Oxford or Cambridge for members of the London International Assembly, League officials, etc., and
- (b) A larger inter-allied or international four-day conference in London, open to the general public, for which an elaborate programme had been prepared.

The Committee decided that, from the point of view of publicity and general usefulness (b) would be better than (a) provided that speakers of the calibre suggested could be obtained. It was reported that the estimated cost, including hire of hall, printing, posters, additional staff, etc., would be of the order of £350. The Chairman considered that the Committee would be justified in spending such a sum to enable action to be taken either by or under the leadership of the Union to increase interest in the Union and consequently be of help in obtaining further sums of money for future action.

Dr. Garnett suggested the possibility of both schemes being carried out; it was, however, agreed that this was not practicable, but it was decided that the possibility should be borne in mind of making some arrangement whereby leading members of the Union might meet members of the London International Assembly.

Mr. Syrett thought that such a conference might stimulate branches and members to intensify their work. His experience with the recent successful meetings in the City indicated that it was becoming increasingly difficult to get distinguished speakers who were at liberty to make definite pronouncements. He thought that he might be able to get the use of the Guildhall for such a conference.

Miss Courtney thought that there should be speakers from the three political parties and said that members of the L.I.A. might be approached informally to see if representatives of the nations could be present at various meetings.

Lord Cecil said that, to get the full value out of the conference, it would have to be followed up throughout the country.

A suggestion was made that a leaflet might be brought out dealing with points of special interest arising from the conference and that every endeavour should be made to obtain both in the London and the provincial press such publicity as had been secured for meetings of the British Association.

The Committee expressed its gratitude to Mr. Judd for his admirable preparatory work, and agreed to proceed with scheme (b), and to hold the conference in September or October, as may be convenient for the principal speakers.

The Committee also decided that preliminary steps should be taken and reports made at later meetings and that, through the General Purposes Committee of the L.I.A. it should be ascertained if prominent persons of different nationalities would be willing to address the conference.

269. LEAGUE OF NATIONS ASSOCIATION. A Statement of Policy (copy filed with these Minutes) adopted by the National Board of Directors of the American League of Nations Association on 10th January 1942, was received.
270. FREE WORLD ASSOCIATION. A cablegram from Mr. Eichelberger and Mr. Dolivet was read asking for assistance in obtaining articles for the Free World Magazine and suggesting that the Union should arrange with all other organisations to endorse the Free World Programme.

It was agreed that the senders of the cable should be informed that the Union, having decided to hold or be concerned with the holding of certain other conferences, would not be able to adopt the suggested meeting with other organisations.

271. FINANCE COMMITTEE. The resignation from the Finance Committee, after many years' service, of Major Lawrence Wright was received with great regret and Mr. A.J. Howe was appointed to succeed him.

A. J. Howe
Chairman

19.3.42.

CONFIDENTIAL

D
S.947.
8.1.42.

Memorandum by Mr. Frank Walters on the question of inviting the Acting Secretary-General to send a small group of members of the technical services of the Secretariat to this country for the duration of the war.

(1) The economic and financial section, the health section and I believe also the transit section of the Secretariat, are still doing useful work. This work would obviously profit from having one or two people collecting information in this country.

(2) Though nothing completely definite has as far as I know been said in public on the subject, H.M.G. has certainly suggested that they do contemplate using the Secretariat amongst other available forms of machinery in connection with post-war reconstruction of various kinds. Indeed, it would be ridiculous not to do so since the Secretariat still possesses a knowledge of the administrative services in different countries, both as regards machinery and as regards personnel which exists nowhere else; and in spite of the destruction going on in Europe some part of the network which it had built up will still exist. As regards health, for instance, the Secretariat is still following developments in Europe as a whole and is, I believe, the only organisation which is doing so. But if this machinery is to be used effectively some connection should be made now between it and the official committees in London which are working out plans in this field, i.e. the Leith-Ross Committee and any inter-allied organisations which are believed to be being set up or contemplated.

(3) It would be a pity not to raise the matter with Lester now, since it will certainly take some time to select the people and get them over to this country and nobody knows when the relief work will have to begin to function.

(4) It cannot be doubted that such a move would be welcomed by the United States which has for a good many years now taken a full part in all this side of League work.

(5) The cost of the new office would of course fall on the League budget. Its cost to the budget would not be great since it is not suggested that new staff should be engaged. I do not know whether it would actually be possible for them to use the existing League office in London, but in any case the accommodation for a group of about three people would not be a difficulty (the League budget at present supports four offices in London, viz. 1. the old League office; 2. the old I.L.O. office; 3. the Treasurer and a small staff; 4. the High Commissioner for Refugees and his small staff).

(6) The group might consist if possible of one economist, one member of the health section and one official who has followed the work of the Nutrition Committee of the League. If it were possible to get M. Agnides over to take charge of it, that would be to my mind an ideal arrangement; if not, several other possible arrangements for this purpose could be worked out. (If invited to do so by Mr. Lester and by H.M.G. I would be prepared to give part-time to this on a voluntary basis).

Proposed Conference

B

10
S.955
27.2.42.

Draft Proposals prepared in accordance with Executive Minute No.243 of 29.1.42.

1. In his Memorandum Mr. Noel-Baker says that in the last twelve months organisations favourable to the League of Nations in the United States have been keeping up a constant propaganda about the League and, in particular, have carried through a number of conferences at which specialists have lectured on the work the League has done in its various branches. He suggests that the time has come in this country for similar propaganda which might be started by a conference or conferences similar to those held at Washington, organised at the earliest convenient date and addressed by former members of the Secretariat and members of foreign governments who were experienced delegates in Geneva.
2. The Conference at Washington referred to in Mr. Noel-Baker's Memorandum was, I understand, the Institute of World Organisation - a Summer School organised by a small international committee (of which Mrs. Puffer Morgan was the Hon. Secretary) with the support of a long list of distinguished sponsors. This was held at the American University, D.C., and was advertised as "the first step towards establishing a permanent centre in Washington for the study and dissemination of the principles and methods of international affairs". The programme was very full: 3 lectures each morning, a further lecture or a "round table" in the afternoon, and a final lecture or public meeting each night. The speakers included Mr. Carl Hambro, a leader of the Minorities Bloc in the Lithuanian Parliament, one or two professors and a number of former members of the League of Nations Secretariat.

This course was described as "A balance sheet of the First Great Experiment" and the subjects treated were League of Nations in World Life (3 lectures and Round Table); Armaments and Enforcement (3 lectures and Round Table); Economic and Financial Questions (3 lectures and 2 Round Tables); Health, Nutrition and Housing (2 lectures); Narcotic Drugs (2 lectures and Round Table); World Court (3 lectures); International Labour Organisation (3 lectures and Round Table); Mandates (2 lectures and Round Table); Social Questions (1 lecture); Minorities (1 lecture and Round Table); Danzig (1 lecture and Round Table); the Saar (1 lecture); Communications and Transit (2 lectures); Revision of the Covenant (4 lectures and Round Table); Intellectual Co-operation (2 lectures); with public meetings on - The League as I know it; The League in the Evolution of International Organisation; Geneva and the Evolution of a New Diplomacy; International Labour Organisation; the American Continent and the League.

The course lasted 11 days and was held (Sept. 2 - 13) before America was at war.

3. Before the war the Union held every year at Geneva, Summer Schools for Teachers, University Students (through the

P.T.O.

B.U.L.N.S.), With Form Boys and Girls, people especially interested in the I.L.O. and various other groups, and was jointly responsible with the American Committee in Geneva for the Geneva Institute of International Relations - taking to Geneva for such courses as many as five or six hundred people each year. In addition it held an Annual Summer School at Oxford or Cambridge and many other schools of one kind or another in this country. Since the war it has held two small Summer Schools at Knebworth and its Educational Council has held Summer and Winter Schools for Teachers and Senior Pupils. The Educational Council is already making plans for this year's Summer Schools for Teachers and Senior Pupils and, in the normal way, a Summer School would presumably be held once more by the Union at Knebworth.

As was provided at Washington

There should be no great difficulty about holding a larger Summer School - instead of Knebworth, taking for the purpose one or two colleges at Oxford or Cambridge (if in view of their increasing difficulties with domestic staff and rations any colleges are still in a position to take conferences in the summer and provided that all the available colleges have not already been booked for other meetings). I would, however, suggest that the programme should be built on our British experience. Probably only an American could survive so crowded a course of direct instruction. Our programme should be rather lighter and should include more discussion of theory and of the problems of post-war settlement and reconstruction. It ought to be possible to secure at least as good a team of speakers as the Washington Institute from among former high officials of the League and I.L.O. and experienced League delegates from foreign countries now in Great Britain. But I would suggest that it would be hopeless to try to organise an 11-day school under present conditions and that the most we should contemplate would be four or five days. Even then, the number of people who could spare the time to attend would be very limited and it appears doubtful how far such a school would attract any notice outside ordinary Union circles and Summer School habitués. It might be possible to extend the circle if the Committee cared to invite the collaboration of certain other organisations (e.g. the New Commonwealth and perhaps Federal Union and the 1941 Committee), allowing them to put forward their particular doctrines in return for the opportunity to put our case before their members.

4. In the discussions that have so far taken place on Mr. Noel-Baker's paper, members of the Executive have appeared to be thinking in terms of a conference rather than a Summer School or lecture course and of achieving some new object - not yet defined - rather than of repeating propaganda which, in this country, has in fact been carried out by the Union for more than 20 years. The Committee might therefore like to consider two possibilities as an alternative to the enlarged Summer School.

(a) That we should hold a short week-end residential conference (at Oxford or Cambridge if accommodation in a college could still be secured) to enable the

members of the London International Assembly and some of the former League and I.L.O. officials, delegates, etc. from other countries who are not members of the Assembly, to confer with the officers and Executive Committee of the Union and with a small number of speakers and carefully chosen leaders in the districts and branches who would be personally invited to attend. The members of the Assembly would probably wish to come only from Friday evening (or, at the most Thursday evening) until Sunday night or Monday morning. It is possible a good many of them would welcome such an opportunity to get to know each other better and to confer at greater leisure than their afternoon meetings permit. And there are, I believe, a good many of the leaders of the Union in the country who would value an opportunity to take part in such a conference.

- (b) That we should hold in London a much larger inter-allied or international conference* - open to the general public and designed to secure as much publicity as possible for the Union's views. It would greatly assist the organisation of such a conference if the help of the London International Assembly could be secured.
5. Until the nature of the conference has been decided, it is not possible to make any useful estimate of cost; but it is quite clear that no big conference over and above the ~~present~~ normal work of the Union could be undertaken without additional staff.

I should be very happy to undertake the organisation of whatever conference is decided upon provided - (1) that I had not by that time been called up for military or some other form of national service, and (2) satisfactory arrangements could be made to provide the necessary costs and additional staff. It would also be necessary to take into consideration, in choosing the time of the conference, the various activities to which I am already committed, if they are to be carried through. In view of what I am already committed to do for the Education Council and the London International Assembly, I do not see how I could undertake the organisation of a special conference before the latter half of September at the earliest.

C.W.Judd.

* Attached is a first rough sketch of the kind of programme that might be arranged if the proposal set out in 4(b) commends itself to the Executive Committee.

First Rough Sketch*

of a possible programme for an International or
Inter-Allied Conference in London

Suggested Subject: THE LITTLE WE CAN DO TO MAKE

Tuesday

3.0 p.m. Public opening Session

Speakers: The President and Vice-Presidents of the Conference (two or three of the leading allied statesmen in London).

Every effort should be made to secure a member of H.M. Government to come and say that the Government welcomed discussions among the allied peoples about the future and would give careful consideration to any views the Conference put forward.

People like the Lord Mayor of London, the Chairman of the London County Council, the Bishop of London, Cardinal Hinsley, and the Vice-Chancellor of London University could very appropriately be asked to attend and their names would be advertised in advance.

[It would no doubt be easier to secure such support if the London International Assembly would participate formally in the organisation of the Conference/.

4.15 p.m. Interval for tea /For full members of the Conference, speakers and distinguished guests arrangements should be made for tea to be served in an adjoining room - a tea reception by some person or public body should if possible be secured/.

5.00 p.m. Public Meeting: This should be a large popular meeting. The best subject might be conditions in enemy occupied countries and what ordinary people hope for the future ("We want to be Free" or something like that). The proceedings could open with a rapporteur on conditions in the occupied countries, to be followed by speakers from Europe, Russia (if possible) and China.

Chairman: The Archbishop of Canterbury.

Wednesday

10.30 a.m. "The Future of Colonies". A discussion on the Union's Draft Report, to be circulated in advance. Speakers invited to open the discussion on the report should include colonial experts from Holland, France and other countries as well as our own, and one or two native people. Some of the names could be advertised in advance.

Public Luncheon to "The Allied Forces in Great Britain". Two or three representatives from each of the allied forces in Great Britain should be invited to attend as guests of honour - and one of them (e.g. General Sikorski or General de Gaulle) to reply to the toast. The First Lord of the

*This is no more than a suggestion for the kind of programme that might be attempted. Its success would very largely depend upon the readiness of the Union's Officers and members of the Executive Committee to take part in the Conference and to assist in securing speakers; but there can of course be no certainty that any of the speakers suggested would in fact be willing to address the Conference.

Admiralty or the Secretary of State for Air might be asked to preside. The lunch might help to keep the conference clear of any pacifist charge by showing that it is 100% behind the war.

3.00 p.m. **Internationalism in Action:** A lecture (followed by discussion) analysing the inter-allied machinery set up for the purpose of winning the war and for immediate post-war relief (e.g. arrangements of general staffs, co-operation between the allied forces in this country, combined commands etc. in other theatres of war, shipping and transport pools, Lease Lend arrangements, the Inter-Allied Council, Sir Frederick Leith Ross's Bureau, etc.) and suggesting how such machinery might be used for the purposes of reconstruction, how far it might form the basis of any permanent international organisation, etc.

5.00 p.m. **Public Conference on Political Warfare.** Speakers from our own and allied countries, suggesting how our peace aims (Atlantic Charter, etc.) could be used as a weapon of political warfare against the Nazis.

Chairman: Sir Stafford Cripps ?

Thursday International organisation and Security after the War.

10.30 a.m. } 2 sessions.
3.00 p.m. }

A carefully prepared time-table would allocate time for discussion on:

- (a) the questions that will require international organisation, e.g. security, the settlement of disputes, colonial problems, social and economic questions, health, education, etc., (some of these to be discussed in more detail at other sessions).
- (b) procedure for the settlement of disputes and the restraint of aggression.
- (c) methods of controlling and limiting armaments.
- (d) the forms of international organisation (regional pacts, European union, League, etc.) that might be used for these purposes.

It would probably be advisable to have an opening speech of some 30 minutes, broadly outlining the day's work and some one chosen in advance to open each section of the discussion - if possible on memoranda previously circulated (the Union's Statement of Policy and possibly certain reports from the London International Assembly might be used).

Public Luncheon: A speech by one of the distinguished allied statesmen in London (e.g. the Prime Minister of Holland or the Foreign Minister of Yugoslavia - see the "Sunday Times" reports of recent interviews with them).

5.00 p.m. **Public Meeting:** To state in broad terms the kind of arrangements that will be needed to give security after the war and to show how the League system might be used.

P.T.O.

Friday Social and Economic Reconstruction.

10.30 a.m. } 2 sessions.
3.00 p.m. }

A carefully prepared time-table would allocate time for discussion on:

- (a) Immediate measures of post-war relief.
- (b) Monetary policy.
- (c) Long range reconstruction of industry, trade agriculture, etc.
- (d) Social Welfare, etc.

It would probably be a good plan to ask some one speaker (e.g. Mr. Harold Butler or Senator de Brouckère) to give a speech of 30 minutes at the beginning, setting out some general objectives and then to have each section opened by some speaker chosen in advance - if possible on memoranda previously circulated (the reports of the London International Assembly if they were ready might possibly be used).

Public Luncheon: A speech by Mr. Attlee or Mr. Bevin, with Mr. Winant in the chair.

5.00 p.m. **Public Meeting:** To state in broad terms the new aims of reconstruction and show how the machinery of the League and I.L.O. can be used to secure them.

Saturday The Place of Education, Religion*, Science and Learning in Post-War Reconstruction:

11.00 a.m. A conference with teachers and educational authorities from allied countries on such proposals as are now being considered by the Union's Educational Council and the Vth Commission of the London International Assembly.

3.00 p.m. **Public Meeting** with representatives of local education authorities and teachers' associations, if possible with the President of the Board of Education in the Chair, supported by Ministers of Education from the allied countries

Care would be taken to ensure in each discussion speakers from our own and allied countries who would, from personal experience, say what the League and the I.L.O. have already done and might in future do. And all this would lead up to the sessions at 5 p.m. on Thursday and Friday. An alternative arrangement might be to omit these two sessions and for the Union to organise a week-end conference, following the other sessions, in which there would be formal lectures on the League (its health work, drugs, economic and financial sections, settlement of disputes, disarmament, etc.) and discussions on how the proposals of the Conference could best be implemented through League machinery. I would myself think the plan set out above the more effective from the Union's point of view. It brings the League and I.L.O. in on the ground floor and there is no risk of giving the impression that they are an afterthought.

*This might be treated separately; possibly special services could be arranged on the Sunday.

S.954.
26.2.42.

Statement of policy adopted by the National Board of
Directors of the League of Nations Association, Inc.
January 10th, 1942.

The League of Nations Association believes that the people of the United States and their Allies must accept this greatest challenge of our time, and will meet it by victory in the war and victory in the peace. It believes that the two tasks are one and inseparable: The overcoming of international violence and the establishment of a system of international law and order and justice in which men of all nations may live out their lives free from want, free from the terror of violence and in the enjoyment of the fruits of world civilization and the advances of science. The forces of aggression must and will be defeated, their dictators eliminated and their military power completely broken. For there can be no negotiation, no compromise with international anarchy. But when military victory is achieved, the task is but half done. The energy which has been concentrated on winning the war must be concentrated anew in organizing an international society of nations strong enough to prevent any aggression and wise enough to remove any future causes of war. The League of Nations Association refuses to believe that war and the concentration camp are the final destinies of man. It regards the war in which we are now engaged as providing a golden opportunity, perhaps the last opportunity, for the permanent organization of peace in this troubled world.

The Association does not regard the League of Nations which was established twenty-two years ago as some kind of sacred institution which cannot be altered to correspond with the needs of the times. Nor does it believe that the Covenant of the League of Nations is a perfect instrument, which will never need amendment. The Covenant and the League are but steps on the road to peace. Without them less progress in the organization of international relations would have been possible. New steps towards the final goal must lead onward and upward.

The experience of the League, the International Labor Office and the Permanent Court of International Justice will be invaluable for the building of the future institutions of peace. We believe that much of the machinery of these institutions may well be used in the future structure. The Association supports the principles of the Atlantic Charter as a basis for international and national social justice upon which permanent peace must rest. It hails the declaration of the twenty-six United Nations of the World, believing that their agreement, predicated on the Atlantic Charter, will be another stone in the foundation of the organization of peace to follow the war. The Atlantic Charter and the declaration of the United Nations form together a sure path to the future welfare of mankind.

- 2 -

The Association pledges its unqualified support to the President of the United States who, in company with Winston Churchill, has been the architect of the Atlantic Charter. Its members are prepared to make any sacrifices in the task now confronting us: Winning the War and Winning the Peace.

Accordingly, the Association adopts these policies:

1. Full support of our war effort

The Association will continue to give its wholehearted support to our Government in its efforts for complete victory in the war. It will cooperate with all public and private agencies which have enlisted their efforts in this cause. It will seek to mobilize public opinion in support of final and complete victory.

2. Planning now for peace

The Association considers it essential to begin now to plan for the future peace. The pattern for the future is taking form at present in the acts and decisions of every passing day. For peace cannot be improvised at the moment of victory. The Association, therefore, fully supports and participates in the work of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace.

CONFIDENTIALLEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT 11, MAIDEN LANE, W.C.2. ON THURSDAY, MARCH 19TH, 1942 AT 2 P.M.

PRESENT; Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Lord Cecil, Miss K.D. Courtney, Miss Philippa Fawcett, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Lady Hall, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, J. Macdonald, Dr. Gilbert Murray, Professor H.L. Paton, W.T. Pritchard, Nowell C. Smith, A.E.W. Thomas, Sir Ralph Wedgwood, Leonard Woolf and Major Freshwater.

272. MINUTES. The Minutes of the meeting of 5th March, 1942, were confirmed as circulated.
273. MINORITIES. (265) It was reported that the Minorities Committee would be meeting on March 26th.
274. ANTI-GERMAN PROPAGANDA. (267) Dr. Murray and Mr. Nowell Smith had not yet finished their memorandum. It would be ready for the next meeting.
275. LEAGUE OFFICE IN LONDON. (264) The Secretary was instructed to write to Mr. Frank Walters for further information about the meeting in London in April of the Emergency Committee of the I.L.O. and to enquire if he had received any further communication from Sir Alexander Cadogan.
276. CONSTITUTION OF EXECUTIVE. (256) Lord Cecil stated that he had not yet seen Mr. Butler.
277. ECONOMIC REFORM. (266). In reply to Dr. Garnett it was stated that the Industrial Advisory Committee had not yet met and that the two points to which he had called attention stood referred to that Committee.
278. PROPOSED CONFERENCE. (268) Mr. Judd reported that March 24th had been arranged for him to see Mr. Noel Baker about securing prominent people to address the conference and that he would sound certain members of the L.I.A. after the meeting of the General Purposes Committee on the following day.
279. LEAGUE OF NATIONS ASSOCIATION. (269) It was reported that, in reply to a cable sent to Mr. Eichelberger asking why it was suggested to change the name of the Association, the following had been received:

No action taken about changing name but engaging in considerable private speculation as to wisdom using phrase united nations inasmuch our governments stressing Atlantic Charter and United Nations stop would mean no fundamental change policy but possibly indicate more forward looking viewpoint.

Clark Eichelberger.

Lord Cecil expressed the opinion that the name "United Nations" would be most unfortunate, as it would imply that peoples who were not our allies would be excluded. The Secretary was asked:

- (1) to send a cable to Mr. Eichelberger as follows:

Executive thinks united nations as title would be unfortunate as this phrase is now used to describe nations in alliance in this war stop neither we nor you contemplate international authority in future confined to nations allied in present war.

(2) to write to Mr. Eichelberger giving the opinion of the Committee in fuller detail.

280. **ANTI-LEAGUE PROPAGANDA DURING WARSHIPS WEEKS.** Mr. Macdonald called the attention of the Committee to speeches made in different parts of the country by eminent people who appeared to reflect the views of the Government. After urging audiences to do all they could to help the war effort the speakers had misrepresented and sought to bring discredit on the League and on the Union by stating that it had brought about unilateral disarmament and was therefore responsible for the present state of affairs.

In this connection the following extract was read from a letter written by Mr. Baldwin to the Conservative candidate at the by-election at Skipton in 1933:

"We, as a nation, have set an example to the world by disarming to the utmost length compatible with national security, and I would point out in this connection that this disarmament was carried out almost entirely by the Conservative Government and the Coalition Government in which the Conservative Party predominated."

Reference was made to extracts from speeches by Mr. Churchill advocating the League.

The Chairman stated that part of Mr. Baldwin's letter would be printed in next month's HEADWAY and suggested that part of every issue of HEADWAY should be devoted to replying to such misleading statements, somewhat on the lines of the "Poison and Antidote" column of several years ago. This was agreed to, as was a suggestion by Miss Fawcett that something similar should be put in the NEWS SHEET.

Sir Ralph Wedgwood suggested that such information should be made public in every way, repeated in HEADWAY, at lectures and meetings, put together in a handy form so as to be readily available to everyone interested in the League, and sent to speakers.

Mr. Macdonald suggested that the Executive should ask speakers at all Union meetings to make a point of stating the true position and to make full use of the information circulated to them.

These suggestions were adopted.

281. **PROFESSOR RAPPARD.** It was reported that Professor W. Rappard was expected in London at the week-end and Lord Lytton asked the Secretary to inform him when Professor Rappard arrived; the possibility of his attending a meeting of the Executive might then be considered.

282. **UNION POLICY.** Consideration was given to a resolution from The Montague Burton Branch included in the Agenda for the present meeting (copy filed with these Minutes). The Chairman said that, obviously the resolution, since it sought to alter the policy adopted by the General Council, could not be accepted by the Executive.

Lord Cecil thought that Sir Montague Burton might be persuaded to look further into the matter; many of the points did not come within the scope of the Union; the omission of Russia would be fatal.

-3-

It was agreed that a letter should be sent to the Branch pointing out these things and, at Dr. Garnett's suggestion, it was further agreed that the letter should state that the meeting at which the resolution had been considered by the Executive had commenced by the rejection of a suggestion for using "United Nations" as a title, because that would imply that membership of the international authority would be confined to nations allied in the present war; a fortiori, therefore, the Executive could not agree to the authority being called the "Union of English-Speaking Peoples."

Lord Cecil agreed to write to Sir Montague and the Secretary was requested to write to the Branch.

283 London International Assembly. Lady Hall thought that the constitution of the committee on Labour and Social Problems was unsatisfactory. She was the only British representative and found it almost impossible to attend at the times fixed. She was concerned at the proposals put forward by Mr. Hauck.

Lady Hall was asked to write to Professor Florence with a view to his joining the Committee and, when she herself was unable to attend a meeting, to send a written statement for consideration by the Committee.

H. D. Courtney

Chairman,
2.4.42.

Resolution passed by MONTAGUE BURTON BRANCH L.N.U. on
1st January, 1942: 69
68

Believing it to be essential for the maintenance and development of the League of Nations Union that a more positive and constructive policy should be adopted, the Montague Burton Branch of the L.N.U. recommends that the L.N.U. should adopt the following peace aims:-

1. To free Germany and the world from Nazi tyranny.
2. To establish a Union of English-speaking Peoples (hereinafter referred to as "U.E.S.P.")
3. Members of U.E.S.P. to enjoy the benefit of:-
 - (a) Free Trade
 - (b) Common Labour Laws
 - (c) Obligatory Industrial Arbitration
 - (d) A 5-day, 45-hour week in industry (Public Utility Undertakings and Agriculture excepted)
 - (e) A minimum rate of pay ensuring an adequate standard of living.
 - (f) An equity tribunal for the purpose of settling all Inter-Union disputes.
 - (g) A Common Police, comprising Inter-Union Army, Navy and Air Force, to implement the decisions of the Equity Tribunal.
 - (h) A common language, such as Esperanto or Basic English.
 - (i) A common currency.
4. Every allied country to be eligible to become a member of the U.E.S.P. Other countries which have, for a period of five years, enjoyed Free Parliament, Free Press, Free Platform, and Equal Rights of Citizenship, will also be eligible to become members of the U.E.S.P. A Parliamentary Government interrupted by conquest will be deemed for this purpose as if it had functioned continuously.
5. The U.E.S.P. to develop the resources of Member-States in order to provide work for all, and raise the standard of life both of the white and of the coloured Peoples.
6. Member States to find employment for all their able-bodied men and women at recognised minimum rates of pay, and to make adequate provision for those who, by reason of age or bodily infirmity, are unable to work. The inventor, engineer, chemist, scientist, and the modern machine have made it possible for the State and Industry to shoulder such responsibility.
7. The U.E.S.P. to work for the establishment of World Unity based on justice.
8. The existing machinery of the L.N.U. to be utilised as far as practicable.
9. The existing machinery of the International Labour Office to be utilised as far as practicable.
10. The L.N.U. to address a Memorandum to Organisations of standing having similar aims such as Federal Union and its American counterpart "Union Now with Britain", offering to work in collaboration for the achievement of those ideals. A copy of such Memorandum to be sent to daily and weekly newspapers published in the English language throughout the British Commonwealth and America. The Montague Burton Branch of the L.N.U. would, on request, print such Memorandum free of cost.

In submitting the above resolution, the Montague Burton Branch is encouraged by the knowledge that, due to abnormal conditions prevailing, the world is in a frame of mind to consider far-reaching changes and reforms, as indicated by Mr. Winston Churchill's proposal "Union Now" with France, in June, 1940.

ConfidentialLEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING of the EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE held at 11 Maiden Lane W.C.2 on Thursday, April 2nd, 1942, at 2 p.m.

PRESENT: Miss Courtney (in the Chair), Lord Cecil, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Philippa Fawcett, Lady Hall, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, W.T. Pritchard, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, Nowell C. Smith, H.S. Syrett, Air Commodore Walsler and Major Freshwater.

- 284 MINUTES: The minutes of the meeting of 19th March, 1942, were confirmed as circulated.
- 285 MINORITIES (273) It was reported that the Committee had met and had considered a draft report. Certain alterations were being made and after the Committee had approved the redraft it would be submitted to the Executive.
- 286 ANTI-GERMAN PROPAGANDA (274) It was decided that copies of a memorandum prepared by Dr. Murray and Mr. Nowell Smith be circulated for consideration at the next meeting.
- 287 LEAGUE OFFICE IN LONDON (275) A letter dated 27th March (copy filed with these Minutes) from Mr. Frank Walters was read: the matter is under consideration and communications have been sent to the appropriate person.
Mr. Syrett having called attention to the great interest taken in the League by Mr. Winant, it was agreed that, should the situation be considered favourable on his return from America, Lord Cecil should endeavour to secure his help.
- 288 CONSTITUTION OF EXECUTIVE (276) Lord Cecil reported that, in reply to his invitation, Mr. Harold Butler had most reluctantly declined to join the Executive, because he was officially engaged with Sir William Jowitt on problems of reconstruction.
Subject to the approval of Lord Lytton, it was then decided to invite Lord Perth to become a member of the Executive.
- 289 PROPOSED CONFERENCE (278) Mr. Judd reported that he had mentioned the proposed Conference to some of the allied representatives in the London International Assembly and that they had warmly welcomed the plan, which would be more fully discussed at the next meeting of the General Purposes Committee.

He had also seen Mr. Noel-Baker, who had fully approved the general outline of the Conference and had made a number of very practical suggestions for the programme. Mr. Noel-Baker had appeared to consider that it was not at all impossible that some of the leading members of the Government could be persuaded to take some part in the Conference, but he had very strongly advised that the Committee should not invite them until nearer the time.

Subject to this approval being given by Mr. Eden, it was decided to hold the Conference and to give authority to make the necessary arrangements for staff and accommodation.

- 290 PROFESSOR RAPPARD (261) It was reported that Professor Rappard would be meeting members of the London International Assembly on April 15th at 5.30 p.m., and that Lord Lytton expected to see him on the 9th and hoped to be able to arrange for him to meet the Executive.

291 MOTIONS FOR GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING:

(a) WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR: The following from the Warwickshire & Birmingham Federal Council was considered:

"Paragraph 27, line 5, insert after 'International Authority'

"such supervision to include close examination of existing stocks of raw materials (including oil) and machinery essential for building up a war economy. Failure to satisfy the International Authority should render the country concerned liable to the imposition of restrictive measures."

Lord Cecil agreed that there should be limitation of materials which are not, strictly speaking, armaments, such as oil, precious metals, etc., but that the wording of the motion was not very clear. He suggested that there be inserted after "limitation of armaments" - "including stores of raw materials (including oil)" and after "and machinery" - "essential for the manufacture of such armaments"; the words "essential for building up a war economy" to be deleted.

It was agreed that the Chairman be asked to redraft this motion on the lines suggested by Lord Cecil, and that the Warwickshire & Birmingham Federal Council be asked if they would be willing to submit a motion in the form suggested.

(b) MOTION FROM MONTAGUE BURTON BRANCH (282) It was reported that Lord Cecil and the Secretary had written to Sir Montague Burton and to the Secretary of the Branch respectively, but replies had not yet been received.

(c) EDUCATION. Consideration was given to the following from Dr. Garnett:

"The General Council of the League of Nations Union -
Considers that the international authority which will be needed after the war should have, as one of its organs, an International Board of Education resembling the International Labour Organisation."

It was reported that, at Dr. Garnett's request the Rev. Gwilym Davies had been consulted and had suggested the following:

"The General Council of the League of Nations Union considers that the international organisation which will be needed after the war should have as one of its organs an international Education Office comparable in status and authority with the I.L.O."

Finally Mr. Nowell Smith agreed to see Dr. Garnett to tell him of the discussion and ask him to redraft his motion in the light of what had been said and of what Mr. Gwilym Davies had written.

(d) REPRESENTATION ON THE GENERAL COUNCIL.
Mr. Pritchard proposed the adoption by the Executive of the following motion of the London Regional Federation which had been approved by the Membership Committee that morning:

"The General Council realising that, owing to the decline in the paid-up membership of the Union, particularly noticeable since the outbreak of the present war, some Branches are disqualified by Rule 10 of the Bye-Laws and Rules of the Union from any representation at the General Council, while others are debarred by this same Rule from sending more than one delegate unless and until their paid-up membership exceeds 1,000

RESOLVES that, until such time as conditions within the Union make it desirable to revert to the original wording, Rule 10 be amended to read:

Each Branch shall have the right to elect to the General Council one representative if its total paid-up membership exceeds 50 but does not exceed 250; two representatives if its paid-up membership exceeds 250 but does not exceed 500; three representatives if paid-up membership exceeds 500, but does not exceed 1,000; and four if it is over 1,000."

It was decided to support the motion.

- 292 LONDON INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY (283) It was agreed that Mr. Judd should ask Mr. Burge to suggest the names of suitable people to serve on the Committee dealing with Economic Reconstruction.
- 293 ANTI-LEAGUE PROPAGANDA (280) With reference to the statements reported to have been made at Warships Week Meetings, Lord Cecil considered that there ought to be a full discussion at the General Council on a definite motion and that a full statement of the facts should be made.

It was decided to ask Lord Lytton to elaborate the pamphlet "Falsehoods & Facts" and to include extracts from

POST-WAR ORGANISATION OF THE UNION: Draft Motion
by Sub-Committee of Membership Committee (Minute 295)

- (1) How should Branches be grouped together: Should there be regional, county or district councils?
- (2) Should the organiser or secretary of a regional or other council be the servant of the council or of the Executive Committee of the Union?
- (3) How should a regional or other council be financed?

Mr. Churchill's speeches in favour of the League. It was suggested that more emphasis could with advantage be laid on the facts than on the falsehoods. A Statement of Expenditure on Armaments of different Governments should also be prepared.

Lord Cecil agreed to draft the motion for submission to the Council.

As it was possible that the efforts to make the Union a scapegoat were part of an organised plan, the Secretary was instructed to consult Mr. Lipson.

294 **FINANCE COMMITTEE.** Mr. Syrett reported that the Finance Committee had held a meeting on March 25th, at which a draft balance sheet for the year 1941 had been presented. Income had been £19,796 and expenditure £10,924; for the first time for many years there had been a small credit balance. *The balance shown in the Balance Sheet was on the credit side.*

Mr. Syrett reminded the Executive that there would be a certain amount of necessary expenditure for the work of the London International Assembly and for bringing certain salaries more into line with those obtaining in the rest of the country. A serious factor was that a large number of deeds would be running out this year. Provided, however, that the Executive did not commit themselves to any considerable extent on account of fresh activities, he was not unduly concerned about the financial position; it really was necessary that they should try to get a reserve in hand so that when the time came they could launch out.

An alteration in the rate charged for electric current had been agreed to and, in order to mitigate hardship owing to enemy action, certain emergency arrangements had been approved concerning the payment to the staff of wages and salaries.

295 **MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE.** Mr. Pritchard reported that at a meeting of the Membership Committee earlier in the day the following matters had been dealt with -

Post-War Reorganisation: A small sub-committee had been appointed to draw up a motion for discussion at the Conference of Branch Workers on the occasion of the General Council meeting.

Membership: The membership report showed that 11,207 renewal subscriptions had been collected this year and 273 new members had been enrolled. The corresponding figures for 1941 were 13,762 and 194.

Youth: Miss Waite had presented a detailed report on Youth Groups. She had up to the present kept in touch with a large number of Youth Group members in different parts of the country but was now no longer able to do this; if she were not called up she would have to devote considerably more time to the work of her office.

Miss Waite had suggested the appointment of a Youth Group Organiser.

Mr. Pritchard felt that there was a great deal to be done with regard to the young, and the Membership Committee had asked Miss Waite to suggest someone suitable to carry on the work, but on different lines to the old Youth Groups. No recommendation could be made until it was ascertained whether it was possible to obtain the services of a suitable organiser.

The work of an organiser would be to - get into contact with existing groups and ex-members of Youth Groups; approach branches to revive Youth Groups; run a page or column in HEADWAY; prepare matter for circulation to members of Youth Groups in the Forces; contact and influence Youth Clubs; adapt L.N.U. literature for youth.

Mr. Nowell Smith thought the feeling of the Membership Committee was that nothing of the kind could be done at this time, as during a crisis like the present the ideal person would inevitably be otherwise engaged. He had pointed out that in present circumstances the only work that could go on was in the schools, training colleges and universities.

Lady Hall took the view that, apart from the difficulty of finding a suitable organiser at this time, youth was too fully occupied with vital national work to be able to take part in the activities of any outside organisation.

Miss Rathbone hoped that something could be done with the Army Education authorities. Lectures and discussions were taking place on such subjects as Citizenship, the Atlantic Charter, What we are Fighting for, etc.

In this connection Air Commodore Walsler said he would endeavour to get the voluntary instructors in the Air Training Corps to give suitable lectures to their boys and to approach Lord Limerick with a view to getting suitable lectures in the Army Cadet Training scheme.

296 FREE WORLD ASSOCIATION. Consideration was given to a letter from the Free World Association dated 19.1.42; the original had not come to hand.

The Committee agreed that, when the Magazines referred to in the letter were received from America, certain people might be approached to write articles for it. Some names suggested were Vernon Bartlett, Harold Nicolson, Wickham Steed, A.J. Cummings, Wilson Harris and Lady Bonham Carter. Members of the Executive were asked to communicate to Major Freshwater any other names they might consider suitable.

297 CZECHOSLOVAK LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION. It was reported that a Czechoslovak League of Nations Union had now been formed in London, with an individual paying membership of Czechoslovak Nationals, and that the inaugural meeting had been held on March 25th.

N. D. Courtney

Chairman,

16.4.42.

Copy

THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Foreign Research & Press Service,

Balliol College, Oxford.

27th March, 1942.

My dear Freshwater,

(1) In reply to your note of March 24th, Sir Alexander Cadogan wrote that they have again thought over the question of proposing that one or two members of the Secretariat should come over to London and still feel that the present is not the appropriate moment for this. They have, however, raised the question again with Mr. Lester and asked him to say whether he thinks it practicable and necessary to take this action at a later date. I should be glad if the above could be treated as being for the confidential information of the Executive Committee.

(2) The meeting of the I.L.O. Emergency Committee is, I understand, now fixed to take place in London on April 15th. Some members of the I.L.O. staff are coming over for it and I believe that Loveday is also coming.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) Frank Walters.

Major A.J.C. Freshwater, M.C., T.D.,
League of Nations Union,
11 Maiden Lane, W.C.2.

79 26
S.960
26.3.42.

Copy Letter from FREE WORLD ASSOCIATION
January 19, 1942.

Dear Sirs,

The Executive Committee of the Free World Association was extremely glad to learn from Mr. Eichelberger and Dr. Artucio that the League of Nations Union had agreed to co-operate with the Free World Association and to create a standing committee which would try to obtain the cooperation of other important individuals in Great Britain.

The work of the Association in the United States has progressed rapidly in the last few months. On November 18th, in co-operation with the Committee to Defend America, the Free World Association organised over a hundred meetings. The New York Meeting at the Metropolitan Opera House was addressed by Paul McIntire, Jan Masaryk and other important speakers. In Washington, the Secretary of the Interior, Harold Ickes, Senator Austin, and many other prominent persons were the speakers. In most cases different religious groups and labour groups participated in this very strong campaign which had a splendid reception in the press.

In Latin America, the activities of the Association have also had considerable success. In Cuba, at the opening meeting, the Prime Minister of Cuba, the Ambassadors of Great Britain and China, the President of Parliament and many other prominent leaders spoke. Each month a sixteen page edition of Free World is printed in Cuba.

In Mexico, Isidro Fabela, former Mexican delegate to the League of Nations and former Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, in agreement with President Camacho, has organised a strong movement which is supported by almost all the important organisations in Mexico. In Argentina, Marcelo T. de Alvear, former President of Argentina, and Paul Lamonte Taborda, President of the Congressional Committee investigating Nazi activities, are leading the movement. In Uruguay, Professor Artucio and Palumbo are directing extremely vigorous movement, with the support of the Uruguayan Government. Montevideo has been selected as headquarters for Latin America. The first Spanish issue of Free World, which will have an edition of fifty thousand copies, is in preparation and will be published by the end of this month.

In Chile, the Minister of Public Health is leading the movement, and Mr. Videla, former Ambassador to France and prominent Chilean statesman, gave his support as one of the leaders of the Chilean Committee. In many other countries such as Columbia, etc. committees are in process of formation.

On November 2nd in Chungking, a most important conference of the Free World Association with three thousand delegates representing 187 organisations with a total membership of 47 million, was held with the support of General Chiang Kai-Shek.

In the United States, as Mr. Michelberger told you, the Committee to Defend America, the League of Nations Association and the Commission to Study the Organisation of Peace have created the American Section of the Free World Association and we are now working on plans to enlarge the representation.

The Free World Association is broadcasting four times a week over short-wave radio station WRUL to Europe and to South America; twice a week there are radio programs from stations in Havana, Mexico City, Montevideo, Santiago de Chile. These programs will be expanded.

All the committees have adopted as a definite program, victory of the Allies and world organisation.

We have recently published 150 thousand copies in Spanish and 50 thousand copies in Portuguese of an enquiry on Nazi activities in Japan and on Japan's foreign trade. A copy of this is being sent you under separate cover. The magazine FREE WORLD has become in a short time one of the leading political magazines in the United States. The Herald-Tribune of December 4th, quoted again in its editorial from this magazine. The number of subscribers is increasing every day. Members of the Administration and leaders of public opinion, etc., are collaborating in the magazine and its Honorary and Editorial Boards are recognised as representing the best elements of the anti-fascist fight.

The Committee to Defend America and the Council for Democracy have joined forces and from this junction has emerged a powerful group called CITIZENS FOR VICTORY: TO WIN THE WAR - TO WIN THE PEACE. This organisation is composed of influential men such as Governor Herbert Lehman of New York, Governor Culbert Olsen of California, Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, Raymond Gram Swing, Frank P. Graham, etc.

At its last meeting, the Executive Committee decided, provided satisfactory arrangements could be made, to call a world conference for democracy at Washington, which would be addressed by prominent members of the American Government. Delegates from Latin America, Europe, the Far East and North America would be invited to attend this conference. It is the very great desire of the Executive Committee that a British representative should come from London. It is naturally entirely up to you to suggest the name of your delegate. Many of us think that Philip Noel Baker would be an excellent choice or, for that matter, whomever you decide upon. We shall let you know by cable the exact date of the conference as soon as it is fixed. It will not be held before the end of April. We hope very much that you will be able to nominate a representative to the Conference immediately. He would have to pay only his expenses because we could arrange speaking arrangements for a month or so which would probably cover his stay in this country.

We would also suggest to you the possibility of creating a group of representatives of our organisation which would work as a steering committee to the Free World Association in Great Britain.

The second important problem which we submit to you is that of the distribution of the FREE WORLD magazine in England. We would be extremely glad if you could undertake this in Great Britain and we will settle later the

question of transfer of funds. For the time being the funds could be deposited in London to the credit of Free World, Inc. The subscription price for members of the Union or co-operating organisations would be three dollars per year; for others, four dollars. As soon as we receive your subscription we shall mail the magazine.

The third problem is the question of articles. We would be very glad if you would undertake immediately to try to secure an article from Mr. Winston Churchill and/or Mr. Egan, Mr. Archibald Sinclair and other members of the Government who seem suitable to you. Apart from those messages by officials, we would be extremely glad to have a few articles by prominent people on the following subjects:

Britain's military war effort
 Britain's economic war effort
 Britain's political war effort
 Great Britain's conception of the future world
 Great Britain and the future of Europe
 Great Britain and the free governments
 Great Britain's educational effort during the war
 Important social changes in Great Britain during the war.

The articles should not exceed three thousand words and should be sent by airmail, except for messages from members of the Government which could be cabled direct. We would be extremely grateful if you would immediately act on this matter as the problem of articles is of great importance and it is almost impossible to get correct figures and serious articles on these subjects in the United States. If some other subjects seem suitable to you, please act on behalf of the FREE WORLD magazine and ask for the articles immediately. We would be glad to have articles by such people as Wickham Steed, Philip Noel-Baker, Lord Cecil, Lord Lytton, leaders of the Trade Unions and co-operating movements, etc. You will find enclosed a folder giving the program of the Association and the magazine.

In the fourth place, may we ask you to let us know when important British leaders are coming to the United States, so that we can prepare meetings for them and conferences. And as a fifth thing, would you undertake to inform the different governments in exile and the different national organisations existing in Great Britain of the activities of the Free World Association?

We would greatly appreciate your cooperation in these matters.

Sincerely yours

Hugh Moore, Chairman Executive
 Committee.
 Louis Dolivet, Secretary-General.
 Hugo Fernandez Artucio,
 Director,
 Latin American Office.

CONFIDENTIALLEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT 11, MAIDEN LANE, W.C.2. ON THURSDAY, 16th APRIL 1942, AT 2 P.M.

PRESENT: Miss K.D. Courtney (in the Chair), Mrs. E.P. Beale, Lord Cecil, the Dean of Chichester, Miss Philippa Fawcett, A.J. Howe, D.L. Lipson, M.P., Dame Adelaide Livingstone, G. le M. Mander, M.P., Dr. Gilbert Murray, Professor H.J. Paton, W.T. Pritchard, Nowell C. Smith, A.E.W. Thomas, Air Commodore Walser, Sir Ralph Wedgwood and Major Freshwater.

298. MINUTES. The Minutes of the meeting of April 2nd, 1942, were confirmed; on Minute 294 it was explained that for the first time for many years the balance shown in the Balance Sheet was on the credit side.
299. CONSTITUTION OF EXECUTIVE (288). It was reported that, in reply to an invitation to join the Executive, Lord Perth had asked for time to consider the matter; a list of members of the Executive had been sent to him at his request.
300. PROPOSED CONFERENCE (289). Mr. Judd reported that he would make a further statement to the Executive after Mr. Noel-Baker had seen the Foreign Secretary; Mr. Mander had also promised to see the Air Minister.
301. PROFESSOR RAPPARD (290). The Chairman reported that the London International Assembly had had a very successful meeting with Professor Rappard the previous day, when the Chair was taken by Lord Cecil. A meeting between Professor Rappard and the Executive would be both interesting and valuable.
302. ANTI-LEAGUE PROPAGANDA (293). It was reported that Mr. Lipson had seen Major Dugdale, who assured him that the Conservative Party had had nothing to do with attacks on the League or the Union during Warships Weeks. Major Dugdale deprecated the kind of speech to which his attention had been drawn; they were likely to harm rather than help such Weeks.

The following motion drafted by Lord Cecil was considered:

"In view of the attempts being made to throw upon the League of Nations Union responsibility for the unpreparedness of this country for war, the Council desires emphatically to repudiate that charge and to point out that the L.N.U.

- α. *Receipt*
1. Has never advocated the reduction or limitation of the armaments of this country as part of a general treaty for international disarmament by all countries.
 2. Has constantly urged that peace can only be secured through the prevention of aggression by the joint action of the peace-loving nations using force for that purpose if necessary.
 3. Energetically protested, through its President, against the slogan "we have kept you out of war" as setting up a false and misleading principle of Foreign Policy; and declared its readiness to vote for re-armament, as he voted, on the understanding that the armaments would be used in furtherance of a League of Nations policy."

The Committee approved the first two paragraphs, but after some discussion it was agreed to omit the last sentence of the third paragraph.

At Miss Fawcett's suggestion it was agreed that the whole of the substance of the last paragraph should be printed in HEADWAY, including the date on which Lord Cecil had recorded his vote in the House of Lords, and that every opportunity should be taken to bring the facts referred to in this paragraph before the public in speeches and correspondence.

It was reported that Lord Lytton was revising "Falsehoods & Facts".

It was decided that copies of the "Note on Armaments Expenditure in recent years", prepared in accordance with Minute 293, should be available for members of the Executive, and that a shortened edition of the Note should be printed in HEADWAY.

303. GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING:

(a) Executive Motions. Lord Cecil suggested that the Executive should table a motion urging the Government to make preparations for the peace aims they intend to advocate.

After considerable discussion on the wisdom or otherwise of sending such a motion to the Government, Lord Cecil was asked and agreed to draft a motion to be circulated for consideration at the next meeting of the Committee.

It was further decided to insert the usual notice in the Preliminary Agenda stating that the Executive may ask for urgency to propose motions on international affairs.

Dr. Murray thought the Government should be asked whether they had any definite policy with regard to the Jewish question, which he considered to be separate from other minority questions. It was agreed that this be raised at the next meeting of the Minorities Committee and reconsidered by the Executive after the report of that Committee had been received.

(b) "World Settlement after the War". It was reported that the Warwickshire and Birmingham Federal Council did not approve the redraft of their Motion, inserting a sentence in Clause 27. Finally it was agreed that the motion be submitted to the General Council in its original form, with the addition in the last sentence of the words "in these respects" after "International Authority".

(c) Education. Consideration was given to the following amended Motion by Dr. Garnett:

"The General Council of the League of Nations Union considers that the international authority which will be needed after the war should have as one of its organs an International Education Organisation comparable in status and authority with the International Labour Organisation",

and the Note S.965 (filed with these Minutes) by Mr. Nowell Smith.

Lord Cecil and Dr. Murray considered that the word "administrators" should be replaced by some such words as "educational officers or teachers" or "members of education authorities".

It was thought that the Organisation should include those who had made a study of education and had carried it out in practice. The idea was to get the whole educational world represented in its various phases.

Lord Cecil expressed the opinion that the new authority should be part of the League Council and not have an independent existence, as did the I.L.O.

Mr. Nowell Smith was disposed to agree with Lord Cecil and said the Council for Education in World Citizenship would like the Executive to support Dr. Garnett's motion, possibly with alterations, and agreed to report to Dr. Garnett the opinions of the Executive and discuss with him alterations in the wording.

5. A Report on Education in World Citizenship, Ed. 295a, (copy filed with these Minutes) was considered; it would be printed by the Council for Education in World Citizenship.

The Executive decided to give general approval to the report; to bring it before the General Council and commend it to Branches for study.

6. (d) It was decided that the Twenty-third Meeting of the General Council should be held at the Conway Hall on June 19th-21st; the first session should be held at 2.30 p.m. on the 19th, and in the evening there should be a more popular and less formal gathering, at which prominent members of the London International Assembly should be asked to speak; on the 20th there should be a session in the morning and another in the afternoon, while on the 21st there should be a session in the morning and one in the afternoon if necessary. The Procedure Committee would work out the details.

304. ANTI-GERMAN PROPAGANDA (286). Consideration was given to a memorandum prepared by Mr. Nowell Smith.

The Dean of Chichester did not consider that the real problem, that of Germany itself, had been faced. The Chairman pointed out that the Memorandum had arisen out of a resolution of the Oxford Branch and had, at the request of the Executive, been prepared in order to draw a distinction between vengeance and justice and to suggest action which the Executive might take to modify indiscriminate anti-German propaganda.

Mr. Thomas considered the document to be a very useful one; it asked the reader not to allow natural feelings of emotion to obscure his mind and judgment when trying to think out the best way to achieve world peace on a just basis.

Lord Cecil held that justice meant that individual Germans should be punished for crimes they had been proved to have committed.

After further discussion, it was decided not to proceed with the Memorandum at present. It was agreed, however, that in speeches and correspondence it should be stressed that while the Executive were strongly in favour of the punishment of criminals, they were opposed to vengeance.

305. ATLANTIC CHARTER AND UNION POLICY. Consideration was given to a paper S.961 setting out in parallel columns points of agreement between the Charter and the Union's Statement of Policy, and S.964, a longer document by Mr. Arnold-Forster.

The Chairman considered it very important that some document on these lines, suitable for speakers, should be printed, and pointed out that the Atlantic Charter was the only official statement of peace aims.

The Dean of Chichester did not think either document quite suitable; S.964 was too controversial. He thought it important that the Executive should answer the opponents to the Atlantic Charter, but other speakers thought this might draw too much attention to the points of opposition.

Lord Cecil stressed the importance of perpetually giving publicity to the Atlantic Charter, particularly to the necessity for an international authority, and the impossibility of neglecting the existence of national units.

The Secretary was instructed to have a document prepared on the lines of S.964, but shorter, not controversial; matter contained in S.961 should be embodied in it.

306. LENIN MEMORIAL. A letter had been received from the Mayor of Finsbury inviting subscriptions to the Lenin Memorial Fund. No action was taken.
307. FEDERAL UNION. It was reported that a letter, dated April 13th, had been received from Miss F.L. Josephy, Chairman of Directors of Federal Union, Ltd., containing a resolution by the Peace Aims Committee of Federal Union. No action was taken.
308. EXECUTIVE MEETINGS. It was agreed that future meetings of the Executive should commence at 2.15 or 2.30 p.m.

Lyell
Chairman,
30.4.42.

"comparable in status and authority with the I.L.O." some such description as the following:- "representative of Governments, Education Administrators, Teachers and other intellectual workers, to promote the general advancement of education and of intellectual co-operation."

Apr. 6. '42.

DR. GARNETT'S MOTION proposing an
INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION ORGANISATION.

I venture to support this resolution as Chairman of the Management Committee of the Council for Education in World Citizenship. I cannot produce a resolution of the Council, because its annual meeting had to be postponed at the last moment owing to the depletion of the domestic staff of Lady Margaret Hall. But the idea of some International Education Organisation, which was in the minds of some thoughtful persons at the end of the last war, was mooted in almost identical terms by Mr. Gwilym Davies to the Conference for Teachers and Education Administrators of the Allied countries held by the C.E.W.C. at Oxford in January 1941, and by Dr. Garnett to the Executive Committee of the L.N.U. in the same month. Other matters more pressing at the moment prevented any thorough discussion of their proposal; but it was approved at a two-days' Conference of the Management Committee in January of this year, and embodied in the memorandum presented to the President of the Board of Education a few weeks ago on behalf of that Committee.

It is perhaps premature at present to attempt to define the relation between any such International Education Organisation and the League of Nations or whatever will be the name of the International Authority which we all hope to see established in due course. There is no thought of setting up a Supranational Authority with powers to impose uniformity or in any way to regiment national or other educational institutions. But the Organisation should bring together representatives of Governments, of Education Administrators and of the great Associations of Teachers, to promote the general advancement of education and the influence of education upon international relations. It should be a great clearing-house for the interchange of ideas and information in all branches of science and learning.

There is an obvious analogy between such a body as is here proposed and the I.L.O. But as most people have a tendency to take analogies too literally or absolutely, I should prefer to substitute for the words

WHAT SHOULD BE OUR ATTITUDE TOWARDS
GERMAN ATROCITIES AND THE GERMAN PEOPLE?

1. The Executive Committee has received without surprise evidence of anxiety among members of the Union about the effects upon the public temper and upon both present and future policy, not only of the notorious unspeakable cruelty practised by German troops with the incitement and example of their authorities, but also of the use made of these horrors by some public men, politicians and journalists, to stimulate our national war effort. The Executive Committee therefore think it may be helpful to some members and Branches if they set forth simply and briefly the considerations which should in their opinion govern the attitude both of individuals and of the Government in this matter.
2. No sincere supporter of the ideals and principles of the I.N.U. can fail to loathe cruelty with all his heart or to desire its suppression and extirpation by the swiftest and most effective means.
3. The deliberate cruelty of German policy and the innumerable acts of murder, torture, rape and other violence committed by German nationals on Poles, Czechs, Russians and other foreigners as well as on their own Jews and fellow-Germans during the last few years and at the present time are notorious and well authenticated facts.*
4. It is in accordance with every civilised legal code that the perpetrators of such cruelties should be, where possible, brought to justice, tried and sentenced by due process of law. Warnings have already been given by our own and other allied Governments of the intention to take such measures, evidence is being collected and procedure prepared by the competent authorities. Nothing should be done or said to impair the supremacy or the integrity of justice, either for the satisfaction of passion or in the interest of supposed expediency. The execution of material sentences is limited by material means; the verdicts must be limited solely by the consciences of judges of proved competence and integrity.
5. It is natural that the victims, the witnesses, and even those who only hear of such cruelties should be stirred to various degrees of horror, of anger, of hatred, of vengefulness, against the perpetrators and their abettors and even against the German people as a whole. It is certain that deeds of vengeance do occur and will occur without regard to the guilt or innocence of the persons on whom vengeance is taken. But it is the clear duty, not only of every sincere follower of Christianity or of any of the other great religions, but also of everyone sincerely desirous of promoting human welfare, to resist any temptation to injustice in his own thoughts and acts, any passionate or ignorant outcry of others for mere vengeance, and still more any calculated propaganda for national hatred.
6. Probably no reasonable person would in cold blood deny the truth of the above statements. But there is a danger of the truth being blurred by indignation, however justly excited, and by a passionate desire to avert the repetition

*The same is true of the Japanese, *mutatis mutandis*, and the gist of this paper applies equally to them.

of these horrible cruelties from ourselves and those we love. It is therefore all the more necessary to keep before our minds our claim to be fighting against cruelty, against injustice, against lawless and unbridled lust of power, and to allow no specious pleas of retribution, no taunts of wanting firmness or patriotism, no fiery incitements to revenge, to deflect us from our master-purpose.

7. Not identical, but closely associated with the question of justice or vengeance is that of the blood-guiltiness and appetite for world-domination of the whole or only a part of the German people. On this question there really should be no difficulty in forming a sober judgment; and both for shortening the war and for making peace with any reasonable hope of its durability, it is essential that our judgment should be sober.
8. The doctrine that the Germans are racially predetermined to be the enemies of the rest of mankind is as little justified by history or science as the Nazi doctrine of the *Herrenvolk*. The people of the German Reich are as mixed as the people of these islands. Nations do undoubtedly acquire distinctive characteristics, which, though far from being immutable, may last through many generations. Thus it may be true to say that the Germans are more easily regimented and led and more prone to a sentimental and mystical self-importance than, for example, ourselves. It is certainly true that the power and policy of Germany have been for eighty years a growing danger to a world precariously balanced on national and economic competition; and that this danger has now become an actual assault upon the lives and freedom of countless millions of human beings. It follows therefore that this power and policy of Germany must be destroyed.
9. But it will not be destroyed by blind and indiscriminate denunciation. That actually does more harm than good to our own singleness of aim and unity of effort. We are all united in the determination to defeat the Axis Powers; we know that our very lives and liberties depend upon it. We need no hymns of hate; and acrimonious disputes about past history are not useful war-work.
10. It is plain to common sense, and has been seized upon as a weapon of war by the highly realist Russian Government, that one weak spot in Germany's armour is the fact that the Germans are by no means a united nation. The Gestapo and the concentration camps are their own selves proof of this. It is not only our duty, if we are fighting for the cause of freedom and justice, to remember the German victims and opponents of German violence and oppression. It is also our interest to make the best use we can of these enemies of the Hitler and militarist regime, and to sap as far as possible the endurance of the population of Germany. Such propaganda is no substitute for military overthrow; but if used with sincerity and persistence it can be of great value both for shortening the war and for "winning the peace".
11. For we have to remember that when we have won the war, we have to do our best to prepare for peaceful relations with some eighty or ninety millions, and more, of Germans. Not even the most implacable judge of the German race hopes to exterminate or "sterilise the lot" (in spite of wild and whirling words). Not even the least imaginative supposes that Germany can be permanently held down by military occupation. This is not the place to discuss the measures of occupation, of disarmament, of other precautions, which all agree will be necessary and which should certainly be thorough. But if in the long run we hope to see Germans as well as Frenchmen and Russians and the rest of us living peaceably with free institutions in a world that has learned to cooperate for well-being rather than to fight for self-assertion, it stands to reason that we must not begin by assuming that all Germans are incapable even of starting on that long run.

EDUCATION IN WORLD CITIZENSHIP

I. Our Single Aim

1. The aim of education in world citizenship is to increase in ever-widening circles the number of men and women who understand and feel their common interest in just and peaceable relations between all human communities throughout the world and their personal obligation to act in accordance with this interest as far as in them lies.

Explanation

- (a) The human race, though subject to physical and spiritual divisions, some of which are irremovable, has nevertheless a common interest in the establishment of a world in which clashes between nations or other groups or communities, as those between individuals, would be adjusted by consent or by recognised processes of justice without resort to war or violence.
- (b) The universality of this common interest has been completed by modern advances in the means of communication, and its intensity is continually increased by the growth of man's destructive power.
- (c) Peace between communities, as between individuals, can only be satisfactory to all parties if it rests upon mutual goodwill and a common willingness to accept impartial settlement of differences which cannot be settled by mutual agreement.
- (d) It cannot in the long run be beneficial to the human beings composing any community that their community should voluntarily (1) resort to war or to the use of force for the purpose of imposing their will upon another community, refusing the arbitration of recognised tribunals or other impartial mediators.
- (e) It is the duty and interest of individual men and women to act in accordance with these facts, recognising that over and above the duty they acknowledge to their own particular community, and in the real interest of that community and its members, they owe a duty to the community of mankind and their fellow men and women all over the world. This recognition should govern both the exercise of their political rights and their social and personal relations.
- (f) How men and women may be enabled to recognise this duty and interest and induced to act accordingly, it is the object of the following pages to enquire.

(1) It is not relevant here to discuss the question of self-defence. This does not mean that we are unaware of its importance or of the necessity of providing for it so long as the possibility of attack remains. Our object is progress towards the elimination of that possibility.

II. Clearing the Ground

2. The statements and arguments which follow are addressed to ordinary men and women and assume no special previous study of the subjects discussed. We shall therefore endeavour to set down in plain words facts, principles and inferences which many readers would have taken for granted and may therefore find tedious. Such readers will, however, no doubt appreciate the importance of extending as widely as possible both a real understanding of the problem of establishing a more peaceful course of human relations throughout the world and an active will to help in solving it. Although it is only common sense to recognise that there must always be leaders and experts of various degrees for the initiation and progress of any great enterprise, it is equally certain that no great enterprise undertaken for the benefit of mankind and with due regard for human personality can be carried on successfully without the consent and co-operation, according to ability, of sufficient numbers of ordinary men and women.
3. It is for this very reason that we address ourselves to the idea of Education in World Citizenship. The phrase, like so many, is unattractive, and even the word Education is to many a first sight or hearing repellent. Though there is a large number of people who for one reason and another are inevitably concerned with some aspect of education, there are comparatively few who take a spontaneous interest in educational theories or in the theory of education. Moreover, most ordinary people fight shy of general and, as they are indiscriminately called, abstract terms, especially if they seem to have an intellectual rather than a moral or, as is more usually said, a practical purpose. We English are indeed shy of talking about either ideas or emotions, except when roused to expression by some particular emotion itself. Terms like freedom, patriotism and justice do arouse our interest. They suggest something to fight for. Even peace and order are recognised, at least when they are absent, as important conditions of a satisfactory pursuit of our daily interests. Such terms then as freedom, patriotism, justice, peace, order, have a moral or practical appeal which "comes home", in Bacon's words, "to men's business and bosoms". But from terms which seem to be aiming at a lodgement in the brain rather than the bosom and inviting to thought rather than to business the ordinary Englishman is apt to turn away with suspicion or something like contempt. One could not have a better example of this trait than the attitude of the British public, of Parliament and of successive Cabinets towards the International Organisation of Intellectual Co-operation, set up by the League of Nations in 1922 to 1924. Whatever the value of this experiment has been, might have been and may be in the future, it certainly has received hardly any support

from the British Government nor any attention from the British public. The Englishman is not eager for either organisation or co-operation; he is suspicious of internationalism and freezes at the word "intellectual". His reaction to the phrase "Education in World Citizenship" is somewhat similar and needs to be met with plain acknowledged truths and practical arguments.

III. Self-will the ultimate cause of strife

4. The first plain acknowledged truth from which we start is that war is a cruel and senseless state of things, bringing slaughter, devastation, famine, disease and lasting misery upon countless human beings. This is acknowledged by all persons capable of forming judgments, and the abolition or at least the utmost possible elimination, of war is regarded as desirable by all such persons, except the comparatively small minority whom greed, ambition or some other passion induces to ignore or gamble on the dangers that war may bring upon themselves. The frequent saying, then, is true enough, that ninety-nine per cent of the civilised world desire peace. But the question immediately arises: If that is so, why does the civilised world engage in or tolerate war? And on the answer to that question depends the answer to another which is of great practical concern to the Council for Education in World Citizenship - viz. Can Education enable the civilised world to abolish war or at least to deal effectively with such sporadic outbursts as might still from time to time break out?

5. Why does the civilised world engage in or tolerate war? The proximate causes and occasions of war are many and various. At present there is a well-founded belief that modern wars, at least, are due mainly to economic and social strains and maladjustments, to pressure of population, slumps, unemployment, exploitation of distress and discontent, competition for raw materials and markets and so on. At the same time it is acknowledged that religious, racial, national and other antipathies and fanaticisms are potent incitements to war. Lastly, however reluctant we might be to place responsibility for enormous evils upon particular individuals or groups, no impartial judgment could fail to include among the causes of war the ambition, greed and cognate passions of individuals and groups who at any given time are possessed of power to influence the course of affairs. We do not for a moment deny or underestimate any of these causes, nor the power of self-sacrificing idealism and the urge to martyrdom which so often reinforce them. But it is not necessary to discuss insoluble questions as to the relative importance of these causes, because a survey of them all reveals that they all ultimately rest as causes of war upon the tendency of normal human beings to try to get their own way, and that therefore the only radical cure for war is to be sought in the restraint or the sublimation of that tendency.

6. The answer, then, to the question why, in spite of the almost universal desire of peace, does the civilised world engage in or tolerate war, is that the desire of innumerable persons and groups of persons to have their own way and the habit of pursuing innumerable different and often incompatible courses of action, are forces too positive and dynamic for the somewhat vague and passive desire of peace. In personal and family life most normal persons desire friendliness and harmony; but quarrels often arise from conflicting wills. In business, society, politics, morals and religion the same holds true. We are most of us engaged most of our time in pursuing our own ends and interests from the smallest and most material to the

most ambitious and the most ideal. Most of these ends and interests we share with others; and while this has an important effect in breaking down mere personal self-interest, it also tends to strengthen our will to prevail over opposition and to disguise the willfulness of our action even from ourselves under the cloak of patriotism or other loyalty to associates. In the economic, the social, the political, the religious and moral fields, there is perpetual competition, rivalry, conflict of varying intensity. Some will say that this is a platitude; others that such is life and that life would not be worth living without struggle and strife. That may be true; but we are concerned with the bearing of these truths and platitudes upon the problem of war. The question is: Must this tendency of human nature and of human conditions towards perpetual conflict of wills issue in that wholesale slaughter, mutilation and all kinds of misery which we sum up in the short word War?

IV. Education of the will the remedy

7. The answer would certainly seem to be "No". Otherwise there would be no civilisation, no settled life anywhere in the world. Families, traders, classes, churches, parties - one has only to pronounce those words to be reminded of feuds, cut-throat competition, class war, odium theologium, party politics; and yet communities of very various sizes and within various kinds of limits, geographical, racial, linguistic, even governmental, do achieve various degrees of internal order, civilisation, tolerance and harmony. In experience the dividing destructive power of self-will is always being met by two other constituents of human nature, reason or intelligence and fellow-feeling or humanity. Granted that self-preservation, self-gratification, self-expression, in a word self-will, is, speaking generally, the most spontaneous and the most continuously active of human motives, nevertheless fellow-feeling, desire of contact with other personalities, abhorrence of complete loneliness, a tendency, in the absence of deterrents, to be friendly towards other persons, all of which we might sum up in the phrase the instinct of humanity, is equally a constituent of human nature. In some manifestations of love and friendship and philanthropy it overpowers or sublimates self-will. In general, however, just as destruction is so much easier than building up, so self-will with its tendency to conflict is always thwarting the instinct of humanity, and would have effectively prevented the emergence of any civilisation or human society but for man's gift of reason or intelligence, that is, his power of learning from experience. Reason or intelligence is not itself, like self-will and humanity, a gnostic power, except perhaps as inseparable from curiosity; but it is capable, if cultivated and exercised, of aiming, guiding, checking these and other tendencies. Its chief value in fact lies in its function of teaching self-will that it often defeats its own object by insisting on having its own way. Self-will and humanity advised by intelligence, have achieved such harmony in family, social, economic, political, moral and religious relations as has been achieved in this imperfect world; and the process by which this co-operation is fostered and handed on from generation to generation is the most elementary and at the same time the most important function of education.

8. The great majority of parents and children's nurses neither know nor care about theories or the terminology of education. But one of their chief cares is to perform this very function - guiding the child's natural self-will, teaching him to profit by experience and fostering his interest in and friendliness towards other people. And this remains through childhood and adolescence the most important function of education. Among all other gifts and acquisitions this harmony

of the personality - "the reason firm, the temperate will" - is the secret of the happy conduct of life in all its unpredictable variety. It is attained in anything like completeness and continuity by very few. It is attained to a sufficient degree by a sufficient number to maintain human relations in such conditions as we find them in. It is only by this harmonizing of self-will and humanity that human society can be maintained and human welfare promoted. It is only thus that war, the greatest destroyer of human society and welfare, can be suppressed - if it can be suppressed at all.

9. Thus it will be seen that whatever other measures may be adopted to deal with the manifold causes of wars - and we do not for one moment minimise their importance and indeed necessity - nothing will avail to neutralise those causes, to prevent their actually issuing in war, except a sufficient preponderance of persons in whom self-will and humanity are so adjusted and are so guided by reason or intelligence that they are not to be tempted by greed or fear or any selfish passion to embark on or support war as an instrument of policy or to connive at such action on the part of others. Can this preponderance of such persons be brought about? We do not know; but it is plain that it will not come about automatically or without constant effort on the part of those in every generation who are themselves convinced of its necessity and willing and able to work for it. And while this is work of persuasion and example for all such servants of their generation, it is especially work for the teaching profession, in all its branches, and for governments and other authorities in whose power it lies to foster or to hamper education.

V. Education in World Citizenship

10. We have so far argued that war is an acknowledged evil, to be as far as possible eliminated, and that its fundamental cause is the human tendency to unbalanced and unreasonable self-will seeking to have its own way at whatever cost of injustice and violence. We have seen that such social harmony as man has achieved is due to the correction or sublimation of self-will by the instinct of humanity with the aid of reason or intelligence, and that to fit men and women for this harmony is the most important function of education. And we have inferred that war, the great destroyer of harmony, can only be itself destroyed by the preponderance of men and women thus fitted for social harmony, thus armed against the temptation of selfish passions; and that only by means of education, if at all, can this preponderance be brought about. We thus come back to the question, which, as was said at the outset, so much concerns the Council for Education in World Citizenship: "Can education enable the civilised world to abolish war or at least to deal effectively with such sporadic outbursts as might still from time to time break out?"
11. "Education in World Citizenship". By world citizenship we do not mean a legal or constitutional status, like the citizenship of a city or of a state. We are not discussing proposals for any form of world-state or world-federation or confederation of States. We mean a habit of the mind and the will. Under modern conditions all mankind are increasingly members one of another. What is done in one place affects the course of events far off in all directions. National policies, economic movements, movements of ideas, and individual opinions - all are in constant interplay throughout the world, transcending all barriers, however much individuals or groups may strive to pursue their own interests in isolation. The citizen of the world, in our use of the term, not only recognises

gangsters. But hitherto it must be admitted that few so-called practical men, whether in politics or in business, have been other than indifferent, if they have not been obstructive, to educational ideas. The notable progress that has been made in the last century or so has been often checked by the refusal of Governments and Parliaments and public bodies to implement even the schemes which they have been induced to accept in principle. There are always solid reasons for spending money on material objects which can be seen with the physical eye rather than on intellectual or spiritual objects visible only to the eye of enlightened imagination. The difficulty is indeed inherent in the nature of things. Spiritual values cannot be assessed in terms of £.s.d., though £.s.d. are necessary for the embodiment of spiritual values in human life and action. Neither the intellectual nor the pastoral work of the teacher is of any great value unless it is labour of love, inspired to a high degree by unselfish motives. The same is true no doubt of most kinds of work. But because the work of education is directed mainly to spiritual ends, it is commonly - even if unconsciously - assumed that a care for such material things as salaries and equipment is unworthy of its votaries. Teaching and preaching and reading and writing and learning lessons - surely all that we need of this, which after all often puts a lot of nonsense and discontent into people's heads, can be had without spending large sums of money. If people want what they call higher education, they should pay for it, as they should pay for art and music and other hobbies.

16. This attitude towards education is no doubt not commonly avowed except under the provocation of demands for money. But there it is - a kind of passive resistance. On the other hand, there is now, as there was in the last war, great spiritual and emotional unrest. There is a considerable increase of religious activity and a large outburst of superstitions. Psychology, ethics and metaphysics are widely popular, and educational theories, controversies, demands, are all contributing to a very lively, if chaotic, picture of our spiritual condition in this crisis of our history. It is impossible to foresee the upshot. But at any rate we are justified in hoping, or rather we are in duty bound to hope, that from this stirring of men's spirits out of apathy there will come a new awareness of reality, a new sense of values, a new reaction of the spiritual forces which determine human welfare and unhappiness and of the inescapable interdependence and mutual responsibilities of all mankind. Animated by this hope we must try to persuade all whom we can reach, and especially our statesmen, that the maintenance of the peace of freedom and justice for which we are fighting will depend not only on treaties and conventions, on material precautions against aggression, on international economic planning - though all these will be necessary - but more fundamentally on a sufficient and growing consciousness in civilised nations of men and women who understand the moral conditions of such a peace and are determined to have them fulfilled. If the statesmen and others who will have to deal with the immense problem of revival, reconstruction and the establishment of a better world order can be persuaded of this truth, they will not, as in the past, neglect the spiritual foundation of the better world order, which is no other than the willing consciousness of world citizenship.

17. It is not a question of educational regimentation undertaken by Governments, whether national or supranational. Our British dislike of any such thing has been only too well

and settled will to give to the claims of this feeling priority over opposing demands of self-will, are to be found fully operative in persons who are unable to give their sincere adherence to any of the creeds or even to belief in any positive assertions about the existence and nature of God. It is interesting to speculate upon the religious as well as other influences which have gone to the make-up of the modern agnostic whose will is set upon justice and who loves his fellow-men; but the fact with which we are concerned and upon which alone depends the hope of establishing a world-wide and effective sense of world citizenship is that on which the whole argument of this statement is based, viz. that there exists in normal human beings a natural fellow-feeling independent of any particular belief or opinions about transcendental ideas. The development of this fellow-feeling into a conscious, willing and active principle of world citizenship is our specific educational aim. The pursuit of this aim brings us into cordial co-operation with all those, of whatever religion or school of thought, who desire that the relations between human beings, whether within or across national or other boundaries, should be regulated by justice and more and more inspired by goodwill. We would do everything possible to implant and foster the disposition to justice and loving-kindness in childhood, and to fortify this disposition by feeding and guiding the growing reason and intelligence of youth, till the grown man or woman is not only settled in the habit of justice and goodwill, but is ready to play a due part in moulding public opinion and promoting policies which tend to the peace and welfare of all mankind.

VII. Appeal to Statesmen and others who wield power

14. It is unlikely that anyone in his senses will dispute our fundamental proposition, that a world order ensuring peace and respecting freedom can only be achieved by a preponderance of human wills set upon that achievement. There is evidently not that preponderance at present. There is a very great number of men and women hankering after peace, but with no clear understanding of the conditions on which alone peace can be established, and therefore exercising no effective pressure in that direction. To convert this mass of ineffective goodwill into active purpose and power is so vast a work that the leadership and co-operation of statesmen and others in possession of authority and influence are absolutely necessary if it is to be in full swing before another great war breaks out. To obtain this leadership and co-operation is actually the hardest part of our problem. It is comparatively easy with energy and intelligence to plan measures and methods of fostering mutual understanding and goodwill, training the young in the habit of justice, guiding both the reason and the will in the knowledge and the desire of peaceable wisdom. It is very much more difficult to obtain that support and initiative from the wielders of power which alone can enable such measures and methods to be put into action on any adequate scale.

15. The problem is a world-wide one, but for practical reasons we must begin with our own country, both because its lead and example are of the first importance and because there is in our national character a great deal of resistance to educational ideas. Our public speakers and editorial articles are indeed nowadays stressing the supreme importance of education, if civilized freedom is to survive, if whole peoples are not to be at the mercy of demagogues and

gangsters. But hitherto it must be admitted that few so-called practical men, whether in politics or in business, have been other than indifferent, if they have not been obstructive, to educational ideas. The notable progress that has been made in the last century or so has been often checked by the refusal of Governments and Parliaments and public bodies to implement even the schemes which they have been induced to accept in principle. There are always solid reasons for spending money on material objects which can be seen with the physical eye rather than on intellectual or spiritual objects visible only to the eye of enlightened imagination. The difficulty is indeed inherent in the nature of things. Spiritual values cannot be assessed in terms of f.s.d., though f.s.d. are necessary for the embodiment of spiritual values in human life and action. Neither the intellectual nor the pastoral work of the teacher is of any great value unless it is labour of love, inspired to a high degree by unselfish motives. The same is true no doubt of most kinds of work. But because the work of education is directed mainly to spiritual ends, it is commonly - even if unconsciously - assumed that a care for such material things as salaries and equipment is unworthy of its workers, teaching and reading and writing and learning lessons - surely all that we need of this, which after all often puts a lot of nonsense and discontent into people's heads, can be had without spending large sums of money. If people want what they call higher education, they should pay for it, as they should pay for art and music and other hobbies."

16. This attitude towards education is no doubt not commonly avowed except under the provocation of demands for money. But there it is - a kind of passive resistance. On the other hand, there is now, as there was in the last war, great spiritual and emotional unrest. There is a considerable increase of religious activity and a large outburst of superstitions. Psychology, ethics and metaphysics are widely popular, and educational theories, controversies, demands, are all contributing to a very lively, if chaotic, picture of our spiritual condition in this crisis of our history. It is impossible to foresee the upshot. But at any rate we are justified in hoping, or rather we are in duty bound to hope, that from this stirring of men's spirits out of routine there will come a new awareness of reality, a new sense of values, a new perception of the spiritual forces which determine human welfare and unhappiness and of the inescapable interdependence and mutual responsibilities of mankind. Animated by this hope we must try to persuade all whom we can reach, and especially our statesmen, that the maintenance of the peace of freedom and justice for which we are fighting will depend not only on tactics and conventions, on material precautions against aggression, on international economic planning - though all these will be necessary - but more fundamentally on a sufficient and growing preponderance in civilized nations of men and women who understand the moral conditions of such a peace and are determined to have them fulfilled. If the statesmen and others who will have to deal with the immense problem of revival, reconstruction and the establishment of a better world order can be persuaded of this truth, they will not, as in the past, neglect the spiritual foundation of the better world order, which is no other than the willing consciousness of world citizenship.

17. It is not a question of educational regimentation undertaken by Governments, whether national or supranational. Our British dislike of any such thing has been only too well

justified by what we have seen in Germany. It may be that we are apt to go too far in the opposite direction and to throw away some real benefits of organisation and economy in excessive jealousy for our independence. But this Council certainly advocates no new Governmental or bureaucratic interference with the liberties of schools and universities, nothing beyond that measure of control which is inherent in the nature of an organised democracy. What we would urge upon our statesmen and other fellow-countrymen is that they should take more interest in spreading and deepening the consciousness of world citizenship; that they should readily vote sufficient financial support for educational measures and institutions to this end, above all an International Educational Organisation which would bring together representatives of Governments, of educational authorities and of the great associations of teachers to promote the general advance of Education. Much devoted work for education in world citizenship has been done by British volunteers in the interval between the two wars, above all by members of the I.N.U., not without some sympathy from officials of the Board of Education; but it is impossible to doubt but that far more could have been done and the people of this country, at least, could have had a far clearer understanding of the problems of the age and exercised far more effectively that leadership in world affairs which power had placed in their hands, if British Governments, British statesmen and leaders of British business on whom Governments and statesmen so much rely had spent upon such honourable propaganda for world citizenship a tithe of what they now are forced by sheer necessity to spend on propaganda for victory in war.

18. Our appeal is, therefore, to all men and women who would fain see the world set free from the dreadful incubus of war and fear of war to recognise that real and lasting peace can only be established by the preponderance of human wills prepared to practise and maintain the rule of justice, whether within or between communities, and recognising this to do all in their power to further the growth of this preponderance. This is the one aim of education in world citizenship; no short cut to peace (there is no such thing) but a process moving towards a goal which all mankind, of whatever race or creed, are capable of choosing, and which they can reach only by understanding and choosing the way of self-control and justice.

November, 1941
Revised February, 1942.

This paper has been approved for publication by the Management Committee of the Council for Education in World Citizenship, and is now presented to the Executive Committee of the I.N.U. in response to the request of May 29th, 1941 (minute 106).

It is hoped that the Executive Committee may see fit to communicate the document to the General Council and circulate copies to the branches for study.

THE ATLANTIC CHARTER

and

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

'The Atlantic Charter', said Mr. Churchill on August 23rd, 1941, 'is a simple rough and ready war-time statement of the goal towards which the British Commonwealth and the United States mean to make their way'. It is a joint declaration by the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and the President of the United States, in the fewest words, of the principles which they hope will guide international policies in THIS WORLD CRISIS. These principles cover both war aims and peace aims.

The war aims are

- (a) To stop the immediate danger of further aggression by the Axis Powers by the 'final destruction of the Nazi tyranny' and the disarmament of the aggressor nations.
- (b) To restore sovereign rights and self-government to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.

The peace aims are

- (c) self determination
- (d) greater economic prosperity and more social justice for all peoples
- (e) freedom from fear and want
- (f) eventually, a permanent system of general security and an all-round reduction of armaments.

On January 1st 1942, the Atlantic Charter was endorsed by the Governments of 26 United Nations (including the U.K., U.S.A., U.S.S.R., China, the Netherlands) who declare their conviction 'that complete victory over their enemies is essential to defend life, liberty, independence and religious freedom, and to preserve human rights and justice in their own lands, as well as in other lands'. Thus it is now the common hope of the whole civilised world.

There are other peace aims, of common concern to all peoples to which the Atlantic Charter makes no reference; e.g. international law and its amendment, minorities, refugees, communications, colonial administration. For the realisation of any or all of these peace aims it will be necessary to restore or to create an International Authority. But the Atlantic Charter does not touch the question how principles are to be put into practice. That problem has been left for the time being to the initiative of non-official bodies, such as the League of Nations Union.

The text of the Atlantic Charter, together with relevant points taken from the League of Nations Union's published Statements of Policy or Draft Reports for study, are printed below.

WHAT THE ATLANTIC CHARTER SAYS

The President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.

FIRST: Their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other.

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

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

WHAT THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION PROPOSES

"Britain entered the war not to obtain any territorial or other national gains, but to check the attempt of Nazi Germany to dominate Europe.

As the Prime Minister said: "We do not covet anything from any nations except their respect."

The restoration of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Albania and Abyssinia (with all those countries who have, later, been enslaved by Germany) as Independent States with their own national Governments.

Two stages: one preceding the Peace Conference, during which pre-war boundaries should be restored; the second, the Peace Conference itself, for the permanent settlement of frontiers.

But whatever territorial arrangements are made, the two vital problems to be solved are Maintenance of Peace and Economic and Social Reconstruction.

The restoration of independence is not incompatible with voluntary modification of complete sovereignty. "Greater limitations of national sovereignty must be accepted by all the member States (of the International Authority of the future) in the interests of international peace."

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

Immediate international action after war: to mitigate starvation, check spread of disease, repatriate refugees and prisoners of war, and restart credit and exchange. For these problems, as well as demobilisation of men from munitions factories and transference to peace time work, careful planning is needed during war.

Machinery. For constructive work the League of Nations and the I.L.O. with their many years of experience. Continuation into peace period of state control over investment prices, foreign payments and allocation of scarce materials.

Control of Natural Resources:
(1) by international supervision of colonies, and co-operation regarding labour, health, scientific research, agriculture, nutrition, production and marketing of raw materials;
(2) by application of principle that colonial areas and natural resources belong to their peoples, who must be educated to govern themselves, to which end all Empires must accept principle of trusteeship.

FIFTH: They desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic advancement and social security.

Raising the standard of living.

Internationally - greater use of League Health and other organisations, and Conventions such as those of the I.L.O., and full exchange of information.

Nationally - higher degree of state co-operation, in finance, trade and industry; greater security against unemployment; planning capital developments; more equality in standards of life and educational opportunity and a physical minimum standard, including nutrition, housing, leisure, welfare services and access to the country.

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Co-operation of state action: International control, to solve international conflicts, without impairing individual rights and freedom of speech and association.

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

The Nazi and Fascist regimes must go by complete defeat:

The Peace must depend on

- (1) obedience to a common Law.
- (2) the power of an International Authority to judge disputes. This should be the League of Nations with the Covenant strengthened, particularly for peaceful change; and separate procedures for improving social and economic life and for keeping the peace.
- (3) Organisation of the latter by means of a form of Confederation of States in regional groups (one such being Europe), of which some members will have a full joint General Staff and assume military responsibility against local aggression, while all members will apply economic sanctions.

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

(This question is not specifically dealt with by the L.N.U. It arises if the community is unable to stop war).

EIGHTH: They believe that all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe,

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pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security,

that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.

(See also proposals relevant to "Point Six above").

"Nations must obey certain rules, but they will recognise certain underlying moral obligations towards each other".

Peace: Stage 1. Immediate disarmament of Aggressor States and occupation of such points as may be necessary to prevent recurrence of war.

Stage 2. Permanent world settlement through control of armaments, i.e. general limitation and reduction, under strict supervision of an International Authority (League of Nations). Abolition of aggressive armaments. Creation of International Air Force and International control of Civil Aviation.

THE ATLANTIC CHARTER.

SIGNATORIES OF THE CHARTER. The Charter was drawn up by President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill at their famous meeting "somewhere in the Atlantic" and was published on August 14th, 1941. At that time, the United States were economic partners in the war but not yet belligerents. Mr. Churchill spoke for the whole of the British Commonwealth.

On September 24th, the Charter was endorsed by all the European Allies, including the Soviet Union. A month later, at the I.L.O. Conference in New York, it was welcomed by representatives of over 50 nations, and the I.L.O. pledged its co-operation in giving life to the Charter's principles. It was endorsed by the American Republics at their Conference at Rio de Janeiro in December. On January 2nd, 1942, the 26 United Nations, including China, prefaced their Declaration of Alliance by recalling that they had all "subscribed to a common programme of purposes and principles embodied in the Joint Declaration of August 14th, 1941." (The Atlantic Charter.) On February 23rd, 1942, Britain and the United States concluded an Agreement, one of the objects of which was to work out jointly the means of applying the economic principles of the Charter.

Evidently, then, this Charter is of very great importance to us all as a joint declaration of the Allies' purpose. It does not profess to be a detailed plan; it is, as Mr. Churchill said, "a simple, rough and ready, wartime statement of the goal" towards which the Allies "mean to make their way". It has not yet been fully discussed in Parliament or in Congress; and the British Government has not yet made any full statement, explaining its interpretation of the Charter's phrases. All the more reason why we, the general public, should be studying the famous Eight Points. If this Charter is to fortify our war effort as a united people, if it is to solidify the Grand Alliance, if it is to rally the conquered peoples to revolt, and if it is to help in breaking down our enemies' resistance, - if, in short, it is to help in winning the war and peace, - we must ourselves understand what it implies and must ourselves be ready to accept those implications.

Here is a brief commentary on the Eight Points, with extracts from relevant proposals already published by the League of Nations Union.

The Preamble:

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE PRIME MINISTER, MR. CHURCHILL, REPRESENTING HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED KINGDOM, BEING MET TOGETHER, DEEM IT RIGHT TO MAKE KNOWN CERTAIN COMMON PRINCIPLES IN THE NATIONAL POLICIES OF THEIR RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES ON WHICH THEY BASE THEIR HOPE FOR A BETTER FUTURE FOR THE WORLD.

Point 1. No aggrandisement.

THEIR COUNTRIES SEEK NO AGGRANDISEMENT, TERRITORIAL OR OTHER.

It is right that this should be affirmed at the outset. As the L.N.U. said in its Statement of Policy*, "Britain entered the war not to obtain any territorial or other national gains, but to check the attempt of Nazi Germany to dominate Europe". Now, the United Nations are all fighting to defeat present aggressions; and if aggression is to be prevented in future, these nations, when victorious, must not abuse their victory over the gangsters by copying the gangsters' policy of grab.

* "World Settlement After the War". January 1st, 1941.

Of course, in repudiating "aggrandisement", the United Nations do not renounce proper claims to restitution, such as China's claim for recovery of the Provinces seized from her by Japan since Sept, 1931.

It will not be easy to secure full and just application of this principle of "no aggrandisement". The United Nations will not be all-powerful; however complete their victory. Nor will they be all-wise or wholly disinterested; we must expect that some of them, having suffered bitter losses in resisting sudden attack, will be grimly resolved to hold on to points which might give them strategic advantages for future defence. (The Soviet Ambassador, in endorsing the Charter of Sept. 24th, 1941, gave warning that "the practical application of these principles will necessarily adapt itself to the circumstances, needs and historic peculiarities of particular countries.").

Note, too, that this principle of non-aggrandisement is only part of a policy; it cannot stand by itself. If the "right of conquest" is to be suppressed, "some international authority must be entrusted" (as the L.N.U. Statement says) "with the duty, and given the power, to prevent aggression"; and there must be an authority which "can declare in any particular case what good faith and justice require". In short, there must be a rebuilt League of Nations.

Point 2. Self-determination as to national allegiance.

THEY DESIRE TO SEE NO TERRITORIAL CHANGES THAT DO NOT ACCORD WITH THE FREELY EXPRESSED WISHES OF THE PEOPLES CONCERNED.

Here again, the broad principle is sound. The Nazis, seeking to dominate the world, would redraw the map and dictate forms of government regardless of the wishes of the peoples concerned. The United Nations, on the contrary, stand for the democratic principles of "government of the people, by the people, for the people." They stand, therefore, for liberation of the countries which Hitler and his allies have subjugated; and, by implication, they renounce any intention of forcing the break-up of Germany by compulsion from outside.

But here again application of the principle will not be quite a simple matter. In some cases, such as Norway's, where no complete boundary questions arise, it should be possible to fix the definitive boundaries immediately when the fighting ends. But where controversial issues are involved, as in Poland or Czechoslovakia, the fixing of final boundaries should (according to the L.N.U. Statement) "be reserved for the larger International Congress to follow."

The principle of self-determination cannot be applied without qualification. There are some parts of Europe in which peoples of diverse national origins are inextricably mixed up. If every little group had unlimited freedom of choice as to its national allegiance, those regions would be splintered into units impossible to govern well. So there must be an International Authority competent to decide which groups should be free to exercise this right of self-determination.

In some parts of Europe the native population has been brutally expelled by Hitler, to make room for German immigrants. An International Authority will have to see to it that those who are entitled to express their wishes are able to return home and to vote freely, without fear of victimisation.

Thus, we are again forced to conclude that a rebuilt League is necessary.

Point 3. Self-determination as to form of government.

THEY RESPECT THE RIGHT OF ALL PEOPLES TO CHOOSE THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT UNDER WHICH THEY WILL LIVE: AND THEY WISH TO SEE SOVEREIGN RIGHTS AND SELF-GOVERNMENT RESTORED TO THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN FORCIBLY DEPRIVED OF THEM.

(a) In declaring that they "respect the right of all peoples" to choose their form of government, the United Nations mean, presumably, that all peoples capable of governing themselves should be free to do so, and that peoples not yet ready for this responsibility should be helped to equip themselves for it. There is no reservation as to the scope of this policy; nothing in the Charter excludes, say, India from the countries to which the principle should apply.

The Nazis, on the contrary, claim the right to impose on others whatever form of government the Nazis may think convenient for the purposes of the German "master race".

(b) When the United Nations declare their wish to see "sovereign rights" restored to those who have been robbed of such rights, they mean, evidently, that this restoration should be a first step, but only a first step. It is reasonable that a liberated Poland should be as free, at the outset, to choose her course as unconquered Britain is; but it would be fatal to all hopes of peaceful order if the sovereignty of free Poland or free Britain were to remain unlimited. The Charter calls for "a wider and permanent system of general security" (Point 8) for "fullest collaboration... in the economic field" (Point 5), and for protection against arbitrary interference with commerce (Point 4); such aims are certainly unattainable if the nations cling to the right to be judge in their own cause, to use war as an instrument of national policy, to arm without limit, or to regulate their economic life regardless of the injury that may be inflicted on others. The Anglo-American Agreement of Feb. 23rd, 1942, declares that Britain and the United States aim at "order under law": that is an empty phrase if it does not imply restriction of national sovereignty.

As the L.N.U. Statement points out, here is the essence of the quarrel between the United Nations and the aggressors. "The German thesis is that there can be no limit to the sovereignty of a State except its power to enforce its will... The contrary thesis, for which Britain now stands, is that no nation can be trusted to be judge in its own cause... If no country is to be trusted to be the sole judge of its own actions or the sole arbiter of the actions of others, we must look to a combination of Powers for the moral authority to declare what justice and good faith require, and for the strength to enforce that authority."

(c) The United Nations call also for the restoration of self-government to those who have been robbed of this right. HERE again, the broad principle is sound, but the freedom must not be left wholly unregulated.

On the one hand, the right of self-government must be so limited as to safeguard certain essential interests of the community of nations. For instance, there can be no assurance of peace unless public opinion is free and informed; but there cannot be a free and informed opinion if Governments impose such censorship as suppresses or willfully distorts essential news. There cannot be lasting peace or full economic recovery without agreed international disarmament; but there can be no confidence in the fulfilment of a Disarmament Treaty if Governments withhold their military budgets from public scrutiny and control.

On the other hand, the right of self-government must be so limited as to safeguard certain essential interests of individuals. For instance, it will be impossible for "all the men in all the lands" to enjoy that assurance of "freedom from fear and want" which Point 6 of the Charter calls for if Governments are to be free to inflict torture or arbitrary imprisonment upon their subjects regardless of any international standards of justice and mercy. It will be impossible to achieve "the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field, with the object of securing for all improved labour standards, economic advancement, and social security" if Governments insist on treating all such matters as being wholly their domestic concern. The League of Nations Union has emphasised that, in the interests of peace and justice, there must be protection for national minorities; there should be "no legal discrimination against any person on the grounds that he is a member of a racial, religious, or linguistic minority." President Roosevelt has declared that we can, if we will, attain "in our own time and generation", "a world founded upon four essential human freedoms", viz. freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want, freedom from fear. Manifestly, these aims cannot be achieved if each Government retains an absolute right to deal with "home affairs" as it pleases. The rights of individuals, like the rights of nations, must have some protection against abuse of the right of self-government. We need not only a general Covenant of Peace but also what amounts to a general Charter of Human Rights. And both must be sustained by a representative and powerful international authority.

Point 4. Equality of trading opportunity.

THEY WILL ENDEAVOUR, WITH DUE RESPECT FOR THEIR EXISTING OBLIGATIONS, TO FURTHER THE ENJOYMENT BY ALL STATES, GREAT OR SMALL, VICTOR OR VANQUISHED, OF ACCESS, ON EQUAL TERMS, TO THE TRADE AND TO THE RAW MATERIALS OF THE WORLD WHICH ARE NEEDED FOR THEIR ECONOMIC PROSPERITY.

(a) Note first that the avowed aim of the United Nations is economic prosperity for "all States, great or small, victor or vanquished". This is very different from "the Nazis' objective, which was defined by Reichminister Funk as being "a maximum of economic security for the Greater German Reich, and a maximum of consumption for the German people in order to increase its prosperity. This is the aim which European economy must set before it." Hitler stands for world domination by his "master race"; we stand for economic commonwealth. And this time, as Mr. Churchill has emphasised, we do not repeat the mistake made in 1917, when we warned the Germans that the Allies would subject them to a trade war after the War.

It appears, however, that there will have to be one limitation upon this equality of rights in the economic field. Such equality will not willingly be extended to nations which shew by their action that they do not desire a peaceful life in a world at peace. The Anglo-American Agreement of Feb. 23rd, 1942 recognises this, saying that the action taken to attain the economic aims of the Charter shall be "open to participation by all other countries of like mind."

(b) The main aim of the economic policy of the Charter is expansion of world trade. The aim is defined in the Anglo-American Agreement as "expansion, by appropriate international and domestic measures, of production, employment, and the exchange and consumption of goods,

which are the material foundations of the liberty and welfare of all peoples." Such expansion is indispensable; for the world, far from being a world of actual plenty in peace time, is still only a world of potential plenty. The enquiries of the League of Nations have shown that a huge proportion of the human race, especially in Asia and Africa, has never yet been able to obtain a balanced diet. At the same time, the producers of the great staple commodities, such as wheat and sugar, coffee and cotton, have been unable to dispose of their produce in a steady market. Besides these economic troubles of the pre-war years, we shall have to deal, after this war, with a temporary crisis resulting from the war: there will be immediate need of concerted action "to mitigate starvation, to check the spread of disease, to arrange for the repatriation of prisoners of war and refugees, and to set going again the machinery of credit and exchange." "A determined effort must be made to break down economic nationalism and establish in its place a system of world planning in the spirit already indicated by certain activities of the League, such as the Health Section, the Committee on Nutrition, and the Economic Section itself, so as to render available to human needs the whole productive capacity of the globe. ... It may well be that far-reaching changes will have to be made in the conception of State co-operation in, control of, and assistance to finance, trade and industry. If so, such changes may be international in character, and will have to be dealt with by the international authority." "

(c) One of the ways in which trade can be expanded is by reduction of tariffs and other trade barriers. In the United States, Government spokesmen have been frank in recognising the injury inflicted, between the two World Wars, by the high tariff policy of the United States, which, in the words of Mr. Sumner Welles, "reached out to virtually every corner of the earth and brought poverty and despair to innumerable communities." In the British Commonwealth, too, there is new recognition of the objections to policies such as those embodied in the Ottawa Agreement. The aim of Point 4. of the Charter is, according to Mr. Welles, to create conditions in which "restrictive and unconscious tariffs, preferentials and discriminations are things of the past." That is not to say that there shall be no tariffs, but that trade restriction shall not be used arbitrarily or as a weapon of private war by one nation against another. A nation's power to impose tariffs and other restraints on trade should be recognised as being not simply a matter of domestic concern for that nation, but as a matter of international concern.

(d) A further aim is the elimination of all forms of discriminatory treatment in international commerce. There should be an international Convention guaranteeing to all its signatories an equal right of access to raw materials; all should be protected against discriminatory export duties. To those who keep the world's covenants of peace, the international community should promise freedom from arbitrary use of the weapon of monopoly; but to all who violate those covenants that protection should be denied.

* "World Settlement after the War".

** Ibid. See also L.N.U. Pamphlet, "Social and Economic Reconstruction in the Post-War Settlement."

It should be recognised, however, that all such guarantees of free access to raw materials will be valueless unless the nations are given the opportunity of paying through their own labour for the materials they want to buy. Moreover, the problem of reducing trade barriers cannot be solved simply by direct assault; it must also be approached indirectly, by levelling up standards of labour and standards of living, and by subduing the fears and ambitions which prompt policies of national self-sufficiency. As the American Ambassador has said, "political security is an essential prerequisite to freer trade."

Point 5. Economic Commonwealth.

THEY DESIRE TO BRING ABOUT THE FULLEST COLLABORATION BETWEEN ALL NATIONS IN THE ECONOMIC FIELD WITH THE OBJECT OF SECURING, FOR ALL, IMPROVED LABOUR STANDARDS, ECONOMIC ADVANCEMENT AND SOCIAL SECURITY.

(a) In the international field, this implies that there must be much greater use than in the past of such machinery for collaboration as was provided by the League and the I.L.O. The world has hardly begun to realise what could be done for the general benefit with a reasonably enlarged League Budget, through the expansion of such services as health, nutrition and agriculture; scientific research; improvement of labour standards, and of production methods and marketing; the development of international communications; and the prevention of slumps, and stabilisation of currencies.

Mere "collaboration" between States will not suffice; the world will have to develop what amounts to a system of world-government for certain purposes. The L.N.U. believes that it will not be practicable to achieve this suddenly, by instituting a federal system on a large scale. But the experience of the League and the I.L.O., and of certain inter-Allied bodies which have devised a satisfactory adjustment between the advisory and the executive powers of their members, should be valuable in the advance towards world action by a supra-national authority.

One of the essential tasks will be to assure the development of colonial areas, and economically backward regions of the earth, in such ways as will protect the native peoples from exploitation. All empires should accept the principle of trusteeship in respect of all their colonial territory not yet ready for self-government, and the principle that these lands and their resources belong to the native peoples and must be developed primarily in their interests. There will be no "economic advancement for all", no "social security" for colonial peoples, unless the international authority directs the flow of lending, on equitable terms, to those lands, and provides collective security for the helpless against economic imperialism.

(b) In the national field there will evidently be need for more extended action by the State, wherever the public interest is largely affected, e.g. in the control of transport and power. There must be better security against unemployment, and that will involve planning by the State of capital development. There must be more equality in standards of life and standards of educational opportunity. Should there not be a physical minimum standard, assured to every citizen, including nutrition, housing, leisure, welfare services, and access to the countryside? Not least important is the scrupulous maintenance of high standards of protection for civil liberties.

Point 6. Collective Security, Political and Economic.

AFTER THE FINAL DESTRUCTION OF THE NAZI TYRANNY, THEY HOPE TO SEE ESTABLISHED A PEACE WHICH WILL AFFORD TO ALL NATIONS THE MEANS OF DWELLING IN SAFETY WITHIN THEIR OWN BOUNDARIES, AND WHICH WILL AFFORD ASSURANCE THAT ALL THE MEN IN ALL THE LANDS MAY LIVE OUT THEIR LIVES IN FREEDOM FROM FEAR AND WANT.

(a) Nazi tyranny must be destroyed. Without that, all the hopes represented by this Charter will remain unrealised. Remember, however, that no destruction of tyranny, whether in Germany or elsewhere, can safely be regarded as "final". The guard against tyranny can never be relaxed.

(b) The great value of this Point is that it binds together political security against aggression and economic security against poverty. That security must be provided by collective action; and it must be offered, on a footing of equal rights, to all who sincerely accept their fair share of the duties and rights of membership of the peaceful commonwealth of nations.

The peacemakers of Versailles were too blind to the importance of economic peacemaking. In remedying that error after this war, let us not fall into the opposite error of supposing that if we take trouble over economic peace-building, the political foundations of peace can safely be left to take care of themselves.

Point 7. Freedom of the Seas.

SUCH A PEACE SHOULD ENABLE ALL MEN TO TRAVERSE THE HIGH SEAS AND OCEANS WITHOUT HINDRANCE.

This must be read in conjunction with the other Points of the Charter. The "peace" referred to is to be "a wider and permanent system of general security". This is to "enable" (not permit, but enable) all men to traverse the high seas on their lawful occasions. Those who break the peace will be denied this protection; those who keep the peace will have the benefit of this collective security. Thus, Point 7 apparently means that the high seas should only be closed, if closed at all, "by international action for the enforcement of international covenants."

If there is to be real "Freedom of the Seas", there will have to be not merely freedom from blockade by warships but also freedom from blockade by aircraft, and freedom from the arbitrary use of the deadly weapon of boycott. Points 4, 6, 7 and 8 of the Charter are all parts of a single policy, the object of which is to prevent the lawless use of national power. That object is thus defined in the Anglo-American agreement of Feb. 23rd. 1942:- "A just and enduring world peace securing order under law to themselves and all nations."

• This was Point Two of President Wilson's Fourteen Points, in January, 1918.

Point 8. A system of general security.

THEY BELIEVE THAT ALL OF THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD, FOR REALISTIC AS WELL AS SPIRITUAL REASONS MUST COME TO THE ABANDONMENT OF THE USE OF FORCE. SINCE NO FUTURE PEACE CAN BE MAINTAINED IF LAND, SEA OR AIR ARMAMENTS CONTINUE TO BE EMPLOYED BY NATIONS WHICH THREATEN, OR MAY THREATEN, AGGRESSION OUTSIDE OF THEIR FRONTIERS, THEY BELIEVE, PENDING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A WIDER AND PERMANENT SYSTEM OF GENERAL SECURITY, THAT THE DISARMAMENT OF SUCH NATIONS IS ESSENTIAL. THEY WILL LIKEWISE AID AND ENCOURAGE ALL OTHER PRACTICABLE MEASURES WHICH WILL LIGHTEN FOR PEACE-LOVING PEOPLES THE CRUSHING BURDEN OF ARMAMENTS.

(a) This implies that there must be two stages in the process of peacemaking. First, there must be a transitional stage during which the defeated aggressors will be kept unilaterally disarmed, and the victorious powers, notably the British Commonwealth, U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. will have to retain the power and responsibility as trustees for guarding the peace; and second, the stage in which the system of security becomes general and the disarmament becomes based on the principle of equality of rights. What we have to aim at is such a guarantee against aggression that "no nation" (Germany or any other) "must ever be in a position to wage aggressive war against her neighbours."

(b) After twenty years of the League experiment, we know a good deal about what "a wider and permanent system of general security" should be. We know that it must provide a regular system of conference. It must include such laws of peace as the renunciation of force as an instrument of national policy, and acceptance of the obligation of non-neutrality in face of aggression. It must provide constructive services of peace, including collective defence against trade depression. It must provide for peaceful settlement of international disputes by third-party judgement; for impartial examination of claims for change of existing rights; and for international action to ensure that the changes found necessary are carried through peacefully and in good time. It must provide for all round limitation, reduction and supervision of national armaments, whilst allowing always for the retention of preponderant power for the service of the international authority. Lastly, it must provide more adequately than the League did in practice, for collective action to prevent and stop aggression. The proposals of the League of Nations Union on this subject have been set out in "World Settlement After the War."

* * * * *

The Charter is a good foundation. Let us build on it, now.

• Mr. Eden. August 31st. 1931.

CONFIDENTIALLEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT 11 MAIDEN LANE, W.C.2. ON THURSDAY, 30th APRIL 1942, AT 2.15 P.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Lord Cecil, Miss K.D. Courtney, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Philippa Fawcett, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Lady Hall, A.J. Howe, J.R. Leslie, M.P., Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Dr. Gilbert Murray, W.T. Fritchard, H.F. Shaw, Nowell C. Smith, H.S. Syrett, Sir Ralph Wedgwood, Leonard Woolf and Major Freshwater.

309. MINUTES. The Minutes of the meeting held on April 16th were confirmed as circulated, with the addition of the word "except" after the words "of this country" in the second line of paragraph 1 of Minute 302.
310. PROPOSED CONFERENCE. (300) Lord Lytton reported that this Conference had been discussed at a recent meeting of the General Purposes Committee of the London International Assembly. The idea had been warmly approved and it had even been suggested that the Conference might be run by the Assembly. Finally it was agreed to suggest to the Union that the Conference should be held by the Union with the co-operation or support of the Assembly; the General Purposes Committee itself would be glad to act as an Advisory Committee.
311. ANTI-LEAGUE PROPAGANDA. (302) Lord Lytton referred to the request made by the Executive that the pamphlet "Falsehoods & Facts" should be expanded by supplying evidence for the statements, and said that the pamphlet had originally been prepared in that form but had been considered too long, the mass of material obscuring some of the more telling points. He had therefore cut it down to its present form.
- Mr. Syrett thought the present pamphlet needed stiffening; it was essential to provide evidence of statements made. It was difficult to combat the arguments of those who threw the responsibility of the nation's lack of armaments on the League of Nations Union unless chapter and verse could be quoted.
- Lord Lytton said he had the evidence to support the statements in "Falsehoods & Facts", and suggested that it should be typed and circulated so that the Committee could decide whether or not to add it to the pamphlet.
312. THE JEWISH QUESTION. (303) It was reported that Professor Brodetsky had asked that nothing be done on the Jewish Problem until the Committee previously suggested had been set up.
313. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION. Lady Hall said that the constitution of the Industrial Advisory Committee, which had not met since November, was based on so many members representing employers and so many representing the T.U.C., with some co-opted members. It had been difficult to get representative employers together, and at least three members of the T.U.C. were retired members of that body and therefore not in the closest touch with it. In her view the constitution of the Committee should be altered so that the Committee, in future, should consist of people who were really interested in the work of Social and Economic Reconstruction, not necessarily employers and workers.

Lady Hall urged that the Union should take up Social and Economic Reconstruction more seriously. Great interest had been shown in the subject at meetings of the General Council and in the Branches, but little or nothing had been done about

it or about the I.L.O., which had been very active recently. It was important that the Union should have a definite policy. In addition to altering the constitution of the Industrial Advisory Committee she urged the necessity of appointing a full-time or part-time officer to concentrate on the subject. It should not, as at the moment was the case, be one of the duties of an already fully occupied member of the staff.

The Chairman gave general support to what Lady Hall had said.

Mr. Syrett expressed sympathy with Lady Hall's proposals but hoped the Committee would consider very carefully all the accessory expenditure which might result from the appointment of a full or part-time officer for this work. He was anxious that the Union should be in a financial position to meet any calls made on it when peace was declared.

It was decided that the Industrial Advisory Committee should be reconstituted. Lady Hall was asked to make definite proposals, to prepare a scheme of work and a budget for consideration by the Executive.

314. GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING.

(a) Peace Aims: Consideration was given to the following motion by Lord Cecil:

"In view of the immense international difficulties, both economic and political, which will exist at the conclusion of the war,

And in view of the great danger that may result from want of preparation for peace,

The General Council, recalling its Resolution of December, 1940, trusts that the Government are giving full consideration to the Peace Policy of our country and will, if possible, make a public declaration on the subject, so as to increase the war effort here, and to encourage other nations to resist our enemies and reject the so-called German New Order".

Lord Cecil having agreed to reference being made to the Atlantic Charter, it was decided to adopt the motion with the insertion of "supplement the Atlantic Charter by making" in place of "make" in the fourth line.

(b) Motion by Hull Branch: The following motion by the Hull Branch was considered:

"That this General Council of the L.N.U. declares that so long as international authority has to rely on the armed forces of sovereign states to enforce its will, no stable system of world order is possible;

"That the peoples of the world should therefore be urged to surrender their armed sovereignty and entire armed force to a world League, truly representative of all peoples;

That if such world unity cannot yet be achieved, the best hope of maintaining stability among states, and of making progress towards world unity lies in the complete fusion, for the purposes of mutual help and the restraint of aggression, of the military power

and foreign policy of groups of friendly states; and further that it is of the highest importance that there should be the closest economic co-operation among the states members of such a Group;

"That such Groups should, in their respective areas, assign under mandates to be administered by selected member states, all peoples not yet capable of self-government, until such time as the world League can take effective charge of all imperial problems;

"That in any event the consultative, advisory, humanitarian and research work of the League should be maintained and developed to the utmost."

ADDENDUM

"and

"That the Executive Committee be requested to amend the Statement of Policy WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR so as to make it consistent with this Declaration."

The question was raised whether a motion inconsistent with the policy of the Union could be put on the Agenda, and it was pointed out that although the Council was free to alter by a bare majority at a subsequent meeting any decision previously come to, the following procedure must be followed in doing this. Any alteration of a previously accepted policy could be made by means of an amendment, but a motion for the substitution of a radically different policy must be prefaced by words requiring the rescinding of the policy previously approved and the substitution therefor of the proposed alternative.

In order that the motion and that of the Montague Burton Branch could be so altered as to ensure their not being ruled out of order by the Chairman of the Council, Lady Hall, as Chairman of the Procedure Committee, was asked to write to both branches suggesting ways of doing this.

(c) Education: Dr. Garnett suggested that the motion he had sent in should read as follows:

"The General Council of the League of Nations Union considers that the international authority which will be needed after the war should have as one of its organs an International Education Organisation comparable in status and authority with the International Labour Organisation."

"The I.E.O. should be representative of governments, of public education authorities and governing bodies, and of teachers."

There being some criticism of "comparable in status and authority with the International Labour Organisation", Dr. Garnett declared his willingness to meet the wishes of the Committee by omitting them, provided that his motion would then have the Executive's support.

The Committee then approved the motion in the following form:

"The General Council of the League of Nations Union considers that the international authority which will be needed after the war should have as one of its organs an International Education Organisation representative of governments, of public education authorities and governing bodies, and of teachers."

- 4 -

(e) Name of Union: The following motion by the Northants Federal Council was considered:

"That the General Council strongly urges the Executive to consider the advisability of changing the name of the League of Nations Union in view of the unreasoning prejudice which exists in the minds of so many members of the public against the League of Nations".

The Committee decided to oppose the motion.

315. **MINORITIES COMMITTEE.** It was stated that the draft report of this Committee would be circulated to the Executive in time for the next meeting of the Committee..
316. **ANNUAL REPORT.** The Secretary reported that a copy of a draft Report had been circulated to every member of the Executive, and that he had already received some suggestions. Miss Waite had drafted a short paragraph on Youth and the Treasurer would add one about Finance. The Chairman asked members present to send in their suggestions before the next meeting so that anything controversial could be considered by the Committee before inclusion.
317. **THE UNION'S SEAL.** The fixing of the Union's seal on a Certificate of the enrolment of Trinity Church, Weston-super-Mare, as a corporate member was authorised.
318. **LETTER FROM MR. ARTHUR SWEETSER.** The Chairman read a letter from Mr. Sweetser to the Secretary about the desirability of the Union continuing its work for post-war settlement, and not to wait - as there was a tendency to do in certain quarters - to see what eventuated from the U.S.A.
319. **STATEMENT OF POLICY.** In reply to a question by Mr. Howe, it was stated that copies of the Statement of Policy had been sent to members of the War Cabinet and all members of Parliament, as well as to many organisations and individuals and to a number of newspapers.

Lyle
Chairman,
7.5.42.

(d) Motion by Beddington, Carshalton & Wallington Branch:

- (1) There is still far too much adherence at Headquarters to old and discredited ideas embodied in the present League of Nations Covenant, and too little attention has been given to the need for really drastic change in the Covenant.
- (2) The present period of history stands out as one in which the world will become organised for peace by a political welding together of existing nations. Amalgamation might well begin at home by joining together, in a working arrangement, the two major organisations which are working for peace through political justice - namely, the League of Nations Union and the Federal Union movement.
- (3) The League Covenant, if drastically altered, can be made to fit in, nearly enough, with the fundamental ideas of full federation, with the effect of giving to the League a more solid basis of organised force behind international law and justice, and alteration on these lines should be recommended, fostered and advocated by the League of Nations Union.
- (4) Seeing that international peace is dependent upon sound internal economic policy, Headquarters should consider this problem as it affects this and other countries, and state a policy.

(f) Post-War Organisation of the Union - Draft Motion by Sub-Committee of Membership Committee as reported in Minute 235, for the Conference of Branch Workers:

- (1) How should Branches be grouped together: Should there be regional, county or district councils?
- (2) Should the organiser or secretary of a regional or other council be the servant of the council or of the Executive Committee of the Union?
- (3) How should a regional or other council be financed?

CONFIDENTIALLEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT 11 MAIDEN LANE, W.C.2 ON THURSDAY, 7TH MAY, 1942 AT 2.15 P.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Professor Brodetsky, F.M. Burris, Lord Cecil, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Miss K.D. Courtney, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss P. Fawcett, Lady Hall, Sir Arthur Haworth, D.L. Lipson, M.P., Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Dr. Gilbert Murray, W.T. Pritchard, Nowell C. Smith, H.S. Syrett, Air Commodore Walsler, Sir Ralph Wedgwood and Major Freshwater.

320. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on April 30th were confirmed as circulated.
321. ATLANTIC CHARTER AND UNION POLICY (305). The Chairman reported that a fresh draft had been prepared and that copies would be circulated for the next meeting.
322. PROPOSED CONFERENCE. No further report was made.
323. JEWISH QUESTION (312). The Chairman said that this question had not been dealt with in the Minorities Report.

Professor Brodetsky reminded the Executive of Dr. Murray's proposal that the Executive should appoint a sub-committee to go into the Jewish question, which could not be dealt with only as a minority question, and said that he was preparing a memorandum for consideration by that Committee when it was appointed. At the Chairman's suggestion Professor Brodetsky, Lord Cecil, Miss Courtney, Mrs. Dugdale, Mr. Lipson, Lord Lytton and Dr. Murray were appointed the sub-committee, a meeting of which should be called as soon as practicable after Professor Brodetsky's memorandum was ready.

324. SOCIAL & ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION. Lady Hall having stated that she was not yet ready to make any report, Dr. Murray called attention to a very full report he had received from Mr. A. Evans and the I.L.O. through the New Europe Circle.
325. FALSEHOODS & FACTS. Copies of a revised draft had been circulated to members present and would be considered at the next meeting.
326. MINORITIES. The Chairman stated that the Minorities Committee had given careful consideration to the Report which had been circulated to members of the Executive, and hoped they would be prepared to submit it to the Council, either in its present or in an amended form, as their own.

Mr. Syrett did not like the wording of the section dealing with transfer of populations, and was not convinced that transfer of populations could not be regarded as the solution of the difficulty. Mrs. Dugdale thought the report envisaged transfer of minorities to a place where

they had no roots, traditions or associations, whereas transfers should be into the bosom of a nation where such traditions and associations existed.

Mr. Syrett agreed to submit an amendment to this section of the Report.

Mrs. Corbett Ashby thought the Declaration of Citizen Rights should have been given more prominence. To get rid of minorities as minorities by bringing them into the body of citizens should be stated as the ideal. The Chairman said the Committee had considered the Declaration of Citizen Rights as unpractical. Dr. Murray thought there was in many nations a desire for some statement of minimum citizen rights and that such a statement would be helpful in dealing with minorities.

Mrs. Corbett Ashby agreed to submit an amendment to this section.

327. SWEDEN. Mrs. Corbett Ashby gave the Executive a very interesting confidential account of her recent visit to Sweden.

(Lord Lytton having left the meeting, Miss Courtney took the Chair).

328. THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND FEDERAL UNION. A Declaration, with Comments and Recommendations, from the Kew, Richmond and Chiswick Branches of the L.N.U. and two Branches of Federal Union was considered (copy filed with these Minutes).

Lord Cecil thought the attitude of the L.N.U. towards Federal Union should be friendly, but we should inform them that, though there was a great deal in common between our two Societies, the differences were very definite and important, and no joint action was possible: at the suggestion of Mr. Rowell Smith it was decided to reject the recommendations at the end of the proposals.

Mrs. Corbett Ashby said that the attitude of Union branches towards Local Federal Union Societies was that they wished to find some common ground on which to meet in order to get larger audiences and better discussions.

The Secretary reported that certain questions and suggested answers were coming from the Braithwaite Committee for consideration by the Executive, and that local branches had already held joint discussions with Federal Union Societies.

329. GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING: June 19th-21st.

Lady Hall reported that the Procedure Committee had provisionally arranged that -

Friday afternoon should be devoted to the President's Welcome, Lord Lytton's Report on Action Taken, Annual Report, Accounts for 1941, Roll Call, Election of Officers and Executive, co-optation, Urgency: World Settlement after the War - Warwickshire, Montague Burton and Hull;

Friday evening - A popular discussion on World Settlement after the War, at which it was expected that distinguished members of the London International Assembly would take part;

Saturday morning - Peace Aims, Report of the Education Council, Dr. Garnett's Resolution, Anti-League Propaganda, German and Japanese Cruelties;

Saturday afternoon - Change of Name, Representation on Council, Conference of Branch Secretaries and Workers;

Sunday morning, and afternoon if necessary - Minorities Report, Social and Economic Reconstruction, Beddington, Carshalton & Wallington Branch Motion; Motions left over from previous sessions and Motions for which urgency has been granted.

With reference to the Motions put forward by the Hull and Montague Burton Branches, Lady Hall said she had written to both branches asking them to put their motions in a different form; Hull had replied that a special meeting was to be called on May 13th and the Montague Burton Branch had stated that they did not wish to ask the Council to rescind the Statement of Policy adopted last December.

Lady Hall was asked to write again to these branches pointing out that their resolutions were being placed on the Preliminary Agenda in their original form, with an appended note that the Chairman may rule them out of order.

Lord Cecil suggested that a statement should be included in the Agenda to the effect that, whether motions not in accord with the Statement of Policy WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR can be moved until the Statement itself has been rescinded will have to be decided by the Council.

WAR CRIMINALS. The Committee adopted the following motion submitted by Mr. Nowell Smith -

"The General Council of the League of Nations Union

Sharing with all humane persons their detestation of the cruelties practised by Germans and Japanese at the instigation and with the connivance of their leaders, and

Remembering the declared objects for which we are waging war;

APPROVES all practical measures for the trial and punishment of such cruelties, with the object of preventing their future commission and avoiding acts of indiscriminate vengeance by the compatriots of the victims; and

At the same time earnestly deprecates all utterances tending to inflame the spirit of more vengeance and of racial or national hatred."

SOCIAL & ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION. The Committee considered a motion by Lady Hall containing extracts from the broadcast by Sir Stafford Cripps on May 3rd.

Lady Hall agreed to make certain alterations in her motion which, subject to the approval of Lord Cecil and Lord Lytton, should be included in the Agenda in the name of the Executive.

Lady Hall's new draft:

The General Council of the League of Nations Union -

Welcomes the speech broadcast by the Minister of Production on Sunday, April 16th, in which he emphasized the necessity of planning ahead to prevent unemployment in the post-war world;

Further welcomes the speech of the Lord Privy Seal on Sunday, May 3rd, on the subject of "a world consciously planned for a better standard of living for the great masses of the people"; and

Urges H.M. Government to take effective steps to realise these aims both in the economic and social field at home and in our international relations.

Alternative draft by Lord Lytton:

Having heard with interest and approval the statements made by the Minister of Production on April 16th, the Lord Privy Seal on May 3rd and the Foreign Secretary on May 8th, all of whom emphasized the necessity of planning ahead to prevent unemployment in the post-war world,

Urges H.M. Government to take effective steps to realise these aims both in the economic and social field at home and in our international relations.

330. **UNION POLICY.** Lady Hall reported that the position with respect to Policy motions or amendments was that on 16.6.37. the General Council had passed a resolution stating that all motions dealing with policy required a two-thirds majority of those present and voting.

In view of this, it was decided to include a note in the Agenda to the effect that to secure adoption, Policy motions and amendments to Policy resolutions already adopted require a two-thirds majority of those present and voting.

Lytton
Chairman,
21.5.42.

102 105

The Kew, Richmond and Chiswick Branches of the L.N.U. and two branches of Federal Union covering practically the same area, held a joint meeting, and submit to the Councils of the two organisations the following Declaration of Agreement, comments thereon, and Recommendation:-

THE DECLARATION OF AGREEMENT

1. We are all agreed that the ultimate objective of both movements is to establish a world wide international order based on the supremacy of law and the rejection of force as the arbiter of international rights.
2. We are all agreed that the form of such a world wide international order should be that of a world wide federation.
3. We are all agreed on the necessity for an intermediate stage in the realization of this ideal.
4. We are all agreed that in this intermediate stage there must be one or more close associations of States within a looser, world wide organisation.
5. We are all agreed that each such close association of states demands the creation of an authority common to the states in the association and the irrevocable transfer of certain powers by these states to that authority.
6. We are all agreed that the looser world wide organisation should be based on the ideals and achievements of the League and should provide for the irrevocable surrender by the members of their liberty of action in certain clearly defined spheres. Such an organisation should incorporate the International Labour Organisation and the Permanent Court of International Justice.

THE COMMENTS

- A. The statements contained in the Declaration paragraphs 1, 2 and 3 offer no source of disagreement between Federal Union and the League of Nations Union.
- B. Paragraph 4 offers as a source of disagreement only differences as to the closeness of association of states.
- C. Paragraph 5 offers as sources of disagreement differences as to the nature and extent of the powers to be transferred to a common authority and the form of such common authority.
- D. Paragraph 6 offers as source of disagreement differences only in degree and not in principle.

THE RECOMMENDATION

In the belief that the foregoing truly represents the sentiments of the two movements, we strongly recommend to the Councils of the two organisations -

1. That a standing joint committee be set up to further the declared common ideals of the two movements and to ensure consultation and practical co-operation.
2. That a joint public statement incorporating the above declaration and comments be issued by the two organisations.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE held at 11 Maiden Lane, W.C.2 on Thursday, May 21, 1942, at 2.15 p.m.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), F.M. Burris, the Dean of Chichester, Miss K.D. Courtney, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Fawcett, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, A.J. Howe, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, J. Macdonald, Dr. Gilbert Murray, W.T. Pritchard, Nowell C. Smith, H.S. Syrett, A.E.W. Thomas, Air Commodore Walsler, Sir Ralph Wedgwood and Major Freshwater.

331 MINUTES: The minutes of the meeting held on May 7th were confirmed as circulated.

332 PROPOSED CONFERENCE: ³⁰ Mr. Judd reported that Mr. Noel Baker had seen Mr. Eden on behalf of the Executive and had told him that, before finally deciding to hold the Conference, the Executive would like to know that the proposal had his general approval, or that at least he saw no objection to it.

Mr. Eden had not been able to give a final reply immediately and a further report would be made to the Executive at a later meeting.

333 MINORITIES: The Committee considered amendments to the Minority Report (filed with these Minutes) on the Transfer of Populations, sent in by Mr. Syrett and Mrs. Dugdale.

After considerable discussion, during which the two different views held by members of the Executive were expressed, some amendments were accepted and the final drafting was left to the Chairman. The draft approved by him for submission to the General Council reads:

Transfer of Populations.

On this subject there is some divergence of opinion amongst us. We are all agreed that where the transfer of populations can be carried out without undue hardship to individuals, it is a complete solution in that it removes the minority, and we are all agreed that, though it may be successfully applied in some cases, it cannot be regarded as a solution of general application.

Our differences are about the extent of its applicability, the degree of cruelty involved in the process and the measure of public advantage which would justify the hardship to individuals. Some of us feel that the uprooting of families that have resided for years, perhaps for centuries, in one country where they have acquired ties, sentiments, traditions and occupations, and transplanting them to a new country where they would be among strangers and have to begin life over again, is an operation involving suffering and unhappiness, especially in

the case of the aged, which no theoretical convenience could justify.

Others consider that cruelty is not necessarily involved in the process, especially where the transfer can be arranged voluntarily. The transfer, for instance, of a population from a country where they are an unhappy minority to another where they would be among a people of the same race, and speaking the same language as themselves, might in fact be a change for the better. Even in cases where considerable hardship to some individuals is unavoidable, this would be preferable in the public interest to the general suffering resulting from a war caused by the failure to secure an alternative solution of the minority problem.

Those holding the first opinion consider that the principle of transfer runs counter to the spirit of tolerance and good neighbourliness for which the League of Nations Union stands, since it seems to assume that people of a different race cannot live amicably in the same country and thus encourages the cultivation of a self-contained and self-sufficient nationalism which we are anxious to see disappear.

Those holding the second opinion dispute this and point out that transfers of population have been made on several occasions since the end of the last war and, although undesirable if they can be avoided, they may be worth while, and indeed necessary, if they help to establish a more permanent equilibrium.

Since an attempt to reconcile this divergence, which is really more one of emphasis than of principle, would not fairly have represented either opinion, we have thought it best to state frankly the slight difference which exists amongst us about this solution.

Consideration was also given to amendments submitted by Dr. Murray and Mrs. Corbett Ashby (copies filed with these Minutes) to the paragraph on Declaration of Citizen Rights on page 5 of the Minorities Report, and it was decided to alter the paragraph to read:

Declaration of Citizen Rights:

It has been suggested that the nations which profess democratic principles might wish to confirm this profession by agreeing to a Charter of elementary civic rights by which they would be bound in their domestic legislation and administration. Such a Charter, if widely accepted and put into practice, would no doubt greatly simplify the whole problem of the Treatment of Minorities, but we think it would be rash to count upon the likelihood of any really effective Charter of Rights being drawn up or, if drawn up, sincerely accepted by many of the nations whose minorities most need protection. There would also remain the problem of dealing with those governments which, having accepted the Charter, subsequently violated it.

334. PROFESSOR RAPPARD. Professor Rappard, who was present at the invitation of the Executive, gave an interesting confidential talk on the position of Switzerland in the war and the attitude of its citizens. The Executive expressed its thanks to Professor Rappard.
335. FALSEHOODS & FACTS. It was reported that the draft S.968 (filed with these minutes) had been prepared in order that information should be available to combat, by evidence, opinions which were current in some quarters that the League of Nations Union was responsible for the unpreparedness of this country at the beginning of the war.

Many members expressed a preference for the original pamphlet "Falsehoods & Facts", but it was agreed that the "evidence", being interesting and useful, should be printed as an Appendix to the original pamphlet and announced at the General Council Meeting and in HEADWAY.

(Lord Lytton having left the meeting the Chair was taken by Miss Courtney).

336. ATLANTIC CHARTER. A revised draft pamphlet, S.971 (filed with these minutes) was considered. It had been prepared to meet the wishes of the Committee for a more popular pamphlet embodying the main points of the two previous pamphlets (S.964 by Mr. Arnold-Forster and S.961).

The following amendments were adopted:

- p.1, line 6: "It is remarkable" to read "it should be remembered."
- p.1, end of para. 2: "by all like-minded countries" to be in quotation marks.
- p.1, line 5 of last para: "Exploitation" to read "exploitation of human beings"
- p.1, line 7 of last para: "post-war years" to read "inter-war years."
- p.2, Point 1, line 1: replace the first sentence by "It is right that this principle should be laid down at the outset"
- p.2, Point 1, para 2: replace the first two sentences by "But merely to refrain from aggression is not enough, aggression must be prevented, and positive action taken to that end."
- p.3, Point 2, para.1: Omit last sentence - "To restore...
.....hypocrisy."

- 4 -

Other alterations were suggested during the discussion. Finally, it was decided to ask all present to send to the Secretary within the next few days particulars of alterations they had already proposed, and others they would like to see made, with a view to their being considered at the next meeting, along with amendments to the comments on three of the Points of the Charter received from Mr. Arnold-Forster during the course of the meeting.

337. PRELIMINARY AGENDA. The Preliminary Agenda of the General Council Meeting was received.

Sydney

Chairman.
4.6.42.

FOR CONSIDERATION BY THE EXECUTIVE, MAY 7th, 1942.THE MINORITIES PROBLEM.

NATURE OF THE PROBLEM. One of the problems of Europe in recent centuries has been that the boundaries of States have seldom coincided with the racial distribution of populations, and members of minority groups were often deprived of full equality of citizenship. This treatment has been resented by neighbouring States of the same race as the minority groups and has thus produced international controversy, endangering peace.

DEFINITION OF A MINORITY. The term Minority is used to denote a community of people of a different race from that of the country in which they reside and of which they are nationals - e.g. Germans in Czechoslovakia and Poland, or in Alsace and Lorraine which these belonged to France; Hungarians in Roumania, Roumanians in Hungary, Austrians in the Trentino province of Italy, the mixed populations in the Balkans, etc. Foreign residents in a country, not being nationals of that country, do not constitute a Minority, nor do foreign immigrants who have become naturalised in the country to which they have emigrated.

In Southern and Eastern Europe and Asia there are many groups which have a traditional culture different from that of any of the ruling states. The Lapps in the North and the Vlachs in the Balkans are examples. The most widespread and important of all national and religious minorities - the Jews - differ in race and religion from any of the European nations among whom they live. Their pre-war number in Europe (including Russia) was estimated at 9½ millions: one in every 11 people in Poland was Jewish. There are others in the same position, such as the Assyrian Christians of Syria and Iraq, the Druzes, the Armenians. Some Minorities are found in countries where people of the same race but of different faith have separate community lives. The Bosnian Moslems, and the Arab Christians of Palestine are in this position. Thus Minorities are usually classified as 'Minorities of race, religion and language'.

THE BERLIN CONFERENCE (1878) AND MINORITIES. The most important step prior to 1919 in connection with the Minorities Problem was taken at the Berlin Conference. The chief matter then at issue was that of religious toleration.

By the Treaty of Berlin, the recognition of Roumania was made dependent on the definite conditions, that no one, on the score of religion, should be excluded from civil or political rights, public employment, the professions, etc., and that complete religious freedom should be guaranteed. The same conditions were made applicable to Serbia and Montenegro. Bulgaria, also, was obliged to accept similar obligations, as well as to consider the rights and interests of minorities, as regards elections and the Bulgarian Constitution. Finally, the Turkish clauses of the Treaty were even more stringent - including a guarantee of better conditions imposed on the three countries mentioned above. Turkey promised to consult a European Commission before re-organising the two provinces of Roumelia and Crete.

p.t.c.

These Minority provisions went a long way. Clearly the Powers considered that the Berlin Treaty did give them a right to intervene in a case of non-fulfilment by any of these States of their Minority obligations. In the case of Roumania they did intervene, on the grounds that the Jews were being ill-treated. Later, and in worse cases of infraction, there was no intervention.

THE PEACE TREATIES OF 1919 AND MINORITIES. Throughout Central and Eastern Europe Minorities have always existed, but a fresh problem was created when the frontiers of Europe were re-cast in 1919 and a number of new independent States were created, such as Poland, Czechoslovakia, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, and others were greatly enlarged, such as Roumania and Yugoslavia.

The Peace Conference which made these changes thought it necessary to provide protection for the Minority communities whose nationality was changed in consequence of them. This protection took the form of Minorities Treaties, by which the countries accepting such Treaties were required to recognise certain rights in the matter of language, education, religion, etc., of the Minorities within their borders. Minorities Treaties were imposed on the following countries: - Poland, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Yugoslavia, Austria, Bulgaria, Roumania, Hungary and Turkey. On the other hand, no such Treaty was imposed upon the Great Powers, Britain, France, Italy or Germany (except for Upper Silesia).

TREATMENT OF MINORITIES 1919 - 1939. The Nazi treatment of Jews under the Nuremberg Laws shocked the conscience of the world. From denying Jews citizen rights, Germany proceeded to confiscation of their property, prohibition of their practising professions and trades, penalties for inter-marriage with 'Aryans', tormenting of children in schools. Many of the Jews, ceaselessly persecuted and deprived of means of livelihood, fled from Nazi Germany, from Austria after the Anschluss, and from Czechoslovakia. Since the war the Nazis have imposed their anti-Jewish policy on nearly all the States occupied or dominated by them. Italy, a Liberal Power in 1919, promised equality of treatment to the Tyrolean Austrians and Slovenes included in her enlarged frontiers. After 1922 the Fascist Government broke those promises, denying to the people the use of their language in school and church. In 1938 they even departed from their traditional policy of tolerance towards the Jews and adopted an enforced anti-semitism. Among the States bound by treaties, some, especially Czechoslovakia, provided satisfactory conditions for their minorities, but others were not always prepared to keep them. Roumania was as cruel to Jews as Germany and in many countries Minorities were treated unequally with the ruling race, so that they suffered under a constant sense of grievance. In Estonia, Minorities were treated with scrupulous respect, under an ingenious system by which they managed their own communal affairs.

AN IMMEDIATE POST-WAR PROBLEM. The discrimination between the States having Minorities Treaties and those having none was resented by the former, and one of the questions which will have to be settled after the present war, when a new demarcation of boundaries takes place, is whether the discrimination between certain countries shall continue or whether protection by means of treaties should be accorded to all Minorities in Europe in future.

TWO NEW COMPLICATIONS. The problem has been complicated by two new factors arising out of the present war. The first is the German action in Poland, where about one million Poles have been forcibly removed and Germans from the Baltic provinces and elsewhere have been imported. The same policy has been followed in Czechoslovakia and other regions where the Germans were determined to form solid national blocks of population. This cruel and violent attempt to change populations cannot be justified or accepted and one of the conditions of any armistice terms imposed by the Allies should provide for the rectification of this injustice.

The second complication has been created by the Nazi doctrine of "DEIUSORTUM" - the claim that persons of German race in other European countries belong to one German family and owe allegiance to the German Reich. This doctrine, taken in connection with the notorious activities of Fifth Columnists, is bound to affect the attitude of any Government having a German Minority within its State. It is unlikely that any Government in the future will concede to such a minority any privileges which would enable them to constitute a focus of disaffection within their borders.

TWO PRINCIPLES APPLICABLE TO THE MINORITIES PROBLEM. In the view of the League of Nations Union two general principles should be applicable to any treatment of the Minorities problem. The first is that Minorities should enjoy the same rights under the law as the people of the country in which they are situated, that is to say, no member of a minority community should be penalised as such. The second principle is that members of a minority must at all times conduct themselves as loyal subjects of the State in which they live. Some definition both of the rights and the duties of Minorities in these respects should, if possible, be the subject of international agreement.

SOLUTIONS.

Such is in brief the nature of the Minorities problem, when we approach the solution of it, it is at once apparent that some action will be called for immediately in the early stages of the peace negotiations, and that a more detailed and comprehensive treatment must await the later international settlement.

I. IMMEDIATE.

Let us consider first the measures that must be taken immediately the fighting ceases. There will then be great economic distress, a great shortage of food and other necessities of life, and great racial bitterness.

ECONOMIC RELIEF. The first obligation of the victorious Powers will be to bring food, clothing and medicaments to the starving population and to establish relief work on a gigantic scale. There will be Minorities issues while this work is going on, and it must be the object of those bringing the relief to do whatever is possible to reduce the international bitterness. If Europe is allowed to become a chaos of inter-racial and nationalist strife immediately the war is over, there will be very little prospect of reasonable Minority protection or any kind of co-operation between nationalities later on. On the other hand, if the feeding and reconstruction work is used as an

opportunity for producing co-operation and of the desirability of fair sharing out between different populations then a long step will have been taken in the direction of producing the co-operative mind that will make peace stable.

REPATRIATION OF IMPORTED GERMAN IMMIGRANTS. We have already mentioned the need for repatriating the populations which have been replaced by German "immigrants". This is one of the immediate post-war needs. Moreover, reconstructed countries will probably require a very special pledge to ensure the rectification of the injustices involved in the cruel and violent attempt to change populations. That linguistic, cultural or religious concessions may be made to such minorities, if they are not removed, can only be settled after a careful examination of each case carried out under the auspices of an international authority.

A PERMANENT MINORITIES COMMISSION. There may probably be other urgent minority cases which cannot safely be left to await ultimate adjustment under the final peace. To deal with all these questions, an international Minorities Commission similar to the Mandates Commission of the League should be constituted forthwith, and should report to the International Authority. The Commission should have jurisdiction to consider and advise upon any matter referred to it by the Peace Conference or other International Authority, or upon any petition dealing with minority claims presented to it by an interested State Government or by a body which it recognises as being entitled to speak for any substantial minority.

II. DEFERRED.

When we come to consider the problem of Minority protection at a later stage, there are three possible methods of dealing with it:-

TRANSFER OF POPULATIONS. Where this method can be carried out without too much harshness to the individuals concerned, it is a complete solution and removes the Minority. There may be some cases where it could be successfully applied, but they are few, and we are convinced that it cannot be regarded as a solution of general application. In the first place, the cruelty to individuals involved in the process cannot be overlooked. The uprooting of families that have resided for years, perhaps for centuries, in one country where they have ties, traditions, sentiments and occupations, and transplanting them to a new country where they would be among strangers and have to begin life over again, is an operation involving great suffering and unhappiness which cannot be justified by any theoretical convenience.

In the second place, the principle of this solution of the problem runs counter to the spirit of tolerance and good neighbourliness for which the League of Nations Union stands. It is wrong to assume that people of a different race cannot live amicably in the same country and so to encourage the spirit of self-contained and self-sufficient nationalism which we are anxious to see disappear.

MINORITIES TREATIES. This is the method which we think most suitable, provided that States can be induced to accept it. Whether or not it is a practicable solution

can only be determined after international discussion in a more stabilised situation when a spirit of international goodwill and co-operation has been established.

There are two ways in which the Treaty method could be applied. One is the adoption by individual States of machinery which would give security to the Minorities within their borders. Such schemes might be proposed by the States themselves and submitted to the International Authority for confirmation. They need not necessarily be identical in form and experience would show which schemes were satisfactory and which required amendment. We think there is a great deal to be said for this voluntary method.

The other alternative is the preparation of a model Treaty applicable to all countries having minority communities, somewhat on the lines of the prisoners of War Convention, which would be binding on all States which accepted it. On the assumption that such a proposal might be found acceptable, a Draft Minorities Treaty was prepared. A great deal of time and thought was spent on the preparation of this draft and we think it is as good a model as could be devised on general principles of equity. It is based on the Minorities Treaties of 1919 with such alterations and additions as experience has shown to be necessary, and reforms are also suggested in the procedure which would render the Treaty more acceptable and more effective. We do not, however, think it desirable to publish this draft at the present time but have decided to keep it for future reference if and when this procedure is found to be generally acceptable.

DECLARATION OF CITIZEN RIGHTS. Some people have expressed the opinion that the fair treatment of Minorities cannot be secured as a separate issue and that if general international agreement could be secured for a statement of Citizen Rights this would apply to members of a Minority community as well as to others, and would be the best solution of the problem. We feel it necessary to mention this proposal, though we do not ourselves regard it as very practical. Whilst we have every sympathy with the wish to establish a standard of Rights in the relationship of all citizens towards each other, we feel that the difficulty of obtaining agreement on such a standard is far greater than the authors of this proposal realise, and even if such a document were in fact accepted by all the States in the world - an almost impossible assumption - the question of dealing with those who, having accepted it, subsequently violated it, would remain.

THE MINORITIES PROBLEM IN FEDERATED STATES. It remains to consider the effect upon Minorities of the formation of Federations or Confederations between two or more States. Examples of such Confederation already exist in the agreements between Poland and Czechoslovakia and between Greece and Yugoslavia.

It is evident that this subject requires careful study. Briefly it may be said that the existence of Federation would in itself render more tolerable the position of Minorities in the Member States, especially if the Federal machinery included a Minorities Commission.

It can not be assumed, however, that the Minorities problem would be solved by federation, both because there might remain some Minorities in which no State of the Federation was benevolently interested, and because there is a danger (already noticeable in bilateral treaties during the period 1919 - 1939) of sacrificing Minority protection in the interests of good relations between the States concerned. For these two reasons it would seem desirable that if Minority protection is to be supervised by an International Authority,

then this International Authority should also have supervision over the Minority obligations of any Federation or Confederation of States.

(i) Transfer of populations. (Amendments to
Minority Report S.957b)

(a) Mr. Syrett:

Line 5: omit "they are few, and"

(b) Mrs. Dugdale:

Line 13: replace "involving" by "which may involve"

(c) Mr. Syrett:

Lines 14 and 15: omit everything after "unhappiness" and replace by "On the other hand, if any scheme could be evolved whereby the transfer of populations to suitable countries could be eased by special attractions of a financial or economic kind, the possibility of such transfer should not be ruled out, particularly where it could be achieved by voluntary means."

(ii) Declaration of Citizen Rights.

(d) Mrs. Corbett Ashby

"The only method of dealing with the minority problem which in practice has proved satisfactory is that of Switzerland and Great Britain, in which each individual citizen, without regard to race, creed or class, (though sex discrimination unfortunately persists) has equal duties and rights before the law, and in which each community preserves its language, religion and culture intact.

We are of opinion that all States desiring to enter the new international order should accept this principle of full citizenship rights, duties and privileges for all its nationals regardless of race, creed and language. Only States which accept this fundamental basis of democracy and of respect for the individual can be relied upon to play their full part in international co-operation and mutual protection".

(e) Dr. Murray.

"It has been suggested that the nations which profess democratic principles might wish to confirm this profession by agreeing to a Charter of elementary civic Rights by which they would be bound in their domestic legislation and administration. Such a charter, if widely accepted and put into practice, would no doubt greatly simplify the whole problem of the treatment of Minorities, but we think it would be rash to count upon the likelihood of any really effective Charter of Rights being drawn up or, if drawn up, sincerely accepted by many of the nations whose minorities most need protection. There would also remain the problem of dealing with those governments which, having accepted the Charter, subsequently violated it".

Draft for a new Edition
together with some
extracts from speeches
by Mr. Churchill
for inclusion in a
suitable place.

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S.968.
S.5.42.
FALSEHOODS AND FACTS
about League of Nations Union Policy

From time to time statements appear in the Press or speeches by Members of Parliament or Party Officials attributing to the League of Nations Union responsibility for the military unpreparedness of Great Britain at the outbreak of war in 1939. These arguments are completely refuted by the facts which are on record and can be verified by anyone.

That the pacifist propaganda carried on by the Union during the last 20 years was responsible for the disarmament which reduced this country to the rank of a second-class power.

The League of Nations Union at no time advocated one-sided disarmament either by this country or any other. No resolution advocating such disarmament was ever passed either by the General Council or the Executive Committee of the Union. All the resolutions dealing with the subject of disarmament advocated the simultaneous reduction and limitation of armaments in all countries by international agreement and subject to international inspection.

"This Meeting urges the Government to support a policy of drastic disarmament on the following basis:

1. The same principles of Disarmament to be applied to all nations alike.
2. No rearmament of nations now subject to Disarmament Treaties."

L.N.U. Resolution, Nov.10. 1932.

"Noting with satisfaction the acceptance by the Government of the principle of equality of status in armaments for Germany, it would regard as highly dangerous any proposal to satisfy German demand by agreeing that she should re-arm".

General Council Resolution
Dec. 1932.

"The General Council considers it indispensable that the Permanent Disarmament Commission which is to supervise the execution of the Treaty should be charged with the duty of regular and untrammeled investigation in each country".

General Council Resolution
June 1933.

"For this and other stronger reasons, we always emphasised in the Council and Executive Committee of the Union, the fact that we were not in favour of disarmament by this country alone, but only of a general reduction and limitation of armaments by international agreement".

Viscount Cecil "A Great Experiment" 1941.

This was a policy to which this country was committed by the Peace Treaty and the pledges given to Germany at the end of the last war. Had that policy been carried out the rearmament of Germany would not have taken place and the repeated aggressions which led up to the present war would have been impossible.

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The extent of British disarmament is often exaggerated as an excuse for Government inaction in the years preceding the present war, but the excuse is untenable because the weakening of this country by one-sided disarmament was not demanded by the Peace treaties or by the Covenant, and the League of Nations Union has no responsibility for it.

That the public opinion thus created prevented the Government from increasing the armed forces of the country or discharging its international obligations as a member of the League of Nations.

At no time did the League of Nations Union oppose the strengthening of the armed forces of this country for the fulfilment of its international obligations. They always said that armaments could not be separated from foreign policy and asked for an explicit assurance from the Government that such armed forces would never be used for a purpose inconsistent with its obligations as a member of the League of Nations, and that they would be used if necessary for the fulfilment of such obligations.

Had the Government ever given such an assurance, Parliament would have had the complete approval of the country in voting any sum which might have been necessary for strengthening our armed forces. Instead, we were only given statements by responsible Ministers that we would never fight except for the defence of "British interests".

"The General Council expresses the view that the Government will not have justified its demand for a large and indeterminate increase in armaments until it has made clear that the purpose for which the Forces of the Crown are maintained is to fulfil our obligations under the Covenant of the League".

General Council Resolution,
Dec. 1936.

"Britain's armed forces will never be used for a purpose inconsistent with the Covenant of the League of Nations, and no foreign powers need fear that this country has aggressive intentions".

Lord Baldwin. TIMES. Dec. 31. 1936.
Primrose League.

On the other hand:

"I am enough of a pacifist to take this view that however we handle this matter I do not intend my own country to get into trouble about it".

Sir John Simon (speaking about Japanese Aggression in the Far East) House of Commons,
Feb. 27. 1933.

"The point is that with the present situation in Europe and the great dangers surrounding us here at home, I am not prepared to see a single ship sunk even in a successful naval battle in the cause of Abyssinian independence".

Sir John Simon (House of Commons)
23 June, 1936.

"Nations cannot be expected to incur automatic military obligations save for areas where their vital interests are concerned".

Mr. Neville Chamberlain, Prime Minister, House of Commons,
24 March, 1938.

That this propaganda culminated in the Union's "dangerous Peace Ballot of 1935", which gave definite encouragement to Aggressor nations.

The outstanding fact about the Peace Ballot organised by the League of Nations Union in 1935 was that in spite of considerable discouragement by the Government of the day, and by the Press which supported them, more than 1 1/2 million people, of their own free will, voted on the questions submitted to them.

The questions were:

- (1) Should Great Britain remain a member of the League of Nations?
- (2) Are you in favour of an all-round reduction of armaments by international agreement?
- (3) Are you in favour of the all-round abolition of national military and naval aircraft by international agreement?
- (4) Should the manufacture and sale of arms for private profit be prohibited by international agreement?
- (5) Do you consider that, if a nation insists on attacking another, the other nations should combine to compel it to stop by
 - (a) economic and non-military measures?
 - (b) if necessary, military measures?

The voting was:

QUESTION	YES	NO	DOUBTFUL	ABSTENTIONS	Christian Pacifist	TOTAL
1	11,090,367	355,883	10,470	102,425		11,559,165
2	10,470,469	868,775	12,062	213,839		11,559,165
3	9,533,558	1,669,756	16,976	318,845		11,559,165
4	10,417,329	775,415	15,076	351,345		11,559,165
5a	10,027,608	635,074	27,255	855,107	14,121	11,559,165
5b	6,784,368	2,351,981	40,893	2,364,441	17,482	11,559,165

The questions summed up the policy of the League of Nations Union, which was supported by overwhelming majorities in the country.

There was no pacifist feature in any of the questions and the pacifist element in the country at that time was reflected in the negative rather than in the affirmative answers.

The vital question was the last. It was quite clear and definite. The answer was equally clear. Of the 9 million who voted on this question more than three to one voted for the use of military force against an Aggressor nation.

The voting in this important test of public opinion showed that the country was solidly in favour of standing by League of Nations' principles.

As soon as it was clear that the Peace Ballot was likely to be an overwhelming success, the attitude of the Government towards it noticeably changed.

"A collective peace system is perfectly impracticable in view of the fact that today the U.S.A. is not a member of the League and two great Powers, Germany and Italy, have retired from it. It is hardly worth considering.

Lord Baldwin, Prime Minister.
23rd Nov. 1934. P.T.O.

But later, 23rd July 1935, a Deputation from the National Declaration Committee, headed by Viscount Cecil, was received by the Prime Minister, Sir Samuel Hoare and Mr. Eden (Minister for League of Nations Affairs). The Prime Minister accepted the Declaration as national: "I say that the object of the Ballot was... to show the Government that we have today a large volume of public opinion behind us in the efforts which we are today making to maintain the authority of the League of Nations. We value this support".

The Peace Ballot, in fact, had a decisive influence on Government policy, as was shown in the speeches and broadcasts of Sir Samuel Hoare and Mr. Eden at Geneva.

"The League stands and my country stands with it, for collective maintenance of the Covenant in its entirety and particularly for steady, collective resistance to all acts of unprovoked aggression" (and with special reference to the Peace Ballot)
 "The recent response of public opinion shows how completely the nation supports the Government in full acceptance of the obligations of League membership".

Sir Samuel Hoare, Assembly of the League of Nations.
 11th Sept. 1935.

This expression of opinion was taken advantage of by all parties in the General Election which followed, and caused the National Government candidates to put in the forefront of their election addresses and speeches the policy which the country had supported in the recent Ballot. The result was the clearest mandate any Government ever had to support the League of Nations, and in Mr. Chamberlain's words, "to show that aggression did not pay".

How far that mandate was carried out is now a matter of history.

"The prevention of war and the establishment of settled peace in the world must always be the most vital interest of the British people and the League is the instrument to which we look for the attainment of these objects. Our attitude to the League is dictated by the conviction that collective security by collective action alone can save us from a return to the old system which resulted in the Great War".

National Government Election Manifesto. Nov. 1935.

"If ever the British Empire is called upon to defend itself, that cause and the cause of the League of Nations are one".

Mr. Winston Churchill, House of Commons, 24th Oct. 1935.

That the Union, having rendered the Government impotent by its pacifist propaganda, forced the country to adopt a dangerous policy in 1935 and by its war-mongering demands for sanctions, which did no good to Abyssinia, drove Italy into partnership with Germany, thereby greatly increasing the danger to ourselves and France.

Far from the League of Nations Union having forced the Government into a policy of sanctions against Italy, this policy was advocated and supported by the Ministers and their supporters in the General Election. Had the policy which had been promised before the Election been carried out as the country had intended, the conquest of Abyssinia could not have been accomplished.

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If the essential war supplies had been denied to Italy, she would have been unable to complete the conquest of Abyssinia, and certainly could not at the same time have engaged in a successful war against all the countries which were employing sanctions against her. There is no question that by 1936 the British Government, who had immensely strengthened her naval forces in the Mediterranean and the strategic alignment of her troops, and had obtained a definite guarantee of prompt assistance, should Italy attack her, from all the Mediterranean Powers save Spain, were in a position to counteract any Italian attack. In the present war, under infinitely worse conditions, Great Britain has inflicted a series of defeats on the Italian Navy, Air Force and Army.

"We believe that the great mass of the people of this country would support full use of the collective authority of the League to cut all communications between Italy and the African colonies".

The General Council. 10th Oct. 1935.

"The Executive Committee is of the opinion that it is of the utmost importance to bring the Abyssinian war to as rapid a conclusion as possible and that whatever economic sanctions are most effective for that purpose should be imposed, including oil sanctions".

27th Feb. 1936.

But from the moment Mr. Baldwin began to make speeches in the country, with all the authority he commanded as Prime Minister, to the effect that "sanctions mean war", coupled with assurances that the Government would never go to that length, the policy was doomed to failure, and the question of what sanctions should be imposed was left to the decision of Mussolini.

"If you are going to adopt a sanction you must be prepared for war. If you adopt a sanction without being ready for war, you are not an honest trustee of the nation".

Lord Baldwin at Wishaw,
 20th June 1936.

"I am quite content in these circumstances to be called a coward if I have done what I could in accordance with the views of every country in Europe to keep my own country out of war".

Lord Baldwin. London.
 2nd July, 1936.

The policy actually adopted of ineffective sanctions was certainly a disastrous one, but the League of Nations Union had no responsibility for it.

"From first to last the sanctions policy stood upon a non-rational basis. First the Prime Minister had declared that sanctions meant war; secondly he was resolved that there must be no war; and thirdly he decided on sanctions. It was evidently impossible to comply with these three conditions".

Mr. Winston Churchill, Evening Standard. 26th June 1936.

That the failure of the policy of sanctions against Italy in 1935 proved the futility of collective security through the League of Nations, which from that time onwards ceased to be of any value as an agency for the preservation of peace.

This criticism has already been answered above. Never had so perfect an opportunity occurred of proving the effectiveness of collective action to stop an aggression, never was an opportunity so wantonly thrown away.

That France was difficult in those days is no secret. With M. Laval as Foreign Minister this was not surprising. We have lived to know the kind of man M. Laval is. But France could not have held back if a vigorous lead had been given by the British Government.

It is neither fair nor honest to lay all the blame upon France, for the necessary lead could not have been given by the men who, in the words of Sir John Simon, were "not prepared to see a single ship sunk in a successful battle in the cause of Abyssinian independence".

"After the calamities of the Great War, many states and peoples banded themselves together to establish a system of collective security... This remains at once the wisest, most noble, most sane and the most practical path along which the men and women of every land should march forward... There on the rock of the Covenant of the League of Nations alone, can we build high and enduring the temple and the towers of Peace".

Mr. Winston Churchill,
9th May, 1938.

The League of Nations Union has branches in all parts of the country; they need the support of every lover of freedom. If there is not a branch in the place where you live, write to the Secretary, 11 Maiden Lane, W.C.2, for information.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL AND THE LEAGUE

1. "I have no patience with the penny wise economics which grudge the English contribution to the League's structure".

House of Commons, 17.2.33.

2. "If ever the British Empire is called upon to defend itself, that cause and the cause of the League of Nations are one".

House of Commons, 24.10.35.

3. "There can be no future for the world except along that road laid down by the League".

28.4.37.

4. "The Covenant constitutes a most important element in our practical military security".

House of Commons, 7.3.38.

5. "We express our immediate plan and policy in a simple sentence: Arm and stand by the Covenant".

9.5.38.

6. "We are seeking to establish the reign of international law".

First Lord of the Admiralty,
11.4.40.

THE ATLANTIC CHARTER

The Atlantic Charter was drawn up by President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill, "somewhere in the Atlantic", and published on 14th August, 1941. It was, in the first instance, a joint declaration, by the Prime Minister and the President, of the principles which they hoped would guide international policies in this World Crisis. It is remarkable that when the statement was issued the United States had not become a belligerent.

In a very short time the basis of the Charter was broadened. The European Allies, including Soviet Russia, endorsed it on 24th September. In the following month the representatives of over thirty nations at the I.L.O. Conference in New York pledged co-operation in carrying out its principles. The Charter was, next, endorsed by the American Republics at their Conference at Rio de Janeiro in December. On 22nd January 1942, the 26 United Nations (including China) prefaced their Declaration of Alliance by recalling that they had one and all subscribed to the common programme of purposes and principles laid down by the Atlantic Charter. Finally, on 23rd February 1942, Great Britain and the United States concluded an Agreement, by which they undertook to work out jointly the practical means of carrying out the economic principles of the Charter. The acceptance by all like-minded countries of the provisions outlined therein, was invited.

Thus the Atlantic Charter acquired the highest importance, because though only a "rough and ready-made war-time statement", as Mr. Churchill said on 23rd August, "of the goal towards which the British Commonwealth and the United States mean to make their way", it has become a joint declaration of the purpose of all the Allies, and the common hope of the whole civilised world.

The principles of the Charter cover both war aims and peace aims:

War Aims

- (a) To stop the danger of further aggression by the Axis Powers in the near future by the 'final destruction of the Nazi tyranny' and the disarmament of the aggressor nations.
- (b) To restore sovereign rights and self-government to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.

Peace Aims

- (a) self-determination
- (b) greater economic prosperity and more social justice for all peoples
- (c) freedom from fear and want
- (d) eventually, a permanent system of general security and an all-round reduction of armaments.

Even in this brief summary two remarkable points emerge. First, the Charter differs from Wilson's 14 Points and the Versailles Treaty. True it aims at ending militarism. But its main emphasis is, clearly, on obtaining social security, by putting an end to exploitation as practised in the 19th century and later. It is, in fact, an expression of the social consciousness which has grown up during the post-war years; and as such offers a most hopeful and challenging alternative to the Axis programme of wholesale domination. Secondly, this challenge is reinforced by the plain

P.T.O.

fact that the aims of the Charter - all of them, in various degrees - imply the existence of an International Authority; they cannot be realised without it.

There has been no full discussion as yet of the Atlantic Charter in Parliament or Congress or other representative body. That is all the more reason why the general public, and non-official bodies like the League of Nations Union should study the famous Eight Points, and get to understand what they imply and how they can best be carried out, as the firm policy of the Grand Alliance, and a rallying point for all the oppressed peoples.

Here is the text of the Charter, with a brief commentary and some relevant proposals, already published in more detail by the L.N.U.

The Preamble:

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE PRIME MINISTER, MR. CHURCHILL, REPRESENTING HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED KINGDOM, BEING MET TOGETHER, DEEM IT RIGHT TO MAKE KNOWN CERTAIN COMMON PRINCIPLES IN THE NATIONAL POLICIES OF THEIR RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES ON WHICH THEY BASE THEIR HOPE FOR A BETTER FUTURE FOR THE WORLD.

Point 1. No aggrandisement.

THEIR COUNTRIES SEEK NO AGGRANDISEMENT, TERRITORIAL OR OTHERWISE.

This principle is sound, and it is right to lay it down at the outset. For Point 1 states simply and squarely a root difference between the policies of the Allied and the Axis Powers. The Axis Powers frankly do "seek" "aggrandisement" both "territorial", by right of conquest, and "otherwise", as for example by the complete control in their own interest of the economic life of other and subject peoples. But in the Charter the Allies as frankly reject the ideas of conquest, of 19th century exploitation, or expansion of their own power and wealth at the expense of other peoples.

But rejection of aggression is not enough. Aggression must be prevented, and positive action taken and sacrifices made for altering unfair situations which in the past led to aggression. After the war there may well have to be territorial changes - quite apart from mere restoration. For a time there will have to be control by the Allies for the maintenance of order in the world. But all such actions will depend for their final justification upon their being carried out as parts of community order and justice. In other words, Point 1 must not be separated from the following Points, and above all Point 8. For their fulfilment an International Authority is necessary.

Point 2. Self-determination as to national allegiance.

THEY DESIRE TO SEE NO TERRITORIAL CHANGES THAT DO NOT ACCORD WITH THE FREELY EXPRESSED WISHES OF THE PEOPLES CONCERNED.

Here, again, the broad principle is sound. All the peoples under the Axis yoke must be granted freedom from alien rule. The invaders must be evicted and the peoples free to live, as the L.N.U. says in its 'World Settlement after the War', "as independent States with their own national Governments". But, clearly, self-determination cannot be unqualified: that way leads to anarchy. Self-determination must submit to the restraints necessary to prevent injury to others; there are, often, larger interests, which should, in justice, override

local demands for self-determination. To restore, for example, the Czechs to their country without assurance that no German vote should make Czechoslovakia unworkable, without making military or economic assassination by a powerful neighbour impossible - would be wilful hypocrisy.

All of which is another way of saying that an International Authority is needed. For there must be some Authority greater than the nation with the power to decide who these "peoples" in Point 2 are, to supervise the restoration of great masses of peoples whom Germany has driven from their country, to see that their freedom of choice is genuine, and that their independence, when gained, can last.

Point 3. Self-determination as to form of government.

THEY RESPECT THE RIGHT OF ALL PEOPLES TO CHOOSE THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT UNDER WHICH THEY WILL LIVE: AND THEY WISH TO SEE SOVEREIGN RIGHTS AND SELF-GOVERNMENT RESTORED TO THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN FORCIBLY DEPRIVED OF THEM.

This principle, closely connected with that underlying Point 2 is equally sound. All peoples - and this includes the Germans - must be free to choose their own form of Government. And to make this choice they must, clearly enough, possess sovereign rights, of which some of them have been deprived by the Axis. Without sovereign rights, for example, the invaded or occupied countries would not be in a position to agree to international rules or to accept international obligations, or to take their share in international co-operation, and so on.

The possession of sovereign rights, however, is not to be taken as the same thing as the possession of unrestricted national sovereignty (the whole of the Charter emphasises this for all States). As in the case of Point 2 there must be qualifications, such as the lessons of the last 30 years have proved abundantly necessary. Put shortly, sovereign rights must not be allowed to lead to anti-social policies. Law and order in the community of nations must come before unrestricted sovereignty. The restoration of independence, declares the L.N.U. is not incompatible with voluntary modification of complete sovereignty; and it goes on to show that such modifications imply an International Authority: "greater limitations of national sovereignty must be accepted by all the Member States (of the International Authority of the future) in the interests of international peace".

Points 4, 5, 6 and 8 in the Charter, deal specifically with the prevention of what are abuses of sovereign rights, such as exploitation, and military aggression. Such prevention is only practicable through an International Authority.

Point 4. Equality of trading opportunity.

THEY WILL ENDEAVOUR, WITH DUE RESPECT FOR THEIR EXISTING OBLIGATIONS, TO FURTHER THE ENJOYMENT BY ALL STATES, GREAT OR SMALL, VICTOR OR VANQUISHED, OF ACCESS, ON EQUAL TERMS, TO THE TRADE AND TO THE RAW MATERIALS OF THE WORLD WHICH ARE NEEDED FOR THEIR ECONOMIC PROSPERITY.

This point is in itself a limitation of sovereignty. Its provisions are as remarkable as they are far-seeing. They aim at enjoyment and equal access to trade and raw materials for all States, big and small, and - right in the middle of the greatest of all Wars - the vanquished as much as the victors. "Instead of trying to ruin German trade, as was the mood of 1917", said

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Mr. Churchill in his Report on the Charter to Parliament, "we have definitely adopted the view that it is not in the interests of the world, and of our two countries (Great Britain and the U.S.A.) that any large nation should be prosperous and shut out from the means of making a decent living for itself". It is obvious that this economic programme "in the interests of the world" will involve far-reaching changes and that this cannot be done without a permanent international organisation, with a measure of sovereign authority and effective force behind it.

The L.N.U.'s post-war plans indicate some detailed ways in which these economic aims can be realised. They include immediate international action after the war to prevent starvation and spread of disease, to repatriate refugees, to restart credit. The wide experience of the League of Nations and the I.L.O. should prove invaluable in this kind of reconstruction work. As for a long-term policy, natural resources should be controlled by international supervision of colonies, on a broad policy of social and economic welfare: fuller use should be made of the Mandates principle of trusteeship.

The "existing obligations" referred to in this Point are not defined, but as in the case of earlier Points it is plain that they must be qualified. For the whole practicability of Point 4 (and Points 5 and 6) collapses if vested interests, whether of Democratic or other Powers are allowed to stand in the way of what are plainly large readjustments of policies of economic nationalism, such as, to take but one example, the high tariff policy of the U.S.A., which Mr. Sumner Welles frankly admitted at the I.L.O. Conference in November 1941, "had brought poverty and despair to innumerable communities".

Point 5. Economic Commonwealth.

THEY DESIRE TO BRING ABOUT THE FULLEST COLLABORATION BETWEEN ALL NATIONS IN THE ECONOMIC FIELD WITH THE OBJECT OF SECURING, FOR ALL, IMPROVED LABOUR STANDARDS, ECONOMIC ADVANCEMENT AND SOCIAL SECURITY.

Like the preceding one, Point 5 presents a direct challenge to the whole Nazi and Axis system. Its background is avowedly the advancement of the human being; the programme it offers to bring it about is the fullest co-operation between nations. Both are diametrically opposed to the Nazi "New Order" with its perpetual domination over Europe's trade and industry, in the sole interest of a mythical Herrenvolk.

It is admitted on all sides that raising the standards of living and the attainment of social justice require international agreement and a permanent international organisation. The League of Nations' work for Health and Nutrition, the I.L.O.'s Labour Conventions and successful experience of tri-partite representation already provide invaluable guidance here. The L.N.U. supports a far wider use of this proved machinery, with adequate financial backing and power to make big decisions really effective.

Important indication, too, of how the economic objects of the Charter are to be obtained, will be found in the Anglo-American Agreement of 23rd February 1942. The aims of this Agreement include the expansion by international as well as national measures, of production, employment and the exchange and consumption of goods and the elimination of all forms of discrimination in international commerce. And the provisions, it will be remembered, are open to all like-minded countries.

Point 6. Collective Security, Political and Economic.

AFTER THE FINAL DESTRUCTION OF THE NAZI TYRANNY, THEY HOPE TO SEE ESTABLISHED A PEACE WHICH WILL AFFORD TO ALL NATIONS THE MEANS OF DWELLING IN SAFETY WITHIN THEIR OWN BOUNDARIES, AND WHICH WILL AFFORD ASSURANCE THAT ALL THE MEN IN ALL THE LANDS MAY LIVE OUT THEIR LIVES IN FREEDOM FROM FEAR AND WANT.

The Nazi regime must be destroyed. That goes without saying. Otherwise no peace, no international or national order are conceivable. Yet other tyrannies may arise, and preparation for modern totalitarian war or even the mere threat of it can make freedom from fear or want quite impossible.

Point 6 is an assertion of the one effective solution for this vicious circle, a solution never yet tried, the principle of collective security. Its great value is that, unlike Versailles, it couples collective security against aggression with collective security against poverty: and it insists that both must be general - that all peoples must have security.

All this means a strong international authority - both for political peace-making and for providing social security. Nearer home it means that nations - above all the Great Powers - cannot avoid responsibility for partnership and are under clear obligations to see that the available machinery works. "Isolationism" and "No Commitments" are dead. They must be buried.

The L.N.U. plan considers collective security in some detail. Peace depends on certain clear principles: (1) obedience to a common law; (2) the power of an International Authority to judge disputes, the authority being the League of Nations strengthened for purposes of peaceful change and with separate procedures for social and economic improvement and for keeping the peace (for this latter see Comment on Point 8).

Point 7. Freedom of the Seas.

SUCH A PEACE SHOULD ENABLE ALL MEN TO TRAVERSE THE HIGH SEAS AND OCEANS WITHOUT HINDRANCE.

It is war which above all interrupts or destroys freedom of movement on the seas. To the extent that the post-war settlement, on the lines of the Atlantic Charter is able to bring war under genuine control, the importance of this Point decreases.

Nevertheless, almost as imperative is freedom of communications and transport in time of peace, with such obstacles as piracy, or, much more commonly, some arbitrary use of force, political or economic, by one State against another. These infractions of freedom must be made impossible. For a time, large-scale police work will be done by the British and American navies; they will provide the necessary force in the background, on which the laws of nations finally rest. But in the long run the justification for this policing, and its success in the eyes of the rest of the world will depend on its possessing a broader international representation.

Point 8. A system of general security.

THEY BELIEVE THAT ALL OF THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD, FOR REALISTIC AS WELL AS SPIRITUAL REASONS MUST COME TO THE ABANDONMENT OF THE USE OF FORCE. SINCE NO FUTURE PEACE CAN BE MAINTAINED IF LAND, SEA OR AIR ARMAMENTS CONTINUE TO BE EMPLOYED BY NATIONS WHICH THREATEN, OR MAY THREATEN, AGGRESSION OUTSIDE OF THEIR FRONTIERS, THEY BELIEVE, PENDING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A WIDER AND PERMANENT SYSTEM OF GENERAL SECURITY, THAT THE DISARMAMENT OF SUCH NATIONS IS ESSENTIAL. THEY WILL LIKEWISE AID AND ENCOURAGE ALL OTHER PRACTICABLE MEASURES WHICH WILL LIGHTEN FOR PEACE-LOVING PEOPLES THE CRUSHING BURDEN OF ARMAMENTS.

The cement which binds the whole Charter together, Point 8, implies that peace-making must be in two stages; just a transitional stage with unilateral disarmament of the defeated aggressors and the victorious Powers, notably the British Commonwealth, the U.S.A. and Soviet Russia exercising responsibility for guarding the peace of a convalescent world; secondly, a stage when this security becomes general, and disarmament is based on the principle of equality of rights. Though some time may have to elapse before such equality can easily or safely be given to the Axis Powers, equality will have to come; prolonged inequality would dynamite peace. This second stage has no meaning without some International Authority.

The L.N.U. plan for peace adopts this provision of two stages, and fills in some of the outlines, as follows. Peace should be organised by means of a form of Confederation of States, in regional groups (one such being Europe), of which some members will have a full, joint General Staff and assume military responsibility against local aggression, while all members will apply economic sanctions where they are necessary. A solution of the problem of disarmament is offered in the provision for control, involving general limitations and reductions (of which the technical details have long ago been worked out by the League of Nations), under strict supervision by an International Authority (the League). Aggressive armaments (without which the present war could never have been fought) must be abolished, and an International Air Force should be created, with international control of Civil Aviation.

In Point 8 we find the words "spiritual reasons" ("moral obligations" as the L.N.U. says). It is not common to find statesmen using these words. But we may be certain that their use in the Charter reflects the widespread conviction that disregard for fundamental moral principles led to the present conflict, and that for its full and just solution we must return to those principles.

Confidential

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE held at 11 Maiden Lane, W.C.2, on Thursday, June 4th, 1942, at 2.15 p.m.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair); Lord Cecil, Miss Courtney, Miss Fawcett, Dr. Garnett, A.J. Howe, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Dr. Gilbert Murray, W.T. Pritchard, Miss Waite, Air Commodore Walser, Sir Ralph Wedgwood, A.E.W. Thomas, and Major Freshwater.

338 THE LATE MRS. ARNOLD-FORSTER: The Secretary was requested to express the Committee's sympathy with Mr. Arnold-Forster in his bereavement.

339 MINUTES: The Minutes of the last meeting were confirmed as circulated.

340 MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES:

Proposed Conference (332) Mr. Judd reported that, at Mr. Noel-Baker's request after his interview with Mr. Eden, a memorandum on the proposed conference had been prepared for submission to Mr. Makins, of the Foreign Office. Mr. Noel-Baker had approved the memorandum and would speak to Mr. Makins. Lord Lytton said he would send a copy of the memorandum to Mr. Makins and arrange to see him.

Atlantic Charter (draft pamphlet S.971). The Chairman stated that, many amendments having been proposed by members of the Executive, it had been thought best for a drafting Committee, consisting of the Officers, to consider them first, and that this Committee would meet after the Executive Meeting.

Lord Cecil, who was unable to stay for the drafting Committee, thought that, admirable as S.971 was, it was not in a sufficiently popular form, and welcomed Mr. Arnold-Forster's amendments except that, in his view, too much emphasis had been laid on domestic matters. Lord Cecil then referred to the recent Statement by Mr. Sumner Welles, and he hoped that part of it would be circulated to the Executive.

341 A COMMON POLICY: The Chairman read some questions and answers (copy filed with these Minutes) from the "Braithwaite" Committee, which consisted of representatives of the League of Nations Union, Federal Union, the New Commonwealth, the American & British Commonwealth Association and the 1941 Committee. Meetings had been attended by himself, Miss Courtney and Major Freshwater as Observers. The questions and answers had been drawn up by a Sub-Committee consisting of Mr. Zilliacus and Mr. Vansittart.

The Committee hoped that the executives of the above organisations would be able to report, by the end of the month, whether they could accept the answers, with or

without amendment, as a basis for a common policy to be presented to the American voluntary societies which had set up a Joint Commission to Study the Organisation of Peace, with a view to the drawing up of a broadly based Anglo-American agreement to be advocated on both sides of the Atlantic by all the voluntary societies working in co-operation.

Lord Cecil considered that the Executive could not agree to any document substantially different from what had been sanctioned by the Council. There was no great advantage in a common statement; he did not take the view that watering down in order to reach agreement resulted in greater strength. They would do better if they advocated what they honestly believed in and had studied and accepted, and let others advocate their own policies. The only agreement that should be made would be that none should attack the other. Some understanding might, however, be reached on very elementary principles on the lines of the Atlantic Charter, with the definite addition of the necessity for establishing an international authority to carry out the terms of that Charter. He did not consider it desirable to establish any Anglo-American organisation to press those ends and suggested that the Braithwaite Committee should be informed that the Union could not make any variation in its policy. He thought the Union should be kept informed of the activities of the Societies and should keep them informed of the activities of the Union.

What Lord Cecil had said was agreed to, as was the Chairman's proposal that attendance at meetings of the Braithwaite Committee should not be continued.

342 SIR GEORGE YOUNG: Copies of letters to Lord Lytton from Sir George Young were considered. The Executive was reminded that at the last meeting of the General Council, Sir George Young had asked for a committee of experts to be set up to consider the working of the post-war League. Lord Lytton had seen and had had correspondence with members of the League Secretariat, but they had not been able to give much help.

Sir George had now sent in a 26-page document, which he asked should be kept anonymous, on "Principles of League Reconstruction for approval by the General Council of the League of Nations Union"; the proposals in that document were an epitome of Sir George's book "Federalism and Freedom."

It was agreed that Lord Lytton should write to Sir George Young pointing out that it was now too late for the proposals to be considered in time for the next meeting of the General Council; but that when Sir George became a member of the Executive, the Committee hoped to have his views.

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FINANCE COMMITTEE: Mr. Pritchard reported that at the meeting of the Finance Committee on the previous day, the Audited Accounts, as printed in the Annual Report for 1941, had been adopted: the overdraft had at last been wiped out.

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MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE: Mr. Pritchard reported that the Membership Committee had met that morning. Membership showed an increase in new members, but a falling off in renewals. The figures for the first five months of the year were 545 new and 21,778 renewals; the corresponding figures for 1941 were 324 new and 25,974 renewals. Good work was being done among the Women's Institutes, the up-to-date membership having been nearly doubled since the end of 1941.

The appointment of a Youth Organiser had been approved in principle, though the present time was not considered suitable.

There had been correspondence with the Director of the Army Bureau of Current Affairs, and a circular to the officers and men of the Army Educational Corps was being sent informing them that they could make use of the Union's Intelligence Section and Library. The Director of Army Education would be glad to have the services of qualified lecturers on current affairs, and a list was in preparation.

The Committee was of opinion that a special effort should be made to get members who had not paid a subscription since 1939 to renew. For this purpose a letter and leaflet would be prepared and branches would be asked to make full use of them, especially in the case of 3s.6d. members. If Collectors were not available, the letters should be sent by post, and when a branch could not undertake this, it should be done by Headquarters.

With regard to Youth Organisations, Dr. Garnett explained that the Board of Education was now encouraging Local Education Authorities for Higher Education to form joint committees of voluntary organisations which had taken an interest in the part-time education of youth, thus preparing the way for the Fisher Continuation Schools for the 15-18 year olds after the war. The Council for Education in World Citizenship might make contact with these joint committees in order that they might ensure that Youth had the opportunity of obtaining information on current affairs. The Union's Youth Groups should be commensurate with the Universities' Groups after the war.

Mr. Judd reported that at an interview with the President of the Board of Education and Mr. Ede, the Chairman of the National Youth Committee, it had been stated that of all the subjects in connection with which there was a demand for speakers, international affairs was the greatest, and that the Youth Committee

would be glad to call on the Union for speakers to address local centres. It was not yet certain whether permission would be given for the Education Council to be represented on the National Youth Committee.

Mr. Pritchard also reported that the Membership Committee, at the suggestion of the London Regional Federation, asked that certain additions should be made to the matters for discussion at the Conference of Branch Secretaries and other workers on June 20th. This was agreed to.

- 345 General Council Agenda: It having been reported -
- (a) That the Hull Branch had asked if its motion, which was down for consideration on Friday, June 19th, could be taken instead either on the Saturday afternoon or the Sunday morning;
 - (b) That Dr. Murray could not be present on the Saturday morning when the report on the work of the Education Council and Dr. Garnett's motion were to be taken; and
 - (c) That a desire had been expressed that the Minorities Report should be taken on the Friday or Saturday instead of on the Sunday; it was agreed
 - (i) That the Hull motion be taken at 10.30 on the Sunday;
 - (ii) That the report on the work of the Education Council and Dr. Garnett's Motion be taken at 2.30 p.m. on the Saturday;
 - (iii) That the Minorities Report be taken on the Friday afternoon; and
 - (iv) That the items "Name of the Union" and "Representation on the General Council" down for the Saturday afternoon, be taken in the morning instead.
- 346 Albania: Consideration was given to the action recorded in Minute 260 of the Executive Meeting on February 19th about inviting representatives of the Albanian Government to attend future meetings of the Allied Conference. Further information (copy filed with these Minutes) had been received from the Tyne District Council, who had asked the Executive to reconsider its decision. The Executive did not consider that it would be advisable to take any action; nothing should be done to jeopardise the future. Lord Lytton said that when he was seeing Mr. Makins he would take the opportunity of making a reference to the desire of the Tyne District Council.
- 347 Canada: The Chairman reported that, on behalf of the Executive and himself, he had sent a message of greeting to the Canadian Society at the time of its Annual Meeting, and read an extract from the Editorial in the Winnipeg Free Press with reference to a deputation to the Canadian Government, led by the League of Nations Society in Canada, suggesting active interest on the part of the Canadian Government among the United Nations and the advocacy of more definite commitments upon collective security.

Lytton
Chairman

4.6.42
S.974

Copies of two letters, dated May 28th, from Sir George Young to Lord Lytton concerning action by the Executive respecting the responsibilities of the International Authority and the Confederations in regard to Sanctions and the composition of the body to whom the responsibility of taking action to preserve or restore peace should be entrusted:

First Letter -

Here is the document with a copy. I would have sent the copy to Freshwater direct to save time but its better the author should remain anonymous.

I note from the absence of any Executive statement in the agenda that a place has been kept for it. It can be printed and circulated with the final agenda and the Principles passed by the platform without reading the arguments.

I have kept within the limits of Eden and Beveridge. I can now I'm on the Executive contact Nuffield Trust and Chatham House.

Second Letter -

I have just got the preliminary Agenda from our Secretary and have considered it with reference to the "Principles" already posted to you for inclusion in the final Agenda.

All the motions from Branches, numbers 10a and b, 15 and 19 have been anticipated and can be accepted if the "Principles" are approved. Item No.11 by the Executive could be presented in relation to the political principles and No.18, also by the Executive, in relation to the economic principles. Nos.12,13 and 14 are unaffected; No.17 (Minorities) is probably fundamentally affected, but as I intentionally avoided dealing with it, there will be no obvious contradiction.

If all the items concerned with post-war settlement, 10, 11, 15, 18, 19 could be taken together on one day, or at least consecutively, it might relieve you and me of losing much spring sunshine in Conway Hall.

In the Principles, p.3, line 7, please cut out "see forms annotation".

ALBANIA.

On February 14th the Tyne District Council asked the Executive to press for an invitation to the Albanian Government to send representatives to all future meetings of the Allies' Conference. The reply sent to the Tyne Council stated that the Executive did not feel they could take the action suggested and that as the Executive understood it there was nothing in the nature of an Albanian Government in this country and it was doubtful if there were any Albanians here.

The Tyne Council has now sent the following and asks that the Executive should reconsider its decision of February and take appropriate and energetic action.

1. The King of the Albanians, legally elected at Tirana 1928 and who has never resigned nor abdicated is in London.
2. Members of the Albanian Government are at Istanbul and it should not be difficult to bring them here in view of the fact that several of the Allied Governments in London have had ministers brought here from all quarters of the globe. Albanian diplomatic representatives are still recognised in Turkey, Egypt, etc.
3. Whereas some of these Allied Governments did not declare war on Germany and Italy from their capitals (and some have even yet not done so) Albania did so from Tirana and the Albanian Legation in Paris repeated this declaration 10th June, 1940.
4. Albania was the first European state to resist aggression by force of arms and her people are still resisting.
5. Albania was the only European state (except Finland) to appeal to the League of Nations when a victim of aggression (June and December 1939).
6. On 29.10.40 the King and the Albanian Government offered to the Foreign Office and to the Greek Legations in London and Ankara their help against the common enemy. The King of the Hellenes and General Metaxas thanked them but did not pursue the offer further. A similar démarche was made at the time of the aggression against Yugoslavia.
7. On 23.9.41 (the day of the Allies' Conference at St. James') the King of the Albanians sent a note to all the allied governments including those of Great Britain and the Dominions drawing attention to the position of Albania and asking for admission to the said conference. Almost all the governments acknowledge receipt of this note to the Albanian authorities and several of them promised cordial support within the limits of their means - only the Greeks and Yugoslavs remained silent. In order that Albania may take the place due to her, obviously she must receive an invitation - it is in accordance with international custom for the invitations to an international conference to be sent out by the government of the country in which the conference is to meet.
8. When the puppet government at Tirana, acting under Italian pressure, declared war on the U.S.A., the King of the Albanians telegraphed President Roosevelt to say that this act partook of the grotesque as Albania was at war with Italy and that she adhered without reserve to the declaration of the United Nations made at Washington 1.1.42. The President notified the King that he greatly appreciated this declaration.
9. M. Michalopoulos (Greek Minister of Information) in an article published in the review 'Free Europe' 27.2.42, entitled 'Greece, Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow' and in a letter in 'Free Europe' on 24.4.42, states that "Northern Epirus belongs to Greece" in spite of the fact that the Albanian frontiers were fixed by a conference of ambassadors in 1921 after Albania had secured her independence and been admitted to the League of Nations (her cause being preached in England, we understand, by Lord Robert Cecil).

POINTS FOR A COMMON POLICY

based on:-

The L.N.U.'s report on World Settlement after the War and its subsidiary reports on (a) Collective Security, (b) Peaceful Change, (c) Social & Economic Reconstruction in the Post War Settlement, (d) Colonial Settlement; referred to below as L.N.U. and L.N.U. (a), (b), (c) and (d) respectively.

Federal Union's Peace Aims Report; referred to below as F.U.

The New Commonwealth's (a) Aims and Objects, (b) Way to Peace and (c) Declaration; referred to below respectively as N.C. (a), (b) and (c).

The American-British Commonwealth Association's programme; referred to below as A.B.C.

The first and second reports of the American Commission to Study the Organization of Peace; referred to below respectively as U.S.A. (1) and (2).

The 1941 Committee's programme; referred to below as C.

Under each point the relevant clauses of the programmes of the different organisations are mentioned, after which a text is suggested as a basis for agreement whenever possible.

(I) THE NEW WORLD LEAGUE

Questions

- (a) Shall our common policy start with the assumption that the Covenant constitution of the I.L.O. and agreement constituting the F.C. of I.V. are still valid treaty obligations, to be amended only by the procedure therein provided, or declare that the United Nations have a free hand to reshape these organisations in any way they see fit?

References.

L.N.U., Art. 17, par. 1; F.U. Appendix A, Sect. 3, Introduction and par. 1; H.C. (c), pp. 2 & 3. C. International Sect.

- (b) What shall be the membership and functions of the new world League?

L.N.U., pars. 4-16, F.U. Sect. 1, pars. 1-5; Append. A., Sect. 2 U.S.A. (1), from 'The Nature of Federation' to the end.

Answers

- (a) The constitution of the New World League or Confederation shall be framed in the light of the experience gained from the working of the L. of N., I.L.O. and F.C. of I.V. It shall take over as much of the machinery and obligations of these organisations as seems desirable, but combine them in one treaty so as to fuse them into a single world organisation. The 26 United Nations and the machinery they have set up for war time purposes are the germ of the new world organisation.

- (b) In General Smuts' famous phrase "We want a League which will be real, practical, effective as a system of world government". All States in International Law should be members of this World League or Confederation and all non self-governing colonies must be brought under its supervision. Its functions shall be the maintenance of world law and order and the promotion of the common interests of its constituent nations.

(II) THE POWERFUL GROUP OR GROUPS OF STATES WITHIN THE WORLD LEAGUE

Questions

- (a) Shall our common policy work for the formation of one or more powerful groups of States within the World League or Confederation?

References.

L.N.U., Art. 17, par. 2; Arts 22 and 23, F.U. Introduction, Sects. III and IV, App. A, Sect. 11, Art 7 H.C. (c), H.C. (h) (p. 6) and (p. 7). A.B.C. U.S.A. (1) ('Regionalism') p. 4.

- (b) Shall the group or groups be bound only by common military obligations or also by common economic and political ties? If the latter, should the group or groups constitute a union so close as to amount to some form of common government based on common citizenship?

References:

L.N.U., Arts. 25 & 26. F.U. Sects. II, III, IV, Appendix A, Sect. 1. H.C. (c) (pp. 2, & 5) A.B.C. U.S.A. (1) ["The Nature of Federation", "Limitations on Sovereignty", "New Institutions", pp. 4 & 5].

- (c) What should be the relations between the powerful group or groups and the world League?

References:

Same refs. as in answers to questions (a) and (b) above.

Answers

- (a) & (b) The Big Four in the United Nations and India if free and united, or any group of States containing at least one of these powers, should be given a special position, with special powers and responsibilities, within the World League or Confederation.

Every facility and encouragement should be given to the democracies in the World League or Confederation to join in a Union pledged to common defence forces, a common foreign policy, a common Charter of Rights and far-reaching political and economic cooperation, going if possible all the way to a centrally controlled tariff system; a monetary union or even a single currency; common economic planning; common citizenship; a common Parliament and Government with jurisdiction over such matters as have been delegated to it by the constituent States. We should study, in conjunction with the American Commission to Study the Organisation of Peace and ultimately with suitable Europeans, the possibility of establishing a Union of Democracies, its relation to the World League or Confederation, and measures within the Union for the stabilisation of exchange rates and ultimate unification of currencies; the progressive reduction of tariff barriers; reciprocal citizenship and the abolition of passport restrictions; the securing of improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security; a common colonial policy under central control.

- (c) Any group of states containing at least one of the Big Four (or 5 with India) and closely knit enough to have a common foreign policy and common defence forces, should be a permanent member of the Council of the World League or Confederation, with a number of votes and delegates proportionate to its share both of the total budget and of the total population of the World League or Confederation. Any such group or Union of States should be accorded this special position in return for accepting special responsibilities, as a permanent member of the Council for maintaining world law and order on the basis of the constitution and working through the machinery of

II (c) Contd.

the World League. The group or Union should also be required to incorporate a Charter of Rights in its constitution and to pledge itself, as its major purpose in world affairs, to uphold the obligations of the World League and by every means in its power to promote the development of the latter into an effective system of world government resting on democracy, social justice and racial equality.

III. THE OBLIGATION NOT TO RESORT TO WAR AND TO SETTLE ALL DISPUTES BY PACIFIC MEANS.

- (a) Should this dual obligation be made absolute, or should a legal possibility remain of leaving a dispute unsettled and/or should there be a legal loophole for resorting to war?
 - (a) The members of the World League or Confederation should be pledged never to resort to war or to use force as an instrument of national policy, and to refer to the Permanent Court any dispute not settled by other pacific means (mediation, conciliation, a report of the Council or Assembly, or arbitration) within a year of its first being raised as a dispute in the League.
- (b) What should be the machinery and obligations for effecting changes by peaceful means in the internationally recognized legal rights of States?
 - (b) H.C. says 'equity tribunal'. L.H.U. and L.H.U.(c) are inconclusive. F.U. takes the view that its proposals as regards the unanimity rule, inter-State planning and transport, an International Consultative Parliament in the World Confederation, and the Union of Democracies, provide ample facilities and encouragement for the only kind of peaceful change that matters - i.e. from State sovereignty toward world government and from oligarchy and privilege toward democracy and social justice.

IV REDUCTION & CONTROL OF ARMAMENTS AND WAR INDUSTRIES

What should be the machinery and obligations relating to this important subject?

A treaty reducing, limiting and controlling armaments should be concluded at the Peace Conference and come into force at the same time as the constitution of the World League of Confederation including its 'political optional clause' for those States who wish to form a Union of Democracies. In principle this treaty would allow only the permanent members of the Council to possess military air forces, Panzar divisions, tanks and ships above a certain tonnage, guns above a certain calibre, in return for the special obligation, accepted jointly by these States, to act as the world's policemen. The treaty would limit the amount of arms allowed these Powers for this purpose. All other States would in principle possess only the armaments necessary to maintain internal order. All arms

industries should be under international control. The Council would be responsible for the carrying out of these obligations and for devising the necessary machinery.

V. RESTRAINT OF AGGRESSION - SANCTIONS.

- (a) What authority would determine in case of war whether a State was an aggressor?
 - (a) L.H.U. appears to abide by the Covenant system of each State to decide this for itself. F.U. says a two-third majority in both the Assembly and the Council should decide. Any State failing to act on this decision would be liable to be treated as an accessory after the fact to aggression.
- (b) What obligation should the members of the World League or Confederation have with regard to an aggressor?
 - (b) All members should have a negative obligation to sever economic and financial relations with the aggressor. The permanent members of the Council should have a positive obligation to stop aggression and uphold law and order by armed force if necessary. For this purpose they should be bound by a regional agreement, providing inter alia for a Joint General Staff and close political and economic cooperation.
- (c) What obligation should there be to secure compliance with arbitral or judicial awards?
 - (c) H.C. advocates the use of economic sanctions and if necessary of an International Police Force to secure compliance with arbitral or judicial awards, or the findings of an 'Equity Tribunal'. L.H.U. and F.U. are silent on this point.

VI. ECONOMIC, FINANCIAL SOCIAL & TRANSPORT QUESTIONS

- a) How far-reaching should the machinery of the World League or Confederation be in this field?
 - There should be a careful study by a sub-committee or one of two experts of the relevant sections of the L.H.U. and F.U. statements, as well as U.S.A. (a) and the facts and documents mentioned in H. with the object of 'melting them down' into a single set of proposals and considerations.
- b) How should the permanent peace-time machinery and obligations in this domain relate to those the United Nations have adopted for war-time purposes and to the tasks of reconstruction?

VII COLONIAL POLICY

- a) Should all non-self-governing colonies be put under a system of international mandates?
 - (a) Yes.
- b) What should be the obligations of policy assumed by the mandatory Powers and the constitution and functions of the Mandates Commission and its agents?
 - (b) This requires further study in the light of the latest events. In general policy obligations must go much further than in Art. 22 of the Covenant; the findings of the Mandates Commission should be binding on the Mandatory Powers if upheld by the Council and/or the Assembly, and the Mandates Commission should have the power to investigate conditions on the spot.

CONFIDENTIAL

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE held at 11 Maiden Lane, W.C.2., on Thursday, June 18th, 1942, at 2.15 p.m.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Lord Cecil, Miss Courtney, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Fawcett, A.J. Howe, D.L. Lipson, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, J. Macdonald, Dr. Murray, W.T. Pritchard, A.E.W. Thomas, Air Commodore Walser, Sir Ralph Wedgwood and Major Freshwater.

348 MINUTES; The Minutes of the meeting held on June 4th were confirmed as circulated.

349 MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES:

Proposed Conference (340) The Chairman reported that he had seen Mr. Makins and assured him that great discretion would be exercised; the representatives of the foreign countries who attended the London International Assembly were cautious people, they were unanimous in their determination to fight the war to a satisfactory conclusion, in feeling that there must be some international authority to carry out the Atlantic Charter and in wishing that the machinery for security in the future should be effective.

That morning he had seen Mr. Eden and repeated to him what he had said to Mr. Makins. Mr. Eden thought that everything the London International Assembly had done at its private sittings was admirable, but he could not help feeling there was some danger from a public meeting of men who were members of their respective governments and could not speak in a private capacity. The danger was not so much from what anyone might say as from mischievous press comments which might prejudice the delicate negotiations on which he was engaged.

The Chairman had undertaken to discuss with the Executive how far the public sessions could be controlled and controversial issues excluded.

Lord Cecil pointed out that the primary object of the Conference was to rally the war effort of our own people and to instruct them about the importance and difficulty of the problems which would arise when the war was over. The London International Assembly had only come into the picture at a later stage when its members had expressed a wish to rally their people in the same way. He also reminded the Committee that the study meetings of the Conference would be private and that no discussion or questions would be allowed at the public sessions.

The Chairman was asked to give this information to Mr. Eden, and Miss Courtney, the Secretary and

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(c) Should there be any approach to the international administration of mandates?

(c) Yes, insofar as non-self-governing colonies within the Union of Democracies are concerned. For one of the obligations of Union membership would be a common colonial policy under central control and eventually administration.

VIII. QUESTIONS OF ORGANISATION

(a) Should the unanimity rule be maintained as in the old League and, if not, how modified?

(a) F.U. proposes that 'All decisions in the Council and Assembly should be by majority vote, but with the power for any State member to contract out of executing a decision with which it did not agree. (i.e. post-decision right of non-cooperation would be substituted for the pre-decision right of veto)'.
(b) F.U. proposes that 'There should be an International Consultative Parliament composed of delegations elected by proportional representation from the Legislatures of all member States. Each delegate to the I.C.P. would have a single vote. The size of the delegations (and so the number of votes of each) would vary according to the scale similar to that of e.g. the Inter-Parliamentary Union or that used for allocating the League budget. All reports and resolutions of the I.C.P. would be by majority vote. They would not bind the Governments. But the Governments would be pledged to submit reports and resolutions of the I.C.P. to their legislatures and to find time to debate them.'

(b) Should an International Consultative Parliament be added to the organization of the World League and, if so, how composed and with what functions?

IX. EX-ENEMY STATES

How to fit the ex-enemy States into the scheme of world

organization is a vitally important question. Federal Union has a special section in its peace aims report on this subject. It is proposed to circulate this statement at the earliest possible moment with a view to obtaining the views and counter-proposals of all the voluntary societies so as to draft a basis for discussion and ultimately, perhaps, of agreement.

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Mr. Judd were asked to draw up another memorandum bringing out these points.

Lord Cecil thought it important that the conference should be well advertised; he would make a reference to it at the General Council Meeting.

A Common Policy (341) Mr. Thomas said he had been spoken to by Mr. Vernon Bartlett, who was concerned at the attitude of the Union to the Braithwaite Committee, and that Major Braithwaite had written to Major Freshwater. The Chairman explained the attitude of the Executive to this question and at his request Mr. Thomas undertook to arrange a meeting between the Chairman and Mr. Vernon Bartlett.

Atlantic Charter (340) Consideration was given to the new draft Pamphlet on the Atlantic Charter, S.976 (copy filed with these Minutes), in which had been embodied most of the amendments sent in by members of the Executive. Printed proofs would be available at the General Council Meeting.

The draft was approved for issue as a pamphlet, with the following amendment suggested by Mr. Arnold-Forster:

Page 1, paragraph 2.
Replace the last three sentences by:

"On 23rd February, Britain and the U.S.A. concluded a Master Agreement upon the principles by which they will render aid to each other, whilst avoiding injury to their mutual commerce or to world trade. The Agreement gives some definition to the economic aims of the Atlantic Charter, and provides for action to attain those aims 'open to participation by all other countries of like mind.'"

Since then, similar agreements have been signed between the U.S. and China, and the U.S. and the Soviet Union, and been offered to other 'like-minded' countries.

Lastly, on 26th May, 1942, Britain and the Soviet Union, in their momentous Alliance, declared their intention to collaborate closely 'at the Peace Settlement and during the ensuing period of reconstruction', on the basis of the Atlantic Charter."

350 AMERICAN BROADCAST. Miss Courtney called the attention of the Executive to a Broadcast on June 13th by Mr. Raymond Gram Swing, in which he said:

"....the immediate policing of Europe is to be done by Britain and Russia, and the United States will not be called in to share in the task; this is logical, and it is something that anyone could have foreseen who is able to foresee the consequences of an

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Allied victory. But it had not ever been said quite as clearly as it is in the treaty announced by Mr. Eden in the House on Thursday. There is to be a post-war security system, to which the United States will belong. But until it is established, the task of restraining Germany and its satellites falls upon Britain and Russia...."

Lord Lytton promised to write to Mr. Eden about this statement.

351 LORD PERTH. A letter from the Earl of Perth, dated 8th June, was read, in which he accepted the invitation of the Executive to become one of its members.

352 FINAL AGENDA *of General Council*

The Final Agenda was examined and various members of the Executive were asked to move the Motions standing in the name of the Executive, and others to take charge of the other Motions.

On Item 11, Peace Aims, it was reported that the Kensington Branch proposed to amend the motion by inserting at the beginning a sentence congratulating the Government on the conclusion of the Treaty with the Soviet Union and then asking for the Statement of Policy to be recast.

In view of the great importance of the Anglo-Russian Treaty, the Executive requested Lord Cecil to move, at the outset, a Motion on the following lines:

"The General Council of the League of Nations Union congratulates H.M. Government on the conclusion of the Treaty with the Soviet Union, and regards this momentous alliance as of immense importance for the future peace of the world."

The Secretary was asked to write to the Kensington Secretary informing her of the course to be taken by the Executive and telling her that, in view of statements recently made by members of the Government, the Executive purposed not to move the Peace Aims Motion.

The Secretary was also asked to write to Mr. Elvin informing him of the Executive's intention, a result of which would be that his amendment would fall to the ground; to call his attention to the amendment which had been tabled by Edinburgh, and to say that a member of the Executive hoped to discuss the matter on the afternoon of the 19th June with him and the Edinburgh representative.

353 SOCIAL & ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION: Consideration was given to a Memorandum by Lady Hall, prepared in accordance with Minute 313, and filed with these Minutes.

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General approval was given to the Memorandum, and it was decided to ask Lady Hall to go through her list (about two of the names in which doubts had been expressed) and bring forward, at the earliest opportunity, precise proposals for the composition of the Social & Economic Reconstruction Committee and for the appointment of a Secretary.

- 354 DATE OF NEXT MEETING: It was decided that there should be a meeting of the members elected by the General Council to serve on the Executive, at 11.30 a.m. on Thursday, June 25th, to co-opt additional members up to twenty in accordance with Bye-Law 8 of the Charter.



Chairman,
2.7.42.

THE ATLANTIC CHARTER.

S. 976.

The Charter, which was drawn up "somewhere in the Atlantic", is a Joint Declaration "made on the 12th. August, 1941, by the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom" * of the principles which they hope would guide international policies in this world crisis. When the Statement was issued the U.S. had not become a belligerent.

On September 24th. at the first meeting of the Inter-Allied Council in London, the Charter was accepted by all the European Allies, including the U.S.S.R. A month later, at the I.L.O. Conference in New York, it was welcomed by representatives of over 50 nations, and the I.L.O. pledged its co-operation in giving life to the Charter's principles. On January 2nd. 1942, the representatives of 26 United Nations, at Washington, prefaced a Joint Declaration of Alliance by recalling that they had, one and all, subscribed to the common programme of purposes and principles embodied in the Atlantic Charter. Similar support and adherence to the principles of the Charter were pledged by 21 American States who met at Rio de Janeiro on January 15-28th., to consult on methods of common defence against the common foes of democracy. Finally, on 23rd. February, Great Britain and the United States concluded an Agreement on the principles of mutual aid in the prosecution of the war. This agreement stipulates that the conditions under which the United Kingdom finally provides benefits to the U.S.A. in return for benefits received under the Lease and Lend Act shall be such as not to burden commerce between the two countries but to promote mutually advantageous economic relations between them and the betterment of world-wide economic relations. To this end they agree to provide for action by the two countries open to participation by all other countries of like mind, for the attainment of all the economic objectives set forth in the Atlantic Charter.

Thus, the Charter has acquired great importance as a joint declaration of the Allies' purpose. It does not profess to be a detailed plan. As Mr. Churchill said, it is "a simple, rough and ready, wartime statement of the goal" towards which the supporting nations "mean to make their way". But a little study will shew that it is more substantial and consistent than might be supposed from a summary reading; we must understand it, and be ready to accept what it involves, if it is ever to serve its purpose of fortifying our war effort as a united people, solidifying the Grand Alliance, rallying the conquered peoples, breaking our enemies' resistance and guiding the makers of the future peace settlement.

Here, then, is the text, with a brief commentary and some relevant proposals already published in more detail by the League of Nations Union in its Statement of Policy, "World Settlement After the War".

* Command, 6321., to be purchased from H.M. Stationery Office, or from any bookseller.

The Preamble:

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE PRIME MINISTER, MR. CHURCHILL, REPRESENTING HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED KINGDOM, BEING MET TOGETHER, DEEM IT RIGHT TO MAKE KNOWN CERTAIN COMMON PRINCIPLES IN THE NATIONAL POLICIES OF THEIR RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES ON WHICH THEY BASE THEIR HOPE FOR A BETTER FUTURE FOR THE WORLD.

Point 1. No agrandissement.

THEIR COUNTRIES SEEK NO AGRANDISSEMENT, TERRITORIAL OR OTHERWISE.

Point 1. states simply and squarely a root difference between the policies of the Allied and the Axis Powers. The Axis Powers frankly do "seek" "agrandissement", both "territorial" by right of conquest, and "otherwise", as for example by the complete control in their own interest of the economic life of other and subject peoples.

But merely to refrain from aggression is not enough; aggression must be prevented, positive action taken and sacrifices made for altering unfair situations such as those which might lead to aggression. After the war there may well have to be territorial changes - quite apart from mere restoration. For a time there will have to be control by the Allies for the maintenance of order in the world. But all such actions will depend for their final justification upon their being carried out as part of community order and justice. In other words, Point 1. must not be separated from the following Points, and above all Point 3. For their fulfillment an International Authority is necessary.

Point 2. Self-determination as to national allegiance.

THEY DESIRE TO SEE NO TERRITORIAL CHANGES THAT DO NOT ACCORD WITH THE FREELY EXPRESSED WISHES OF THE PEOPLES CONCERNED.

All peoples under the Axis yoke must be granted freedom from alien rule. The invaders must be evicted and the peoples free to live, as it is stated in "World Settlement After the War", "as independent States with their own national Governments". But, clearly, self-determination cannot be unqualified: that way leads to anarchy. Self-determination must submit to the restraints necessary to prevent injury to others. Indeed, there are, often, larger interests, which should, in justice, override local demands for self-determination. For example, to restore the Czechs to their country without ensuring that no pressure - either military or economic - by a powerful neighbour could make Czechoslovakia unworkable, would be wilful hypocrisy.

All of which is another way of saying that an International Authority is needed. For there must be some Authority greater than the nation with the power to decide who these "peoples" in Point 2. are; to supervise the restoration of great masses of peoples whom Germany has driven from their country; to see that their freedom of choice is genuine and that their independence, when gained, can last.

Point 3. Self-determination as to form of government.

THEY RESPECT THE RIGHT OF ALL PEOPLES TO CHOOSE THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT UNDER WHICH THEY WILL LIVE: AND THEY WISH TO SEE SOVEREIGN RIGHTS AND SELF-GOVERNMENT RESTORED TO THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN FORCIBLY DEPRIVED OF THEM.

(a) The United Nations, in declaring that they respect the right of all peoples to choose their own "form of government", make only one reservation. They say (in Point 3) that Nazi tyranny must be destroyed.

The Nazis, on the other hand, seek to force upon others such forms of government as the Nazis think convenient for the purposes of the "master race".

(b) The United Nations declare their wish to see "sovereign rights" restored to those who have been robbed of them. That is sound as a first step: a liberated Poland, for instance, should be free, as an equal, to accept or reject the rights and duties of partnership in the commonwealth of free nations. But it would be fatal to all hopes of a peaceful order such as the Charter outlines if powerful States were to insist on retaining absolute rights and powers to do as they please, regardless of the welfare of others. The Charter calls for "a wider and permanent system of general security" (Point 8); "for fullest collaboration . . . in the economic field" (Point 5); and for protection against arbitrary interference with commerce (Point 4). Such aims are unattainable if the States cling to an anarchic right to be judge in their own cause, to use war as an instrument of national policy, to arm without limit, or to regulate their economic life without heed to the injury that may ensue to others.

Here, as "World Settlement After the War" points out, is the essence of the quarrel between the United Nations and the aggressors. "The German thesis is that there can be no limit to the sovereignty of a State except its power to enforce its will." We stand for the contrary thesis, that "no nation can be trusted to be judge in its own cause."

(c) The United Nations also call for restoration of "self-government". Here again the principle is sound but needs qualification. The right of self-government should not be treated as absolute; it must be so limited as to avoid injury either to other nations or to individuals.

For example, a State claiming the right of self-government ought also to accept as a duty co-operation in applying the rules of quarantine and in controlling the manufacture and supply of noxious drugs; otherwise it may cause gross injury to the peoples of other States. If a State deliberately suppresses or distorts essential news, that injures the international community; for it prevents the growth of a free, informed public opinion, which is one of the conditions for international goodwill. If a State keeps its armament budget secret and exempt from all public control, it thereby saps the international confidence which is indispensable for stopping the armaments race.

As for the rights of individuals, intolerable wrongs will continue to be suffered unless the international community organises some protection against abuses of self-government. If Governments are perfectly free to inflict torture or arbitrary imprisonment on their subjects, there will no assurance of "freedom from fear" for all the men in all the lands (such as

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Point 6. of the Charter aims at). If Governments regard all such matters as "labour standards, economic advancement and social security" as being wholly a matter of domestic concern, there cannot be that "fullest collaboration" which Point 5. demands. The protection of certain rights of minorities must be treated as a matter of international concern as well as a problem of "Home Affairs", and this applies also in a still wider field - the world-wide field within which President Roosevelt's "Four Freedoms" have to be secured.

Point 4. Equality of trading opportunity.

THEY WILL ENDEAVOUR, WITH DUE RESPECT FOR THEIR EXISTING OBLIGATIONS, TO FURTHER THE ENJOYMENT BY ALL STATES, GREAT OR SMALL, VICTOR OR VANQUISHED, OF ACCESS, ON EQUAL TERMS, TO THE TRADE AND TO THE RAW MATERIALS OF THE WORLD WHICH ARE NEEDED FOR THEIR ECONOMIC PROSPERITY.

Point 5. Economic Commonwealth.

THEY DESIRE TO BRING ABOUT THE FULLEST COLLABORATION BETWEEN ALL NATIONS IN THE ECONOMIC FIELD WITH THE OBJECT OF SECURING, FOR ALL, IMPROVED LABOUR STANDARDS, ECONOMIC ADVANCEMENT AND SOCIAL SECURITY.

Points 4. and 5. both dealing with Economic policy, may conveniently be considered together. Understanding of their authors' intentions has been made easier by the publication of the Anglo-American Agreement of Feb. 22. 1942, which provides for joint working out of the economic aims of the Charter and summarises those aims.

(a) Economic Commonwealth. Note, first, that the equality of economic opportunity which Point 4. refers to is to be open to "all States, great or small". The United Nations stand for an economic commonwealth in which all members, irrespective of their strength, are to be entitled to certain rights in the economic field, on a footing of equality. Such an aim, always difficult to achieve completely, is a proper objective for a community of States which seeks to realise democratic ideals. It is the opposite of the principle on which Nazi dominion is based.

(b) Trade War. Furthermore, this equality of economic opportunity is to be open to "victor or vanquished" alike. The United Nations repudiate the policy of Trade War after war, such as the Allies threatened in 1917.

This is a sound policy, but its application will not be easy. Time, and firm magnanimous statesmanship will be needed, as well as a complete revolution in German thought and practise.

(c) Trade Expansion. The Charter's economic policy implies, above all, expansion of World Trade. "Expansion" (to quote the Anglo-American Agreement) "by appropriate international and domestic measures, of production, employment, and the exchange and consumption of goods." Production must be expanded in many directions; +. a great part of the human race has never yet had an adequate balanced diet. Employment should be expanded to the maximum compatible with all-round health and well-being. To leave human energy unused is the worst kind of waste, and the cruel waste involved in unemployment is avoidable only if the community will organise its resources for supplying human needs without being paralysed by obsolete ideas of what should be accounted "profitable". Above all, consumption must be expanded.

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Producers have organised strong defences for their sectional interests, but too often the wide interests of the consumer have been left to take their chance.

"World Settlement After the War" defines the aims as being "to render available to human needs the whole productive capacity of the globe". And to achieve that, it says "a world planning authority" of some kind will be needed. In particular, there will be need, after the war, for control and rationing, so as to ensure proper priority for the most pressing needs of consumers.

(d) Reduction of Trade Barriers. "Reduction of Tariffs and other trade barriers" is, as the Anglo-American Agreement recognises, another aim implicit in the Charter. Most of the obstacles in the way of world trade have been erected to suit some sectional interest, but really injure the community. To remove such obstacles is to expand trade and reduce the danger of international friction. But to sweep away suddenly every restraint that canalises the flow of trade would be disastrous. Many a healthy, well-balanced community would be wrecked. It appears, then, that what the community of nations will need is, not anarchic free trade, or anarchic protection, but a system which provides collective safeguards against any anti-social departures from the broad, salutary "free-trade" principle. The international authority will have to acquire competence to review all national measures that restrict international trade for these are properly matters of international concern; the object being to ensure that no restraint should be imposed arbitrarily, but that due allowance shall be made for the interests of the peoples affected.

(e) No discriminatory practices. Another aim, as the Anglo-American Agreement notes, is "elimination of all forms of discriminatory treatment in international commerce." What Point 4. of the Charter calls "access on equal terms to the trade and to the raw materials of the world" should not be withheld by arbitrary discrimination, as a method of trade war in peace-time or as a method of monopolising the opportunities afforded by colonial empire.

Here, again, full application of the principle will involve far-reaching changes, including an extension of the principles of the Mandates system in Colonial Empire. And here, too, there is need for a qualification. Discrimination is dangerous, anti-social, as a general rule. But authorised discrimination between a State committing (or undoubtedly pre-paring) aggression, and the State victim of such aggression, is not a malpractice but a social duty. As the League of Nations Union has emphasised, non-neutrality in face of aggression is part of the price of peace.

(f) It is admitted on all sides that raising the standards of living and the attainment of social justice require international agreement and a permanent international organisation. The League of Nations' work for Health and Nutrition, the I.L.O.'s Labour Conventions and successful experience of tri-partite representation already provide invaluable guidance here. The League of Nations Union supports a far wider use of this proved machinery, with adequate financial backing and power to make big decisions really effective.

Point 6. Collective Security, Political and Economic.

AFTER THE FINAL DESTRUCTION OF THE NAZI TYRANNY, THEY HOPE TO SEE ESTABLISHED A PEACE WHICH WILL AFFORD TO ALL NATIONS THE MEANS OF DWELLING IN SAFETY WITHIN THEIR OWN BOUNDARIES, AND WHICH WILL AFFORD ASSURANCE THAT ALL THE MEN IN ALL THE LANDS MAY LIVE OUT THEIR LIVES IN FREEDOM FROM FEAR AND WANT.

The Nazi regime must be destroyed. That goes without saying. Otherwise no peace, no international or national order, is attainable. Yet other tyrannies may arise, and preparation for modern totalitarian war or even the mere threat of it can make freedom from fear and want impossible.

Point 6. is an assertion of the one effective solution for this vicious circle, a solution never yet tried, the principle of collective security. The new point in it is that, unlike Versailles, it couples collective security against aggression with collective action against poverty; and it insists that both must be general and be offered, on a footing of equal rights, to all who sincerely accept their fair share of the duties and rights of membership of the peaceful commonwealth of nations.

All this means a strong international authority - both for political peace-making and for providing social security. Nearer home, it means that nations - above all, the Great Powers - cannot avoid responsibility for partnership and are under clear obligations to see that the available machinery works. "Isolationism" and "No Commitments" are dead. They must be buried.

"World Settlement After the War" considers collective security in some detail. Peace depends on certain clear principles: (1) obedience to a common law; (2) the power of an International Authority to judge disputes, the authority being the League of Nations strengthened for purposes of peaceful change and with separate procedures for social and economic improvement and for keeping the peace. (for this latter, see Comment on Point 8.).

Point 7. Freedom of the Seas.

SUCH A PEACE SHOULD ENABLE ALL MEN TO TRAVERSE THE HIGH SEAS AND OCEANS WITHOUT HINDRANCE.

It is war which, above all, interrupts or destroys freedom of movement on the seas. To the extent that the post-war settlement, on the lines of the Atlantic Charter, is able to bring war under genuine control, the importance of this Point decreases.

This Point must be read in conjunction with the other Points of the Charter. The "Peace" referred to is to be "a wider and permanent system of general security". This is to "enable" (not permit, but enable) all men to traverse the high seas on their lawful occasions. Those who break the peace will be denied this protection; those who keep the peace will have the benefit of this collective security. Thus, Point 7, apparently means that the high seas should only be closed, if closed at all, "by international action for the enforcement of international covenants."

* This was Point Two of President Wilson's Fourteen Points, in Jan. 1918.

If there is to be real "Freedom of the Seas", there will have to be not merely freedom from blockade by warships, but also freedom from blockade by aircraft, and freedom from the arbitrary use of the deadly weapon of boycott. Points 4, 6, 7 and 8. of the Charter are all parts of a single policy, the object of which is to prevent the lawless use of national power. That object is thus defined in the Anglo-American agreement of Feb. 23rd. 1942:- "A just and enduring world peace securing order under law to themselves and all nations."

Point 8. A system of general security.

THEY BELIEVE THAT ALL OF THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD, FOR REALISTIC AS WELL AS SPIRITUAL REASONS, MUST COME TO THE ABANDONMENT OF THE USE OF FORCE. SINCE NO FUTURE PEACE CAN BE MAINTAINED IF LAND, SEA OR AIR ARMAMENTS CONTINUE TO BE EMPLOYED BY NATIONS WHICH THREATEN, OR MAY THREATEN, AGGRESSION OUTSIDE OF THEIR FRONTIERS, THEY BELIEVE, PENDING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A WIDER AND PERMANENT SYSTEM OF GENERAL SECURITY, THAT THE DISARMAMENT OF SUCH NATIONS IS ESSENTIAL. THEY WILL LIKEWISE AID AND ENCOURAGE ALL OTHER FEASIBLE MEASURES WHICH WILL LIGHTEN FOR PEACE-LOVING PEOPLES THE CRUSHING BURDEN OF ARMAMENTS.

(a) This implies that there must be two stages in the process of peacemaking. First, there must be a transitional stage during which the defeated aggressors will be kept unilaterally disarmed, and the victorious Powers, notably the British Commonwealth, U.S.A., U.S.S.R. and China, will have to retain the powers and responsibility as trustees for guarding the peace; and second, the stage in which the system of security becomes general and the disarmament becomes based on the principle of equality of rights. What we have to aim at is such a guarantee against aggression that "no nation" (Germany or any other) "must ever be in a position to wage aggressive war against her neighbours." *

(b) After twenty years of the League experiment, we know a good deal about what "a wider and permanent system of general security" should be. We know that it must provide a regular system of conference. It must include such laws of peace as the renunciation of force as an instrument of national policy, and acceptance of the obligation of non-neutrality in face of aggression. It must provide constructive services of peace, including collective defence against trade depression. It must provide for peaceful settlement of international disputes by third-party judgement; for impartial examination of claims for change of existing rights; and for international action to ensure that the changes found necessary are carried through peacefully and in good time. It must provide for all-round limitation, reduction and supervision of national armaments, whilst allowing always for the retention of preponderant power for the service of the international authority. Lastly, it must provide more adequately than the League did in practice, for collective action to prevent and stop aggression.

The actual scheme for "establishing a wider and permanent system of general security" is left by the Charter for treatment at a later date, when the conditions of the post-war world shall have become clearer. The scheme provisionally advocated by the League of Nations Union is set out in "World Settlement After the War".

It is not common to find statesmen using such words as "spiritual reasons". We may be certain that their use in the Charter reflects the widespread conviction that disregard for fundamental moral principles led to the present conflict, and that for its full and just solution we must return to these principles.

* Mr. Eden. August 31st. 1931.

S.978

Memorandum submitted by Lady Hall in accordance
with Minute 313.

THE I.L.O. and SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION.

I have suggested that at the present time the L.N.U. is not doing the work that this important aspect of the League and the I.L.O. calls for, and which our members ask for.

I do not think that the Industrial Advisory Committee as at present constituted, can in fact be expected to cover the much wider field of work that has to be undertaken if the Union is to be in a position to issue reports on such social and economic and financial subjects as are likely to find a place in any International Post War Settlement.

Moreover, it is an unfortunate fact that the Membership of the Industrial Advisory Committee has a balance of points of view on paper that has never fully been realised. We are fortunate in having a close relationship with the T.U.C., who nominate each year 3 of its members to serve upon the Industrial Advisory Committee, but we have never succeeded in obtaining similar co-operation from the Employers' Organisations. We have tried, with only moderately successful results, to maintain a balance between Employers and Employed by nominating individual employers - but even this method, less effective in itself, has latterly proved difficult.

I propose, therefore, that in place of the Industrial Advisory Committee, the Executive should set up a Social & Economic Committee, upon which should be invited to sit qualified persons, either in their individual capacity or as representatives of organisations whose objects, in certain aspects at least, cover the same ground as our own. I should wish very particularly to retain our connection with the T.U.C.

The Committee might be formed of such people as -

3 members nominated by T.U.C.
Mr. J.R. Leslie, M.P.,
Mr. Tanner,
Sir Ralph Wedgwood,
Mrs. Calthorpe (Hon. Sec. British Association for Labour
P.E.P. representative legislation.
Prof. Sargent Florence
Miss Barbara Ward
C.N. Clarke (Agenda - School of Economics)
Raymond Gauntlett
Lady Howard (Associated Countrywomen of the World)
Representative from Malvern Conference Group (Sydney
Engineers' Group (representative) Dark)
Ex-I.L.O. staff
Lady Hall.

Terms of Reference:

- (a) To promote the work of the I.L.O. and to carry on educational work about its achievements;
(b) To study and report upon the methods of implementing the social and economic clauses of the Atlantic Charter.

In my view the main Committee would only be required to meet quarterly - but it would be necessary to appoint a series of sub-committees to study the many questions involved in (b), and to invite persons specially qualified in these subjects to accept membership of the Sub-Committee. Among the subjects requiring study and report are - Access to raw materials - Unemployment, Social Security (Insurance etc.), Migration, Social & Economic Condition in Colonies, etc., etc. It is possible that many of those qualified to speak on these subjects would be willing to lend their co-operation in the production of a report, but would be unable to attend many meetings. I think that arrangements can be made whereby numerous meetings of Sub-Committees are unnecessary.

The Executive may not desire to be committed to specific policies in regard to some of these subjects. The important thing, however, is to get them thought about and discussed. It may be, therefore, that the Executive would prefer to authorise publication of reports as a contribution to discussion - rather than as the declared policy of the Executive, and in that case other points of view could be represented on the Committee. I do not think myself this is a matter of serious importance, but I do think it highly desirable that the Executive should be supplying its members and the general public with information that should be available to them.

Budget: It is extremely difficult to make any accurate forecast of expenditure that might be involved. I think it is possible to get a Secretary with considerable experience of the I.L.O. for full time for, say, £350 a year (a part-time appointment could probably be made for, say, £250)

	£350
A typist (say)	£158
Postages, documents, printing and reports -	£100 - £200.
say -	£600 - £700

CONFIDENTIAL

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153LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT 11, MAIDEN LANE, W.C.2. ON THURSDAY 2ND JULY 1942, AT 2.15 P.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Professor Brodetsky, F.M. Burris, Lord Cecil, the Dean of Chichester, Miss K.D. Courtney, Miss Philippa Fawcett, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Brig.-Gen. Milman, Dr. Gilbert Murray, Nowell C. Smith, H.S. Syrett, A.E.W. Thomas, Air Commodore Walser, Sir Ralph Wedgwood, Sir George Young, and Major Freshwater.

355. MINUTES. The Minutes of the meeting held on June 18th were confirmed as circulated.

356. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

Proposed Conference (349) The Chairman said that he had written to Mr. Eden after the last meeting of the Executive and explained that the main object of the Conference was to stir up British public opinion and make people realise the importance of the issues and the necessity for a united front as well as the difficulties of the problems which would await settlement as soon as the fighting was over. The International Assembly only came in at a later date when they had been told what was proposed to be done; they were very enthusiastic and wished, too, to have the opportunity of stirring up their own public opinion; many of their nationals were not members of the Assembly. The Study Meetings would be private, the speakers at the public meetings would be carefully selected, and there would be no discussion of frontiers.

He had seen Mr. Eden since and, as requested, had sent him a memorandum. Mr. Eden did not think there would be any difficulty about the Conference and had said he would write again to Lord Lytton.

American Broadcast (350) The Chairman reported that he had mentioned to Mr. Eden the broadcast made by Mr. Raymond Gram Swing on June 18th, in which reference was made to the policing of Europe by Britain and Russia. Mr. Eden had replied that this was entirely unjustified by the terms of the Treaty, but that he was unable to deal with it officially. Lord Lytton hoped that Professor Newell might be willing to take up the matter with Mr. Gram Swing.

Social and Economic Reconstruction (353) See Minute 358 below.

Co-optations to Executive Committee (354) It was reported that at the Extraordinary Meeting of the Executive held on June 25th the following were co-opted:

Rt. Hon. the Lord Addison
Major V.A. Gazalet, M.C., M.P.
Mrs. Dugdale
Miss Philippa Fawcett
Miss M. Lloyd George, M.P.
Major Sir Derrick Gunston, Bt., M.C., M.P.
Captain E. Wallis Jones
D.L. Lipson, Esq., M.P.
Dame Adelaide Livingstone
J. Macdonald, Esq., J.P.
Rt. Hon. the Earl of Perth, K.C.M.G.
A.E.W. Thomas, Esq., D.S.O.
Miss E. Waite
Air Commodore Walser
Sir Ralph Wedgwood, Bt., C.B., C.M.G.

P.T.O.

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Acceptances had been received from all except Major Cazalet, Mrs. Dugdale, Sir Derrick Gunston, Captain Wallis Jones and Mr. Lipson, whose replies were awaited. Several additional names were then suggested, and it was decided to invite Mr. Zilliacus and Miss Barbara Ward to join the Committee.

(Lord Lytton having left the meeting, the Chair was taken by Dr. Murray until the arrival of Miss Courtney during the discussion on Social and Economic Reconstruction).

357. GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING, June 19th-21st.

Resolutions (filed with these Minutes). The Committee had before them the resolutions passed by the General Council on June 19th-21st, 1942.

It was reported that the resolution on the Anglo-Russian Treaty had been sent to the Government and its receipt acknowledged, and that the resolution on Anti-League propaganda had been printed on the front page of HEADWAY; the resolution on War Criminals had been printed in HEADWAY, and on the suggestion of Lord Cecil it was decided that it should be communicated formally to the London International Assembly. It was also decided to send the resolution on Education in World Citizenship to Mr. Butler and Mr. Eden for information, and that on Social and Economic Reconstruction to Sir William Jowitt.

358. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION. It having been reported that Lady Hall would not be able for some time to take the action referred to in Minute 213, owing to the serious illness of her husband, there was considerable discussion concerning the motion which had been adopted on Social and Economic Reconstruction at the General Council Meeting on June 21st, with the addition of the word "now". Some members thought the Executive should press for immediate legislation for social and economic reform in this country, others that a resolution should not have been passed if it were not likely to be effective; others thought that letting the world know what had already been done and was being done in this country would help to win the war, while others held that the primary duty of the Union was to organise a system of collective security which would stop war.

Dr. Murray pointed out that the motion was put forward by the Executive because three Ministers had recently made important speeches about the necessity for preventing unemployment after the war, and that the Union was justified in asking the Government to take immediate effective steps to put these ideas into practice. It was not the province of the Union to draw up any scheme of post-war social order, but he thought that the prevention of unemployment was part of the war aims of the Union.

Lord Cecil considered it was not the business of the Union to promote social reform in this country unless such reform had a direct bearing on international affairs: so many varying points of view had been expressed that he would like to see a small committee set up to investigate the general bearing of social reform on international relations and what was within the competence of the Union and what was not. The Executive decided to set up a committee for these purposes, which will affect the terms of reference of the Committee proposed in Lady Hall's memorandum, and the following agreed to serve:

- 3 -

Professor Brodetsky
 Dr. Murray
 Mr. Syrett
 Mr. Alan Thomas
 Sir Ralph Wedgwood and
 Sir George Young

*Letter Lady Hall
 Lord North
 K. Zyllian
 T. Kerlie ?*

It was decided that members of the sub-committee and any other members of the Executive who might wish to do so should, in the first place, put their views in writing and send them to the Secretary. In reply to a suggestion from the Chairman Lord Cecil expressed his willingness to send in a memorandum.

359. SUSSEX FEDERAL COUNCIL. It having been reported that this Council had been inactive for some time, Lord Cecil, as its President, said he would be willing to write to the Honorary Secretary and suggest the holding of a meeting.

H. D. Conway

Chairman,
 16.7.42.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT TWENTY-THIRD ANNUAL MEETING OF THE
GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

JUNE 19TH to 21ST, 1942.

1. ANGLO-RUSSIAN TREATY.

The General Council congratulates H.M. Government on the conclusion of the Treaty with the Soviet Union, and regards this momentous alliance as of immense importance for the future peace of the world.

2. WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR.

To insert the following in Clause 27 (line 5) of "World Settlement after the War", after the words "International Authority":-

"such supervision to include close examination of existing stocks of raw materials (including oil) and machinery essential for building up a war economy. Failure to satisfy the International Authority in these respects should render the country concerned liable to the imposition of restrictive measures".

3. MINORITIES.

That the Report on the Minorities Problem by the Executive be approved for study by Branches and Members, and be brought before the General Council for further discussion at the next meeting in December 1942.

4. ANTI-LEAGUE PROPAGANDA.

That in view of the attempts being made to throw upon the League of Nations Union responsibility for the unpreparedness of this country for war, the Council desires emphatically to repudiate that charge and to point out that the L.N.U.-

1. Has never advocated the reduction or limitation of the armaments of this country except as part of a general treaty for international disarmament by all countries.
2. Has constantly urged that peace can only be secured through the prevention of aggression by the joint action of the peace-loving nations using force for that purpose, if necessary.
3. Energetically protested, through its President, against the slogan "We have kept you out of war," as setting up a false and misleading principle of Foreign Policy.

(It was left to the Executive Committee to decide what should be done to give publicity to the above resolution. In the meantime, Branches and members were asked to communicate the resolution to their local Press, Members of Parliament, etc.)

5. WAR CRIMINALS.

The General Council of the League of Nations Union

Sharing with all humane persons their detestation of the cruelties practised by Germans, Japanese, Italians and others at the instigation and with the connivance of their leaders; and
Remembering the declared objects for which we are waging war;

Approves all practicable measures for the early apprehension, trial and punishment of the authors of such cruelties, with the object of preventing their future commission and avoiding acts of indiscriminate vengeance by the compatriots of the victims; and

At the same time earnestly deprecates all utterances tending to inflame the spirit of mere vengeance and of racial or national hatred.

6. REPRESENTATION ON THE GENERAL COUNCIL.

The General Council realising that, owing to the decline in the paid-up membership of the Union, particularly noticeable since the outbreak of the present war, some Branches are disqualified by Rule 10 of the Bye-Laws and Rules of the Union from representation at the General Council, while others are debarred by this same rule from sending more than one delegate unless and until their paid-up membership exceeds 1,000,

Resolves that until such time as conditions within the Union make it desirable to revert to the original wording, Rule 10 be amended to read:

Each Branch shall have the right to elect to the General Council one representative if its total paid-up membership exceeds 50 but does not exceed 250; two representatives if its paid-up membership exceeds 250 but does not exceed 500; three representatives if paid-up membership exceeds 500 but does not exceed 1,000; and four if it is over 1,000.

7. EDUCATION IN WORLD CITIZENSHIP.

- (a) That the Report on the work of the Council for Education in World Citizenship be approved.
- (b) The General Council of the League of Nations Union considers that the international authority which will be needed after the war should have as one of its organs an International Education Organisation representative of Governments, of public education authorities and governing bodies, and of teachers.

(The Council for Education in World Citizenship were asked to consider the desirability of inviting the National Council of Labour Colleges to co-operate in the work of the Council).

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8. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION.

The General Council of the League of Nations Union
Having heard with interest and approval the statements made by the Minister of Production on April 26th, the Lord Privy Seal on May 3rd, and the Foreign Secretary on May 8th, all of whom emphasised the necessity of planning ahead to prevent unemployment in the post-war world,

Urges H.M. Government to take effective steps now to realise those aims both in the economic and social field at home and in our international relations.

CONFIDENTIALLEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT
11 MAIDEN LANE, W.C.2., ON THURSDAY, JULY 16TH,
1942, at 2.15 P.M.

PRESENT: Miss K.D. Courtney (in the Chair), Professor Brodetsky, F.M. Burris, Lord Cecil, the Dean of Chichester, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss P. Fawcett, Dr. Garnett, A.J. Howe, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, W.T. Pritchard, Nowell C. Smith, A.E.W. Thomas, Miss E. Waite, Air-Commodore Walsler, Sir Ralph Wedgwood, K. Zilliacus and Major Freshwater.

360. LORD KNEBWORTH. The Executive expressed its deep sympathy with Lord and Lady Lytton in the death of their son.
361. MINUTES. The Minutes of the meeting held on July 2nd were confirmed as circulated.
362. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

Proposed Conference (356) It was reported that Mr. Eden, in reply to Lord Lytton's Memorandum, had stated that he felt it would be wiser not to hold a conference of the kind suggested this year. He did not, however, ask the Executive to drop the proposal if, after weighing the arguments for and against, they should decide to proceed with it. He himself would not be able to speak at the Conference (Memorandum and reply filed with these Minutes).

The original memorandum of Mr. Noel-Baker, dated 21st January 1942, was read. Lord Cecil held that there was a great need for the Union to take action to keep its views before the British people; the growing interest in social reform in this country made it more than ever necessary for the Union to divert attention to international affairs, for without international peace, permanent social reform was impossible.

It was agreed not to hold the proposed Conference this year, but to hold a Conference and/or Public Meeting in connection with the General Council Meeting due to be held in December. It was also agreed that Mr. Eden should be informed of the decision of the Committee to fall in with his suggestion and not to hold the Conference this year.

American Broadcast (356) Miss Courtney reported that she had written to Professor Nowell, but had not received any reply. She had, however, been assured that no importance need be attached to the broadcast by Mr. Raymond Gram Swing on June 13th referring to the policing of Europe after the war. Other members of the Executive said they had received the same expression of opinion from other authorities.

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Social and Economic Reconstruction (358) It was reported that memoranda had already been received from Lord Cecil and Sir Ralph Wedgwood and others were expected from Mr. Syrett and Sir George Young.

Co-optations to Executive Committee (356) It was reported that Mr. Zilliacus had accepted the invitation to join the Executive and that Miss Barbara Ward was going to America and would like to defer making a decision until after her return.

363. FREE AUSTRIAN MOVEMENT. A letter was read from the Secretary of the Free Austrian Movement (copy filed with these Minutes) concerning the status of Austria, and advocating the restoration of its independence.

It was reported that Mrs. Corbett Ashby had received a copy of the letter and had expressed the hope that the Executive would consider the matter as an important one, especially as all but one of the Austrian Groups in Britain had joined together.

It was pointed out that Austrians in this country were officially enemy Aliens, and their lack of unity was stressed.

Dr. Garnett suggested that there should be included in Clause 2 of WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR some such sentence as -

"including Austria, if it appears that the Austrians would in future rather be ruled from Vienna than Berlin".

and that the Executive should make more plain what was meant by "restoration of the territories overrun by the enemy".

Finally, it was agreed that a Committee consisting of Sir Ralph Wedgwood, Professor Brodetsky, Mrs. Dugdale, Mr. Nowell Smith and Mr. Zilliacus should enquire into the whole matter.

364. ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY'S ALBERT HALL MEETING. A letter from the Industrial Christian Fellowship (copy filed with these Minutes) was read asking the Union to appoint representatives to sit on the platform at the meeting to be held in September.

The Dean of Chichester thought the Union, as such, should not be represented on the platform at this meeting, as the questions discussed were outside their purview.

Lord Cecil said he had accepted a personal invitation to the meeting.

It was decided to obtain further information about the objects of the meeting before making a decision.

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365. CHINESE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION. Lord Cecil made reference to a letter he had received from the President of the Chinese League of Nations Union. He had sent a cordial reply and had said that the Union would be glad to send HEADWAY and other publications.
366. SALVAGE. Consideration was given to a letter from Sir James Marchant, of the Directorate of Salvage and Recovery in the Ministry of Supply, asking permission to speak at the next meeting of the General Council on the prevention and recovery of waste.

It was decided that a reply be sent that the meetings were of a private character, that the attendance was not very large, but that the Executive would be glad to make provision for Sir James Marchant to speak for ten minutes.

367. MASSACRES BY THE GERMANS. Professor Brodetsky said he had information from Poland about the massacres now taking place in that country; these massacres were part of a definite plan of extermination to provide Lebensraum for Germans.

As one of the Broadcast Stations under German control had referred to information given in this country during the last two weeks, he thought it might influence Germany to know the reactions of the British public.

He was anxious that an influential body like the Executive should pass a resolution of condemnation; he was asking other bodies to do the same, and promised to send in a draft.

H. D. Coventry.

Chairman
30.7.42.

Copy

Industrial Christian Fellowship

The Vicarage,
1 Broadway, S.W.1.

26th June, 1942.

Dear Sir,

I am writing to give you information of a meeting to be held at the Albert Hall this autumn at which the two Archbishops of the Church of England and Sir Stafford Cripps will be the principal speakers.

We are desirous of not restricting support of the meeting only to the Church of England, although the meeting itself will naturally be primarily addressed to that body as it is being arranged by the I.C.F., and the speakers are Church of England. We should be glad if the League of Nations Union was represented on the platform, and could let you have for your President and another (or whoever your Committee might appoint) two platform tickets for that purpose. If you could let me know before the latter part of July I should be very grateful, as the tickets will be numbered and reserved and I want to allot them as far as possible before the end of July so as to get the tickets out in August.

Yours faithfully,
Gilbert Shaw,
Organiser.

The Secretary,
League of Nations Union.

(COPY)

PROPOSED LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION CONFERENCE IN LONDON

Supplementary Note

1. The Memorandum sent to Mr. Makins has given a general outline of the kind of conference the Union believes it might be useful to hold in London. The primary purpose of the conference is to influence British public opinion and it will therefore be organised by the League of Nations Union.

The date at present suggested for the Conference is the end of November.

2. The Union believes that the inclusion of carefully chosen and responsible speakers from the allied countries in the public sessions and the participation of other people from allied countries in the study and discussion meetings will help to stir the imagination of our own people and add to their knowledge and understanding of the importance and difficulty of the problems which will arise when the war is over. The help of the London International Assembly will therefore be welcome and the Union has gratefully accepted an offer by its Committee to act in an advisory capacity if the Conference is held.
3. It is not proposed that the Conference should attempt to formulate policy. Its purpose would be to provide an opportunity for the study of post-war problems rather than for the advocacy of specific solutions.

Emphasis will be laid upon the Atlantic Charter and the Anglo-Soviet Agreement and attention directed to the necessity of establishing a system of international co-operation after the war. All discussion of future frontiers will be banned. They have never been discussed even in the private sittings of the International Assembly.

It is hoped that one result will be to strengthen the vigour of our supporters for the prosecution of the war to that successful conclusion which alone would enable such policies to be carried out.

4. The Conference will be primarily a study-conference and most of its sessions will be held in private attended by people - both British and Allied - with some expert knowledge of or special interest in such subjects as:-
- (i) The inter-allied machinery set up for the purpose of winning the war and for immediate post-war relief and the extent to which such machinery might possibly be used as a basis for any permanent international organisation.
 - (ii) Future international organisation and security against war.
 - (iii) Social and Economic Reconstruction.
 - (iv) The extension of international law.
 - (v) Education as a basis for international understanding and co-operation in the post-war world.
 - (vi) The future of colonies.

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At these sessions the principal speakers will be selected in advance. The general discussion will be open, but the press will not be present.

5. In order to reach a wider public it is planned to hold some public meetings in the course of the Conference and to these the press would be invited. For these public meetings the speakers - both British and Allied - and the subjects which they would treat would, of course, be very carefully chosen and discussion would not form part of the meeting.
6. Since the leading representatives of the allied countries now in London are connected with their Governments, the League of Nations Union felt that it would not be proper to ask them to take part in the Conference unless it was known in advance that the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs had been informed and saw no objection to such an enterprise.

COPY

Foreign Office, S.W.1.

8th July, 1942.

My dear Lord Lytton,

Thank you so much for your letter of June 26th enclosing the memorandum which you promised to send me about the proposed League of Nations Union Conference in London.

I have thought the matter over again very carefully after reading your memorandum, and I still feel that it would really be wiser not to hold a conference of this kind this year. But I do not, of course, want to ask the Committee of the League of Nations Union to drop the proposal if, after weighing the arguments for and against, they decide to proceed with it.

You kindly suggested that I might speak to the conference. I am afraid, though, that I could not very well do this as a member of the Government, even "off the record". If I were to do so it would certainly be generally assumed by the foreign governments here that the conference was an official one, and I know you will understand the difficulties of this in the light of our talk the other day.

The position is so much more difficult than it used to be in that London is now the seat of so many governments.

Yours sincerely,

(signed) ANTHONY EDEN.

CCPY

FREE AUSTRIAN MOVEMENT IN GREAT BRITAIN

Arbeitsgemeinschaft oesterreichischer Vereinigungen in Grossbritannien

14-15 Craven House,
11 Kingsway,
London, W.C.2.

Telephone: HOLborn 2785

3rd July, 1942.

The Secretary,
League of Nations Union.

Dear Sir,

May we draw your attention to a few points touching the position of Austria within the great framework of principles and strategy, formed by the Atlantic Charter and the Anglo-Soviet Treaty, which guide the conduct of the war and the policy of the future peace?

Mr. Churchill and other members of H.M. Government have on numerous occasions mentioned Austria as the first victim of Nazi aggression. On May 21st last Viscount Cranborne, speaking on behalf of the Government in the House of Lords, mentioned Austria among "those small, happy countries who did not want to get into war but were finally given up to the sword and to murder".

These authoritative statements describe Austria as an enemy-occupied country. Austria has, however, been treated as an enemy country since the outbreak of war. This paradox is due to the fact that Germany's annexation of Austria in 1938 was followed by the withdrawal of British diplomatic representatives in Austria and other measures which constituted a de facto recognition of the annexation. Thus today there is a contradiction between the status of Austria and her actual position as an enemy-occupied country.

A clarification of policy with regard to Austria would be of importance to the conduct of the war, because it would give the assurance that all nations enjoy the policy laid down in the Atlantic Charter; that Hitler's acts of aggression will be undone; that no claims to a Greater Germany are being recognised; and that Hitler's claim to Austria is not considered a legitimate national aspiration.

Explicit recognition of Austria's right to independence would serve as a weapon for the anti-Hitler forces in Germany against Hitler's justification of his aggression by chauvinist Pan-German claims.

A solemn promise to restore the independence of Austria and to assure the Austrian people's right of self-determination, would considerably strengthen the fighting spirit of the Austrian patriots in the homeland against their foreign oppressors, and thus contribute materially to weakening the Nazi rear.

The Free Austrian Movement represents the Austrians in this country who desire the liberation and independence of their homeland. We know ourselves to be at one with the Allies in the conviction that the forcible annexation of Austria gave Hitler a jumping-off ground for further aggression. A clear policy towards this first victim of Hitler would, therefore, fill the last gap in the edifice of war strategy and the outlines of a future peace.

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The Austrians in Austria itself are filled with the desire to shake off the alien rule of Hitler Germany. Therefore the cause of the Allied Nations would be furthered if the British Government would, in the near future, issue an official statement declaring that:

- (i) Austria is a country occupied by the enemy.
- (ii) The forcible annexation of Austria and the fraudulent plebiscite of 10th April 1938 cannot be recognised as expressing the free will of the Austrian nation.
- (iii) The restoration of an independent Austria on the lines of the Atlantic Charter is one of the war aims of the Allied Nations.

The Free Austrian Movement feels itself a part of the forces striving for the victory of the Allied Nations and seeks to give this cause its utmost support. It considers that its most important contribution towards the successful prosecution of the war and the preparation of a lasting peace in Europe would be to succeed in bringing about an understanding of the importance of the Austria question, and getting action on this point.

Yours faithfully,

(signed) E. MÜLLER-STURMHEIM.

ConfidentialLEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE held at 11, Maiden Lane, W.C.2, on Thursday, July 30th, 1942, at 2.15 p.m.

PRESENT: Miss Courtney (in the Chair), F.M.Burris, Lord Cecil, the Dean of Chichester, Mrs.Dugdale, Miss Fawcett, A.J.Howe, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, J.Macdonald, Dr.Murray, Nowell C.Smith, Lord Perth, A.E.W.Thomas, F.W.Weaver, Sir Ralph Wedgwood and Major Freshwater.

368 LORD PERTH: The Chairman welcomed Lord Perth, who was attending the Executive for the first time.

369 MINUTES: The Minutes of the meeting held on July 16th were confirmed as circulated.

370 MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES:

Co-optations to Executive Committee. It was reported that Lord Lytton had received a letter from Mr.Vernon Bartlett regretfully declining the Executive's invitation, owing to his inability to undertake further activities at present.

It was decided to invite Mr.Seton Watson to join the Committee.

Free Austrian Movement (362) It was reported that a memorandum had been prepared for the members of the Sub-Committee. Lord Perth hoped that the Union would not commit itself more than stating that it was in favour of a Free Austria. The Dean of Chichester was appointed a member of the Sub-Committee.

Archbishop of Canterbury's Albert Hall Meeting (364) The Executive having considered the leaflet setting forth the purpose of the meeting on September 26th, it was decided to accept the invitation for two representatives of the Union to sit on the platform, the names to be settled later.

Social & Economic Reconstruction (362) It was reported that memoranda had been received from Lord Cecil, Sir Ralph Wedgwood, Mr.Syrett and Captain Thomas, and were being circulated to the other members of the sub-committee.

Massacres by the Germans (367) The following draft motion by Professor Brodetsky was considered and a letter from him dated July 21st (copy filed with these Minutes) was read:-

The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union has received with great sorrow and indignation the recent reports on the campaign of annihilation carried on in cold blood, and as a matter of policy, by the German Army Commanders and the Nazi officials in the

countries occupied by them, and more particularly in Poland. The published details of massacres and atrocities against hundreds of thousands of Jews, Poles, Czechs and other peoples, have given a painful shock to the moral sense of civilised humanity, and are a gross violation of all laws and customs adopted and practised among civilised nations even in times of war.

The Committee protests against this relapse of the German nation and some of their allies into primeval barbarity, and earnestly appeals to the British and the United States Governments to devise practical and effective means for impressing upon the German people, the Nazi government and their associates that this murderous campaign against the populations in the occupied territories must stop.

After considerable discussion, during which it was pointed out that a manifesto from the Allies was under consideration and that Lord Perth, at the suggestion of the Committee, had agreed to make enquiries about possible action by the Pope, the motion was adopted in the following form:-

The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union has received with indignation the recent reports on the campaign of annihilation carried on in cold blood, and as a matter of policy, by the German Army Commanders and the Nazi officials in the countries occupied by them, and more particularly in Poland.

It is of the utmost importance that those who can speak for all nations whose moral conscience is not dead should express their horror at this relapse into barbarism.

It was then decided that the resolution should be sent to the Prime Minister, to the Foreign Secretary with a request for all action to be taken that was considered practicable, to Mr. Brendan Bracken with the information that the resolution had been sent to the Prime Minister and a suggestion that it should be broadcast by the B.B.C. in the European, Empire and North American Services; to the American League of Nations Association, the Christian Science Monitor, Mr. Drexel Biddle and the Press.

371 Mr. CORDELL HULL'S SPEECH on July 23rd: Lord Cecil called attention to the extraordinary importance of this speech. It went further than any previous public announcement and additional importance had been given to it by Mr. Winant who, at a meeting of the Royal Empire Society on July 28th, had said that Mr. Cordell Hull's statement represented the policy of the United States Government. As reported in THE TIMES, the speech covered the whole thesis of the League of Nations Union, apart from the question of machinery, especially in the paragraphs headed "The Price of Peace" and "The International Court". Lord Cecil

thought that everything should be done to make people realise the step that had been taken by America and to get the British Government to say, without ambiguity, that it represented their view.

Members of the Executive considered that these speeches would provide the foundation for a leaflet stating the Union's policy; there was great need for something shorter and more up-to-date than WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR, particularly for use at meetings.

Dr. Murray agreed to prepare such a leaflet which would contain quotations from Mr. Cordell Hull's speech, mention what Mr. Winant had said and express the hope that H.M. Government and other governments who had signed the Charter would agree; and state that this was the policy for which the League of Nations Union was working. In view of the possibility that the statement expected to be made in the House of Lords next week might express H.M. Government's approval of Mr. Hull's speech, Dr. Murray would not be able to prepare the leaflet until after the statement had been made.

372 **WOMEN'S ADVISORY COUNCIL:** The Chairman reported that a meeting had been held on July 14th, when Dr. Murray spoke on the Executive's report on Minorities. A French lady at the meeting had objected to the reference to Germans in Alsace and Lorraine in the Union's pamphlet. It was decided that when more copies were printed, this reference should be omitted.

373 **MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE:** Mr. Macdonald reported on the meeting held earlier in the day:

Major Freshwater had met Dr. Basil Yeaxlee, Secretary of the Central Advisory Council for Adult Education in H.M. Forces, at the War Office, and had given him the names of a number of L.N.U. speakers who were willing to give talks to soldiers. Dr. Yeaxlee was specially interested to know of lecturers who had first-hand knowledge of the U.S.A.

A letter from Miss Waite to youth groups would appear in the August HEADWAY, of which copies would be sent to certain youth members with a letter on lines already agreed to by Miss Waite and the Committee.

A pattern letter to lapsed members had been approved for circulation to branches with a leaflet showing that the League and the Union were both at work. Some reference to Mr. Cordell Hull's speech would be made and a statement pointing out that the policy set out in that speech was that for which the Union stood.

A draft leaflet and letter prepared by the L.R.F. for use in obtaining new members had been favourably received and certain suggestions made. The letter, which would be revised by the L.R.F., concluded by asking members to obtain three new members within a given period.

A report of the Conference of Branch Secretaries and other workers on June 20th had been received. It had been generally agreed that the Conference had served a useful purpose.

Finally, a report had been received concerning leaflets printed this year. The demand had been very satisfactory, especially for Falsehoods & Facts.

- 374 CHINA: Mr. Howe asked if something could not be done to show the Union's sympathy and support for the United Aid to China Campaign, which would continue till October 11th. At Lord Cecil's suggestion it was agreed that the Secretary should write to the organisers and ask if there was anything the Union could do to help, and that Mr. Howe should bring forward any further suggestions at the next meeting of the Executive. It was also decided that there should be an article on the subject in the September HEADWAY.
- 375 THE LATE SIR JAMES ALLEN: On the motion of Lord Perth it was decided to send a letter to the New Zealand League of Nations Union.
- 376 THE HON. WALTER NASH, Minister for New Zealand in Washington: It was decided that, with a view to providing an opportunity for members of the Executive to meet Mr. Nash, who had come from Washington to represent the New Zealand Government at meetings of the War Cabinet, enquiries should be made as to how long he would be staying in this country.
- 377 Mr. WHELAN: The Committee heard with pleasure that a message, dated April 2nd, had just been received from Mr. Whelan that he had been liberated from the Concentration Camp, was in Paris and was receiving help and kindness there.
- 378 DATE OF NEXT MEETING: It having been decided that the Committee should not meet in August unless the Chairman considered it necessary, regular meetings (on the first, third and fifth Thursdays in the month) would be resumed on Thursday, September 3rd, at 2.15 p.m.

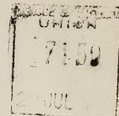
L. Gordon
Chairman.

3.9.42.

Sep.

3, GROSVENOR ROAD,
HEADINGLEY,
LEEDS.
TELEPHONE HEAD. 8302.

21st July, 1942.



Dear Major Freshwater,

With regard to the resolution on Nazi atrocities, I should be glad if, owing to my absence from the meeting at which it will be discussed, the following explanatory points could be submitted.

The Nazis have made the extermination of the Jews in Europe their avowed policy which they are relentlessly pursuing and which, judging from recent reports, they have gone a long way to execute. Even in such countries as Holland and Belgium, where the Nazis at first tried to placate the general population by a show of friendliness, this leniency was not extended to the Jews, who from the very first were plundered, physically persecuted, put into concentration camps and expelled in large numbers to Poland and other parts of Eastern Europe occupied by the Nazis. The terrible story of the hundreds of Jews who were sent by the Nazis to Mathausen, to be used there as objects of experiments on poisonous gases, and who succumbed to their torture, is still fresh in the memory of a horrified world. In practically every case in which the Nazis have shot hostages for assaults, or alleged assaults in German unoccupied territories, these hostages have included Jews.

Apart from the atrocities carried out against Jews in Poland and other occupied territory, there are similar revolting stories of bloodshed and persecution against the Jews in Germany, Rumania, Slovakia, and in certain other of the countries associated with the Nazis.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

S. Brodetsky

(S. Brodetsky.)

Major A.J.G. Freshwater,
LNU,
11 Maiden Lane,
W.C.2.

ConfidentialLEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE held at 11 Maiden Lane, W.C.2 on Thursday, September 3rd, 1942, at 2.15 p.m.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Lord Cecil, Miss K.D.Courtney, Miss Fawcett, Sir Arthur Haworth, A.J.Howe, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, J.Macdonald, Lord Perth, W.T.Fritchard, H.F.Shaw, Nowell C. Smith, H.S.Syrett, A.E.W.Thomas, Miss E.Waite, Air Commodore Walser, Sir Ralph Wedgwood, Sir George Young, K.Zilliacus and Major Freshwater.

379 MINUTES. The Minutes of the meeting held on July 30th were confirmed as circulated.

380 MASSACRES BY THE GERMANS: Lord Perth reported that, as promised at the last meeting, he had enquired about possible action by the Pope. The Apostolic Delegate could not recall any specific condemnation by the Pope of the campaign of annihilation; but the Pope's defence of small nations, his intervention to prevent executions, and his repeated expressions of sympathy with the Poles, showed how deeply he felt for the suffering peoples. The Apostolic Delegate made the suggestion that, if the Committee desired to send a resolution to His Holiness, he would forward it with a covering letter. Alternatively the Apostolic Delegate might be asked to write informally to the Cardinal Secretary of State, enclosing a summary of the resolution.

It was agreed that the Chairman should send a formal letter, together with a copy of the resolution, to the Apostolic Delegate, asking him to transmit it to the Pope.

381 CO-OPERATIONS TO EXECUTIVE: It was reported that Mr. Seton Watson had not yet replied to the invitation to become a member of the Executive.

Consideration was given to a suggestion made by Sir George Young that an invitation to join the Executive should be sent to someone in touch with and able to represent the views of the under thirties. It was agreed to give further consideration to the suggestion at a later meeting.

382 FREE AUSTRIAN MOVEMENT: It was reported that the general feeling of the members of the Sub-Committee appointed on July 16th was that it would be better for the Union not to take any action for the present.

383 ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY'S ALBERT HALL MEETING: The Committee was reminded that two representatives of the Union were to be appointed by the Executive to sit on the platform at this meeting on September 26th. Miss Courtney

was asked to go and accepted provisionally. Lord Cecil had already accepted a personal invitation to attend and could, if desired, represent the Union. If any other member was able to attend, the Secretary would take necessary action.

(Subsequently Mr. Syrett said he would be willing to go to the meeting.)

- 384 **SOCIAL & ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION:** It having been reported that memoranda had been received from all members of the Committee as well as from Lord Cecil and Mr. Zilliacus, it was decided that a meeting of the Committee should be called for Thursday, September 17th, at 11.30 p.m.

- 385 **LEAFLETS:** It was reported that in accordance with the decision of the Executive on July 30th, a draft leaflet dealing with Mr. Cordell Hull's speech on July 23rd had been prepared by Dr. Murray. Lord Cecil had also prepared a draft.

A shortened version of Dr. Murray's draft having already been circulated by the L.R.F. to London Branches, it was agreed that Lord Cecil's draft should be printed on the front page of the next edition of HEADWAY. Miss Fawcett pointed out that something was needed for the ls. members.

The Chairman agreed to decide what should be done about a leaflet for popular use after an examination of the two drafts, and would then consult Mr. Pritchard.

- 386 **AID TO CHINA.** It was reported that all branches had been asked to support the Fund, and that a leaflet provided by the organisers had been sent to them.

Mr. Howe reported that he had met the Bishop of Hongkong, Chairman of the Aid to China Fund, and had told him of the decision of the Executive to support the Fund. Mr. Howe would act as the Union's representative on the Advisory Council of the Fund.

- 387 **HON. WALTER NASH:** It was reported that the Hon. Walter Nash had expressed his willingness to meet the Committee, but had been unable to do so before leaving the country.

- 388 **AIR COMMODORE WALSER:** The Chairman informed the Committee that Air Commodore Walsler had written to him stating that he had been accredited to several South American countries as Air Attache, would be leaving shortly to take up the appointment and consequently tendered his resignation from the Executive. Air Commodore Walsler told the Committee that he expected to go to North America also, and if he could help the Union in any way he would be glad to do so.

The Committee accepted the resignation with great regret.

- 389 WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR. Pamphlet 491,
Conclusion 6, p.12:

Consideration was given to a proposal of the
Roundhay Branch to replace -

"That if war is to fall into disuse, there
must be machinery for settling disputes
peacefully which commands general acceptance."

by - "That if peace is to endure, there must be
machinery, which commands general acceptance,
for settling disputes without war."

It was agreed that this amendment be made in the next
edition of WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR.

- 390 CANADIAN LEAGUE OF NATIONS SOCIETY: It having been
reported that Mr. Warwick Chipman had been elected
President of the Society, it was decided to send him
the warmest congratulations of the Executive.
- 391 MISS COURTNEY - VISIT TO AMERICA: Miss Courtney
reported that she had received an invitation from the
Ministry of Information to visit America. She expected
to be away about three months and hoped to visit those
organisations which are the counterpart of organisations
with which she is connected in England.
- 392 INDIA: The following resolution from the Executive of
the Bournville Works Branch was considered:
- "We ask L.N.U. Headquarters to urge upon
H.M. Government to do everything in their
power to facilitate the re-opening of
negotiations with a view to a speedy settle-
ment with the peoples in India, in the
spirit of the principles embodied in the
Atlantic Charter."
- It was agreed that a letter be sent to the Branch
thanking them for their resolution, and informing them
that, in view of the extreme delicacy of the position at
the present time, the Executive did not feel it could
take any useful action.
- It was decided to send to the Branch a copy of the
Memorandum on India (S.944) prepared by Lord Lytton on
December 9th, 1941.
- 393 NEW CORPORATE MEMBER: St. James' Church, Camberwell,
was admitted as a corporate member of the Union, and
the fixing of the Union's seal to the Certificate was
authorised.

Lytton
Chairman,
17.9.42

ConfidentialLEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE held at 11 Maiden Lane, W.C.2 on Thursday, September 17th, 1942, at 2.15 p.m.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Professor Brodetsky, Lord Cecil, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Miss Courtney, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Pawcett, Dr. Garnett, Lady Hall, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Dr. Murray, H.S. Syrett, Sir Ralph Wedgwood, Sir George Young, W.T. Pritchard and Major Freshwater.

394 MINUTES: The Minutes of the meeting held on September 3rd were confirmed as circulated.

395 SOCIAL & ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION: Dr. Murray stated that the Sub-Committee had met earlier in the day and would meet again on October 1st to consider draft terms of reference which, at the request of the Sub-Committee, he was preparing. He hoped to make a definite report to the Executive later on that day.

396 MASSACRES BY THE GERMANS: It having been reported that the Apostolic Delegate had promised to forward to the Holy See the resolution passed by the Executive at its last meeting, Lord Cecil called attention to the recent statement made by the Prime Minister on the subject. What Lord Cecil would like was a statement on general lines by the Prime Minister, President Roosevelt and the Pope deploring these acts of cruelty and assuring the perpetrators that they were being watched and would be punished.

Professor Brodetsky said he had been in touch with the Committee set up by the Atrocities Conference of the Allied Powers; the difficulty was to get the matter on to a proper legal basis.

Miss Courtney mentioned that the London International Assembly would, on the 23th, be considering a report on the Punishment of War Criminals by a Commission consisting principally of lawyers and under the chairmanship of General de Baer.

It was then agreed the Assembly should be informed that the Executive was generally sympathetic and would support any practicable proposals.

397 FINANCE COMMITTEE: Mr. Syrett reported that the Committee had met on the 15th. "Outstandings", less cash in Bank on August 31st amounted to £7,705; during the first 8 months of the year receipts had been £15,050, and payments £11,571.

The Committee had given careful consideration to the position of H.Q. staff, whose loyalty and devotion was greatly appreciated. Later it was hoped that there might be some revision of some of the salaries, but in the meantime the Finance Committee recommended that, as a gesture, a second "cost of living" bonus of 5s. a week should be given from October 1st to all members of the staff whose salaries did not exceed £500 p.a. and who were in the employment of the Union on January 1st, 1942, except that a proportion only of the bonus be paid to part-time workers. The cost would be £320 per annum approximately.

The recommendation was adopted and it was decided to send a message of appreciation to the staff. The Executive then thanked the Treasurer for his efforts in connection with the financial position of the Union, and gave authority to pay, under certain conditions, a voluntary worker who had been with the Union for more than 10 years, a salary of £150 per annum from a date to be agreed upon with the Treasurer and Secretary.

- 398 **AID TO CHINA FUND:** The response from Branches to the appeal made to them to help in raising money for the Aid to China Fund was being well responded to. A certain number of contributions had been received from individuals and some Branches had made grants out of their funds.
- 399 **THE JEWISH PROBLEM:** Consideration was given to a memorandum (copy filed with these Minutes) prepared by Professor Brodetsky, who called attention to certain parts of the memorandum.

Lord Cecil thought that the National Jewish Home had not been a success, and that the time had arrived when consideration should be given to a National Jewish State.

Mrs. Dugdale's view was that the memorandum provided an admirable basis for the Committee which had been set up on May 7th to work upon; it was very important that the facts should be put prominently before the general public, and a solution of the problem should be sought. The Executive agreed and decided that a meeting of the Committee should be held as soon as practicable.

The Chairman hoped that the Committee, after giving careful consideration to the memorandum, would send it in the form of a draft report to the Executive with a view to its going before the General Council.

- 400 **GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING:** It was decided that the next meeting, due to be held in December, should, in order to take advantage of the moonlight nights, be held on Thursday, the 19th, Friday the 20th and, if necessary, Saturday the 21st of November.

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- 401 CANADIAN LEAGUE OF NATIONS SOCIETY: It was reported that a cable had been received from Mr. Warwick Chipman, thanking the Executive for its congratulations and stating that Lord Cecil was being honoured in a broadcast from America on the 13th of this month.
- 402 THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION AND FEDERAL UNION: A Declaration of Agreement and Recommendations from a joint meeting of the Tyne District Council of the L.N.U. and the TyneSide Branch of Federal Union was read. It was decided to circulate copies to the Executive for consideration at the next meeting, and to enquire whether the Recommendations had been agreed to by Federal Union Headquarters.
- 403 PEASANT PROGRAMME: A copy of a programme drawn up by representatives of Peasant Programme Communities exiled in London having been received from Sir Frederick Whyte, it was decided to ask him for additional copies to distribute to members of the Executive.
- 404 NATIONAL PEACE COUNCIL: A letter was read from the Secretary of the National Peace Council asking for names of people who might like to attend the Peace Aims Conference at Oxford from September 25th to 28th.
- Dr. Garnett said that he would be attending the meetings and Sir George Young asked for his name to be sent forward.
- 405 NEW CORPORATE MEMBER: Bristol St. Methodist Church, Edgbaston, was admitted as a corporate member of the Union, and the fixing of the Union's seal to the Certificate was authorised.

L. J. L.

Chairman,
1.10.42.

The Jewish Problem.

S. Brodetsky.

Introduction.

This Memorandum does not aim at presenting in detail all the facts and figures concerning the Jewish problem; it aims rather at showing the gravity of the problem, why it cannot be adequately dealt with as a Minority problem only, and the need of a radical policy for its solution after the war.

It is hoped that the reader of this Memorandum will not gain the impression that to a Jew the Jewish problem is the only thing that matters. This is so far from being true that a serious feature of the internal Jewish situation is the fact that many Jews forget or ignore the problem of their own people, and take little share in thinking about and dealing with its solution.

The especially cruel sufferings of Jews in Europe have reached such an intensity, and have caused so much death and misery, that unless preparations are made now to deal radically with the Jewish problem and to apply to it wise statesmanship, then misery and suffering will continue to be the lot of millions of Jews after the war and real peace in Europe will be jeopardised. Further, anti-semitism and its effects are a world problem that calls for the attention of all people of good will, not only in the interest of the Jews themselves, but also because anti-semitism is almost always used as a trap for fifth column activities, aiming at the undermining of decent human relations everywhere and endangering world peace.

Jewish distribution before the war (1939)

The Nazi brutalities to the populations of the occupied lands in Europe are so destructive in character, that several of these populations are rapidly diminishing in size, as the result of murder, starvation, epidemics, etc. The destruction of these populations is obviously a carefully planned Nazi aim, directed especially against the Jews, to whom Nazi cruelty has been applied with particular ferocity, seconded by the equally bloodthirsty Roumanians, Slovaks, etc. Hundreds of thousands of Jews have been murdered or starved in Poland, occupied Russia, Roumania, etc; the Jewish birth rate has been reduced to infinitesimal proportions, while Jewish mortality is in some parts of Europe many times greater than the comparatively heavy peace time mortalities of these areas. It is therefore impossible to predict what the numbers of the Jewish population in Europe will be after the war, but the following pre-war figures may be useful in order to indicate the size of the problem.

In 1939 the number of Jews in the world was estimated at 16½ millions. Of these over 5 millions lived in a group of countries forming a belt between the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea, including Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Roumania; in this belt the Jews constituted about 5½% of the total population, being 9% in Poland, 4½% in Hungary, 3½% in Czechoslovakia, and lower percentages elsewhere. About 2½ million Jews lived in the Soviet Union, mainly in the Ukraine and White Russia. In the remainder of Europe, including Great Britain, the total number of Jews was 1½ millions, the proportion of Jews being everywhere very small in relation to the total population, nowhere appreciably more than 1½, in most cases much less. In Great Britain, for example, the number of Jews

-2-

was about 380,000 including the refugees, about $\frac{2}{3}$ of the total population. In Italy the Jews were only $\frac{1}{7}$ of the total population. The sum total of Jews in Europe was thus nearly $9\frac{1}{2}$ millions, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ of the whole population of Europe.

Just over 7 million Jews lived outside Europe. Of these about 5 millions lived in the U.S.A. ($\frac{3}{4}$ of the total population); about 155,000 in Canada ($1\frac{1}{2}$ %); 260,000 in the Argentine ($2\frac{1}{2}$ %); 40,000 in Brazil ($\frac{1}{10}$ %); and insignificant numbers elsewhere.

In the British Empire, in addition to the 380,000 Jews in Great Britain and the 155,000 in Canada already mentioned, there were 100,000 Jews in South Africa, 30,000 in Australia, a similar number in India, and very small groups elsewhere. The total Jewish population in the Empire was thus nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ million in addition to the Mandated territory Palestine, where the Jewish population was half a million, a little less than one-third of the whole population.

On the remaining million Jews in the world, about two-thirds lived in the Moslem countries Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Arabia in Asia, and from Egypt to Morocco along the north coast of Africa; with the residuum distributed in very small groups in the remaining countries of the world.

The main points of interest in connection with the distribution of the Jewish population were:-

- (i) It was very uneven, but the greatest concentration was in the zone of land between the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea, constituting Eastern Europe and Western Russia. The $\frac{7}{8}$ millions in this zone, about 46% of the whole Jewish people, represented Jewish religious tradition, orthodox religious life, great poverty, frequent persecution, and prevalent anti-semitism, except that in Russia these features diminished rapidly since the revolution in 1917 and the establishment of the Soviet regime.
- (ii) The number of Jews in the English-speaking countries, i.e. in the British Empire, including Palestine and the U.S.A. was nearly $\frac{1}{4}$ millions, or 33% of world Jewry;
- (iii) The largest percentage of Jews compared to the total population was in Palestine, over 50%; Poland came next with $\frac{1}{2}$ %. In many countries, including Britain, it was less than $\frac{1}{2}$ %, in a large number it was quite infinitesimal.

Jews as Minorities.

The Jews are a very widely distributed people, but a minority in every land. They are therefore subject to all the disabilities of minority life. It would be a mistake, however, to envisage the Jewish problem as merely a minority problem. The Jewish minority situation is not due to any recent political phenomenon, but is a historical situation which imposes upon the Jews special minority disadvantages. Important facts in this connection are:-

1. Jews are generally characterised both by descent and by religion. The children of marriages between Jews and non-Jews, the Mischlings of Nazi doctrine, usually drift away from Judaism and often from social contact with Jews. Jews who are officially converted to another faith are considered by Jews as having left the Jewish people, while non-Jews converted to Judaism become full and undistinguishable members of the Jewish people, so that

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there is no racialism in Jewry. On the other hand, modern anti-semitism has become an almost purely racial hatred of Jews, independent of their religion or their conversion to Christianity.

2. Unlike other minorities, Jews always aim at closer and closer identification with the life of the state in which they live, and desire nothing better than complete endowment with all the citizens' functions and duties in the state. They are, therefore, never an element subversive to the state. Further, while most of the important minorities have near them states with whom they have racial, national and linguistic affinities, so that on the one hand they can look for sympathy and even protection from these states, and on the other hand, as Nazi technique has shown, they can be used by these states to undermine the state in which they live, a Jewish minority never has such protection from a Jewish state, and never represents a potential menace such as helps other minorities to gain protection for their rights.

3. In any state, the majority looks down upon the Jews as an inferior minority, while other minorities hate the Jews for supporting the state. If there is a change of frontier so that Jews belonging to one state are transferred to another, the new state often blames the Jews for their former loyalty, while the old state blames the Jews for their acquired loyalty to the new. Even in such an enlightened state as Czechoslovakia, Jews who lived in the Sudetan areas and out of old habit and former Austrian loyalty spoke German, were frowned upon by the Czechs; while the Sudetan Germans frowned upon them for their loyalty to the Czechoslovak state. When in 1923 the writer asked a Hungarian Jew in the territory incorporated in Czechoslovakia how he described himself, the reply was:- "I belong to the Hungarian nation, and to the Mosaic Faith, and on second thought nobody in my loyalty to the Czechoslovak Republic"; a tragedy of the mental and verbal ghetto to which Jews are often condemned by the vagaries of European politics. Consider the Jew born in Byalskok thirty years ago. The town was then Russian, became Polish in 1918, became Soviet in 1935, then became Lithuanian, then became Soviet again, while now the Germans have occupied it. What is this Jew's nationality, if he is still alive?

4. Jews are the only people in the world subjected to an international opposition. Anti-semitism has become a movement that has its repercussions in every corner of the world, and it is not absent even in the English-speaking countries and other democracies. It has become the official policy of the Axis powers and their satellites, but anti-semitic propaganda is a constant feature of every-day life in all lands. All quislings and fifth columnists make anti-semitism one of their main planks, even in Britain and in allied countries like the U.S.A., Canada, South Africa, etc. This produces not only the persecutions and brutality from which Jews are suffering in Axis and in occupied lands, but also a predisposition to anti-Jewish feeling everywhere. It is seconded by traditional anti-Jewishness carried down from the Middle Ages, often supported by religious teaching, and largely encouraged by any cases of Jewish misbehaviour: for when a non-Jew misbehaves nobody as a rule worries about the race or faith to which he belongs but if a Jew misbehaves, then it is very often reported and described in such a way as to stigmatise all Jews.

5. The economic structure of Jewish life in many countries is in itself a grave problem. Owing to the exclusion of the Jews from rural life, and from most other normal occupations, in all countries of Europe till about a century ago, and in Czarist Russia and Roumania till after the last war, owing further to the continual Jewish wandering produced by persecution

and poverty; Jews are to an overwhelming extent a town dwelling population, and in the towns are engaged to an inordinate degree in certain branches of commerce and trade and in certain professions. It is not true that Jews do not engage in manual occupations, and there is a considerable Jewish working class in many countries, even in Britain, and especially in the U.S.A.; but this working class is limited to certain well-defined industries like clothing and other needle trades, boot-making, cabinet-making, and various handicrafts like watch-making, etc. In some countries like Poland, Hungary and Roumania, which have large peasant populations and comparatively small urban populations, and consequently enjoy only small industrial and commercial development, the Jews formed before the war a large percentage in the towns and in certain urban occupations and professions. One result is that anti-semitic propaganda can easily use this fact for inciting certain sections of the population, especially the middle class youth, against the Jews. On the other hand, it is a comparatively easy thing to expel Jews from their occupations and confiscate their possessions in the form of factories, or tools, or any other equipment. Jews are thus almost completely helpless, not only in the sense of security, but also economically. This is indeed the way in which the anti-semitism of the Nazis and their imitators has been used, not only in Germany but also in other countries like Poland, Roumania and Hungary, even before they came under German occupation or domination.

It is thus clear that the Jewish problem cannot be compared with the usual minority problem, and needs special attention.

Jews as a people.

It is most important to remember that Jews cannot be considered merely as individuals who happen to be of a certain descent, or who hold to a greater or lesser degree a certain faith. There is a strong sense of history among Jews. The taunt of "international Jewry" as representing a closely knit world Jewry, working hard behind the scenes, and aiming at the destruction of Christianity as used to be said before the advent of Hitler, or of the "Aryan" peoples as is now being declared by the Nazis, is a preposterous and diabolical myth. But the Jews are not millions of disconnected individuals, and their problem cannot be solved merely by the elimination of anti-semitism, or purely in terms of economic factors. If the elimination of anti-semitism is accompanied by the elimination of Judaism, as in the case of the Soviet Union, then in one sense the Jewish problem is solved because so many individuals are not liable to discrimination and exclusion, but on the other hand the solution means in effect the disappearance of the Jews as such. There are Jews who are quite prepared to disappear as Jews, and who take no interest in the functioning of Judaism as a religion, and as an ethical philosophy in the shaping of the Jewish life, as well as of the life of humanity as a whole. But the overwhelming majority of Jews are not thus minded, and a very large section of Jewry want nothing more than to see the Jewish people living a normal life, and playing its part, in order to bring to bear upon human affairs the Biblical and prophetic, spiritual and ethical, teachings which lie at the foundation of modern democratic and free human civilisation.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, when the direction of European development in practically all countries was one of progress towards the liberal attitude, it was felt by many Jews and non-Jews that the Jewish problem in so far as it existed was represented by:-

- (i) the anti-semitic regimes of Tsarism and Roumania;
- (ii) the growing menace of anti-semitism, especially after the development of the so-called German "scientific" anti-semitism;
- (iii) the grinding poverty of millions of Jews in East Europe and especially in Russia.

Further, emigration to Western lands, and above all to the U.S.A., was practically free of political obstacles and of any economic or racial tests.

Nevertheless, many Jews realised even in the nineteenth century that the "emancipation" period of that century was only a sort of anti-semitic holiday, and that grave dangers could threaten the Jews in the near future. This, coupled with the religious and national nostalgia of Jews for their Palestine homeland, gave birth to Zionism, which became a political movement under the leadership of the Zionist Organisation towards the end of the nineteenth century, and aimed at establishing a "legally secured and publicly recognised home for the Jewish people in Palestine."

Effects of the last War

During and after the last war, three great events happened to the Jews. The first was the destruction of Tsarism in 1917, which emancipated the Jews of Russia; in the Soviet Union anti-semitism became in fact impossible. The second thing happened also in the same year, the Balfour Declaration of November 2nd, 1917, which promised to the Jews the establishment in Palestine of a Jewish National Home in sympathy with Zionist aspirations. Thirdly, the principle of self-determination produced after the last war a number of states in Central and East Europe, racial in character but practically all containing minorities, so that a system of minorities protection was introduced, and protection for Jews was insisted upon by the victorious Great Powers.

A superficial observer of Jewish life might have therefore concluded that a golden era had set in for the Jews. The citizen status of the individual Jews was recognised and found enshrined in the fundamental constitution of practically all countries in the world. Secondly, Jews had minority protection in a large number of states, including in effect just those in which, as one then thought, danger to Jews could arise. Thirdly, the Jews as a nation could look forward to the re-building of their National Home, a term which has been very much and very differently interpreted, but which, as declared by the Palestine Royal Commission in 1937, was intended by the British, Allied and Associated governments to aim at a Jewish state.

The Inter-war Period.

But let us examine what has happened since the last war. There was great and general suffering in Russia, especially for the Jews who were largely in non-proletarian occupations; one can assert now, however, that the Jews in Russia are economically and politically secure. But culturally a big change has happened. Judaism as a faith is practically dead; the Bible and the Hebrew language hardly exist for the young Russian Jew, and a Soviet Yiddish dialect is the national language of Jewry as laid down by Soviet law. All forms of Jewish thought and life seem to be very rapidly disappearing.

in Russia. The Russian Jews were till recently cut off from the Jews outside the Soviet Union; contact has now been produced through war circumstances, although actual co-operation has not developed so far.

As for the status for the Jews in the countries of Central and East Europe provided with minorities protection, that has completely disappeared, not only because of the war, but because of a general anti-semitic development which spread all over that part of Europe (the only great exception being Czechoslovakia which always treated her minorities with justice). As far back as 1925 the British Government decided not to intervene any more on behalf of Jewish minority rights. Different states used different ways of discriminating against the Jews. Thus Poland used state collectivization for expelling the Jews from industry and trade. Hungary adopted the policy of "numerous clause" in order to reduce the number of Jews in different occupations. Roumania, following her old principle, excluded large numbers of Jews from citizenship; recently she has been able to show that Roumanian physical brutality can sink even lower than that of the Nazis. Of course all these peoples agreed that Jews were to be practically excluded from posts in the state and town public services, universities, schools, etc., and people were so accustomed to this that they did not often trouble to draw attention to it.

With the advent of the Nazi regime in 1933 Jewish citizen status collapsed completely in Germany, and as the Nazi net spread over other lands like Austria, Czechoslovakia, Italy, etc. Jewish citizenship collapsed in those lands too. It should be explained that this does not mean merely that Jews lost their right to vote; it is doubtful whether one Jew in a hundred noticed this effect. The consequence of Nazi policy was the expulsion of Jews from all economic and social life; the confiscation, theft or destruction of practically all their possessions and all means of making even a most modest living; as well as large scale pogroms, torture of tens of thousands in concentration camps, murders, etc. It is useful to remember that Germany and Italy were in 1919 considered to be too civilized to be worried with minorities protection!

The position of Palestine has also undergone great changes; the Jews have succeeded in bringing to Palestine a number of immigrants which has made the Jewish population of that country now well over half a million (more than 30 per cent of the total population of the country) and have produced remarkable developments obvious to every observer. But as a result of certain Arab opposition, the Palestine Government and the Colonial Office have produced such political changes, especially by the White Paper of 1939, that things are happening today which one could hardly have considered possible in the light of the Balfour Declaration. Thousands of non-Jewish refugees from Nazi persecution, Poles, Czechs, Greeks, etc. have been allowed to escape into Palestine; but Jews who escape from such horrors are considered illegal immigrants when they arrive in Palestine, the only safe country near the Jewish population of south-east Europe, and are interned as such if not entirely excluded and sent elsewhere; while Jews who find shelter in any neutral land are excluded from immigration into Palestine, although this is the only means of their escaping from Nazi persecution. A ship with over 750 men, women and children Jewish refugees sank some months back, and all except one or two were drowned. Jews are excluded from the one country in which international law declared that they be admitted, and where their presence,

in accordance with the words used by the present Prime Minister in 1922, is "as of right and not on sufferance." The argument given to justify this action really amounts to the statement that if they are allowed to go to Palestine, it will at the end of the war be impossible to get them out of the country. What was the Balfour Declaration for if not for this escape from anti-semitic persecution?

Position in the present war.

At the beginning of the present war, in September 1939, the Jews were in the following position. In the Soviet Union they were free of all economic and political discrimination; in Greater Germany they were completely outlawed, and about half of them had been forced to emigrate; in the remainder of Eastern and Central Europe they were theoretically free but in fact subject to various degrees of persecution; while in the West of Europe, in the British Empire and in America, Jews lived completely free, as equal citizens.

The effect of the war on the Jews has been as follows: With the German occupation of the whole of West Europe, and the extension of German domination over Italy, Hungary, Roumania, Bulgaria, etc. the four or five million Jews on the European continent west of the Soviet Union came under the heel of Hitler, including France, Belgium, Holland, etc. (with the exception of tiny groups of Jews in Sweden, Switzerland, Spain and Portugal). Further in the first phase of the war, the extension of the Soviet Union over the Baltic States, East Poland, Bukovina and Bessarabia raised the number of Jews in the Soviet Union to about 5 millions. The German offensive against Russia, which began on June 22nd, 1941, led to the German occupation of those parts of the Soviet Union in which most of the 5 million Jews lived, namely the Baltic States, East Poland, White Russia, Bukovina, Bessarabia and the Ukraine. It is difficult to say how many Jews were able to escape, but it is known that about 400,000 Polish Jews are now in the Soviet Union, behind the Russian lines, and that about a million Jews from certain parts of Russia are to be found in the Turkestan area in South West Siberia: the speed of the German advance in the earlier period of its attack on Russia was so fast that the overwhelming majority of the population could not escape. It will therefore not be far from the truth to assume that something like eight million Jews are suffering under German rule. This means that about half of the whole Jewish people have been overtaken by the Germans, and will continue to be under German rule until the Germans are pushed back to their own land, and be subject to the inhuman brutality which the Nazis share out to everybody under them, but with special ferocity to the Jews.

Something is known of what has been happening to the Jews under Nazi rule, although all the facts cannot be known until peace is restored, and probably much will never be known. It is feared that about 250,000 Jews have been deliberately murdered, while about 500,000 have died from starvation, disease, etc.; in some cases tens of thousands of Jewish men, women and children have been killed in cold blood, not only by the Germans, but particularly by the Rumanians, who have achieved a reputation of being even more murderous and bestial than the Germans. Recent news in regard to France shows that Nazi policy is extended to all countries under the German control. As far as we know at present, about 1 1/2 million Jews in Poland have been forced into ghettos surrounded by specially constructed walls. Many thousands of Jews from other lands have been sent to Poland, largely into these ghettos. They are forbidden to leave the ghettos, and some have been executed for this crime. The Jewish

inhabitants are practically everywhere reduced to the lowest possible form of poverty. Ordinary labour hardly exists for them; in Poland the millions of the Jews have been officially declared by the Germans to be only a quarter of the rations allowed to the Germans and half of those allowed to the Poles. Many vital foods are forbidden to Jews; e.g. Jewish children under 5 years of age must not get milk! The men between the ages of 15 and 65 are forced to do slave labour in conditions of work which beggar all description. Jews may still engage in certain kinds of economic activity among themselves, and it is a marvellous contribution to the spirit of human resistance that in the ghettos, overcrowded, terrorised and in the midst of filth and disease, the Jews carry on some kind of life, train their children in a primitive manner (for no government education is provided), even have one or two theatres, and display a marvellous attachment to their faith and to their hopes for release and regeneration as a people.

After the war.

In presenting any problem the statement of data in as exact a form as possible is of fundamental importance. It is clear, however, that nobody can now say what the facts will be when the fighting ceases, so that we cannot define in accurate terms what the Jewish problem will be after the war. It is nevertheless possible to foretell certain things.

In the first place we assume that, outside the European continent and part of North Africa, democratic lands will remain unaffected by direct Nazi influence, and Jews will emerge after the war in the same position of equal citizen status that they enjoy today, so that these Jews will not constitute a problem in the making of the peace. Two reservations must, however, be made. First, as an aftermath of the war, and as a result of the scapegoatism which all peoples will develop, because of the sufferings in the war itself and of the vast economic problems that will follow, the Jews will, as happened after the last war, be subject to an enhanced anti-semitism in many democratic lands. It is true that all decent people will have been disgusted and nauseated by Nazi brutality and propaganda, but popular memory is very short, and some measure of "racial" anti-semitism will remain and play its part. Things may therefore probably be much harder for Jews in democratic lands, and this will take many forms of which one will be increased difficulty for young Jews and Jewesses to secure employment. Secondly, in nearly all of these lands there will be a difficult task of reconstruction, with tens of millions of men and women streaming back into civilian life and occupations, so that immigration into these lands will certainly not be easier than it was before the war. Nobody expects Britain to be a land of immigration, but it is very doubtful indeed whether the U.S.A., Canada, South Africa, Australia, etc. will be willing to take in large numbers of European, especially Jewish, immigrants. It is already common talk in authoritative circles that facilities for such immigration will be even less than they have been in the past, and that it will be particularly difficult for Jews to immigrate into such countries.

In the second place, nobody can say what will be the western frontier of the Soviet Union, and it is equally impossible to anticipate what will be the exact relationship between the Soviet Union and the remainder of humanity. These relations will be different from what they are today and it is obvious from the way in which the war is developing. That the 4 or 5

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million Jews, 25 or 30% of the Jewish people, living in the Soviet Union will stand in some mild relationship to the remainder of the Jews of the world, is a possibility that has to be borne in mind. But it may be taken as very likely that these Jews will have their personal position defined by the conditions inside the Soviet system, and that religiously and culturally, they may have little relationship with the Jews outside the Soviet Union. On the other hand, political and economic conditions may give the Soviets an important influence on the Middle East, including Palestine, and thus have its effects on the Jewish situation, and bring the Soviet Jews nearer to the Jews outside the Soviet Union.

But thirdly it will be the 4 or 5 million Jews on the European continent west of the Soviet Union that will constitute the Jewish task to which those making the peace after this war will have to direct their attention. These Jews, together with millions of Soviet Jews, are not incidental victims of Nazi persecution; they are war-prisoners of the Nazis.

One must not make the mistake of thinking of the Jews in central and west Europe as being impoverished Whitechapel or Baywater Jews. These Jews have been dragged into dust and mud in a way that history will perhaps never be able to describe. We shall have to deal with men and women who will have been physically degenerated through lack of food and other fundamental needs over many years; with children weak and largely untaught, except as the result of Jewish enterprises in their prisons. Partnership in great ideas, sharing the vast problems of the future world, association with the secular and celestial thoughts of a new life will for a considerable time be absent from the life of these Jews.

The economic problem that will face these Jews will be incredibly complicated. Not only will they have been deprived of all wealth. They will have been removed from practically all contacts with general economic life, and will be surrounded by peoples whose life will have been disturbed from the purpose of supporting the Nazi war-machine or destroyed when the Nazis try to escape from the occupied lands when our anti-German attacks begin to be really successful.

The solution.

Will not the defeat of the Axis powers, and the destruction of Nazism and its imitators, constitute the solution of the Jewish problem? The answer is obviously in the negative, for the destruction of Nazism will not in itself constitute the solution of any one of the many problems of Europe or of the world; each problem will need special study, and the making of the peace will mean finding the solution of these many problems. In particular, the European continent will emerge from this war so destroyed economically, and so chaotic ethnically, that preparations are already being made now by the Allied Nations to rush food, clothing and medical supplies to all parts of Europe in order to relieve the famines, destitution and disease that will be rampant there when the war comes to an end.

There cannot be any single scheme of feeding, as well as of repatriation and reconstruction, for the whole of Europe. Different parts of the continent will need special schemes of feeding, repatriation and reconstruction. In view of the historically special position of the Jews, and of the specially brutal treatment they have and will have received, some

specially worked out scheme will be necessary to deal with the Jews, apart from the European problem as a whole.

It may then be asked whether this matter cannot be left to the various local authorities to work out, without working out a special policy with regard to the Jews. The answer is in the negative for two reasons. In the first place, the complete destruction of Jewish economic life, and the Nazi displacement of hundreds of thousands of Jews from country to country, will make this problem considerably more difficult than that of other peoples in Europe. Further, the different European states will be confronted with such vast and tragic tasks, that it is not beyond the realm of possibility that, in the struggle for existence and rehabilitation, national and racial factors will militate against the Jews.

It must also be remembered, and unless this is borne in mind no real solution of the Jewish problem can be arrived at, that the Jews in Europe are now passing through such devastating experiences that for most of those who will survive it will be obvious that they must shake the dust of Europe from their feet. Apart from appreciating the sheer disgust with the Europe which has oppressed the Jew for centuries, and culminated in the Hitler phenomenon, let us remember that in the reconstruction, Polish peasants will go back to their land, Czech workers will have their industry re-established, but what will the Jews go back to? Their commerce and industry have been destroyed everywhere. A few may have an economic future in Europe; but Europe will certainly not be a scene of free enterprise for a long time to come, or for ever, and Jews who want to live on commercial and professional occupations will be struggling to establish such a basis among peoples determined to secure it for themselves.

It is therefore clear that a considerable fraction of European Jewry will have to emigrate, and to make this possible an emigration policy will have to be prepared, dealing especially with the financial arrangements of such emigration, and with training of young people to their new lives. The most important question of all will be where an outlet is to be found for a large Jewish emigration from Europe.

It is possible to form an estimate of the number of Jews who will emigrate. There will be not more than four or five million Jews in the part of Europe under consideration. It can be imagined that the older generation will be unfit for the hardships of emigration, for murder, hunger and disease will have reduced the survivors to a very low level of physical health. In any case it is always the younger generation that emigrates in the first instance. This is also the child-bearing population which has the advantage that those who remain behind do not increase rapidly, and their problem is not complicated by time. It therefore appears that the emigration of perhaps two or three million Jews will have to be provided for. This will take several years during which they will form part of the feeding and reconstruction already mentioned.

It must also be remembered that the Jews will not be the only Europeans who will have to emigrate. There will no doubt be tens of millions of non-Jewish Europeans who will have to leave the European continent. The problem of Jewish emigration will thus be only a fraction of the emigration with which post-war statesmanship will have to deal. The emigration policy for Jews presupposes that statesmanship will be applied to the Jewish emigration problem, so that Jews shall not wander chaotically from place to place, and the seas of the

world may not be covered with coffin ships containing loads of miserable and frantic Jewish men, women and children, wandering from port to port without receiving admission anywhere.

There will be a great financial problem in connection with feeding, reconstruction, and emigration, and in this regard it should be borne in mind that the fable of Jewish wealth is now only a tragic memory of what was always a myth. In Europe there is no Jewish wealth at all: there is nothing but Jewish destitution and misery. The Jews of the countries free of Nazi persecution, in Britain, the U.S.A. and elsewhere, will certainly do everything they can to help; but the task will be beyond any charitable effort. The financing of the feeding, reconstruction and emigration of all peoples will have to be done in an international manner. Part should be derived from the restitution that Germany and other countries will have to pay for the murders and robberies committed in Europe; but no doubt an international financial agency will be needed. The Jewish need will have to be dealt with out of these funds.

The organising of the emigration, and the training of the emigrants, will be a vast task that will have to be carried out in the different centres of Europe. Fortunately the Zionist Organisation and other Jewish bodies have in the past developed a modest but efficient technique in this direction. This can form the nucleus of a greatly extended scheme.

As for the outlet for the Jewish emigration, a certain measure of infiltration into some countries will no doubt be possible; but, as already seen, it is sure to be of only very modest dimensions. It is obvious that a large immigration into Palestine will have to be fitted into Jewish post-war policy. It is true that Palestine involves difficult political issues; but in the first place, the Jews have constructed their own economic life there, and rebuilt that may be described as the foundations of their national existence; in the second place, a great Jewish population in Palestine can be an effective means of the rehabilitation of the Middle East as a whole, thus offering a possibility of a Jewish-Arab policy of give and take, upon which reconstruction everywhere after the war is bound to depend.

Many Jews will remain on the European continent; in fact even the drawing off by emigration can only be a gradual process of perhaps 100,000 or 200,000 per annum. This raises a number of problems, of which the most important is the reconstruction of the Jews who will remain behind.

This reconstruction can only be based upon the integration of the Jews into the economic systems of the various countries of Europe. Jewish shop-keeping in the villages of Poland must be replaced by Jewish participation in all trade and industry. The reconstruction should follow the principle of sharing out fairly the rights and duties between all sections of the populations of different countries; this needs careful consideration and planning by the different governments, with the cooperation of the great Allied powers and of Jewish authorities, representing the Jews in each state, and supported by Jewish representation from this country the U.S.A., etc.

Anti-Semitism.

It will be an important task for those who will make the Peace to deal with the problem of anti-Semitism as an international movement. This disease is an obvious curse to the whole world. It should be wiped out of civilised existence like white-slave traffic, or any other curse of the human race. It will be part of the task of the new League of Nations to introduce this task into its work, educationally, and politically.

Confidential

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE held at 11 Maiden Lane, W.C.2 on Thursday, October 1st, 1942, at 2.15 p.m.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Lord Cecil, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Fawcett, Lady Hall, G. le M. Mander, Nowell C. Smith, Professor Paton, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Dr. Gilbert Murray, Lord Perth, W.T. Pritchard, Miss Rathbone, Sir Ralph Wedgwood, Sir George Young, K. Zilliacus and Major Freshwater.

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

407 LORD CECIL: The Chairman referred to Minute 401 of the last meeting and he and the members of the Committee gave Lord Cecil their best wishes for his birthday and expressed their gratitude for all he had done for the Union.

408 PEASANT PROGRAMME (Minute 403). The copies of the programme circulated to members of the Executive were received with interest, and it was decided to ask Sir Frederick Whyte if in the absence of an Austrian from the Committee which had drawn up the Programme was intentional or because no one was available.

409 SOCIAL & ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION: The Chairman explained that when the following resolution passed at the last meeting of the General Council was examined by the Executive, it had set up a Sub-Committee to investigate and report on the general bearing of social reform on international relations and what is within the competence of the Union and what is not:

The General Council of the League of Nations Union

Having heard with interest and approval the statements made by the Minister of Production on April 26th, the Lord Privy Seal on May 3rd, and the Foreign Secretary on May 8th, all of whom emphasised the necessity of planning ahead to prevent unemployment in the post-war world,

Urges H.M. Government to take effective steps now to realise those aims both in the economic and social field at home and in our international relations.

The Sub-Committee had met twice; it had considered memoranda written by members of the Sub-Committee and by Lord Cecil and had concluded that the Atlantic Charter, the Lend-Lease Agreement of 23rd February, 1942, and the Anglo-Russian Treaty, as well as the Union's Statement of Policy required some domestic legislation. The Sub-Committee was therefore unanimously of opinion that it was within the competence of the Union to consider those social and economic matters which would require domestic legislation. Simultaneous legislation in this country and in other

countries was essential to carry through many social reforms and it would be necessary to set up international machinery for co-ordinating the action of the various countries.

The Sub-Committee accordingly recommended that an ad hoc Committee be set up to -

examine the programmes of international policy which the Union is already pledged to support, such as the Atlantic Charter, the Lease-Lend Agreement of February 23rd, 1942, the Anglo-Russian Treaty and its own statements of policy, and to report -

(a) what types of domestic reform are implied in these programmes or appear necessary for their fulfilment; and

(b) what international machinery would be needed for co-ordinating the action of various national governments.

The Executive agreed and decided that the ad hoc Committee should consist of the members of the Sub-Committee together with the addition of the names of Lady Hall and Lord Perth; that the terms of reference should be those set out above and that the Committee be given power to add to its number and to its terms of reference.

It having been agreed that it was most desirable that a report of the Committee should be in the hands of the Executive in order to enable it to report to the General Council in November, it was decided that the first meeting of the Committee should be called for Thursday, October 8th, at 11 a.m., and that it was desirable that there should be a second meeting on October 15th at the same hour.

- 410 WAR CRIMINALS: Dame Adelaide Livingstone reported that at the last meeting of the L.I.A. a report had been made by the Chairman of Commission 2 and a resolution put forward for consideration, but no decision had been taken. The resolution would be further considered on October 12th.
- 411 AMERICAN LEAGUE OF NATIONS ASSOCIATION: Consideration was given to a statement of policy issued on July 31st, 1942, by the American League of Nations Association, and it was decided that the Association should be thanked and informed that the Union is working on similar lines. As, however, the American statement had not been circulated beforehand to members of the Executive, it was decided to give further consideration to the statement at the next meeting.
- 412 L.N.U. and F.U. A Declaration of Agreement between the Tyne District Council of the Union and the Tyneside Branch of Federal Union (copy filed) was considered. It was reported that Federal Union Headquarters had received a copy of the Agreement, were prepared to co-operate and had

suggested that the document might be used as the basis of an agreement between the two bodies.

(Lord Lytton then had to leave the meeting and Dr. Murray took the chair).

Dr. Murray, Sir George Young and Mr. Zilliacus thought the Union should do all it could to co-operate with other bodies that accept the same principles of international world order. Lord Cecil saw no advantage in any form of joint statement between two bodies which were not agreed on fundamentals, - the only result would be a weakening of both.

After considerable discussion it was agreed that the time was not opportune for a combined statement of the kind suggested, but that joint discussions between the two bodies should be encouraged and that Federal Union Headquarters should be informed that the Executive agreed with Article 1 of the Agreement and would be willing for two of its representatives to meet two representatives of F.U. to consider possible methods of co-operation, e.g., in the holding of joint study groups or meetings for better understanding between the two organisations. It was also decided that the Tyne District Council should be so informed.

413 RESCUE OF REFUGEES FROM FRANCE AND ELSEWHERE:

Miss Rathbone said there were a number of movements going on in this country with the idea of tackling the problem of whether anything could be done to rescue refugees from France. It was felt that the only hope was the intervention of the U.S.A., which had more chance of influencing Vichy France and the Vatican.

Miss Rathbone suggested that as Miss Courtney was going to America she might have an opportunity of helping in this and asked the Executive to give to Miss Courtney, as Vice-Chairman of the Executive, a mandate, to be used or not at her discretion, to speak on their behalf if able to approach Mr. Roosevelt or other influential persons in the U.S.A. on the above question. The idea was to influence President Roosevelt to take a leading part himself, or through some principal Minister, in a frontal attack on the position.

This was agreed to.

414 INTERNATIONAL BRIGADE: Consideration was given to a request of the Bury Branch that the Executive should urge the Government to take all appropriate steps to secure the release of International Brigaders interned in France.

It was agreed that a reply be sent to the effect that the Executive will do everything possible, and is very anxious to succeed, but in view of the extreme delicacy of the situation it hopes that it will not be pressed to take any particular action.

415 CORPORATE MEMBER: The Methodist Church, Westminster Central Hall, was admitted as a corporate member of the Union, and the fixing of the Union's seal to the certificate was authorised.

D. Murray

Chairman.

15.10.42.

The Tyne District Council of the League of Nations Union and the Tyneside Branch of Federal Union after several joint meetings decided on 22nd July, 1942, on the following Declaration of Agreement and Recommendations:

THE DECLARATION OF AGREEMENT

1. We are all agreed that the objective of both movements is to establish a world wide international order, based on the "supremacy of law" and the subordination of force to the maintenance of that law.
2. We are all agreed that the ultimate form of such a world wide international order should be that of a democratic world state.
3. We are all agreed on the necessity for intermediate stages in the realization of this ideal.
4. We are all agreed that the first of these intermediate stages should consist of one or more close associations of states either federations or at least confederations within a world wide organisation, and to achieve this object it would be necessary to invest the federations or confederations with their appropriate powers and to transfer to them certain of the functions at present discharged by national states, e.g., control of armed forces, economic relations, promotion and equalisation of standards of living.
5. We are all agreed that the world wide organisation should include the International Labour Office and the Permanent Court of International Justice and such other activities as were successfully undertaken by the League of Nations.

RECOMMENDATIONS.

In the belief that the foregoing truly represents the sentiments of the two movements we strongly recommend:

1. That a joint public statement be issued by the two organisations, incorporating the above declaration.
2. That a standing joint committee be set up to further the declared common ideals of the two movements and to ensure consultations and practical co-operation.

ConfidentialLEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING of the EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
held at 11 Maiden Lane, W.C.2 on Thursday, October 15,
1942, at 2.15 p.m.

PRESENT: Dr. Murray (in the Chair), F.M. Burris, Dean of
Chichester, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Fawcett, Lady Hall,
Sir Arthur Haworth, Lady Lytton, J.R. Leslie,
Dame Adelaide Livingstone, W.T. Pritchard, Nowell
C. Smith, R.W. Seton Watson, F.W. Weaver, Sir Ralph
Wedgwood, Sir George Young and Major Freshwater.

- 416 Mr. Seton-Watson: The Chairman welcomed Mr. Seton-Watson, who
was attending for the first time.
- 417 MINUTES: The Minutes of the meeting held on October 1st were
confirmed as circulated.
- 418 PEASANT PROGRAMME: It was reported that, in accordance with
the request of the Executive, Sir Frederick Whyte had been
asked whether the omission of Austria from the list of signat-
ories was intentional or because no Austrian had been available.
Sir Frederick had replied that informal representations had
been made to Chatham House from one of the Austrian groups in
this country and conveyed to the Signatories of the Peasant
Programme, but no definite step had been taken.
- 419 SOCIAL & ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION: It was reported that the
Committee had met that morning and had considered a draft report
prepared by Dr. Murray. Certain alterations were being made and
the Committee would be meeting again on the 22nd.
- 420 WAR CRIMINALS: Dame Adelaide Livingstone reported that at its
meeting on October 14th the London International Assembly had
passed a resolution which had been circulated to the Committee
(copy filed with these Minutes). In the absence of Lord Cecil
the Chair had been taken by Mr. Zaleski; Lord Maugham had
taken a prominent part in the discussion, which was exceptionally
interesting and animated, and the resolution had received good
notice in the press. No definition of "war crimes" had been
made, but it was considered that municipal courts should try
the majority of the criminals, and only the worst should be
brought before an international court.
Mr. Nowell Smith considered that as the general
public usually neglected to read about these matters in the
press, the General Council should be a vehicle for informing
branches and members what is going on.
It was agreed to include the resolution in the Agenda
for the General Council Meeting.
- 421 AMERICAN LEAGUE OF NATIONS ASSOCIATION: Further consideration
was given to the Association's Statement of Policy of July last
(copy filed with these Minutes), and it was decided that a letter
should be sent to the Association expressing agreement with
their policy and congratulating them on its excellence.
- 422 L.N.U. and F.U. In accordance with Minute 412, Federal Union
had been invited to appoint two of its members to meet two
members of the Executive in order to consider possible methods
of co-operation, e.g., in the holding of joint study groups or
meetings for better understanding between the two organisations.
It having been reported that Federal Union had accepted the
invitation, Lord Lytton and Miss Fawcett were appointed to
represent the Executive.

423

GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING AGENDA: Consideration was given to a draft which had been circulated to the Committee (copy filed with these Minutes).

It was agreed that a letter be sent to the Halifax Branch pointing out that Article 27 of the Union's statement of policy, **WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR** provided that "all national armaments specially suitable for aggression, including particularly national air forces, should be abolished", and that it was thought that this was about as far as the Council would be likely to go at present. It was also agreed that the memorandum on which the Halifax motion on Post-War International Economic Policy was based should be circulated to the Executive for consideration at its next meeting.

The Secretary having stated that he was meeting the Hull Committee the following day, was asked to inform them that the Executive continually had the Union's policy under consideration and that changes would depend on the world situation.

The Hallam motion, **Perversion of Truth for National Ends**, was sympathetically received, and Dr. Murray was asked to state the Executive's view at the Council Meeting.

In connection with the Jewish Problem, it was reported that the "Jewish" Committee would be meeting on October 29th.

It having been decided to arrange for the Presidential address to be given at 10.30 on Friday, November 20th, a Procedure Committee, consisting of Lady Hall, Mr. Fritchard and Mr. Nowell Smith was appointed to prepare the final agenda.

424

REPRISALS: With reference to the recent shackling of British Prisoners of War in Germany, considerable objection was made to the British following the example of the Germans, but in view of the Prime Minister's appeal no resolution was passed.

L. Lyden
Chairman.

29. 10. 42.

0498

October, 1942

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

Meeting of the General Council in the Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1, on November 19, 20 and, if necessary, 21, 1942.

SESSIONS AT 10.30 A.M. AND 2.30 P.M. DAILY.

PRELIMINARY AGENDA

The order in which business will be taken is subject to alteration in the final Agenda and business allocated to a particular Session, if not dealt with at that Session, will be taken at the final Session unless the Council decides otherwise.

To secure adoption, Policy motions require a two-thirds majority of those present and voting.

1. PRESIDENT'S WELCOME.
2. REPORT BY CHAIRMAN OF EXECUTIVE ON ACTION TAKEN IN ACCORDANCE WITH RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE COUNCIL ON JUNE 19 TO 21, 1942.
3. MOTION TO GRANT URGENCY.
The Executive gives notice that it may ask for "urgency" to propose motions on international affairs.
Note.—Urgency motions can only be taken if leave is granted by the Council by a two-thirds majority. Unless otherwise decided by the Council, motions for which "urgency" has been granted will be taken at the final Session.
4. PREVENTION AND RECOVERY OF WASTE.
Short Address by Sir James Marchant, Directorate of Salvage and Recovery.
5. ROLL CALL.
6. BUDGET FOR 1943:
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.
7. PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

67

WHEREAS the Pact of Paris condemned recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and

WHEREAS the Axis Powers have violated both the resolution and the Pact of Paris to which they were parties, and

WHEREAS in the course of and in connection with the war of aggression waged by the Axis Powers, heinous crimes have been and are being committed by nationals of the Axis Powers, and

WHEREAS by the Declaration made by the Conference at St. James's Palace, January 13th, 1942, and by the statements of President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill retribution for such crimes has been proclaimed to be one of the major aims of the United Nations, and

WHEREAS by the Declaration of October 7th, 1942, an important step has been taken with a view to obtaining retribution, but some of the essential questions concerning the means by which such aims shall be achieved have not been envisaged, and

WHEREAS by the law of some of the United Nations, the national courts have jurisdiction to try the most heinous crimes committed during the war against their own nationals irrespective of the place where they have been committed, but such is however not the case by the law of other United Nations, and

WHEREAS some concerted policy in this respect is desirable in order to ensure retribution for crimes wherever they have been committed and to solve conflicts of jurisdiction, and

WHEREAS it is essential, with a view to the future peace of the world, that some crimes against mankind should be branded as such, and made crimes punishable by international law,

This Assembly unanimously recommends:

1. That at the earliest moment a Protocol be agreed between the Governments of the United Nations
 - (a) defining what acts shall be punishable as "War Crimes" and in accordance with what law they shall be tried;
 - (b) setting up, wherever necessary, international machinery for the prosecution and punishment of such "War Crimes" to take effect immediately upon the cessation of hostilities, and providing for the international co-operation required so as to make retribution by the national tribunals effective.
2. That the President of the London International Assembly be asked to communicate the Resolution to the Governments of the United Nations and to convey to them the earnest desire of the Assembly that they should take whatever measures they may deem most effective with a view to official action at the earliest possible date.

8. WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR:

(a) *Halifax Branch*—

The General Council of the League of Nations Union favours the creation of a world-wide "International Authority" embracing as many Nations as possible who would agree to surrender their National Sovereignty over armed forces of every kind—to be utilised for the purpose of preserving the future peace of the world, under direction of the International Authority.

(b) *Hull Branch*—

That in view of the willingness expressed by the Union in "World Settlement after the War" to accept "any proposals which would achieve as well as or better than our own the objects we have in view." The General Council suggests to the Executive that an *ad hoc* Committee be set up to enquire and consider as to whether any proposals submitted to them or to the public are at any point equal or preferable to present Union policy.

9. POST-WAR INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC POLICY [*Halifax Branch*].

The General Council of the League of Nations Union, believing that it is essential to promote International Action to remove the economic causes of war, urges that the Sovereign Power of individual States should be subordinated to the interest of the Commonwealth of Nations—and to this end advocates the establishment of an International Authority (or of smaller groups of Nations) to whom shall be transferred executive power of control:

- (i) Inter-state Treaties.
- (ii) Armed Forces.
- (iii) The manufacture of Armaments.
- (iv) Inter-state Trade relations.
- (v) Uniform Labour Conditions.
- (vi) Uniform International Currency.
- (vii) Aviation and Transport.
- (viii) The administration of Colonial Territories.
- (ix) The reparation of the damage caused by the War, and the direction and execution of Public Works of an international character.
- (x) International Taxation based on the value of Natural National Resources.

10. PERVERSION OF TRUTH FOR NATIONAL ENDS [*Halifax Branch*].

The General Council of the League of Nations Union believes it to be of vital importance to the peace of Europe that steps be taken at the time of post-war settlement to render ineffective the deliberate perversion of truth by Governments for national ends, and urges the Executive Committee to investigate how best this might be achieved.

11. WAR CRIMINALS.

Consideration of the Resolution of the London International Assembly printed below as Appendix I.

12. THE JEWISH PROBLEM.

The Executive hopes to present a report.

13. URGENT MOTIONS (if any).

14. UNCOMPLETED BUSINESS (if any).

CONFERENCE OF BRANCH SECRETARIES AND OTHER WORKERS (PROBABLY ON FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 20).

APPENDIX I.

Resolution adopted by the London International Assembly, a representative body of people from all the principal United Nations, now resident in London, on October 12, 1942, on the motion of Dr. de Baer, Chief of the Belgian Courts of Justice in Great Britain, in the light of the important pronouncement made by the Lord Chancellor in the recent debate in the House of Lords and by President Roosevelt on the same day.

WHEREAS the Assembly of the League of Nations declared by resolution in November, 1927, that aggression was an international crime, and

WHEREAS the Pact of Paris condemned recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and

WHEREAS the Axis Powers have violated both the resolution and the Pact of Paris to which they were parties, and

WHEREAS in the course of and in connection with the war of aggression waged by the Axis Powers, heinous crimes have been and are being committed by nationals of the Axis Powers, and

WHEREAS the Pact of Paris condemned recourse to solution of international controversies, and

WHEREAS the Axis Powers have violated both the resolution and the Pact of Paris to which they were parties,

WHEREAS in the course of and in connection with the war of aggression waged by the Axis Powers, heinous crimes have been and are being committed by nationals of the Axis Powers, and

WHEREAS by the Declaration made by the Conference of the United Nations, January 16th, 1942, and by the statement made by President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill, such crimes have been proclaimed to be one of the crimes of the United Nations, and

WHEREAS by the Declaration of October 7th, 1942, a step has been taken with a view to obtaining jurisdiction to try the most heinous crimes committed during the war against their own countries, irrespective of the place where they have been committed, such is however not the case by the law of the United Nations, and

WHEREAS by the law of some of the United Nations some jurisdiction to try the most heinous crimes committed during the war against their own countries, irrespective of the place where they have been committed, such is however not the case by the law of the United Nations, and

WHEREAS some concerted policy in this respect is in order to ensure retribution for crimes which have been committed and to solve conflicts of law, and

WHEREAS it is essential, with a view to the future of the world, that some crimes against mankind be branded as such, and made crimes punishable under national law,

This Assembly unanimously recommends:

1. That at the earliest moment a Protocol be drawn up by the Governments of the United Nations

(a) defining what acts shall be punishable as "War Crimes" and in accordance with what law they shall be tried;

(b) setting up, wherever necessary, international machinery for the prosecution and punishment of such "War Crimes" so that effect may be given to the cessation of hostilities, and providing for the international co-operation required to make retribution by the national tribunals.

2. That the President of the London International Assembly be asked to communicate the Resolution to the Governments of the United Nations and to convey to them the desire of the Assembly that they should take such measures as they may deem most effective with a view to the official action at the earliest possible date.

29,942.

POLICY OF THE AMERICAN LEAGUE OF NATIONS ASSOCIATION.Issued July 31, 1942.

From past mistakes we gain courage to meet the problems of the present and imagination to plan the future. The League of Nations Association welcomes a growing realisation by the American people that future wars may be avoided only by universal membership in a society of nations. The Association, as the successor to the League to Enforce Peace, is the original American organization to support the concept of such a society strong enough to prevent war and wise enough to remove its causes. Because of this heritage the Board feels a particularly heavy responsibility in presenting to the members and to the general public the Association programme in this crisis.

P O L I C Y .

- I. The League of Nations Association believes there must be a complete military victory for the United Nations.
- II. It believes in the principles of the Atlantic Charter. It believes the United Nations must not only win the war, but guide the world during the period of reconstruction and become the nucleus of a universal society of nations. The United Nations should be organized now to plan every phase of post-war reconstruction.
- III. It urges the following principles as basic:
 1. The only hope for durable peace lies in the establishment of a universal society of nations under whatever name which will place firmly behind the maintenance of international law and order "the organized major force of mankind," a force so potent and so capable of instant application that every nation will realize in advance that any aggression will be too hazardous to be attempted.
 2. Permanent peace must be based upon the concepts of international social and economic justice indicated in the Atlantic Charter.
 3. The society of nations must be universal and any regional federations or unions must come within its framework.
 4. The national well-being of the United States as well as its obligations to mankind require full American participation in the community of nations for the termination of international anarchy and the maintenance of peace and justice among all peoples.
- IV. The machinery of the League of Nations, International Labour Organisation and World Court should be utilised by the United Nations to every extent practicable and these agencies and their historical experience be made use of in organizing the new association of nations.

The Association has never regarded the institutions of the League as approaching perfection. It has always considered them as but the beginning of man's efforts to conquer the last frontier by building a community of free nations. The present war has shown the urgency and magnitude of the effort that must be made.

ConfidentialLEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING of the EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE held at 11 Maiden Lane W.C.2 on Thursday, October 29, at 2.15 p.m.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Professor Brodetsky, F.M.Burris, Lord Cecil, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Fawcett, Sir Arthur Haworth, A.J.Howe, J.R.Leslie, D.L.Lipson, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, W.T.Fritchard, Nowell C.Smith, Sir Ralph Wedgwood, Sir George Young, K.Zilliacus and Major Freshwater.

425

The Jewish Problem: The Chairman reported that the Committee had met that morning and had considered a memorandum by Professor Brodetsky. There were two schools of thought in the Committee; one that the Jewish race were a people distinct and apart, both in race and religion, from the Nations of any country in which they were domiciled; emigration to another country in such numbers as to prevent the Jews being a minority in the usual acceptance of the term would be a partial solution but there would still be the problems of those who did not emigrate in this way, and of feeding those who were left destitute in Europe after the war. The other was that the Jews were not such a separate community, they could and did assimilate themselves in the countries in which they were domiciled; the right solution therefore was more complete assimilation.

The Committee suggested that it should be enlarged and obtain evidence from those with actual experience of the problem, e.g., representatives of Poland, where it was most acute, and of Russia, and from Jews representing both schools of thought. All this would take time and the Committee would not be able to complete the report in time for the Executive to consider it and present it to the General Council at its next meeting.

Lord Cecil thought it would be valueless to make any report which set aside the decision arrived at at the last Peace Conference, that there must be a National Home for the Jews. He thought the policy of assimilation meant that the Jews would be left to deal with their own situation in different countries, whereas the whole basis of the National Home was that that was not dealing with the situation.

Professor Brodetsky explained that his statement was drawn up purely for study purposes. He agreed that consideration must be given to international decisions made after the last war and also to things which had happened since and which had fundamentally changed the whole situation in Palestine. He was not sure that the National Home would mean that assimilation would cease.

It was decided that the Council be informed that careful study and thought were being given to the problem and that it was hoped to present a report at the next meeting.

426

Minutes: The Minutes of the meeting held on October 15th were confirmed as circulated.

427 L.N.U. and F.U. It was reported that a meeting had been arranged for Monday next at 11 o'clock at 11, Maiden Lane, when the Chairman and Miss Fawcett would represent the L.N.U. and Miss Josephy and Mr. Zilliacus would represent Federal Union.

428 Social & Economic Reconstruction: The Chairman said the Committee hoped to hold its third meeting that afternoon, after the Executive, when it was hoped a final draft report would be agreed upon and reported to the Executive on November 5th in time for the General Council Meeting.

429 Halifax Memorandum: Consideration was given to a memorandum sent by the Halifax Branch. From its terms the memorandum seemed to have been drawn up without realisation of the tremendous changes of policy which would be involved, or what machinery could be used. The idea that a body like the League of Nations, however composed, could control these matters was really impracticable unless it had executive power in the countries concerned; that could only be done by the governments of the several states delegating authority to it.

Attention was called to the similarity of this resolution and that brought forward by the Montague Burton Branch at the last meeting of the General Council and to the fact that the points from 4 to 10 were dealt with in the draft report on Social & Economic Reconstruction now under consideration.

Professor Brodetsky said there was wide and strong feeling on these subjects; so many people thought there would be an ideal world after the war, whereas the problems would be greater than ever before.

Lord Cecil was in favour of discussing the matter at the Council meeting.

430 Aid to China Fund: A letter was read from the Secretary of the Fund announcing that it was intended to put the Fund on a permanent basis, and asking the Union to appoint a representative on the Executive Committee.

The Chairman said he had authorised the writing of a letter to the Secretary pointing out that, for constitutional reasons the Union was not able to do this.

Mr. Howe reminded the Committee that he was the Union's representative on the Advisory Council of the Fund, and made a brief statement on the progress of the fund; he also said that the Bishop of Hong Kong had expressed his gratitude for the help given by the Union.

As the Council was understood to be an advisory not an executive body, it was agreed that Mr. Howe should continue to represent the Union on it.

431 Salvage: (Minute 366) It was agreed that the permission given on July 16th to Sir James Macpherson to address the Council for five minutes at its next meeting, should not be considered as creating a precedent.

L. J. J.
Chairman,

4.11.42.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

Draft Agenda for Meeting of General Council, Nov. 19 and 20, 1942.

1. President's Welcome to the Council.
2. Report by Chairman of Executive on action taken in accordance with resolutions adopted by the Council on June 19th to 21st, 1942.
3. Motion to Grant Urgency.
The Executive gives notice that it may ask for 'urgency' to propose motions on international affairs.
4. Roll Call.
5. Budget for 1942:
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.
6. World Settlement after the War:
 - (a) Halifax Branch -
The General Council of the League of Nations Union favours the creation of a world wide "International Authority" embracing as many Nations as possible who would agree to surrender their National Sovereignty over armed forces of every kind - to be utilised for the purpose of preserving the future peace of the world, under direction of the International Authority.
 - (b) Hull Branch gives notice that it will move to alter or change the Union's Statement of Policy.
7. Post War Economic Policy (Halifax Branch):
The General Council of the League of Nations Union, believing that it is essential to promote International Action to remove the economic causes of war, urges that the Sovereign Power of individual states should be subordinated to the interest of the Commonwealth of Nations - and to this end advocates the establishment of an International Authority (or of smaller groups of Nations) to whom shall be transferred executive power to control:
 1. Inter-state Treaties.
 2. Armed Forces.
 3. The manufacture of Armaments.
 4. Inter-state Trade relations.
 5. Uniform Labour Conditions.
 6. Uniform International Currency.
 7. Aviation and Transport.
 8. The administration of Colonial Territories.
 9. The reparation of the damage caused by the War and the direction and execution of Public Works of an international character.
 10. International Taxation based on the value of Natural National resources.
8. Perversion of Truth for National Ends (Hullam Branch):
The General Council of the League of Nations Union believes it to be of vital importance to the peace of Europe that steps be taken at the time of post-war settlement to render ineffective the deliberate perversion of truth by Governments for national ends, and urges the Executive Committee to investigate how best this might be achieved.
9. War Criminals.
10. The Jewish Problem.
11. Urgency Motions (if any)
12. Uncompleted business (if any)

Conference of Branch Secretaries and other workers.

Confidential

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE held at 11 Maiden Lane, W.C.2, on Thursday, November 5th, 1942, at 2.15 p.m.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Lord Cecil, Miss Fawcett, Dr. Garnett, Lady Hall, A.J. Howe, *Lad Balk*, J. Macdonald, G. le M. Mander, Dr. Gilbert Murray, W.T. Pritchard, Nowell C. Smith, H.S. Syrett, Alan Thomas, Sir Ralph Wedgwood, Sir George Young, K. Zilliacus and Major Freshwater.

432 MINUTES: The Minutes of the meeting held on October 29th were confirmed as circulated after, at the suggestion of Professor Brodetsky, "the Nationals of" in the fourth line of Minute 425 had been replaced by "other people in".

433 MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE: Mr. Pritchard reported that at a meeting of the Membership Committee held that morning a comparative table of membership returns for the three years 1940, 1941 and 1942 had been presented (copy filed).

A programme had been drawn up for the meeting of Branch Secretaries and other Workers to be held before the Fourth Session of the General Council Meeting on November 20th, when it was proposed that the following be moved by Mrs. Stevens and Mr. Howe respectively:

That the Union Executive be asked to advise Branches on the desirability of using the Brains Trust method at meetings, and provide information about the arrangements for and the conduct of such meetings;

That in view of the assistance given to the Union by the Churches of all denominations before the war, the Union Executive be asked to urge on Branches the necessity of getting into as close touch as possible with the churches in their area.

Mr. Nowell Smith would introduce a discussion on co-operation with other organisations having the same general objectives as the League of Nations Union.

Consideration had also been given to the Post-War organisation of District Councils and Youth Groups.

434 L.N.U. and F.U. The Chairman reported that, at the request of the Executive, he and Miss Fawcett had met two representatives of F.U. to consider the question of co-operation between the two bodies. It having been made clear that L.N.U. and F.U. stood for different things, the following draft agreement had been prepared for presentation to the two Executives:

P.T.O.

-2-

(1) Common advocacy of a clear definition by the Government of peace aims for use as a political war weapon; (2) Common advocacy of the immediate creation of an official international Reconstruction Commission (a) to organise immediate post-war measures of relief (and reconstruction) and (b) to prepare the ground for the ultimate establishment of the post-war International Authority; (3) Collaboration between the Executive of L.N.U. and F.U. in the study of international measures needed for post-war relief; (4) Joint meetings in support of a specific resolution embodying the above points (1) and (2); (5) Joint study groups for branches of L.N.U. and F.U. for discussion of the programmes of both organisations but not to pass resolutions.

After considerable discussion, in which the majority of the members expressed the view that the programmes of the two bodies were too different to allow of a common advocacy of (1) and (2) or the holding of joint meetings as suggested in (4), or to collaboration as suggested in (5), it was decided to adopt the agreement in the following form:

Concurrent advocacy of a clear definition by the Government of the peace aims of the United Nations for use as a political war weapon;

Concurrent advocacy of the immediate creation of an official international Reconstruction Commission - (a) to organise immediate post-war measures of relief (and reconstruction) and (b) to prepare the ground for the ultimate establishment of the post-war International Authority;

Interchange of opinion between the Executives of L.N.U. and F.U. in the study of international measures needed for post-war relief;

Joint study groups for branches of L.N.U. and F.U. for discussion of the programmes of both organisations but not to pass resolutions.

It was further decided that the above should apply to other suitable organisations and not to F.U. alone.

435

SOCIAL & ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION COMMITTEE: The Chairman reported that, owing to the inability of members to attend all the meetings of the committee and to the many long written amendments which were sent in at the last moment, it had not been possible to prepare more than a very patchy report for the Executive to consider and decide upon in time for the General Council meeting. He thought the Executive should consider the report most carefully as, in its present form, it put upon the International Authority duties and functions which would really require a federal executive to carry out, and the advocacy of a

-3-

federal state was not the Union's policy. Under these circumstances it would hardly be possible to present a printed report to the General Council, though it might be possible to make an oral report.

(The Chair was then taken by Dr.Murray).

Dr.Garnett did not think the report should include Education, which was much better dealt with in the admirable report prepared by Mr.Judd for Commission V of the London International Assembly.

Lord Perth thought the present report ~~was~~ too long and idealistic and preferred the report by Dr.Murray with the alterations made by Lord Lytton at the request of the Committee; he considered the present document represented the world as people would wish it to be run, but which it was impossible to attain. *in the non-remotely future.*

Lord Cecil thought the Executive should consider what would be the effect of tying up the proposals in this report with the general purpose for which the Union existed namely, to preserve peace; the propositions might be sound, but represented the views of only a small section in this country. It would be very difficult to get anything done at the end of the war, and the advocacy of such extreme propositions might mean that there would be no prospect of anything being done at all. He thought the report in its present form might do great harm to the cause of organised peace.

Dr.Murray was not prepared to express an opinion on such an enormous and detailed programme of drastic changes and did not feel that the Union was the body to consider it. It would be delusive to talk about peace and plenty in this way when Europe would be in a terrible state of poverty, chaos and misery. He thought the general feeling of the Committee was that the report in its present form should not be presented to the Council, but that the Council should be informed that the matter was very difficult, was being considered most carefully, and that so soon as the Executive had reached agreement the report would be circulated to Branches and be considered at the next meeting of the Council.

(The Chair was taken by Lord Perth).

This was agreed to and it was decided that the report and the previous report of Dr.Murray and Lord Lytton should be considered together at a special meeting of the Executive to be called after the Council Meeting.

436

COLONIAL TERRITORIES: Dr.Garnett called attention to a proposal by Mr.Willkie and a statement by Lord Croft. It was decided that no action be taken.

P.T.O.

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437

GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING. Lady Hall submitted the (draft) Final Agenda for the Council Meeting prepared by the Procedure Committee on November 4th. This Agenda, altered in accordance with the decisions recorded in Minutes 434 and 435, was approved.

On Item 7 Dr. Murray was asked to deal with the Hull motion and the Executive amendment, and Lord Lytton to deal with the Kensington amendment. Dr. Murray was asked to take charge of Item 10 and the discussion of the Minorities Problem (Item 4) should the Council desire to have such a discussion; and

Sir Ralph Wedgwood was asked to take charge of Item 12 - Post-War International Policy (Halifax Branch and Mrs. White's amendment).

The proposal of the Procedure Committee that General de Baer should be invited to present the War Criminals Resolution of the London International Assembly, to the Council, was adopted.

Rick

Chairman.

For the Membership Committee

S. 1002
4.11.42.Individual Membership Subscriptions Collected.

	1940		1941		1942	
	New	Total	New	Total	New	Total
Jan.	102	5,287	31	3,584	69	2,594
Feb.	144	8,941	94	5,726	105	4,179
March	347	13,553	69	4,646	99	4,707
April	298	11,980	33	6,259	165	7,160
May	287	12,218	97	6,083	107	3,683
June	145	7,216	90	4,098	82	3,617
July	71	5,306	123	4,429	139	4,746
Aug.	85	4,420	79	4,446	104	2,456
Sept.	52	2,710	84	2,507	65	2,732
Oct.	94	4,793	108	4,261	122	3,392
	1,625	76,404	808	46,029	1,057	39,466

Collective Membership Subscriptions collected in 1942

402 Corporate Members
22 Industrial Associates
13 Affiliated Members
109 Women's Organisations

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

Meeting of the General Council in the Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1, on November 19, 20 and, if necessary, 21, 1942.

For those attending this meeting there will be a short Service at Holy Trinity Church, Kingsway—almost opposite Holborn Tube Station—on Thursday, November 19, at 9.30 a.m., conducted by the Dean of Chichester.

AGENDA

The order in which business will be taken is subject to alteration with the permission of the Council; business allocated to a particular Session, if not dealt with at that Session, will be taken at the final Session unless the Council otherwise decides.

To secure adoption, Policy motions require a two-thirds majority of those present and voting.

FIRST SESSION, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 19, AT 10.30 A.M.

- PRESIDENT'S WELCOME TO THE COUNCIL.
- PREVENTION AND RECOVERY OF WASTE.
Short Address by Sir James Marchant, Directorate of Salvage and Recovery.
- MOTION TO GRANT URGENCY.
The Warwickshire and Birmingham Federal Council asks for "urgency" for the motion in Item 9; the Executive gives notice that it may ask for "urgency" to propose motions on international affairs.
(NOTE.—Urgency motions can only be taken if leave is granted by the Council by a two-thirds majority. Unless otherwise decided by the Council, motions for which "urgency" has been granted will be taken at the final Session.)
- REPORT BY CHAIRMAN OF EXECUTIVE ON ACTION TAKEN IN ACCORDANCE WITH RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE COUNCIL ON JUNE 19-21, 1942:
Anglo-Russian Treaty.—Communicated to H.M. Government and the press.
The Minorities Problem.—The Executive's report was approved for study by branches and members, and copies were circulated to branches; should the Council wish further to discuss the report, it could conveniently do so immediately after Item 13 (the Jewish Problem) or under Item 15.
War Criminals.—See Item 8 below.
Representation on the General Council.—All branches have been duly advised.

Education in World Citizenship.—The report of the Council for Education in World Citizenship has been circulated to branches.
Social and Economic Reconstruction.—The resolution was communicated to H.M. Government. The Executive has been giving attention to the general bearing of social reform on international relations and to what is and what is not within the competence of the Union; an oral report will be made about this.

- ROLL CALL.

6. BUDGET FOR 1943.

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.

SECOND SESSION, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 19, AT 2 P.M.

7. "WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR." [Hull Branch]

That in view of the willingness expressed by the Union in "World Settlement after the War" to accept "any proposals which would achieve as well as or better than our own the objects we have in view," the General Council suggests to the Executive that an *ad hoc* Committee be set up to enquire and consider as to whether any proposals submitted to them or to the public are at any point equal or preferable to present Union policy.

Amendment: Executive Committee:

After "the General Council" replace "suggests to" by "asks."

After "the Executive" omit "that an *ad hoc* Committee be set up."

After "consider" omit "as to."

Amendment: Kensington Branch:

Omit everything after "Executive" and substitute "that agreements for the purpose of a common campaign be arranged with organisations having the same general objectives as to post-war settlements as those of the L.N.U. on the lines of agreements made between the Tyneside Branches of the L.N.U. and F.U. and, more recently, between the Kensington Branch and the F.U. West London Branch, the latter being as follows:

- (1) We are agreed, in principle, that the objective of both movements is to establish a world-wide International Order, based on the supremacy of law and the subordination of force.
- (2) We are agreed, as to procedure, that the L.N.U. advocate its policy as a practical arrangement for post-war reconstruction, and that the F.U. advocate its policy as an aim to be achieved as soon as practicable by democratic development.

8. WAR CRIMINALS.

Consideration of resolution of the London International Assembly printed below as an Appendix.

9. ARRANGEMENTS FOR GENERAL COUNCIL MEETINGS. [Warwickshire and Birmingham Federal Council.]

To be taken only if "urgency" has been voted—see Item 3.

The General Council calls the attention of the Executive to the fact that arrangements for the present Meeting have not been made in accordance with the rules of the Royal Charter, and that Branches have had insufficient time properly to study the preliminary Agenda. As full discussion of this is essential to the Union's vitality, the General Council asks that in future the Executive, in calling Meetings of the Council, will adhere to the rules of the Royal Charter.

10. PERVERSION OF TRUTH FOR NATIONAL ENDS. [Hallam Branch.]

The General Council of the League of Nations Union believes it to be of vital importance to the peace of Europe that steps be taken at the time of post-war settlement to render ineffective the deliberate perversion of truth by Governments for national ends, and urges the Executive Committee to investigate how best this might be achieved.

THIRD SESSION, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 20, AT 10.30 A.M.

11. LORD CECIL'S PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

12. POST-WAR INTERNATIONAL POLICY. [Halifax Branch.]

The General Council of the League of Nations Union, believing that it is essential to promote International Action to remove the causes of war, urges that the Sovereign Power of individual States should be subordinated to the interest of the Commonwealth of Nations—and to this end advocates the establishment of an International Authority (or of smaller groups of Nations) to whom shall be transferred executive power of control:

- (i) Inter-state Treaties.
- (ii) Armed Forces.
- (iii) The manufacture of Armaments.
- (iv) Inter-state Trade relations.
- (v) Uniform Labour Conditions.
- (vi) Uniform International Currency.
- (vii) Aviation and Transport.
- (viii) The administration of Colonial Territories.
- (ix) The reparation of the damage caused by the War, and the direction and execution of Public Works of an international character.
- (x) International Taxation based on the value of Natural National Resources.

Amendment: Mrs. E. M. White (Co-opted):

In line 3 after "urges" delete all and substitute the following:

- (a) a policy of maximum production financed by State credits free of interest;
- (b) extension of the system of State pensions to provide purchasing power not only for the aged but also for the immature and the disabled;
- (c) continuation of fixed exchange rates and institution of a ban on private dealings in foreign currency; and
- (d) acceptance by an exporting nation of payment in the buyer's currency.

13. JEWISH PROBLEM.

Report by Chairman of Executive.

FOURTH SESSION, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 20.

Immediately after the Conference of Branch Secretaries and other Workers—see below.

14. OTHER URGENCY MOTIONS (if any).

15. UNFINISHED BUSINESS (if any).

APPENDIX.

Resolution adopted by the London International Assembly, a representative body of people from all the principal United Nations, now resident in London, on October 12, 1942, on the motion of Dr. de Baer, Chief of the Belgian Courts of Justice in Great Britain, in the light of the important pronouncement made by the Lord Chancellor in the recent debate in the House of Lords and by President Roosevelt on the same day.

WHEREAS the Assembly of the League of Nations declared by resolution in November, 1927, that aggression was an international crime, and

WHEREAS the Pact of Paris condemned recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and

WHEREAS the Axis Powers have violated both the resolution and the Pact of Paris to which they were parties, and

WHEREAS in the course of and in connection with the war of aggression waged by the Axis Powers, heinous crimes have been and are being committed by nationals of the Axis Powers, and

WHEREAS by the Declaration made by the Conference at St. James's Palace, January 13, 1942, and by the statements of President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill, retribution for such crimes has been proclaimed to be one of the major aims of the United Nations, and

WHEREAS by the Declaration of October 7, 1942, an important step has been taken with a view to obtaining retribution, but some of the essential questions concerning the means by which such aims shall be achieved have not been envisaged, and

WHEREAS by the law of some of the United Nations, the national courts have jurisdiction to try the most heinous crimes committed during the war against their own nationals irrespective of the place where they have been committed, but such is, however, not the case by the law of other United Nations, and

WHEREAS some concerted policy in this respect is desirable in order to ensure retribution for crimes wherever they have been committed and to solve conflicts of jurisdiction, and

WHEREAS it is essential, with a view to the future peace of the world, that some crimes against mankind should be branded as such, and made crimes punishable by international law,

This Assembly unanimously recommends :

1. That at the earliest moment a Protocol be agreed between the Governments of the United Nations

- (a) defining what acts shall be punishable as " War Crimes " and in accordance with what law they shall be tried;
- (b) setting up, wherever necessary, international machinery for the prosecution and punishment of such " War Crimes " to take effect immediately upon the cessation of hostilities, and providing for the international co-operation required so as to make retribution by the national tribunals effective.

2. That the President of the London International Assembly be asked to communicate the Resolution to the Governments of the United Nations and to convey to them the earnest desire of the Assembly that they should take whatever measures they may deem most effective with a view to official action at the earliest possible date.

CONFERENCE OF BRANCH SECRETARIES AND OTHER WORKERS, ON FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 20, AT 2 P.M.

AGENDA.

- (a) That the Executive Committee be asked to advise the Branches on the desirability of using the " Brains Trust " method at meetings and give information about the arrangements for and conduct of such meetings.
- (b) That, in view of the assistance given to the Union by Churches of all denominations before the War, the Executive Committee be asked to urge on Branches the necessity of getting into as close touch as possible with the Churches in their areas.
- (c) Discussion concerning co-operation with other organisations having the same general objectives as the League of Nations Union.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE held at 11 Maiden Lane, W.C.2 on Thursday, Dec. 3, 1942 at 2.15 p.m.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Lord Perth (in the Chair for Minutes 438 and 439), Professor Brodetsky, F.M.Burris, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Fawcett, Dr. Garnett, Lady Hall, Sir Arthur Haworth, J. Macdonald, Nowell C. Smith, H.S. Syrett, Sir Ralph Wedgwood, Sir George Young, K. Zilliacus and Major Freshwater.

- 438 MINUTES: The Minutes of the meeting on November 5th were confirmed as circulated after the third paragraph of Minute 435 had been altered to read:
 "Lord Perth thought the present report too long and preferred the report by Dr. Murray with the alterations made by Lord Lytton at the request of the Committee; he considered the present document represented the world as many people would wish it to be run, but which it was impossible to attain in the non-remote future".
- 439 SOCIAL & ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION: The Chairman called attention to the announcement in the Agenda that a Special Meeting of the Executive would be held at 11 a.m. on December 10th. Mr. Syrett, referring to the suggestion made at the meeting of the General Council that a Trades Union representative should be invited to join the Social & Economic Reconstruction Committee, proposed that Mr. Leslie be asked to join; this was seconded by Lady Hall and agreed to.
- 440 GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING:
- (a) Lord Cecil's Presidential Address: It having been reported that many present at the Council Meeting had expressed a desire for the Address to be printed as a pamphlet and that Lord Cecil had already corrected the shorthand-writer's report for this purpose, Mr. Syrett proposed that the address be printed. Sir George Young, not having heard the Address, thought it might be better if copies were circulated to the Executive before making a decision.
 Lord Lytton said he had received a letter from Lord Cecil, who did not wish to have anything published of which the Union did not approve.
 Mr. Burris was of opinion that members who were unable to be present at the meeting would very much want to know Lord Cecil's views; Mr. Syrett thought it most important that the speech should be circulated; others present concurred in this view and it was decided that the Address be printed as such.
- (b) Resolutions (copy filed with these Minutes)
- (1) Sub-Committee to consider policy proposals submitted by Branches:
 It was decided not to set up a Standing Committee but to appoint Special Committees to deal with various proposals as they are received.
- (2) Perversion of Truth for National Ends: Discussion on this was postponed until Dr. Murray could be present and

information obtained about League and International Federation of L. of N. Societies Reports could be obtained. Professor Brodetsky suggested that anti-semitic propaganda might be considered in this connection. 178

(3) Post-War International Policy: It was decided that the Halifax proposals be referred to a Sub-Committee composed of the Joint Presidents, the Chairman of the Executive, Lady Hall, Lord Perth, Sir Ralph Wedgwood and Mr. Zilliacus, and that a representative of the Branch be invited to meet the Sub-Committee. (447)

(4) War Criminals: It was reported that Dame Adelaide Livingstone, who was unable to be present, would have moved that the Government be informed that the General Council had welcomed and endorsed the resolution of the London International Assembly. Sir George Young objected: he thought the resolution was opposed to the policy of the Government.

Finally it was agreed to inform the Government of the action taken by the General Council.

441 Resolutions passed at the Conference of Branch Secretaries:
It was agreed that these resolutions be referred to the Membership Committee.

442 Mr. Eden's Speech on 2/12/42.

Dr. Garnett proposed that the Executive should inform the Government that it welcomed the speech. It was important that the United Nations should have a clear idea of the world they wanted eventually and the functions the international authority should perform. He therefore hoped the Executive would urge that all the resources of the Government, and particularly the Ministry of Information, be used to give publicity to the speech.

Lord Perth considered parts of Mr. Eden's speech ran contrary to certain passages in WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR.

Lady Hall thought it the duty of the Union to call the attention of Branches to Mr. Eden's speech. She thought his reference to the ILO and Social Reconstruction went further than anything that had been said previously. Lord Lytton said he would like to study the speech further, and Dr. Garnett was asked to table his motion for the next meeting of the Executive.

443 Extermination of Jews: Mrs. Dugdale called attention to information contained in the "Polish fortnightly Review" of December 1st concerning the treatment of Jews, and hoped that the Union would join in whatever action it might be possible to take. She understood that H.M. Government were to be urged, among other things, to throw Palestine and other parts of the Empire open to Jews who might succeed in escaping.

Lord Perth thought the wisest course for the Executive to follow would be for the Chairman to have a talk with the Archbishop of Canterbury and get his advice as to the best method of helping.

Lord Lytton undertook to communicate with the Archbishop and tell him that the Executive had discussed this matter and felt strongly about it; that they would like to know the best course to follow, and if the Archbishop were taking any action in which the co-operation of the Union would be helpful, the Union would be glad to give it. This was agreed to.

17.12.42.

Lytton
17.12.42

(1) WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR

That in view of the willingness expressed by the Union in "World Settlement after the War" to accept "any proposals which would achieve as well as, or better than, our own the objects we have in view",

The General Council suggests that the Executive should set up a sub-Committee to enquire and consider whether any proposals submitted by a Branch are at any point equal or preferable to present Union policy, and that reasoned replies be given to every such Branch.

(2) PERVERSION OF TRUTH FOR NATIONAL ENDS

That the General Council of the League of Nations Union believes it to be of vital importance to the peace of Europe that steps be taken at the time of post-war settlement to render ineffective the deliberate perversion of truth by Governments for national ends, and urges the Executive Committee to investigate how best this might be achieved.

(3) POST-WAR INTERNATIONAL POLICY

That the following motion submitted by the Halifax Branch be referred to the Executive Committee for consideration in the light of the detailed proposals contained in the memorandum prepared by the Branch:
(S.1004)

The General Council of the League of Nations Union, believing that it is essential to promote International Action to remove the causes of war, urges that the Sovereign Power of individual States should be subordinated to the interest of the Commonwealth of Nations - and to this end advocates the establishment of an International Authority (or of smaller groups of Nations) to whom shall be transferred executive power of control:

- (i) Inter-state Treaties
- (ii) Armed Forces
- (iii) The manufacture of Armaments
- (iv) Inter-state Trade relations
- (v) Uniform Labour Conditions
- (vi) Uniform International Currency
- (vii) Aviation and Transport
- (viii) The administration of Colonial Territories
- (ix) The reparation of the damage caused by the War, and the direction and execution of Public Works of an international character.
- (x) International taxation based on the value of Natural National Resources.

(4) WAR CRIMINALS

That the General Council welcomed and endorsed the resolution adopted by the London International Assembly on October 12th, 1942 .

5th DISCUSSION - ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL WELL-BEING.

WHAT KIND OF LIFE DO WE AIM AT ?

AIM.

The primary aim of the League of Nations is to promote International Co-operation to prevent War.

Towards the realization of that aim it is fundamentally essential to promote international action to remove the Economic Causes of War. To achieve this end the social structure of the World must be based upon the recognition of the equal claim of every human being to life and liberty - limited only by the equal claim of every other human being - irrespective of race or color.

This basic Principle of Justice not only applies to the relationship between individual citizens of a State but also between the States themselves.

This sound ethical principle can only be established if the Sovereign Power of individual States is subordinated to the interest of the Commonwealth of Nations - by the creation of an International Authority with power to give effect to its decisions.

What is wanted is a life of Plenty - a life in which Nature's resources and Man's capacities are developed to the full - for the welfare of the individual - and through the individual for the welfare of the State - and through the International Authority for the welfare of the whole comity of Nations - Freedom - equality of opportunity - and Government by consent - are symbols of the kind of civilization to be achieved.

But equality is a vague slogan unless its implications are recognized and acted upon. The equal claim of all to life and liberty is the fundamental basis of Political Democracy, but it should also be the basis of Economic Democracy for it implies the equal right of all to whatever is freely provided by Nature for the sustenance of life. The Earth and the fullness thereof should therefore be treated as the common heritage of mankind - and should be made equally accessible for every would-be user on payment of the economic rent to the community.

It is a Law of Nature that man must work to live but nature provides man with a source from which he can produce everything he requires to satisfy his needs. It is therefore in the natural order of things that man should go to this source to provide himself with the means of life. But human law prevents the majority of men from obeying this Law of Nature by legalizing the power - possessed by a small minority - to control the natural resources of the earth for their own benefit.

The disinherited are placed in a position of economic servitude which is the starting point of the dependence of labor upon Capital to find employment both in the primary and secondary industries and leads to great inequalities of wealth manifesting itself in the many symptoms of social disease classified under the problem of Poverty.

Until this primary injustice is rectified the Christian ideal of the Brotherhood of Man is unattainable: for as long as this most fundamental economic injustice is allowed to remain as the economic basis of the existing

social structure - the full development of a community of free men will be impossible. The old fight against slavery is by no means ended and economic servitude at home and in the colonial field has still to be abolished at the cost of far reaching and economic changes.

Political Democracy is the surest form of Government to bring about these changes by peaceful and constitutional means - but a radical reform of the electoral system is required if Parliament is to reflect accurately the political opinion of the country. (e.g. P.R.)

Question 2.

What kind of services should an International Authority render to its member states - and what kind of powers should it possess?

Social and economic legislation the effects of which extend beyond National boundaries - should come within the jurisdiction of the International Authority - with the consequent surrender of National Sovereignty in such matters. Such legislative power would cover a wide field and may be classified under various headings -

- (1) The transfer of the functions of the "Foreign Office" to the International Authority.
- (2) The control of all armed Forces and the manufacture of armaments.
- (3) Power to regulate Inter-State Trade.

Clearly all questions relating to tariffs, subsidies and quotas extend beyond National boundaries.

But if the International Authority were to set up a Tariff Commission, with the intention of establishing a satisfactory balance of tariffs, the difficulties and complexities of finding such a balance would be found to be insuperable.

Therefore the simplest and at the same time by far the best solution in the interests of all concerned - would be to establish complete Freedom of Trade.

One incidental advantage of such a Policy would be its unifying effect - and the advantages accruing would be an inducement for all to become affiliated.

- (4) Power to establish International labor conditions.

A free interchange of Trade would call for just labor conditions and rates of pay and the existing organization of the I.L.O. would be found to be invaluable in providing data upon which the International Authority could base its legislation.

- (5) Currency and Banking

A uniform currency would be essential for this purpose and the International Authority through its own banking system should have power to issue and control such a currency.

(6) Transport.

To avoid discrimination and evasion of its Free Trade Policy, the International Authority should have control of Transport and transport charges - since preferential charges might frequently become the equivalent of a substantial subsidy.

(7) Immigration.

Free movements of population should not be discouraged - but if in the early stages some restriction is deemed advisable, such restriction should have the sanction of the International Authority.

(8) Control of Aviation.

Civil as well as Military Aviation should be entirely under the direction and control of the International Authority.

(9) Colonies.

The control and administration of Colonial and mandated territories should be under the direction of the International Authority. The equal rights of the natives to the use of the earth must be rigorously observed.

(10) Public Works.

Reparation of the damage caused by war should be recognized as an international responsibility and financed by the International Authority - likewise all Public Works of an international character.

(11) Taxation.

Manifestly the International Authority will have to provide ways and means to carry out the manifold functions transferred to its jurisdiction which raises the all important question of Taxation.

No clear and definite pronouncement has, as yet, been given, in responsible quarters, on this subject. Any references that have been made are singularly vague.

If the International Authority promotes a free interchange of trade between nations as an essential factor for preserving the peace of the world in post-war reconstruction it follows that revenue producing tariffs will be eliminated, necessitating the adoption of direct taxation.

Taxation based upon "ability to pay" is accepted as a sound canon of taxation, but a still sounder principle is that taxation should be levied in accordance with "benefits received" - and the ethical principle specified in one of the 5 points embodied in a letter to "The Times", over the signatures of 4 eminent leaders of the Christian Churches, suggests a basis for taxation in conformity with the principle of benefits enjoyed. Point 5 in the statement, referred to, enunciates that "the resources of the earth should be used as God's gifts to the whole human race."

A practical way to give effect to this most fundamental principle of Social Justice would be for each nation to contribute to international needs in proportion to the value of its natural resources. The value attaching to the free gifts of nature is a value which should be utilized for the benefit of mankind in general and not for

the enrichment of individual citizens within a nation - or exclusively for any individual nation. Not minerals for the so-called royalty-owner - or Britain for the British - or Germany for Germans, but the earth for all the children of men is a logical deduction from the doctrine of the "Fatherhood of God" and the "Brotherhood of Men," and the most practical method to give effect to this principle is through the medium of Taxation based on the international value of natural resources.

The adoption of this just system of taxation would solve the problem of how to equalise the advantages and disadvantages of nations classified as "Haves" and "Have-nots."

The potential value of land - if put to the best use for which there was a demand - should be made subject to taxation whether the land was being so used or not.

This provision would throw open endless new opportunities for the production of wealth and would facilitate the solution of the post-war problem of employment when general demobilisation, and the cessation in the production of competitive armaments, will make it necessary to develop every opportunity for employment.

It may be advisable to have (A) an all embracing International Authority with the ad hoc function of preserving the Peace of the World by the international control of all Armed forces to ensure collective security - and (B) to subdivide the International Authority into smaller subsidiary groups to exercise International control over economic activities.

With this end in view it may be desirable to group together Nations which have reached approximately the same standard of industrial development.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE was held on December 10th, 1942, at 11 a.m., attended by

Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Lord Cecil, Miss Fawcett, Lady Hall, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, J. Macdonald, Dr. Gilbert Murray, Lord Perth, Alan Thomas, Sir Ralph Wedgwood, K. Zilliacus and Major Freshwater,

when the reports of the Social & Economic Reconstruction Committee, S.1001A and S.995A, together with 1006 by Sir George Young and S.1007 by Mr. Zilliacus (filed in Minute Book) were considered.

S.1001A was altered as indicated in manuscript, and it was decided to have another special meeting on January 14th, 1943, at 11 a.m. to continue the consideration of this Report.

Draft REPORT of the SOCIAL & ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTIONI Committee as amended on 29-10-42 by the Executive
International Obligations
to 12-42

We have considered the documents recommended for our study and report that the following passages appear to us to require concerted national action in the economic and social field:

A. The Atlantic CharterAugust 12th, 1941Article 4. "They will endeavour.....Economic prosperity"*

Comment. We would point out here that if the reservation "with due regard to their existing obligations" is interpreted too narrowly, e.g., by the maintenance of the preferential clauses of the Ottawa Agreement, it would militate against the achievement of effective economic reconstruction. This article precludes any ~~measure~~ *economic penalisation of enemy countries, some freedom of goods & trade and raw materials to enemy countries as is assured to the United Nations and neutrals.*

Article 5. "They desire.....security" *

Comment. We recognise that great difficulty will be encountered in the future, as it has been in the past, in securing the same labour standards from countries with widely differing standards of living. There may have to be different standards of labour in different parts of the world; but the article implies that countries with similar standards of living should maintain similar standards of labour.

Article 6. "After the final destruction.....fear and want".*

Comment. We would point out here that the obligation accepted by the authors of the Charter is not to guarantee "to all men in all lands freedom from want or fear", which would be impossible of realisation, but an obligation "to establish a peace which will afford to all nations the means" etc. The conditions of peace therefore must be such as to provide as far as possible freedom from the danger of war in the political field, and a reduction of the risk of unemployment and the shortage of food and raw materials in the economic field, in so far as this risk can be diminished by concerted action. This will involve the abandonment of complete national freedom of action in the economic field, and the necessity of concerted action in that field, as in the political one, for the benefit of mankind generally.

P.T.O.

* These quotations, and those on subsequent pages, to be set out in full.

B. The Mutual Aid Agreement(Lease-Lend)
February 23rd, 1942Article 7 "In the final determination.....like-minded Governments".

Comment. This article defines the action which the United Kingdom and the U.S.A. agree to take to realise the economic objectives of the Atlantic Charter. It does not add to the obligations contained in the Charter, though it specifically mentions domestic measures.

C. The Anglo-Russian TreatyMay 26th, 1942.Article 5. "The High Contracting Parties.....objects".Article 3. "The H.C.P.....after the war".

Comment. This treaty does not add anything to the obligations of the U.K. in the economic field, but it does ensure the co-operation of the two countries in applying the relevant provisions of the Atlantic Charter and the Lease-Lend Agreement of February 23, 1942, to which both are parties, to the economic reconstruction of Europe, and in rendering one another all possible economic assistance after the war.

D. Emergency Relief and Reconstruction Measures

The United Nations have undertaken to supply populations of territories liberated from enemy rule with food and raw materials the moment the enemy is driven out. It is intended that these emergency relief measures should also be treated as a starting point for international reconstruction policies. The necessary stocks of food and raw materials are already being accumulated, chiefly in the Western hemisphere and British overseas territories. The main responsibility for purchasing, storing, transporting and distributing these stocks will fall on the United States and the British Commonwealth. The operation agreement is one of six clauses,

carried out in such a way as to inspire international confidence so that they become the starting point

signed by the Allied Council on Sept. 4, 1941, which set up a standing committee of allied representatives, under the Chairmanship of Sir Frederick Leith Ross, with a Bureau in London, and which was accepted by the Soviet Government with a reservation that the Bureau be international.
(Insert the text of Agreement)

E. "World Settlement after the War"

This Statement of Policy, after exhaustive study, was approved by the Executive Committee, and subsequently accepted by the General Council. It may be taken therefore as stating broadly the considered opinion of the Union on the subject of post-war settlement.

Section 4. "Whatever territorial... Reconstruction". The measures here contemplated were set forth in greater detail in

F. "Draft Report on Social & Economic Reconstruction".

This document, which is a most valuable study of Post-War Economic problems, both long term and immediate, differs from the Statement of Policy in that it was never formally adopted by the Executive Committee or by the General Council, but had been warmly welcomed by the latter and recommended as the subject for meetings throughout the country and ordered to be given full publicity in the Union's propaganda and in HEADWAY and the NEWS SHEET.

This Report makes it clear that the Economic objects aimed at cannot be attained without (1) a common economic policy concerted between States; (2) the willingness of each State to make its national action conform to such a policy; (3) the existence of an International Authority to secure such concerted action as may be required for the attainment of an international policy of economic reconstruction. The Report also stresses the need for the retention by the State of extensive powers of control.

II. International Machinery

We further considered -

"What international machinery would be needed for co-ordinating the action of various national governments".

We are unanimously of opinion that it is impossible to separate economic from political policy and that to set up two International Authorities, one for political matters and another for economic matters, would lead to confusion and prove quite unworkable.

We recommend therefore that the work of economic reconstruction should be undertaken by the same International Authority as may be established to give security in the political field. *(The section of the H.O. is referred to below)*

The International Authority should set up a system of committees and technical secretariats in order to give effect to the agreements enumerated in Section I above. The States-members would be represented in these committees on the principles governing their representation in the political organs of the International Authority. The latter would normally be responsible for taking the final decisions in every field of the International Authority's work. But the bodies concerned with economic, social and related questions would be autonomous on

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matters of internal organisation and procedure, including the appointment of ad hoc committees and the summoning of conferences. The technical secretariats would form sections in the general Secretariat of the International Authority. *(in addition to the H.O.)*

The new system of international co-operation on economic and social matters should include whatever has proved of value in the old League technical organisations and other international institutions concerned with the same subjects. The machinery devised by the United Nations to serve their war-time economic needs should be incorporated in the new system of co-operation in so far as it can be adapted to serve the purposes of reconstruction.

We consider it essential that the relevant sections of the treaty constituting the International Authority should contain the obligations to which the international economic and social machinery is intended to give effect. These obligations would be, broadly speaking, those set forth in the agreements quoted in Section I above. But they would no doubt include various consequential and supplementary obligations. The most important of these should be a pledge that the States-members would not allow any private interest whatsoever to obstruct the fulfilment of their economic and social treaty obligations and would provide themselves with full powers to control, dispose of or otherwise deal with any such interests. *(possibly the Hoffmann)*

The following is intended merely as an illustration of the kind of obligations and machinery suggested by these general considerations:

A. Economic and Financial

Obligations to afford equal access to raw materials; to eliminate all forms of discriminatory treatment in international commerce; to reduce tariffs and other trade barriers; to expand production, employment and the exchange and consumption of goods; to establish a universal means of exchange, if practicable, on the basis of an international monetary union; to secure improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security. The machinery, in addition to the regular system of committees and conferences, should include such institutions as an International Economic Planning Board, an International Bank (absorbing the E.I.B.) and an International Investment Board. Older institutions, such as the International Institute of Agriculture, whose work is connected with economic and financial questions, should be incorporated in the new organisations.

B. Inter-state Transport and Communications.

The States-members should undertake to sacrifice whatever degree of sovereignty may prove necessary for the effective international organisation and control of shipping on international routes, of inter-state 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 should further undertake to review the transit conventions adopted through the League, and to accept

and final
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in part?
(These general instructions are unanimously adopted by the Executive Committee. See members' thoughts, it is desirable to add instructions of the kind of obligations and machinery they wished. Other aspects of the H.O. may have special interest and be given of a number of members of the Executive Committee.)

their obligations so far as they prove applicable to the conditions of the post-war world. All existing international agencies concerned with transport and communications should be fused into a single comprehensive organisation (this implies the absorption of the Universal Postal Union, the International Telegraphic Alliance and similar bodies.)

C. Labour.

The States-members should establish minimum wage standards and hours and conditions of labour such as will enable the whole of their populations to attain at least the standards of nutrition, housing, education and leisure regarded by their competent national authorities as the minimum necessary for ensuring physical health and making good citizens. They should be further pledged to co-operate for raising standards of living in backward countries so as to approach uniform international standards as rapidly as possible. The International Labour Organisation should be integrated with the new machinery for co-operation in social and economic matters and should be adapted to the differences and changes in the social structure of the States-members after the war.

D. Public Health and Social Questions.

The obligations contained in the various agreements concluded under the auspices of the League Health Organisation and the Office Internationale d'Hygiene Publique should be accepted by the States-members. They should also pledge themselves to ascertain and lay down from time to time the minimum standards of nutrition, housing and leisure considered necessary for civilised existence in various areas of the world. There should be a single world-wide health organisation, absorbing and uniting all the international bodies active in this field and co-ordinated with the rest of the social and economic machinery of the International Authority.

E. Education.

The States-members would undertake to co-operate in education with a view to reaching agreement on such matters as the teaching of history, ethnology and international relations (including international approval for textbooks on these subjects). They would also review and wherever it had proved useful, revive the work done in the League Committee and Institute for Intellectual Co-operation, particularly on such matters as the diffusion of news, co-ordination of scientific research, patent rights and copyright. Here, too, all international agencies working in this field should be included (modified if necessary) in a single comprehensive organisation.

IV. Domestic measures for attaining these objects.

We were asked to report "what types of domestic reform are implied" in the agreements specified, "or appear necessary for their fulfilment".

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The resolution passed by the General Council in July, 1942, also "expressed approval of recent statements made by Government spokesmen emphasising the necessity of planning ahead to prevent unemployment in the post-war world" and urged "H.L. Government to take effective steps now to realise these aims both in the economic and social field, at home, and in our international relations."

Article 7 of the Mutual Aid Agreement quoted in Section I above further contains the obligation to take appropriate domestic as well as international measures in order to comply with its provisions.

We do not feel called upon by these terms of reference to recommend a specific post-war economic policy or to enumerate the particular domestic measures which may become necessary to fulfil our international obligations. But it is obvious that these obligations can be fulfilled only by international action on the part of States which have also taken domestic measures to enable them to co-operate effectively. That means that the States-members must accept the duty and possess the means of carrying out international agreements - economic, political and social - to which they are parties, and must not allow domestic legislation to hinder the fulfilment of their treaty obligations. Furthermore, in all the general aims mentioned above in Section I, each country will have the duty of seeing that its domestic legislation is directed to attaining these aims, and that its Government is endowed with the necessary powers for the purpose.

For instance, it is fairly clear that in order to make these international agreements effective, much of the present system of economic controls established by the war must be maintained during the peace, and that the national bodies for controlling and planning economic life must be represented in some international economic planning board whose task it will be to harness the economic policies of the States-members to the attainment of the common social objectives to which they are pledged. This will not be an easy task, because at the end of the war the chief nations of the world are likely to have different social structures and different types and degrees of government control over their economic life. But it will be necessary, for without it there is scarcely a hope of fulfilling the tremendous pledges in the agreements to which this country is a party. In carrying out this task Great Britain will have a vitally important function to perform as a link between the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. and between the Continent of Europe and overseas countries.

One of the main objects of international economic co-operation will be to provide employment for all who can work. The agreements and resolutions quoted above contemplate action

both of a domestic and of an international character for this purpose.

In our view the prevention of unemployment in this country depends predominantly upon international action, and this will have to be of a very far-reaching character; it must be concerted in the economic field as well as in the political field. We feel therefore that the L.N.U. is entitled to call upon the government to prepare now, in consultation with the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. a common programme of post-war economic co-operation. To do so is no more than to carry out what the Atlantic Charter, the Lease-Lend Agreement and the Anglo-Russian Agreement all seem to us to require.

The programme of economic co-operation, if it is to achieve its end should, in our view, include a system of international economic controls, based on national controls as suggested above, and supported by the preparation, on international lines, of all relevant statistical information. It should also include the preparation, by agreement between the nations, of programmes of public works of an international character, or such as are likely to affect international trade, especially those which are calculated to increase the welfare and productive powers of undeveloped nations and areas.

Finally, we hold the view that, after the necessary consultation with the powers already named, the Government should lose no time in announcing their proposals, together with the domestic measures that will be necessary to give effect to them, in the same way as they have announced their intention of abandoning extra-territoriality in China after the war.

In order to perform this function successfully we must realise how far-reaching are the economic and social changes which will have to be made if our paper pledges are to be translated into effective policies. Take the crucial question of unemployment. In the case of this country, for instance, half a million unemployed was regarded as a normal minimum before the last war; one million between the last war and the great slump; two million from the great slump until labour and capital were absorbed in the vast preparations for the present war.

Before the war this country was doing one-third of its over-seas trade with the Empire and derived a considerable income from interest on foreign investments. Even so we did not quite make ends meet - our foreign investments showed a small but steady annual margin of sales over fresh investments - and had to wrestle with the chronic problem of unemployment. After the war most of our foreign investments will have gone and the Empire will have changed in ways that make a return to Imperial Preferences almost impossible. On the other hand our national economic needs and our international economic commitments in the post-war world are such as to make

it literally a vital necessity to concert action with other countries and particularly the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. first for reconstruction purposes and then in pursuit of common social objectives.

In all this the position of this country is not exceptional. On the contrary, although we are more dependent on overseas trade than most, what is happening in this country is closely paralleled by what has taken place everywhere and merely exemplifies the profound social crisis through which all mankind is passing.

Underlying all our economic policies and commitments is the need for a new social attitude toward economic problems, the attitude defined in the stirring words of the United States Ambassador, Mr. John G. Winant:

"When war is done, the drive for tanks must become a drive for houses. The drive for food to prevent the enemy from starving us must become a drive for food to satisfy the needs of all people in all countries. The drive for physical fitness in the forces must become a drive for bringing death and sickness rates in the whole population down to the lowest possible level. The drive for man power in war must become a drive for employment to make freedom from want a living reality. The drive for an all-out war effort by the United Nations must become a drive for an all-out peace effort, based on the same co-operation and willingness to sacrifice.

"These are only some of the basic things we want. It is not beyond our technical or spiritual capacity to have them. Just as the peoples of democracy are united in a common objective today, so are we committed to a common objective tomorrow. We are committed to the establishment of service democracy."

Draft Report prepared originally by Dr. Murray, with all amendments agreed to by the Social & Economic Reconstruction Committee up to and including 22/10/42.

SOCIAL & ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION

- I. We have considered the documents recommended for our study and report that the following passages appear to us to require concerted national action in the economic field

A. The Atlantic Charter

August 12th, 1941

Article 4. "They will endeavour....Economic prosperity" *

Comment. We would point out here that if the reservation "with due regard to their existing obligations" is interpreted too narrowly, e.g. by the maintenance of the preferential clauses of the Ottawa Agreement, it would militate against the achievement of effective economic reconstruction. This article precludes any economic penalisation of enemy countries.

Article 5. "They desire.....security".*

Comment. We recognise that great difficulty will be encountered in the future, as it has been in the past, in securing the same labour standards from countries with widely differing standards of living. There may have to be different standards of labor in different parts of the world; but the article implies that countries with similar standards of living shall maintain similar standards of labour.

Article 6. "After the final destruction....fear and want"

Comment. We would point out here that the obligation accepted by the authors of the Charter is not to guarantee "to all men in all lands freedom from want or fear", which would be impossible of realisation, but an obligation "to establish a peace which will afford to all nations the means" etc. The conditions of peace, therefore, must be such as to provide as far as possible freedom from the danger of war in the political field, and a reduction of the risk of unemployment and the shortage of food and raw materials in the economic field, in so far as this risk can be diminished by concerted action. This will involve the abandonment of complete national freedom of action in the economic field, and the necessity of concerted action in that field, as in the political one, for the benefit of mankind generally.

* These quotations, and those on subsequent pages, will be given in full in the final report.

B. The Mutual Aid Agreement (Lease-Lend)

February 23rd, 1942

Article 7 "In the final determination.....like-minded Governments".

Comment. This article defines the action which the United Kingdom and the U.S.A. agree to take to realise the economic objectives of the Atlantic Charter. It does not add to the obligations contained in the Charter, though it specifically mentions domestic measures.

C. The Anglo-Russian Treaty

May 26th, 1942

Article 5 "The High Contracting Parties.....objects"

Article 6 "The H.C.P.....after the war".

Comment. This treaty does not add anything to the obligations of the U.K. in the economic field, but it does ensure the co-operation of the two countries in applying the relevant provisions of the Atlantic Charter and the Lease-Lend Agreement of 23/2/42, to which both are parties, to the economic reconstruction of Europe, and in rendering one another all possible economic assistance after the war.

D. The Leith Ross Bureau

Mr.Zilliacus is preparing a redraft.

E. World Settlement after the War

This Statement of Policy, after exhaustive study, was approved by the Executive Committee, and subsequently accepted by the General Council. It may be taken therefore as stating broadly the considered opinion of the Union on the subject of post-war settlement.

Section 4. "Whatever territorial.....Reconstruction"

The measures here contemplated were set forth in greater detail in

F. Draft Report on Social & Economic Reconstruction

This document, which is a most valuable study of Post-War Economic problems, both long term and immediate, differs from the Statement of Policy in that it was never textually adopted by the Executive Committee or by the General Council, but had been warmly welcomed by the latter, recommended as the subject for meetings throughout the country, and ordered to be given full publicity in the Union's propaganda, in HEADWAY and in the NEWS SHEET.

This Report makes it clear that the Economic objects aimed at cannot be attained without (1) a common economic

policy concerted between different states; (2) the willingness of each State to make its national action conform to such a policy; (3) the existence of an International Authority to secure such concerted action as may be required for the attainment of an international policy of economic reconstruction. The Report also stresses the need for the retention by the State of extensive powers of control.

II. Measures for attaining these Objects

We do not feel called upon by our terms of reference to recommend a specific post-war economic policy or to enumerate the particular domestic measures which may be necessary. We were asked to report

"What types of domestic reform are implied" in the documents specified "or appear necessary for their fulfilment".

It is obvious that the attainment of these objects chiefly depends on international action, but this action must be (a) not hindered by domestic legislation, e.g. trade barriers or the like; and (b) in many cases furthered by the domestic co-operation of individual countries. For example, national governments must accept the duty and possess the means of carrying out international agreements - political, economic and social - to which they have agreed. Furthermore, in all the general aims mentioned above in Section I, each country will have the duty of seeing that its domestic legislation is directed to attaining these aims.

But besides international action it is fairly clear that in order to make these international agreements effective, much of the present system of economic control established by the war must be maintained during the peace. It must also be remembered that at the end of the war the United Nations are likely to have very different Government machinery.

All the objects mentioned in Section I will demand some co-operation between the national governments and the International Authority. Unemployment, for example, will need international control not merely over tariffs and commercial policies but also over investment, prices, international payments and the allocation of scarce materials but these measures must be helped by domestic planning and timing for capital developments, such as housing and transport facilities, electrification, the equipment of industrial estates, afforestation, coast protection, etc. and also by suitable policies in the expansion and contraction of credit facilities and budget expenditures.

III. We further considered

"what international machinery would be needed for co-ordinating the action of various national governments".

We are unanimously of opinion that it is impossible to separate economic from political policy and that to set up two International Authorities, one for political

matters and another for economic matters, would lead to confusion and prove quite unworkable.

We recommend therefore that the work of economic reconstruction should be undertaken by the same International Authority as may be established to give security in the political field.

It should, we think, establish an Economic organisation composed of representatives of its States-Members with powers to appoint ad hoc committees, and should of course have a separate Section as its Secretariat composed of international officials to perform the research and statistical work required.

The economic machinery set up by the United Nations should, in principle, be maintained as part of the Economic Organisation."

IV

Finally, we considered the resolution passed by the General Council in July, 1943, which

expressed approval of recent statements made by Government spokesmen emphasising the necessity of planning ahead to prevent unemployment in the post-war world, and urged "H.M. Government to take effective steps now to realise these aims both in the economic and social field at home and in our international relations."

As we interpret the resolution it does not mean that we should ask the Government to introduce measures of domestic reform regardless of what other States may be doing, for international policy must be concerted in the economic field as well as in the political field. But we should ask the Government to do what the Atlantic Charter, the Lease-Lend Agreement and the Anglo-Russian Agreement all seem to us to require, namely, prepare now in consultation with the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. a common programme of economic reconstruction, and as soon as that programme is sufficiently advanced, to announce the domestic measures that will be necessary to give effect to it in the same way as they have announced their intention of abandoning extra-territoriality in China after the war".

Collective security for national life in the political field, and collective security for national livelihood in the economic field, should be our objectives. Both require active initiative and not complacent inactivity.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

S. 1006

For the Extraordinary Meeting of the Executive Committee
on Thursday, December 27th, at 11 a.m.

Objections to the Report

by Sir George Young.

Objections that the Report exceeds in its recommendations what is essential for national compliance with international contractual and consequential obligations, and for international cooperation in national, social and economic objectives, are possibly due, in part, to the first impression made by the practical examples of those obligations and objectives exhibited in the Report. It is however these practical examples rather than expositions of principle that have a meaning for our membership. And when considered in connection with what will be internationally essential for the execution of such enterprises as the Beveridge Report or the Report of the 120 Industrialists they will be seen to be barely sufficient.

The Report recognises that the obligations imposed on the International Authority imply operations of such magnitude as control over commercial policies and commodity prices, over national credit and international clearances, over distribution of produce and of domestic planning. It thereby becomes open to the objection that the organs it offers to that Body for these operations are no more than an economic committee and sections of a political Authority which is a Confederation of governmental delegations, as in the present League. Whereas, this "diplomatic" system has failed in fulfilling the less onerous political obligations of the Covenant for want of "democratic" sanction and support. Wherefore, it could not control such national and international "vested interests", as prevailed against the League in pre-war economic conferences. Still less could it bring into cooperation the socially opposite and, until lately, politically opposed economic systems of Capitalism based on wealth, and of Collectivism built up on work. The obvious conclusion to be drawn from this objection being that the obligations, objectives and operations in question call for no less a measure of democracy than that of a formal Federation with Executive and Legislature.

In order to deal with this dilemma without departing from a Confederate League we could make the following addition to para. 2 of Section III (Dr. Murray's draft), i.e.

P. 100.

Section II (final draft) after "political field" -

"In the absence of any federal legislature, the central international economic organism will not only have to be relieved of some of the onus of obligation but also reinforced so as to perform effectively the required operations. It can be relieved by distributing real responsibility for the necessary controls and co-operations down through subordinate Continental and/or regional Confederations as provided in the U.N.U. Statute of Post War Settlement, Art. 23, and in its President's pamphlet. It can be reinforced by suitable systems of indirect democratic representation for each autonomous or economic authority, either regional as in the case of the U.S.A. "New Deal" or functional as in the novel democracies of Work. Thereby a system might be secured capable of dealing by itself with the emergencies of post-war reconstruction, and of developing itself to meet the increasing requirements of scientific civilisations and social security."

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

For the Extraordinary Meeting of the Executive Committee on Thursday, December 10th, at 11 a.m.

Commentary by K. Zilliacus

Apprehensions were expressed by certain members of the Executive last the Economic and Social Committee's report might be technically unsound and rashly bold in some of its proposals. The following remarks are intended to facilitate the Executive's discussion of the report, by analysing the main proposals of substance it contains (minor points of substance and all questions of drafting being matters on which agreement should not be difficult) to which exception has been, or may be, taken.

In general, the report is an elaboration of the original draft (S.995) submitted to the Committee to which no objections have been raised. Thus the whole of Section I (International Obligations) of the report is identical with Section I of S.995; the first part of Section II (International Machinery) of the report repeats the opening paragraphs of Section III of S.995; Section III (Domestic Measures) of the report is mostly an amalgamation of Sections II and IV of S.995.

Now let us look at the matter in the report which is not contained in S.995:

Section II (International Machinery) contains an outline of the international economic and social machinery to be established which is more comprehensive and less precise than that in S.995. No objection was taken to this in the Committee or the Executive, and it would appear to be non-controversial.

A further paragraph is based on the decision, taken unanimously in the Committee, to embody in the treaty constituting the world organisation the substance of the obligations contained in the treaties and agreements quoted in Section I of the report. No objection was raised in the Executive to the contents of this paragraph, but one member disagreed with the drafting of the last sentence.

The paragraph on p.5 labelled "A. Economic and Financial", repeats textually the economic and social obligations quoted in Section I. To this no objection was taken.

It also contains the obligation "to establish a universal means of exchange, if practicable, on the basis of an international monetary union". Apprehensions were expressed lest we should in this matter be committing ourselves to a technically unsound proposal. I have since ascertained that (a) Lord Keynes has prepared and submitted

to the Treasury a scheme for establishing an International monetary union, (b) A similar scheme has been prepared as part of the "documentation" on reconstruction of the Royal Institute

Para.A further mentions as part of the machinery to be set up, "an International Economic Planning Board, an International Bank (absorbing the B.I.S.) and an International Investment Board".

An International Investment Board was strongly advocated as part of the economic and financial machinery of the League at various committees and conferences. The idea has behind it the technical authority of Sir Arthur Salter and Lord Keynes.

Mr. Henry Wallace, the Vice-President of the U.S.A. in a speech on the anniversary of the Russian revolution, said: "There must be an international bank and an international T.V.A. (Tennessee Valley Authority; a far-reaching piece of economic planning, based on public ownership and control of economic resources)"

He also spoke of the necessity for internationally planned and conducted "productive public works programmes which would stir the imagination of all the peoples of the world" (International public works were advocated by the I.L.O. and the League Economic Organisation ever since the great slump).

In an earlier speech Mr. Wallace said that "Cartels in the peace to come must be subject to international control for the common man as well as being under adequate control by the respective home governments".

Lord Simon, speaking in the House of Lords on November 19, stated that Government policy with regard to post-war reconstruction was based on the assumption, contained in the Uthwatt report, that "national planning is intended to be a reality and a permanent feature of the administration of the internal affairs of this country".

The facts and quotations adduced justify, it is submitted, the technical soundness of the proposals made in para.A of Section II. They also justify the reference to international public works in Section III, and the insistence on the necessity of basing international controls and planning machinery on national economic controls and the possession by Governments of adequate powers over the economic life of their countries.

What has been said covers, I believe, all the major points of substance that were the subject of disagreement on the Council and may, I hope, make it possible for the Executive to reach a unanimous report in the spirit of General Smuts' message, conveyed by Lord Cecil to the Council: "Much more attention will have to be given (in constructing the new World League) to the economic factors in international life, which are more and more becoming of such fundamental importance for world co-operation and world peace."

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE held at 11 Maiden Lane, W.C.2 on Thursday, December 17th, 1942, at 2.15 p.m.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), F.M. Burrell, Lord Cecil, Miss Fawcett, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, J.R. Leslie, D.L. Lipson, Dame Adelai de Livingstone, J. Macdonald, Dr. Gilbert Murray, Sir Ralph Wodgwood, Sir George Young, K. Zilliacus and Major Freshwater.

- 444 MINUTES: The Minutes of the meeting on December 3rd were confirmed as circulated after the words "a special Committee" in Minute 440 (b)(1) had been replaced by "from time to time special committees".
- 445 SOCIAL & ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION: The Chairman having explained that the consideration of the latter part of the draft report had been postponed to a later date, it was decided to hold the next Social Meeting on Thursday, January 14th, 1943, at 11 a.m.
- 446 PERVERSION OF TRUTH FOR NATIONAL ENDS: Dr. Murray said there had been discussions at International Press Conferences and by the League Assembly and Council, and promised to prepare a short report for circulation to the Executive. It was decided that copies of resolutions by the International Federation of League of Nations Societies should also be circulated.
- 447 HALIFAX MOTION ON POLICY: It was reported that the Halifax Branch had been informed of the decision of the Executive to set up a sub-committee to meet their representative to discuss this motion and that a reply had been received that a representative could attend such a meeting on a Thursday or Friday late in January. It was decided to hold the meeting on January 28th at 11 a.m.
- 448 WAR CRIMINALS: It was reported that a copy of the resolution had been sent to the Prime Minister and an acknowledgment received.
- 449 EXTERMINATION OF JEWS: The Chairman said that, in accordance with the Request of the Executive, he had written to the Archbishop of Canterbury informing him of the attitude of the League of Nations Union on this subject; the Archbishop had said he was working through the Council of Christians and Jews and would put that Council in touch, through Lord Lytton, with the Executive.
- Members of the Executive who were Members of Parliament expressed their admiration of the speech the Foreign Secretary had made that morning; Lord Cecil also spoke of the enthusiasm with which the statement had been received in the House of Lords.
- 450 MR. EDEN'S SPEECH on December 2nd, 1942: A motion that the Executive should inform the Government that it welcomed the speech was proposed by Dr. Garnett and seconded by Mr. Macdonald.

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The Chairman considered the speech admirable and both he and Lord Cecil were prepared to support it; Lord Perth had also written to express his willingness to agree subject to amendments the Executive might make.

A letter was read from the Dean of Chichester expressing doubt whether the speech was consistent with the principles set out in the Union's statement of policy; he thought that, with all the straws laid on the Big Four, the result would be power politics, the idea of which was causing concern among the small nations.

Sir Ralph Wedgwood also doubted whether the speech expressed the point of view of the Union; he thought it implied that unless America came in the League of Nations would not be formed.

Dr. Garnett thought there was real danger that the British and American Governments might find themselves suddenly plunged into Armistice negotiations without having got behind them any body of supporting public opinion, and that it was the duty of the Union to get people thinking about the world they would eventually wish to make; the speech of the Foreign Secretary gave the Union a great opportunity.

Lord Cecil said that Mr. Edon's speech should not be treated as if it were a Treaty or a Declaration of Policy like the Atlantic Charter. In his view, there must be international co-operation to keep the peace, and the Powers having the greatest strength must be the instruments for exercising coercion. At the end of the war the Russians would be overwhelmingly powerful; nothing could be done in Central Europe unless the Russians approved; the thing to do was to work with them. It was the Great Powers that failed in the past, the Small Powers were sound. He thought the speech very successful in the way it dealt with Chinese, Russians and Americans and managed to make it clear that Great Britain hoped to co-operate with them.

Mr. Leslie called attention to Great Britain's 20 years' treaty with Russia and the obligations we had already entered into.

Sir Ralph Wedgwood thought the question was not whether the Executive approved of the speech but whether they approved of it so warmly as to want to take steps to give it publicity. Was it the sort of thing they wanted to issue with a special imprimatur? It fell short of what they wanted.

The Chairman said the Union had stated that in the immediate post-war period the forces of the Powers that won the war would have to keep the peace; all the nations should be on the same footing except when it came to applying force - then certain Powers would have to take the lead.

Dr. Murray said he had come to the same conclusion when he read the speech in Hansard and noted the undertones. He thought the Foreign Secretary, by stating the Government's policy in the way he had done, put the Union in a stronger position.

Miss Fawcett thought it important that the sentiments in the speech should be made effective.

Finally, Dr. Garnett's motion was passed in the following form:

The League of Nations Union

Respectfully offers its warm thanks and congratulations to the Foreign Secretary for his statement (in Parliament on 2nd December) of the policy of H.M. Government;

Urges that all the resources of the Government be used to make Mr. Eden's speech widely known both at home and abroad; and

Trusts that H.M. Government will do its best to reach agreement with the other United Nations (and especially with the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., and China) while they are still fighting side by side, concerning the means for realising the object stated by Mr. Eden, including the nature and functions of the international organisation promised in his speech.

It was agreed to publish the resolution in HEADWAY.

- 451 **CHEQUES:** The Treasurer and Secretary were authorised to complete an agreement to indemnify the Midland Bank, under the Bills of Exchange Act, 1882, against possible loss in connection with cheques with a receipt endorsed thereon printed by the Bank for use by the Union.
- 452 **CHRISTMAS HOLIDAY:** It was decided that the office be closed from 1 p.m. on Thursday, December 24th, till 10 a.m. on Tuesday, December 29th.
- 453 **"JEWISH" COMMITTEE:** It was reported that a meeting had been held earlier in the day and that Lord Samuel had been present. Dr. Murray undertook to write a short statement for the Committee, and it was decided that, provided Professor Brodetsky could be present, the next meeting should be held on Thursday, January 21st, 1943, at 11 a.m. (date altered to January 7th to enable Professor Brodetsky to be present).
- 454 **DATE OF NEXT MEETING:** The date of the next meeting of the Executive Committee was fixed for Thursday, January 7th, at 2.15 p.m.

Lytton

Chairman.

7.1.43.

Confidential

MINUTES OF A MEETING of the EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE held at 11 Maiden Lane, W.C.2 on Thursday, January 7th, 1943, at 2.15 p.m.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), F.M. Burrell, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Fawcett, A.J. Howe, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, J. Macdonald, Dr. Murray, Lord Perth, W.T. Pritchard, Nowell C. Smith, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, Sir Ralph Wedgwood, Sir George Young, K. Zilliacus and Major Freshwater.

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

456 Mr. EDEN'S SPEECH on December 2nd: It was reported that the resolution passed by the Executive on December 10th had been forwarded to the Government and printed in HEADWAY, together with an account of Mr. Eden's speech.

457 OFFICIAL ATTITUDE CONCERNING A POST-WAR INTERNATIONAL AUTHORITY: Dr. Murray thought the time had arrived when the Executive should put out the important statements now being made, both in this country and America, committing the Government to a League of Nations policy. The Secretary was asked to have a draft prepared.

458 "JEWISH" COMMITTEE: It was reported that the Committee was taking evidence. That morning the Committee had had a talk with Mr. Shertok, of the Jewish Agency for Palestine.

459 UNITED NATIONS: A Memorandum prepared by Mr. Behrens (copy filed with these Minutes) on the importance of appointing some central authority among the United Nations and establishing machinery for the purpose of united action, had been circulated to the Executive.

The Chairman thought it obvious that there could be no kind of unity of action between twenty or thirty nations without machinery.

Dr. Murray pointed out that the nearest approach to a representative body which was likely to be effective was the Atlantic Charter, followed by the St. James's Palace Conference.

Sir George Young said nothing more definite had been done because of the difficulty of getting representation of the minor United Nations which would not involve the Government in respect of certain parties and persons after the war.

The Chairman considered the important thing was to establish machinery for co-ordinating policy during the war, not after the war; that machinery of the kind which already existed in unofficial circles should be established in official circles, and that major decisions should only be taken after opinions had been expressed and discussion taken place through the medium of that machinery. Mr. Macdonald thought official machinery might keep step with unofficial machinery.

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The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union

Congratulates His Majesty's Government on overcoming the diplomatic difficulties that were keeping refugees in French North Africa under hardships involving much loss of life;

Welcomes the appointment of an International Commission of Enquiry with a view to their release;

And urges His Majesty's Government to save the lives and secure the services of other veteran soldiers still in Axis-occupied France by seeking the co-operation of the Spanish Government and the authorities in French North Africa in assisting all refugees escaping or evacuated from France over the southern frontier to reach French North Africa;

Lastly, it requests His Majesty's Government to announce that all women and children who can escape from European territory occupied by the Axis will be given a temporary asylum in territory under British control.

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Lord Perth pointed out that such machinery was already provided by the United Nations Conference, which met at regular intervals under the Chairmanship of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; this body decided which questions came within the competence of the United Nations as a whole.

Members were strongly of opinion that much good would be served if the existence of this official body were more widely known.

The Chairman undertook to write to Mr. Behrens saying that the Executive, in discussing his Memorandum, had been reminded that an official Allied Council did exist and met regularly to concert action and discuss policy; and inviting Mr. Behrens to prepare an article for HEADWAY stressing these points, after which the Executive could consider whether any further steps could be taken.

Lord Perth hoped stress would be laid on consultation with the smaller nations, and Mr. Burris proposed that the attention of the Government be called to the fact that the knowledge that such meetings were taking place would give great satisfaction throughout the country.

460 REFUGEES: A motion (copy filed with these Minutes) on Refugees by Sir George Young was considered and members urged the importance of bringing the matter before the Government immediately in order to emphasise the amount of feeling and agitation that existed.

Lord Perth considered there were military difficulties; if a large number of Jews were put even temporarily into French North Africa and Palestine, resentment would be roused among Moslems which no Government would be willing to face at the present moment. He thought it would be better to suggest temporary asylum in British or British-controlled territories.

The Chairman was asked to send a resolution ^{to see official} on the following lines to Mr. Anthony Eden as quickly as possible:

To bring to the notice of the Government the plight of refugees in France;
To recommend that immediate steps be taken to relieve the position

French North Africa obviously offers easiest solution; but to show that we are prepared to help ourselves - Announce that a temporary asylum will be afforded in British or British-controlled territory, especially for Jewish refugees who for political reasons may not be so easily accepted in French North Africa.

(The Chair taken by Dr. Murray)

461 PERVERSION OF TRUTH FOR NATIONAL ENDS: A paper by Dr. Murray and resolutions by the International Federation of League of Nations Societies (filed with these Minutes) were considered.

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It was agreed that Dr. Murray's paper, with the addition of the following paragraph at the end of (a) on # page 2, should be sent to the Hallam Branch and reported to the General Council at its next meeting:

In general, however, the best antidote to false propaganda is the maximum facility for discovering and diffusing the truth. Consequently every effort should be made to facilitate and encourage the collection and distribution of full, prompt, and accurate news. This involves certain purely material arrangements, such as specially low press rates; priority for press messages sent by telegram, telephone or wireless; special status and rights for accredited correspondents, &c. It also involves such measures as raising the status and dignity of journalists and therewith the standards of journalism. This is a matter on which journalists themselves, through their own professional organisations, might well take the initiative.

462 SPEECH BY GENERAL SMUTS: Mr. Howe brought to the notice of the Committee a speech by General Smuts on 26/8/1918, published in the "Spectator" on November 27th, 1942. This speech had so impressed the Chairman of the Stock Exchange that he had printed and distributed copies in the City of London. It was decided to make reference to the speech in the draft to be prepared in accordance with Minute 457.

Langford

Chairman,
21.1.43.

Perversion of Truth in International Relations.

by Dr. Gilbert Murray

The publication of false statements by Governments has become a much more serious problem in international affairs since 1914, partly because the organised lie is a recognised instrument of warfare, partly because the increase of communication has made nations much more conscious of their international relations. During most of the nineteenth century people in one country usually cared little about statements in the newspapers of another. The resolution of the International Federation in 1931 dealing with "false or tendentious press publications", publication of "false documents" and "statements calculated to disturb international relations" makes the following recommendations:

That the Assembly of the League of Nations entrust competent organs to seek internationally a solution of the following questions:

- (a) to establish on behalf of any State about which a newspaper or a wireless broadcasting station shall have imputed a fact which is either inexact or calculated to disturb international relations an international right of reply;
- (b) to institute a summary procedure of international enquiry in cases of diffusion of information calculated to disturb international relations;
- (c) penal repression in each State of the mischievous diffusion of inexact information or of false documents calculated to disturb international relations.

The question is an extremely large one, especially if "tendentious" statements are included. One may notice, for instance:

- (a) Publications or habitual tendencies in newspapers which are judged by the International Federation of

-2-

Journalists to render those responsible deserving of censure or even of expulsion from the Society to which they belong, or again to require public retraction and apology, as customary in cases of libel. Compare what M. Vladimir d'Ormesson says: 'Je considérerais comme très opportune la création à Genève d'une sorte de tribunal permanent de la Presse. Je voudrais qu'à ce tribunal les semeurs de "fausses nouvelles" pussent être déférés.' (La Confiance en l'Allemagne, Paris, 1928, p.55.) # See Travaux 1461

(b) False statements of a historical or sociological character, possibly made in good faith, which nevertheless can be shown to be inaccurate and likely to cause trouble. Machinery for dealing with these is already provided by the C.I.C. under the Casares Procedure. The person complaining of the statement applies to his own National C.I.C., which if it thinks the complaint justified communicates with the National C.I.C. of the country in which the statement was produced. Action on these lines has worked satisfactorily where there has been a reasonable amount of good faith on both sides.

(c) The establishment of broadcasting raises questions of its own. By an extension of the Casares Procedure, the German and Polish radio organisations, at the time when Dr. Becker was Minister of Education in Prussia, established an informal joint committee for the purpose of supervising their emissions, correcting false or injurious statements, and seeing in general that their action did not tend to disturb the peace. This system was of course changed when Hitler came to power. It might well be developed by the International Broadcasting Association. Besides these negative steps there is a very strong case for establishing an International Radio Centre, under the League of Nations or whatever body takes its place, which besides its ordinary duty of publishing facts might on occasion give world-wide correction to false statements which seem to merit such action.

Such practices as the deliberate exclusion of information from a country, either by systematically "jamming" the emissions of other countries or by making it a criminal offence to listen to them, would be in the first place offences against the International Radio Convention but, if sufficiently serious, could be reported to the League Council for action under Article XI.

-3-

(d) Much the most difficult and important cases are those which may be considered to constitute an international crime, though a crime at present only punishable by municipal law. Examples would be the deliberate falsification of state documents by Nazi officials, the issue of forged French notes by Hungarians using the national mint, preparations in Italy for the murder of King Alexander, and the spreading of false rumours with a view to starting a massacre, such as has occurred more than once in the Balkans.

The Austrian Penal Code, Article 115, punishes the propagation of false or distorted reports of a nature to endanger peaceable international relations. Similarly, the English Common Law considers as criminal any wrongful act which endangers the relations of the Crown with foreign powers and so "tends to the public mischief" and probably also one which "is of the nature to discredit the international repute of our country". See Fisher Williams, Chapters on Current International Law, pp.244ff. He observes that in M.Briand's note to the Secretary General of the League, June 5, 1926, the phrase "international crime" is used in inverted commas but is repeated without the commas in the resolution of League Council of December 9, 1926.

Before the foundation of the League the only methods of dealing with these crimes were those of municipal law, either directly or by extradition. The worst cases, namely those in which Governments themselves are implicated, are not likely to be dealt with by municipal law nor are the Governments concerned likely to consent to extradition. Consequently some international body seems the only effective instrument for dealing with them. Under the League system the best method might be for the League to appoint some special committee of jurists, or possibly the PCIJ itself, to enquire - with or without the consent of the Government implicated - into the facts and to report the result to the Council and Assembly. This would bring the public opinion of the world to bear, and the Council could, if it thought fit, deal with the matter under Article XI.

(If it were found practicable to establish an International Criminal Court it would presumably have its own method of procedure. That question is not raised here.)

S. 1006
30/12/42

FALSE OR TENDENCIOUS PRESS PUBLICATIONS

Resolutions adopted by the International Federation of League of Nations Societies at Budapest, 1931.

Considering that the publication of false or tendentious news on the situation or activities of a State is calculated to let loose currents of hostile opinion and may thus become a source of grave danger to peace between nations:

Considering that the danger is craver still in the case of the publication of false documents;

Considering that national legislature does not sufficiently ensure the repression of such acts when they are likely to injure other States;

Plenary Congress:

1. Notes with approval the decision of the International Federation of journalists to set up an international professional jurisdiction empowered to judge journalists guilty of professional misdemeanours in international matters;
2. Considers that the practice should be generally adopted whereby certain States, when information is published which is denounced as inexact, tendentious or calculated to disturb international relations, apprise the national or foreign press associations in the country so that disciplinary measures may be taken against the journalists responsible; and further considers that such journalists should also be denounced to the Information Section of the League of Nations;
3. Considers that it would be expédient in such cases that the League of Nations Societies in the countries concerned should work together to devise the best means of enlightening and pacifying public opinion;
4. Recommends that the Assembly of the League of Nations entrust competent organs to seek internationally
 - (a) to establish on behalf of any State about which a newspaper or a wireless broadcasting station shall have imputed a fact which is either inexact or calculated to disturb international relations an international right of reply;
 - (b) to institute a summary procedure of international enquiry in cases of diffusion of information calculated to disturb international relations;
 - (c) penal repression in each State of the mischievous diffusion of inexact information or of false documents calculated to disturb international relations.

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Resolution adopted by the International Federation of League of Nations Societies at Glasgow, 1936.

Broadcasting. Plenary Congress:

Notes with satisfaction that a draft Convention whereby the High Contracting Parties undertake to avoid the broadcasting of programmes which are likely to hurt the feelings of other nations will be the object of a Conference for its signature in 1936;

Is of opinion that these restrictions ought not under any circumstances to interfere with transmissions which conform to the spirit of the Covenant, even if they include criticisms of nations for failing to fulfil their international obligations;

Considers that this negative undertaking should be supplemented by positive agreements, and

Advocates that a beginning be made by including in the Draft Convention an undertaking by the High Contracting Parties to encourage relays within their countries of the wireless broadcasts, whether in words or in Morse, prepared for the general public or for Governments by the League of Nations Secretariat and transmitted by Radio-Nations, and in no case to prevent or interfere with the reception of these transmissions by their nationals;

Expresses the opinion that, with a view to giving the widest possible range to broadcast talks, the League of Nations Assembly should vote the credits necessary for equipping Radio-Nations with a long-wave transmitter capable of ensuring the reception of these talks by ordinary listeners in every European country;

Hopes that without waiting for the conference called for September 3rd the League of Nations will regularly broadcast (if possible in Spanish, German and Italian as well as in French and English) its resolutions and decisions.

See Minute 460

S.1013

Motion by Sir George Young for submission to H.M.G.

Asks H.M.G. to approach U.S. Government as to a proclamation by the French High Commissioner for North Africa to the effect that:

1. By virtue of the integral unity of French territory however militarily occupied and of the traditional humanity of French treatment of refugees - free entry without formalities is granted to all refugees and internees from France and freedom of employment to all such in French Africa.
2. In view of the undertaking by the Allies to relieve France wherever and whenever militarily emancipated, sufficient supplies and paid employment for this purpose is guaranteed by the Governments of the U.S. and U.K.

There are now reports as to the purge of thousands of democrats, while persecution of Jews continues. So far suggestions as to saving life involve negotiations with neutrals resolutely reluctant to be involved. But such dilatory diplomacies are now out of date, because today the Allies have begun to win the war in certain regions and respects and the Axis have similarly begun to want peace, moreover the situation is simplified, for all France in Africa is now emancipated into the Allied New Deal, and all European France is now embodied in the Axis "New Order". Everyone knows what the Axis "New Order" means - no one yet knows what ours may be. We now have the means to tell the world by works and not only in words.

The first post-war period, for which we have promised relief and reconstruction, has been reached in respect of Algeria, which is an integrated department of French democracy. Let the French give free entry to refugees as above suggested, with priority for women and children, refugees and invalids. Let the Allies guarantee supplies (already being sent), shipping and safe-conducts. Let /exit the Axis grant/permits and safe-conducts if they will, in which case Vichy would empty its camps and hospitals. - But if they don't, much could be done by organising escapes.

The Allies would in any case thereby give a present and practical proof as to their promised relief and the principles of their reconstruction. They would counter the Nazi claim that we starve to death our friends while they only strike down their enemies. They would revive faith in their word, hope in their work and charity in their war.

S.1010
1.1.43

THE UNITED NATIONS

by Mr. Leonard Behrens,
Manchester.

- I. Letter to the Manchester Guardian dated 28th October, 1942
(published 29th October, 1942)

General Smuts calls for the continuance of the United Nations as an institution which will perform after the war those functions for which the League of Nations was founded in 1919. It is certainly in keeping with the traditions of some of the United Nations to develop their institutions in the light of practical experience rather than according to logical and pre-arranged plans. But the United Nations in peace require different methods, and therefore a different organisation, from the United Nations at war. Secrecy, swift decision and command are the methods of war; peace demands open discussion, deliberation and common agreement.

How are the United Nations to be organised for peace? Will they make another blueprint for time and the timidity of man once more to tear in shreds? Or will they follow General Smuts' line of thought, working together on common tasks, and allowing their organisation to grow and to take shape according to the requirements of the tasks and the experience of those engaged upon them? If this is to be their method, there is no time to lose, because the United Nations in peace must be established before peace comes.

The United Nations have held formal meetings, at which declarations have been read and resolutions passed. If they are to be established as a peace-time organisation they must do more than this. They must work together and they must be seen working together. Only so will they develop the habit of co-operation and establish themselves in the minds of their peoples so that, when the Evil Thing is destroyed, they will be ready for their great tasks, and the world will have come to regard them as the appointed and competent architects of a new age.

- II. Article developing the above idea, written December 17, 1942.

"The United Nations" - a pleasant and comforting phrase; a phrase that is on everyone's lips and in everyone's mind. But what are the United Nations? We are so accustomed to taking phrases for realities that it is worth while stopping from time to time to examine the phrases we use and to see what meaning they have and, in some instances, whether they have any meaning at all. So: what are the United Nations? The United Nations are a number of political States or fragments of States which happen to have been attacked or menaced by the Axis Powers, and which find themselves allied in war for the protection of their independence and liberty. For the purpose of waging war effectively

they have managed to co-ordinate their strategy and, in special circumstances, to set up unified commands. Apart from certain common declarations of aims, this unified strategy is the only fact which justifies the phrase "United Nations". Is it enough? Is this war nothing more than beating the Axis armies, navies and air forces? We know it is more than that; we know that, if this war is to be won, the United Nations require more than a few verbal declarations and an unified command on the battlefield.

And yet what have we got? When an American General makes an agreement with a French Admiral, the Russian Ambassador in London has to call upon the British Foreign Secretary to ask what is happening and to explain his point of view. Not very united, these nations. If one of the vassal states of Germany were to decide to try to extricate itself from the thralldom, to whom should it apply for help? To Britain? To the U.S.A? To Russia? And, if to one of these, what would be the reply? Would it be "We can say nothing without consulting our Allies"? What preparations, what machinery is there for such consultations? Possibly "the usual diplomatic channels". Diplomatic channels are all very well, but they are not the proper means of communication and consultation between "United Nations".

There is something lacking, something which must be provided in the near future if we are to avoid repetitions of the Darlan episode and if we are to be ready to seize every opportunity for breaking up the Axis. We require unified political control just as we require unified military command. There are tasks for this control, which cannot be begun until the control is instituted; there are other tasks which are being done by bits and pieces of ad hoc committees and conferences, which carry on as best they can, but are in no way organically linked up with one another or with the main purpose of the United Nations. There are first of all the non-military aspects of winning the war, matters of supply, and political warfare. As to the latter, have we asked ourselves whether strategic broadcasting can be done effectively, when the United Nations as a body control no broadcasting station? The B.B.C. does excellent work on its overseas wavelengths; the Americans and the Russians are doubtless no less well advised and enthusiastic; but these services are British or American or Russian: there is no United Nations service. And when a representative of one of the Allies proposes to broadcast a message which is considered ill-timed, why should the odium of suppressing it fall upon one of the other Allies? Should not the direction of this highly important part of winning the war be a joint responsibility?

Here is another part of the political battle; there appear to be categories or grades of allies, some fully acknowledged, some partially acknowledged, some

tolerated. Whether Ethiopia is fully one of the United Nations, whether Albania is an ally, how far Austria (to whose independence we are pledged) can be admitted to our company; all these questions await solutions because of obstacles in individual foreign offices, and although there may be, and doubtless are, consultations between the allies on these difficult questions, the responsibility for solving them is everybody's and therefore nobody's, business. These are not matters which concern London or Washington or Moscow; they concern the United Nations.

The minds of responsible men and women are occupied more and more with preparations for the problems to be dealt with after the war. After a long struggle, it is now generally agreed that they cannot be left to be solved on the morrow of victory. There are economic problems and there is, in fact, an Allied Post-War Requirements Bureau. To whom is it responsible? For whom is it working? Are its problems entirely unrelated to the other post-war problems which the United Nations will have to face? If not, is it safe to leave it to work, so to speak, in a vacuum? What about the other cognate problems of agriculture, transport and medical relief? There is, again, the complex problem of the apprehension and trial of war criminals, and somewhere or other a committee is dealing with this. Who appointed it? To whom is it responsible? Are all the United Nations supporting and helping it? Are they all satisfied with it?

There is something lacking, and that something is machinery to enable the United Nations to take counsel, to exchange news and views, to formulate policy and to carry out such policy in real unity. It is all very well to go on speaking, as we do, of the United Nations; but, to be convincing to our friends and to our enemies, we require a visible sign of unity and of our determination to remain united even when the common danger which unites us has passed and the danger of disunity springs up. The United Nations can never act as a body until they have a body through which to act. Such a body would not only provide that visible sign of unity, now and for the future; it would co-ordinate and direct the various activities now being carried on by various committees in the common interest; it could extend this visible co-operation to other fields, now covered by merely national governments, or even fields not yet covered or even explored. Such a body should take over the direction of political warfare and should have at its disposal wavelengths issuing from British and American and Russian wireless transmitters.

Such a body would not lack for useful occupations, but its chief value would lie in something apart from all these. We all know, though some of us have been a long time in finding it out, that the war will be in vain and the victory wasted, if we do not succeed in

establishing effective international co-operation after the war for the dual purpose of preventing war and of mutual aid. The first attempt of 1919 failed; we cannot afford a second failure. Two alternative methods suggest themselves; either we can wait until the end of the war is in sight and then engage our wisest statesmen to meet and, in the light of their wisdom and having before them the experiences and lessons of the past, to draft a new League Covenant, as perfect as the wit of man can make it. Or we can establish now a body of the United Nations, charged with various functions in the prosecution of the war and with preparations for joint action when the fighting is over; such a body could establish the habit of joint enterprise and responsibility and would provide itself with the appropriate machinery for its task and then, when the time came for an organ of international co-operation to be established, we should have, not a paper scheme to be offered to the overtaxed governments of the world and to their weary peoples, but a going concern, accustomed to its work, recognised as the only international authority, and capable of opening its doors to all who were willing to add their contribution to the greatest opportunity ever presented to suffering mankind.

REPORT of action taken at the EXTRAORDINARY MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE on January 14th, 1943 at which the following were present:

Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Lord Cecil, Dean of Chichester, Miss Fawcett, Lady Hall, J.R.Leslie, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, J.Macdonald, Dr.Murray, Professor H.J.Paton, Lord Perth, H.S.Syrett, Alan Thomas, Sir Ralph Wedgwood, Sir George Young, K.Zilliacus and Major Freshwater.

The adjourned consideration of the Social & Economic Reconstruction Report, S.1001A, was continued.

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384

- pp.3,4 and 5
- I. International Obligations: No alterations were made.
 - II. International Machinery: This Section was altered to read:

We further considered -

"What international machinery would be needed for co-ordinating the action of various national governments"

We are unanimously of opinion that it is impossible to separate economic from political policy and that to set up two International Authorities, one for political matters and another for economic matters, would lead to confusion and prove quite unworkable.

In saying this we do not desire the abolition or essential modification of the I.L.O. We share the general approval of its work and hope it may be given larger resources and wider activities.

Subject to that observation we recommend that the work of economic reconstruction should be undertaken by the same International Authority as may be established to give security in the political field. The position of the I.L.O. is referred to below.

Consideration was given to the following amendment by Sir George Young:

"In the absence of any federal legislature, the central international economic organisation will not only have to be relieved of some of the onus of obligation but also reinforced so as to perform effectively the required operations. It can be relieved by distributing real responsibility for the necessary controls and co-operation down through subordinate Continental and/or regional Confederations as provided in the L.N.U. Statement of Post-War Settlement, Art.28, and in its President's pamphlet. It can be reinforced by suitable systems of indirect democratic representation for each autonomous or economic authority."

[It was decided to consider this amendment further after the whole Section had been completed]

III ²International Authority

The International Authority should set up a system of committees and technical secretariats in order to give effect to the agreements enumerated in Section I above. The States-Members would be represented in these committees on the principles governing their representation in the political organs of the International Authority.

The relation between these committees and the International Authority is a subject for arrangement when they have been brought into existence, the object being to secure efficiency and despatch while preserving the International Authority's ultimate control. We think that the latter should normally be responsible for taking the final decisions in every field of the International Authority's work and that the bodies concerned with economic, social and related questions should be autonomous in matters of internal organisation and procedure, including the appointment of ad hoc committees. The technical secretariats would form sections in the general Secretariat of the International Authority.

p.5 para 1: The new system of international cooperation on economic and social matters should include, in addition to the I.L.O., whatever has proved of value in the old League technical organisations and other international institutions concerned with the same subjects. The machinery devised by the United Nations to serve their war-time economic and social needs should be maintained as part of the new system of cooperation in so far as it can be adapted to serve the purposes of reconstruction.

para.2
line 14 We consider that the relevant sections of the treaty constituting the International Authority should contain the obligations to which the international economic and social machinery is intended to give effect. These obligations would be, broadly speaking, those set forth in the agreements quoted in Section I above. But they would no doubt include various consequential and supplementary obligations. In particular it should be agreed that the States members will provide themselves with all necessary powers to give effect to their economic and social obligations under the treaty, and to prevent any public or private interest from obstructing their fulfilment. Further, the States members should be asked to agree in principle to the consolidation of all existing international bodies dealing with the subjects hereinafter referred to.

Serious
[It was decided that after ~~the~~ A B C D, etc. had been dealt with, a decision would be made concerning the actual wording of the final paragraph, which at present runs -

of section II
"The following is intended merely as an illustration of the kind of obligations and machinery suggested by these general considerations."

and which Lord Cecil proposed to replace by -

"We append an illustration of the kind of obligations suggested by these general considerations."⁷

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p.5. A. Economic and Financial

The first sentence was altered to read:

The above-mentioned Treaties contain obligations to afford equal access to raw materials; to eliminate all forms of discriminatory treatment in international commerce; to reduce tariffs and other trade barriers; to expand production, employment and the exchange and consumption of goods; to secure improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security.

∟ No decision was arrived at concerning the wording of the remaining sentences of this Section 7

It was decided to hold another Special Meeting on February 11th, at 11 a.m., but if time permits further discussion of the Report will be resumed at the meeting on January 21st.

∟ In addition to the Report of the Social & Economic Committee (S.1001A) the following memoranda were considered: S.1014 by Lord Cecil, S.1012 by Mr. Zilliacus, S.1015 by Mr. Macdonald, Mr. Alan Thomas and Mr. Zilliacus, S.1016 by Lord Perth, S.1018 by Miss Waite. 7 *See Minute Jan 21.*

See Minute 409 of 21/1/43

CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE held at 11 Maiden Lane, W.C.2 on Thursday, January 21st, 1943 at 2.15 p.m.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Lord Cecil, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Fawcett, Dr. Garnett, Lady Hall, A.J. Howe, Lady Layton, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, J. Macdonald, Dr. Murray, Lord Perth, W.T. Pritchard, Councillor Shaw, Nowell Smith, Alan Thomas, Sir Ralph Wedgwood, Sir George Young, K. Zilliacus and Major Freshwater.

463 MINUTES: The Minutes of the meeting held on January 7th were confirmed after "ourselves" had been transposed to follow "we" in the second line of the final paragraph of Minute 460.

464 OFFICIAL ATTITUDE CONCERNING AN INTERNATIONAL POST-WAR ~~464~~
AUTHORITY: The Chairman reported that, in accordance with the instructions of the Executive at its last meeting, a draft pamphlet had been prepared embodying recent important statements by British and American statesmen. He thought the draft provided excellent material for a pamphlet or leaflet which, if desired, he would be willing to prepare. The Chairman's offer was welcomed by Dr. Murray, the author of the proposal, and accepted by the Committee.

465 UNITED NATIONS. Mr. Behrens' Memorandum: The Chairman reported that he had written to Mr. Behrens, who had prepared an article for the February HEADWAY.

Lord Perth corrected a statement he had made at the last meeting with reference to the United Nations Conferences under the Chairmanship of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. These Conferences were not held regularly, but only when the Secretary of State thought it necessary to call them. There were, however, a good many meetings of United Nations' Committees dealing with specific questions such as War Criminals.

The Chairman having indicated that no further action would be taken until Mr. Behrens' article had been published, Dr. Garnett expressed anxiety at the delay; he thought there was grave danger that the United Nations might find themselves immersed in Armistice negotiations before public opinion had been prepared. The Governments should agree among themselves, and then see that the public understood what they wanted to build on the foundations of the Atlantic Charter.

The Executive agreed to wait till they had an opportunity of reading Mr. Behrens' article before deciding on further action, and Dr. Garnett was invited to draft a Motion for consideration at the next meeting.

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463 REFUGEES: It was reported that, in accordance with the instructions of the Executive (Minute 460), a resolution had been agreed upon by the Chairman and Sir George Young, and a copy sent to Mr. Eden. The terms of the resolution having been read, it was decided that it should be published in HEADWAY. (460)

467 PAMPHLET "LET MY PEOPLE GO": It was reported that Mr. Victor Gollancz, the writer of the pamphlet, had supplied a considerable number of copies free to the Union for distribution to the Executive and the Branches. Copies had already been sent to members of the Executive, whose authority to post copies to the Branches was now asked for. Mr. Gollancz had provided plain stamped envelopes, free, for the purpose.

It was agreed that the distribution to Branches should be undertaken forthwith and, as an indication of the Executive's sympathy, that the Union's name and the address of the Head Office should be stamped on the envelopes; it was also agreed to call, in HEADWAY, the attention of Branches and members to the pamphlet.

It was further decided that at the next meeting the Executive should consider what further action could be taken. In this connection Lord Perth hoped that, as a great many Jews had been expelled from Poland, the Polish Government should be officially asked if, at the end of the war, it would be prepared to take them back; this would show how far they were really prepared to treat the Jews properly.

468 FEDERAL UNION PEACE POLL: A Manifesto and Form for a People's Poll, issued by Federal Union (copy filed with these Minutes) was read to the Executive. As the Manifesto and information about the Poll was contained in the current number of Federal Union News - the journal of Federal Union - and as the Executive decision about concurrent action with Federal Union (Minute 434) was also printed in Federal Union News, it was desirable that the Executive should decide what should be replied to L.N.U. Branches who asked for guidance about participation in the Poll.

It was decided to inform such Branches that the Executive Committee had not been consulted by Federal Union, but if they had they would have deprecated strongly the issue of this Manifesto at the present time. A successful poll was impossible in present conditions, as the necessary organisation and voluntary workers were not available and an unsuccessful poll would damage rather than help the cause. This was not therefore a case in which the Union could take concurrent action.

469 SOCIAL & ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION: Further consideration was given to the Report S.1001A. The following papers were also before the Committee: Lord Cecil's memorandum (S.1014), amendments prepared by Mr. Zilliacus at the request of the Chairman (S.1012), amendment by Mr.

-3 -

Macdonald, Mr. Alan Thomas and Mr. Zilliacus (S.1015), amendments by Lord Perth (S.1016), Miss Waite (S.1018) and Sir George Young (S.1006); also a redraft of the second paragraph on page 5 suggested by the Chairman (S.1020) and an alternative redraft by Mr. Zilliacus (S.1021), filed with these Minutes.

It having been pointed out that agreement had been reached as far as "social security" at the end of the first paragraph of Section "A" on page 5, it was decided to take Lord Perth's S.1016 as the basis for discussion of the remainder of the paragraph, which was finally agreed to in the following form:

"In view of these obligations the Governments concerned should examine sympathetically the possibility of establishing a universal means of exchange on the basis, if practicable, of an international monetary union. In addition to the regular system of committees and conferences, consideration should be given to the creation of such institutions as an International Economic Planning Board, an International Bank (absorbing the B.I.S.) and an International Investment Board. Such institutions, if established should, in principle, absorb older bodies, such as the International Institute of Agriculture, whose work is connected with economic and financial questions."

*See
Minutes of
Special
July 14/1943*

G.M.

see Report of July of 11/2/43
Chairman

4.2.43

The PEOPLE'S POLL for a PEOPLES' PEACE

WE, THE PEOPLE OF BRITAIN,
who sign this Manifesto, mean to use victory when it is won, to make realities of **FREEDOM FROM FEAR** and **FREEDOM FROM WANT**.

WE WANT UNITY FOR PEACE AS FOR WAR

We believe that the Nations United in war must become fully united in Peace, or there will be a return to isolationism and power politics, leading again to unemployment and another war.

We believe that the United Nations should unite even more fully in order to start a **WAR ON WANT** when we have won the war against the Axis. We should continue to pool our resources and to plan as a unit so that no nation may put its own interests before those of others, on whose freedom and prosperity its own depend.

Freedom from Want.—We believe that planning War on Want is a matter for the allied peoples and for a government above the nations. Co-operation cannot be relied on in peace time if left, as it is now, and as it was in the League of Nations, to committees of allied officials each advising his own government, which still remains free to pursue its own separate policy.

Freedom from War.—We believe that there must be a government above the nations, able to decide common policy and enforce common action for common affairs. It must also be able to prevent arms competition and economic warfare by control of armed forces, arms manufacture and trade relations.

Freedom from Tyranny.—We believe that a government with such powers, which is a **FEDERAL GOVERNMENT**, must be elected by the peoples of the different nations. Its powers must be limited to control of international affairs, so that national self-government for home affairs remains a reality.

We believe that nations not at first ready to come under this government should at least work with it as closely as possible in a new Commonwealth of Nations.

WE THEREFORE DEMAND THAT THE PEACE SETTLEMENT SHALL INCLUDE

- (1) A **CHARTER** defining the standards of living to be aimed at in a War on Want, and the liberties necessary to ensure a full life.
- (2) The **CONSTITUTION OF A DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION** for as many nations as will sign it.
- (3) A new **COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS** to encourage as much co-operation on a world scale as possible.

SOCIAL & ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTIONMemorandum by Lord Cecil

In formulating the policy of the I.N.U. on this question we must not lose sight of certain basic considerations. The Union is a body incorporated by a Charter which defines the purposes for which it exists. Its objects are to work for the maintenance of peace through the League of Nations. All the powers given to it are ancillary to that central purpose.

The Charter describes it as a "non-sectarian and non-party organisation" and that characteristic has been frequently insisted on by those, including myself, who have spoken on its behalf. Much of the support for it, financial and otherwise, has been given on that basis. It has not always been easy to maintain this position, especially in view of the anti-League attitude adopted by certain sections of political opinion. Sometimes the Union has thought it essential to advocate a policy different from that of the Government of the day. When that has been the case and, indeed, in all circumstances, great care has been taken so to word our views as to be as little offensive as possible to others.

It has been further an axiom that we are concerned only with international affairs, following in that respect the indication given in Article 15(8) of the Covenant. No doubt it is difficult to draw the line between national and international matters. Nevertheless, the fact that we are not concerned with national matters as such must not be forgotten.

Though we are not a party body, we are essentially political. The Council and Executive of the Union do not consist of experts in Economic, Military or Ecclesiastical questions. We can and do obtain advice on all those and similar matters. But we have rightly considered that we are not qualified to deal with technical matters of that kind in detail.

Though our Report is not a draft of a Treaty and may, therefore, contain to some extent argument as well as precise proposals, yet I believe for the above reasons it would be well to avoid argument and rhetoric as much as possible.

I venture therefore to propose the following changes in the draft S 1001.

p.1 I. International Obligations (as amended).

I have no changes to propose.

p.4 II. International Machinery

(As a matter of drafting, I think the first five paragraphs should follow the description of the objects aimed at)

P T.O.

At the end of the first para., after "unworkable", I suggest:

"In saying this we do not desire the abolition or essential modification of the I.L.O. We share the general approval of its work and hope it may be given larger resources and wider activities.

"Subject to that observation we recommend that... (omitting "therefore" and the reference to the I.L.O.)

In the next para:

After "Authority", substitute for the two following sentences:

"The relation between these committees and the International Authority is a subject for arrangement when they have been brought into existence, the object being to secure efficiency and despatch while preserving the International Authority's ultimate control."

p.5, para.1: After "reconstruction", for "we consider it essential" insert "It would seem desirable" (so as to avoid any appearance of dictation)

After "obligations" omit the rest of the paragraph and insert: "In particular it should be agreed that the States members will provide themselves with all necessary powers to give effect to their economic and social obligations under the treaty, and to prevent any public or private interest from obstructing their fulfilment."

Further, the States members should be asked to agree in principle to the consolidation of all existing international bodies dealing with the subjects hereinafter referred to.

In place of the next paragraph, I should prefer:

"We append an illustration of the kind of obligations suggested by those general considerations".

A. ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL

I accept the first sentence subject to drafting; the repetition of the word "obligations" is unnecessary and seems rather aggressive.

The second sentence seems inconsistent with the beginning of Section II. The use of phrases like Economic Planning and Investment Boards are vague and very alarming to our larger Allies and to sections of opinion here. These things should be allowed to grow as and when they become desirable. I propose the omission of this sentence.

B. TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS

First line, omit "sacrifice whatever degree of national sovereignty may prove necessary" and insert "take the measures necessary".

Subject to that, I accept the two paragraphs down to "post war world" (page 6). I propose the omission of the remainder. It seems likely to stir up considerable opposition and to be of doubtful advantage. I would not go further than the general provisions I have suggested.

C. LABOUR

p.6

I would leave out "at least" in line 3 and "as rapidly as possible" in lines 9-10.

In the last sentence "integrated" is objectionable. It looks like the abolition of the I.L.O. - see amendment to page 4.

There should be added words dealing with the unemployed. I append a suggestion:

"The most urgent of all labour questions is that of unemployment. To a large extent this must be dealt with domestically. But it may well be that considerable assistance can be obtained from the proper organization of International Trade. It is urgently necessary that a detailed study of the question should be made and that the views of other Governments as well as our own should be, if possible, obtained.

D. HEALTH

Leave out last sentence, for reasons already given.

E. EDUCATION

Though I sympathise with the object aimed at I cannot think that an international censorship of Educational text-books is either possible or desirable.

I suggest that Dr. Murray be asked to draft the paragraph having in view, among other things, the widely different educational position in Russia, China and the United States.

In any case, the last sentence should be omitted.

IV.

p.p. 6-9.

p.7. At the end of the first paragraph on p.7 there ought to be some reference to the action which the Government has already taken. I suggest:

"We are glad to understand that the Government have appointed a Committee presided over by a Minister (Sir William Jowitt) to examine and report upon Domestic Reconstruction. The speeches of the Foreign Secretary indicate that the international aspect is

also being considered. There have been further special reports (Scott, Uthwaite, & Beveridge) dealing with particular post-war problems. 4.

The third paragraph is too absolute. I suggest that the second sentence should run -
"With regard to such of these obligations as can only be fulfilled by States members who have taken the necessary domestic measures for that purpose, we have already said that they should provide themselves with all necessary powers to enable them to give effect to their treaty obligations."

The final sentence appears to be unnecessary and should be omitted.

With regard to the Fourth Paragraph, it does not appear to deal so much with the domestic legislation necessary to discharge our international obligations as with the advisability of carrying out a system of economic controls in the international sphere. How far that may prove to be necessary seems to me too early to say at present. I would rather leave it to the International Authority to determine what will be the best and most practicable course to take. In any case, I cannot believe that it would be wise to put before America or Russia or indeed many of the small Powers a proposal to create an "international economic planning board whose task it will be to harness the economic policies of the States members to the attainment" of any object. I observe China is not even mentioned, perhaps wisely. The paragraph should be omitted.

p.8.

The fifth paragraph (page 7) and the first on page 8 deal with unemployment and belong rather to the Labour section of the last chapter. They do not propose any domestic or international action beyond saying it must be of a "very far-reaching character". See my suggestion already made. These paragraphs should be omitted.

The second paragraph, after repeating the necessity of controls, suggests an international programme of public works. It does not belong here. This seems to me far better left to the working of the International Authority, but if it is desired, words might be added to the Labour Clause on the lines of the second sentence of this paragraph. The rest of it should be omitted.

The third paragraph, redrafted, might ask the Government to consider what could usefully be published. Much must depend on the course of international negotiations. As it stands, I could not agree to the paragraph.

The next three paragraphs seem to be arguments setting out some but by no means all of the arguments for dealing with unemployment. I do not think they fit in well with Proposals of the Executive Committee, but they would be of course in place as arguments in support of them.

I see no objection to the first part of the quotation from Mr. Winant - though it is rather rhetorical. But I would omit the second paragraph. I do not know what "service democracy" means.

S.1012
6.1.43

Amendments to S1001A prepared by Mr.Zilliacus at the request of the Chairman.

p.5, par.A: The Treaty constituting the International Authority should contain obligations to afford equal access to raw materials; to eliminate all forms of discriminatory treatment in international commerce; to reduce tariffs and other trade barriers; to expand production, employment and the exchange and consumption of goods; to secure improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security.

The establishment of a stable and universal means of exchange, preferably in the form of an international monetary union, would seem to be an indispensable condition for the fulfilment of these treaty obligations.

In order to perform the functions laid upon it by these obligations, the economic and financial organisation should possess, in addition to the regular system of committees and conferences, institutions such as an International Economic Planning Board, an International Bank (absorbing the B.I.S.) and an International Investment Board, public international unions connected with economic and financial questions, such as the International Institute of Agriculture, as well as the war-time machinery of the United Nations that is maintained for the purposes of reconstruction, should be taken over by the new economic and financial organisation.

p.6, par.E: Append a footnote referring to the International Assembly's Report on education and expressing general agreement with that document.

p.7, par.3, lines 6 & 7: Omit words "international action on the part of"

p.7, last sentence of last par: Omit "between the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. and"

p.8, par.4, lines 1 and 2: Omit "In order to perform this function successfully we must" and substitute "It is important that public opinion should"

Amendment to S.1001A submitted by Mr.J.Macdonald
Mr.Alan Thomas and Mr.Zilliacus. S.1015

Since the Economic and Social Committee's work was completed, the Beveridge Report has been published. The Report states that it constitutes an attempt to implement the social security obligation in Art.5 of the Atlantic Charter and that its provisions can be carried out only if it is accompanied by international as well as domestic measures to expand trade and production and to prevent mass unemployment. Comment on the Report has stressed the point that the chief industrial countries should adopt equivalent plans of social security if we are not to be at a disadvantage in international economic relations. British wireless propaganda to Europe and America has been 'plugging' the line that the proposals of the Report are in application of the Atlantic Charter and should be regarded as one element in a comprehensive economic and social policy of reconstruction being prepared by the United Nations and as one girder in the future edifice of peace.

For these reasons the L.N.U.'s memorandum on social and economic reconstruction would be out of date and incomplete and would lack topicality, punch and popular appeal if it did not refer to the international aspects of the Beveridge Report. Therefore we propose the following amendment to S.1001A:

On p.8, after the first paragraph (ending "all seem to us to require") insert the following:

'The case for concerting measures of this character at an early date and in any case before the end of hostilities receives support from the following passages of the Beveridge Report:

"The answer to the question whether freedom from want should be regarded as a post-war aim capable of early attainment is an affirmative - on four conditions. The four conditions are:

1. That the world after the war is a world in which the nations set themselves to co-operate for production in peace, rather than to plotting for mutual destruction by war, whether open or concealed;

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2. That the re-adjustment of British economic policy and structure that will be required by changed conditions after the war should be made, so that productive employment is maintained;
3. That a Plan for Social Security, that is to say for income maintenance, should be adopted, free from unnecessary costs of administration and other waste of resources;
4. That decisions as to the nature of the plan, that is to say as to the organisation of social insurance and allied services, should be taken during the war...

"The fifth clause of the (Atlantic) Charter declares the desire of the American and the British leaders 'to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field, with the object of securing for all improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security'. The proposal of this Report are destined as a practical contribution towards the achievement of the social security which is named in the closing words. The proposals cover ground which must be covered, in one way or another, in translating the words of the Atlantic Charter into deeds. They represent, not an attempt by one nation to gain for its citizens advantages at the cost of their fellow fighters in a common cause, but a contribution to that common cause."

'We agree with the views expressed in these passages of the Beveridge Report. We consider that the Government should -

- (a) Take as rapidly as possible the decisions called for in para.452 of the Report*
- (b) Invite the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. to join with us in exchanging information as to the domestic measures our respective countries have taken or are contemplating

* see end.

-3-

to abolish want and to establish social security, in pursuance of our common obligations under the Atlantic Charter

(c) Propose to those powers that we should undertake to reach equal standards of social security so soon as possible after the war; that we should frame a common economic programme designed to maintain employment and standards of living at the levels called for by our respective social security commitments; and that we should use our joint influence in the United Nations and in the future International Authority to secure both the widest possible adoption by other countries of equivalent measures of social security and their co-operation in an international economic programme directed to attaining common social objectives.'

* Paragraph 452 of the Beveridge Report reads as follows:

"To give effect to the Plan for Social Security embodied in this report, requires decisions of three kinds; decisions of principle, decisions of execution and detail and decisions of amount, that is to say of rates of benefit and contribution. Decisions of the third kind, as to rates of benefit and contribution, do not need to be taken now; they can wait until the probable level of prices after the war is better known. Decisions of the first kind, that is to say decisions of principle, can be taken now and need to be taken if any plan of social Security is to be ready when the war ends. The decisions required are -

1. A decision to introduce a unified comprehensive scheme of social insurance embodying the six fundamental principles set out in para. 303-309: flat rate of subsistence benefit, flat rate of contribution, unification of administrative responsibility, adequacy of benefit, comprehensiveness and classification;
2. A decision to entrust administration of the scheme to a Ministry of Social Security;

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3. A decision to appoint some person or body to prepare the necessary legislation and bring the scheme into being, so that it is ready when the war ends.

Decisions of this character can be taken by Parliament alone. If His Majesty's Government accept the main recommendations of the Report, it is suggested that the first step would be to submit to Parliament resolutions approving the introduction of a scheme of social insurance and allied services, in accordance with the principles named, and approving the constitution of a Ministry of Social Security. If these resolutions were accepted, there should follow the setting up of some authority - a Minister, a group of Ministers or a body of Commissioners - to prepare the necessary legislation. The bringing into effect of a scheme on the lines of the Report involves the repeal of many Acts of Parliament and their replacement by one or two Acts of Parliament and a mass of detailed regulations. Consideration of the new legislation proposed would give Parliament a second opportunity of judging the scheme in concrete form. All the detailed regulations, in accordance with normal practice, would be laid before Parliament before being put into force."

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

For consideration at the SPECIAL MEETING of the Executive Committee at 11 a.m. on Thursday, January 14th, 1943.

Social & Economic ReconstructionAmendments to S.1001A prepared by Lord Perth.

Mr. Zilliacus in his Commentary S.1007 states that the paragraph on page 5 labelled "A. Economic & Financial" repeats textually the Economic and Social obligations quoted in Section I. It also contains further obligations "to establish a universal means of exchange, if practicable, on the basis of an international monetary union" and also mentions as part of the machinery to be set up "an International and Economic Planning Board, an International Bank and an International Investment Board."

Although this obligation "to establish a universal means of exchange, if practicable, on the basis of an international monetary union" and the setting up of the machinery mentioned above have the support of important economic authorities, they represent an extension of the agreed undertakings and fall, therefore, into a different category. Would it not be desirable to indicate this difference in the report?

I suggest this distinction might apply not only to A but also to B, and the following alternative wording:

A. Economic and Financial

"Obligations to afford equal access to raw materials; to eliminate forms of discriminatory treatment in international commerce; to reduce tariffs and other trade barriers; to expand production, employment and the exchange and consumption of goods; to secure improved labour standards, economic and social security.

The Governments concerned should also examine the possibility of establishing a universal means of exchange, if practicable, on the basis of an international monetary union. In addition to the regular system of committees and conferences, consideration should be given to the creation of such institutions as an International Economic Planning Board, an International Bank (absorbing the B.I.S.) and an International Investment Board. Such institutions, if established, would absorb older bodies, such as the International Institute of Agriculture, whose work is connected with economic and financial questions."

B. Inter-State Transport and Communications.

The States Members should undertake to review the transit conventions adopted through the League, and to accept their obligations so far as they prove applicable to the conditions of the post-war world.

Inter-State communications by post, telegraph, telephone and wireless (including broadcasting and television) should all be brought under international control.

Existing international agencies concerned with transport and communications should be fused into a simple comprehensive organisation (this implies the absorption of the Universal Postal Union, the International Telegraphic Alliance and similar bodies.)

Consideration should further be given to the possibility of establishing effective international organisation and control of shipping on international routes, of inter-state civil aviation and in general of communications between States by road, rail and water.

I suggest for

D. Public Health and Social Questions

"The obligations contained in the various agreements concluded under the auspices of the League Health Organisation and the Office Internationale d'Hygiene Publique should be accepted by the States Members.

There should be a single world-wide health organisation absorbing and uniting all the international bodies active in this field and co-ordinated with the rest of the social and economic machinery of the International Authority. The States Members should examine whether it is practicable to ascertain and lay down from time to time the minimum standard of nutrition, housing and leisure considered necessary for civilised existence in various areas of the world.

E. Education.

The States-Members should co-operate in education with a view to reaching agreement on such matters as the teaching of history, ethnology and international relations. They should also review, etc. (as in draft)

p.7 Second sentence of paragraph 3

I suggest the following drafting amendment:

"But it is obvious that these international obligations can only be fulfilled by such States as have taken domestic measures to enable them to co-operate effectively."

First sentence of last paragraph:

For "during the peace" substitute

"at any rate during the early years of peace and perhaps permanently"

p.7 Last sentence of last paragraph:

Amend as follows:

"In carrying out this task Great Britain, in virtue of her geographical position and her membership of the British Commonwealth of Nations, will have a vitally important function to perform as a link between the new world and the old".

The specific mention of the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. is likely to cause offence in both these countries. The more general phraseology I suggest avoids this difficulty.

p.8 Last sentence of paragraph 2:

For the words "It should also include the preparation, by agreement between the nations, of programmes of public works, etc". substitute

"The States Members should consider the desirability of preparing by agreement programmes of public works, etc".

The report would thus call attention to public works of an international character, but would not pronounce on their value as an international remedy for unemployment.

First sentence of paragraph 4

Omit the words: "in order to perform this function successfully".

These words, if I remember rightly, were inserted when the paragraph in question came in a different place in the draft report.

p.9 I propose that the last paragraph of the quotation from Mr. Winant should be omitted and replaced by the last paragraph of S.995A, namely:

"Collective security for national life in the political field and collective security for national livelihood in the economic field should be our objectives. Both require active initiative and not complacent inactivity".

It seems to me more fitting that the report should end with words from the Committee itself.

Perth,
12.12.42.

S.1018
13.1.43

For the Extraordinary Meeting of the
Executive Committee on December 14th at 11 a.m.

SOCIAL & ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION

Note by Miss Waite.

I realise how difficult it is for the Union to refer to immediate domestic policy, but I feel that there are several dangers in the present flood of rather vague plans:

1. Section of people who were not previously very progressive are eagerly accepting these plans almost, it would seem, to satisfy their own consciences. Often they do not really know what they mean themselves. Unless we force these people to express clearly both to themselves and to others what they mean, we may find that in the post-war world they will be on the side of reactionary planning - or a new version of a totalitarian state.

2. Another section, mainly the non-politically minded working classes, are accepting these plans as a promise of Utopia. If they are not given concrete examples and do not realise that in practice some of the planning may well mean great sacrifice on their part, they will be so disillusioned after the war that they will support extremes either of the right or left.

Both of these dangers will react badly against the things for which the Union stands.

3. Amongst the more politically conscious people it is impossible to do propaganda for vague generalisations about the future. The people of my own district with whom I am in contact always raise three points in a bitter, cynical way:

- (a) The financial suffering amongst their neighbours who have been victims of air raids, or who have lost their menfolk;
- (b) The patchy re-housing policies;

-2-

- (c) That there has been no concrete planning to prevent unemployment which they fear, not immediately after the war, but in the years when the reconstruction boom has died down.

4. These same points are being raised by some of our own young members, especially those in the forces, and one or two have told me that they find nothing to support in the Union's policy because it contains too many generalisations, even though they still firmly believe in its fundamental principles.

I do not suggest that these problems can be mentioned in detail in any document we issue, but do propose the addition of the following as the penultimate paragraph of the Report:

"We realise that broad principles must first be formulated as a guide to post-war planning. We have referred above to the need for national domestic policies which will enable governments to implement their international obligations, but we feel that if the public is to give its wholehearted support to such a policy it will need to be convinced of the sincerity of future promises by actions to alleviate some of its immediate sufferings. We believe, further, that knowledge of such action taken in our own country would encourage those countries at present under enemy occupation to support our plans for international reconstruction, since evidence of achievement in territory under our own authority would prove our earnestness and ability in a wider sphere."

S. 1006
14. 1. 1943.

Section II (final draft) after "political field" -

"In the absence of any federal legislature, the central international economic organism will not only have to be relieved of some of the onus of obligation but also reinforced so as to perform effectively the required operations. It can be relieved by distributing real responsibility for the necessary controls and co-operations down through subordinate Continental and/or regional Confederations as provided in the I.M.U. Statement of Post War Settlement, Art. 28, and in its President's pamphlet. It can be reinforced by suitable systems of indirect democratic representation for each autonomous or economic authority."

For consideration by the Executive on 21/1/43
under Item 3(b) of the Agenda.

S.1020
1.15.43

SOCIAL & ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION

Redraft suggested by the Chairman

as the result of the discussion at the Meeting
of the Executive on Jan.14th, of the paragraph
commencing on page 5, line 14, of S.1001A.

We consider that the relevant sections of the treaty
constituting the International Authority should contain
the obligations to which the economic and social machinery
is intended to give effect.

These obligations would be, in the first instance,
those set forth in the existing international agreements
referred to in Section I of this Report, namely the
undertakings to afford equal access to raw materials;
to eliminate all forms of discriminatory treatment in
international commerce; to reduce tariffs and other
trade barriers; to expand production, employment and
the exchange and consumption of goods; to secure
improved labour standards, economic advancement and social
security (see Mutual Aid Agreement above).

In addition to these there are other proposals which
have been made by very influential authorities which
should, we think, be carefully examined by the Govern-
ments concerned, namely the establishment of a universal
means of exchange on the basis of an international mone-
y union; the creation of an International Bank
(absorbing the B.I.S.) and an International Investment
Board.

Whether or not these proposals will find sufficient
agreement to be embodied in the ultimate treaty we cannot
say. We consider them to be very valuable approaches
to international unity of action in the economic and
financial fields, but they can only be adopted if they are
able to secure general agreement, for it must be remembered
that our object is to secure unity, not to promote disunity.

We are however convinced that the economic planning, by
which we mean the organisation across political frontiers
of the common economic interests of nations, is the most
promising action that can be taken to prevent war. The
further we can go therefore in this direction by agreement
the better.

It is, we think, more important even than the adop-
tion of any one or all of these proposals that the States
Members of the International Authority should provide
themselves with all the powers necessary to give effect
to such social and economic obligations as they do under-
take, and should prevent any public or private interest
from obstructing their fulfilment.

We also think that States Members should be asked
to agree in principle to the consolidation of all exist-
ing international bodies dealing with the subjects
referred to in this Report (such as the International
Institute of Agriculture and the war-time machinery of
the United Nations).

So far we have dealt only with the economic and
financial fields. Three other fields remain to be
considered.

For consideration by the Executive on
21/1/43 under Item 3(b) of the Agenda.

S.1021
19.1.43

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

Social & Economic Reconstruction.

Alternative to the Chairman's redraft, S.1020,
submitted by Mr. Zilliacus.

The Chairman's redraft suggests, in effect, re-writing the paragraph beginning on p.5, 1.14, S.1001A and the first section of par.A (as redrafted in S.1012). Both these texts have already been considered, amended and agreed to by the Executive.

The redraft further suggests turning the proposals in the remaining sections of par.A into matters recommended for study by the Governments, and abolishing "A" altogether as a separate paragraph.

I am most anxious to facilitate agreement. But I believe the Executive should take the responsibility of making definite proposals as regards international, economic and financial obligations and machinery, as they are part and parcel of the organisation of peace, and that these proposals should have a paragraph to themselves in the same way as our proposals about transport, labour, health and education.

For these reasons I propose that we should abide by the agreement reached at the January 14th meeting of the Executive as regards the text of the par. beginning on p.5, 1.14 and the text of the first section of par.A (see S.1012). These texts, as amended and agreed to by the Executive on January 14th, read as follows:-

"We consider that the relevant sections of the treaty constituting the International Authority should contain the obligations to which the international economic and social machinery is intended to give effect. These obligations would be, broadly speaking, those set forth in the agreements quoted in Section I above. But they would no doubt include various consequential and supplementary obligations. In particular it should

be agreed that the States members will provide themselves with all necessary powers to give effect to their economic and social obligations under the treaty, and to prevent any public or private interest from obstructing their fulfilment.

"Further, the States members should be asked to agree in principle to the consolidation of all existing international bodies dealing with the subjects hereinafter referred to.

"We append an illustration of the kind of obligations suggested by these general considerations"
(The actual wording of this has not yet been finally decided).

"A. Economic & Financial.

"The above-mentioned Treaties contain obligations to afford equal access to raw materials; to eliminate all forms of discriminatory treatment in international commerce; to reduce tariffs and other trade barriers; to expand production, employment and the exchange and consumption of goods; to secure improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security."

I propose the following redraft of the remaining sections of par.A:

"We believe that the Governments concerned will find it extremely difficult to give effect to these obligations unless they establish a stable and universal means of exchange on the basis of an international monetary union, and unless they include in the economic machinery of the International Authority such bodies as an International Bank (absorbing the B.I.S.), an International Investment Board and an International Economic Planning Board.

"We also think that the war-time machinery of the United Nations that is maintained for purposes of reconstruction, the surviving activities of the Economic and Financial Sections of the League of Nations Secretariat, and all existing international bodies that deal with economic and financial subjects, such as the International Institute of Agriculture, should in principle be combined with the new machinery to be established, into a single comprehensive economic and financial organisation, forming part of the International Authority."

Confidential 7/8

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE held at 11 Maiden Lane, W.C.2 on Thursday, February 4th, 1943, at 2.15 p.m.

PRESENT: Dr. Murray (in the Chair), F.M. Burris, Miss Fawcett, Dr. Garnett, Lady Hall, A.J. Howe, D.L. Lipson, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, J. Macdonald, W.T. Pritchard, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, Nowell C. Smith, A.E.W. Thomas, Miss Waite, Sir Ralph Wedgwood, Sir George Young and Major Freshwater.

470 MINUTES. The Minutes of the meeting held on January 21st were confirmed as circulated.

471 OFFICIAL ATTITUDE CONCERNING POST-WAR AUTHORITY: The Chairman said he was examining the material which had been prepared and would report again later.

472 UNITED NATIONS: Attention was called to the article by Mr. Behrens in the current number of HEADWAY and consideration was given to a Motion (copy filed with these Minutes) by Dr. Garnett; the Motion was adopted in the following form and it was decided to ask Lord Lytton to see the Foreign Secretary about it:

That steps be taken to ascertain from the Foreign Secretary, if possible in a private interview

- (1) Whether H.M. Government have seen the need for creating, either during or immediately after the end of hostilities, some common council of the United Nations to correlate all their common activities and direct them to a common end;
- (2) Whether the United Nations are taking effective steps to create such an international authority;
- (3) Whether the Governments of the United Nations have reached agreement upon other means by which the principles of the Atlantic Charter are to be applied in the Armistice negotiations and afterwards; and
- (4) Whether His Majesty's Government have good reasons for withholding information on these points from the public.

473 THE JEWS: It having been reported that action on the lines suggested on page 9 of the pamphlet "Let my People Go" (Minute 465) had already been taken by a number of Branches, the hope was expressed that Branches all over the country would do the same

Miss Rathbone spoke of the great reception given to this pamphlet, necessitating the opening of a special office at 30 Maiden Lane to deal with correspondence and stressed the importance of resolutions and letters being sent to their local Members of Parliament by Branches and

individuals. Dr. Murray and Dr. Garnett spoke of large and enthusiastic audiences at Oxford Meetings. The question having been raised about action in the City of London, the London Regional Federation was asked to take the matter up with the Lord Mayor and to inform him that the pamphlet was welcomed by the Executive; Mr. Howe undertook to deal with this.

The Committee was then informed that at a meeting of Peers and Members of Parliament it had been decided to bring the following Motion before both Houses:

That in view of the massacres and starvation of Jews and others in enemy and enemy-occupied countries, this House desires to assure His Majesty's Government of its fullest support for immediate measures, on the largest and most generous scale compatible with the requirements of military operations and security, for providing help and temporary asylum to persons in danger of massacre who are able to leave enemy and enemy occupied countries.

It was decided to inform the Foreign, Home and Colonial Secretaries that the Executive welcomed the Motion and gave it its hearty support.

Dr. Murray reported that the Jewish Committee had met earlier in the day and had worked over a draft Report he had prepared. The Committee would be meeting again on March 4th at 11 a.m. and he hoped agreement would be reached.

474 REFUGEES. A letter (copy filed with these Minutes) from Mr. Eden to Lord Lytton, acknowledging and commenting on the resolution on Refugees passed by the Executive on Jan. 7th, was read.

475 POST-WAR INTERNATIONAL POLICY: Dr. Murray reported that the sub-committee, appointed to meet a representative of the Halifax Branch had met on Jan. 28th and had gone through with Mr. Smithson, the Halifax representative, the Motion which the Branch had submitted to the General Council in November last. Mr. Smithson was told about the attention the Executive was giving to a Report on Social & Economic Reconstruction which it was hoped to circulate to Branches in good time before the next meeting of the General Council and which would deal with a number of things referred to in the Halifax Motion. When the Report was finished the Executive would give reconsideration to the Statement of Policy in the light of its decisions on the Report, of developments since the Statement had been drawn up and of the discussion with Mr. Smithson. The Executive was always ready to consider anything it received from Branches. Mr. Smithson had expressed gratitude for the valuable talk he had had.

476 COMPOSITION OF THE EXECUTIVE: It was decided that a list of members and attendances should be available at the next meeting.

477 L.N.U. & F.U. A report of a joint meeting in Kensington was received; it was decided to circulate copies for consideration at the next meeting.

See Minute #72

S.1024

For consideration by the Executive Committee
on February 4th under Item 3 of the Agenda.

UNITED NATIONS

Motion by Dr. Garnett.

That steps be taken to ascertain from the Foreign Secretary, if possible in a private interview -

- (1) Whether the Governments of the United Nations have seen the need for and have agreed to create, either during or immediately after the end of hostilities, some Common Council of the United Nations to correlate all their common activities and direct them to a common end;
- (2) Whether the Governments of the United Nations have reached agreement upon other means by which the principles of the Atlantic Charter are to be applied in the Armistice negotiations and afterwards; and
- (3) Whether there is not a grave danger lest these plans of H.M.G. may not be upset unless British public opinion has been persuaded beforehand that they are on the right lines.

100
428
170

Dr. Garnett to H. C. Lytton

100
p. 428

REPORT of action taken at the EXTRAORDINARY MEETING
of the Executive Committee on Thursday, February 11th,
1943 at 11 a.m.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Lord Cecil, Miss
Fawcett, Lady Hall, Dame Adelaide Livingstone,
J. Macdonald, Dr. Murray, Lord Perth, Alan
Thomas, Sir Ralph Wedgwood, Sir George Young
and K. Zilliacus.

The adjourned consideration of the Social & Economic
Reconstruction Report, S.1001A, was continued:

p.5 B. Inter-State Communications

A redraft (S.1026) ^{Red} by Mr. Zilliacus was considered.
The first paragraph was adopted in the following form:

Consideration should be given to what further
obligations may be necessary for the effective
regulation of shipping on international routes,
of civil aviation and, in general, of communica-
tions between States by road, rail, air and
water, by post, telegraph, telephone and wireless
(including broadcasting and television).

*Red
See Appendix
20/2/43*

The third and fourth paragraphs were adopted as they
stand and it was agreed to consider at a later meeting
a redraft of the second paragraph to be submitted by
Lord Lytton after consultation with Lord Perth and
Mr. Zilliacus.

It was decided that the third paragraph should be
placed first.

p.6 C. Labour

This section was adopted as it is with the omission
of "at least" in the third line, the substitution of
"co-ordinated" for "integrated" in the eleventh line and
the addition of the following:

The most urgent of all labour questions is that
of unemployment. This is in part a matter which
must be dealt with domestically, but it is very
closely bound up with the proper organisation of
international trade. It is urgently necessary
that a detailed study of the question should be
made and that the views of other Governments as
well as our own should be, if possible obtained.

D. Public Health & Social Questions.

This was adopted in the following form:

The obligations contained in the various agreements
concluded under the auspices of the League Health
Organisation and the Office Internationale d'Hygiene
Publique should be accepted by the States Members
in so far as they prove applicable to post-war
conditions.

see next page

-2-

p. 6

There should be a single world-wide health organisation absorbing and uniting all the international bodies active in this field and co-ordinated with the rest of the social and economic machinery of the International Authority.

The States-Members should examine how far it is practicable in continuation of the work done in this subject by the League Health Organisation and the I.L.O.

E. Education

Dr. Murray was asked to submit a redraft.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNIONS. 1026
10.2.43.Social & Economic Reconstruction

Amendment submitted by Mr. Zilliacus for the Special Meeting
of the Executive Committee 11.2.43

This amendment is an attempt to go half way in meeting the views of Lord Cecil and Lord Perth, as expressed in their drafts, as well as to give adequate weight to the question of civil aviation.

B. Inter-State and Communications.

The States-members should undertake to accept whatever obligations may prove necessary for the international organisation and control of shipping on international routes; of inter-State 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).

With regard to civil aviation in particular we draw attention to its close connection with military aviation and to the fact that it is today a means of transport which in virtually all countries is dependent on Government subsidies and control. We suggest that Governments should consider the possibility, in order to avoid national rivalries potentially dangerous to peace, of establishing an international monopoly - World Airways - under the direct control of the International Authority, for all inter-State, or at least inter-Continental air traffic. An alternative might be that all States-members should accept the obligation to allow air lines controlled by the International Authority to cross their territory and to use their aerodromes, while retaining their rights of sovereignty in the air with regard to privately or nationally owned and/or controlled air lines.

The States-members should undertake to review the transit conventions adopted through the League, and to accept their obligations so far as they prove applicable to the conditions of the post-war world.

Existing international agencies concerned with transport and communications should in principle be fused into a single comprehensive organisation (this means that room should be found in one form or another within the new machinery for what remains of the League Transit Organisation; for the transport controls established by the United Nations that they may decide to maintain; and for older bodies such as the Universal Postal Union and the International Telegraphic Alliance.

S.1029
17.3.43

Social & Economic Reconstruction Report S.1001A.
Alteration for Section E.

by Dr. Murray.

EDUCATION: The Council for Education in World Citizenship, which now takes the place of the Education Committee of the LNU, is engaged, together with the London International Assembly, in studying the Place of Education, Science and Learning in Post-War Reconstruction and has issued its First Report in 46 closely printed pages. It deals with Educational Reconstruction in the Enemy-occupied countries, the Re-education of the German people, and the Principles of Education in the Post-war System.

Without discussing in detail the recommendations of this Report we would observe:

While some common educational background is an almost necessary condition of concord between nations, its own educational system is generally felt by each country as a very intimate possession, in which any interference by foreigners is apt to be resented and certainly any attempt at coercion would rouse violent hostility. Nations must on the whole educate themselves. Nevertheless, as a measure of self-defence, the United Nations must prevent the continuance of an artificial system of education devoted to the encouragement of war.

1. During the occupation of Germany by Allied Troops, it is suggested that there should be a High Commissioner for Education with powers to eradicate, as far as possible, the Nazi system by removing incompetent and unprincipled teachers put in by the Nazi Government, reinstating good expelled teachers or discovering new ones; examining and, where necessary, removing the text books introduced for propaganda purposes after 1933; and disallowing University courses on bogus or pseudo-scientific subjects.

2. After this interim period, an International Organisation for Education should be formed, on the lines of the Committee of Intellectual Co-operation, with much the same duties, but with far greater resources

P.T.O.

and governmental support. The defeated nations should be members of this organisation on perfectly equal terms. National Committees, like the National Committees of the C.I.C., should be formed in each State member for the purpose of co-operating with the International Organisation and putting its recommendations into effect.

3. This Organisation should operate by free discussion and persuasion and should not insist on uniformity of educational methods. In cases of danger or grave difficulty it should have the duty of reporting to the International Authority.

4. On certain subjects, in which nationalist propaganda has perverted the truth to a dangerous extent, such as history, ethnology and international relations, an effort should be made to obtain a broad general agreement among competent authorities. If a Committee of the International Historical Association, for example, would produce an agreed outline of European History; if some similar body of expert ethnologists could explain the main facts of the race question; such books would have a great effect on teaching and on the writing of text-books and might gradually put an end to the extremes of nationalist propaganda by making them obviously ridiculous.

5. As to domestic measures, it seems clear that the main necessity in Great Britain is to secure for all boys and girls, irrespective of the work or poverty of their parents, access to such education as is most suitable to their tastes and abilities; to continue the national system to a much later age by the provision of Continuation Schools, both technical and cultural; and to raise the general educational standard of the country by a great development of Adult Education. In general access to education must be democratized, but emphatically this must not be done by lowering the quality of the education itself.

(For further details we refer to the above-mentioned Report.)

Confidential

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE held at 11 Maiden Lane, W.C.2 on Thursday, February 18th, 1943, at 2.15 p.m.

PRESENT: Dr. Murray (in the Chair), Colonel Cazalet, Lord Cecil, Miss Fawcett, Dr. Garnett, A.J. Howe, J. Macdonald, Nowell C. Smith, Lord Perth, W. Arnold-Forster, Sir Ralph Wedgwood, Sir George Young, K. Zilliacus and Major Freshwater.

476 MINUTES: The Minutes of the meeting held on February 4th were confirmed as circulated except for the insertion of a sentence, immediately before the last paragraph of Minute 473, recording the appreciation of the Executive for the important statement made in the House of Commons on February 3rd by the Colonial Secretary.

479 MR. SYRETT: The Committee having been informed of the death of Mrs. Syrett, passed a vote of condolence with Mr. Syrett.

480 OFFICIAL ATTITUDE CONCERNING POST-WAR AUTHORITY: Dr. Murray reported that he had sent a letter to the TEES; Lord Cecil stated that he had put down a Motion for consideration by the House of Lords.

481 JEWISH AND OTHER REFUGEES: Mr. Howe reported that he had written to the Lord Mayor in accordance with the decision in Minute 473 and that he understood that further action had been taken by Mr. Syrett. It was also reported that Lord Lytton had written personally to the Lord Mayor.

Colonel Cazalet said Miss Rathbone and he were of opinion that someone of the standing of Dr. Nansen should be appointed to take charge of Refugee work and thought that, to this end, pressure should be put on the Government. Mr. Van Zeeland, who was now in America, where he was *persona grata*, was shortly coming to London: Colonel Cazalet thought he would be a very suitable person to appoint.

482 COMPOSITION OF THE EXECUTIVE: On the Motion of Dr. Murray, Professor Basil Williams was co-opted to the Executive, it having been pointed out, in reply to an observation made by Sir George Young, that the action was not to be taken as any sort of approval of the attitude towards Federal Union taken by Professor Williams.

483 L.N.U. and F.U. In the absence of Lord Lytton it was decided to defer consideration of Sir George Young's Report of the Kensington Meeting till the next regular meeting of the Committee.

154

WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR: The following resolution of the Beddington, Carshalton & Wallington Branch was received:

"That the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union be requested to consider the following points of view and to report fully thereon to the Council:

(1) The present constitution of the League of Nations requires amendment in order to give it a more democratic basis. The only really sound democratic constitution would be one based upon direct election by the various peoples. Assuming this ideal to be not immediately practicable, some approach to it should be made, and the particular method of such approach is a matter for urgent consideration by the Executive Committee. The relative voting power of each State should receive special attention.

(2) Paragraphs 20 to 26 of the Union's Statement of Policy for WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR involve regional arrangements for varying obligations - military and economic. These paragraphs require reconsideration in the light of the entry into the war of the Soviet Union and the United States of America, the twenty years' pact with Russia, and the establishment of the United Nations as a fighting alliance. The post-war position will inevitably grow out of the present position, and the need for complicated regional arrangements and a variety of obligations will disappear. In any case economic sanctions, which are slow and uncertain in action, will be of secondary importance, and the only effective reply to military aggression will be military action.

(3) A reformed and democratically-constituted League growing out of the United Nations, and including what are now neutral and enemy countries, should be given positive tasks - particularly of economic reconstruction - and definite powers. Its first aim should be the attainment of world co-operation and friendship. Ultimately it should possess an international force, but this would not be practicable until the League had firmly established itself as a world organisation. In the meantime the United Nations should undertake to resist aggression and for this purpose should arrange for the complete co-ordination of their armed forces, as well as for whatever measure of actual fusion of these forces is practicable."

It having been reported that the Branch had sent a copy of its resolution to the Hull Branch, it was decided to ascertain what action, if any, Hull purposed taking, and then decide whether or not to invite representatives of either or both branches to meet a Sub-Committee, which should be smaller than that appointed to meet the representative of the Halifax Branch on January 28th.

485 Mr. Whelan: Mr. Nowell Smith read the following letter he had received from Mr. Whelan, from Paris, dated October 14th, and in answer to one sent in June:
 Delighted receive message. Cordial greetings to your household. Greatly look forward to our next meeting. Chief activities here remembering friends and reading.

186 MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE 18/2/43. The following report was made by Mr. Howe:

1. The Membership Return for 1942 (copy filed with these Minutes) showed that a larger number of new members had been enrolled than in 1941 and that the total number of subscriptions collected was 31,364 as compared with 29,354 in 1941.

2. It had been agreed that a list of suggestions based on proposals put forward by the L.R.F. should be prepared for the use of organisers of Brains' Trust meetings.

3. The Committee had decided to invite the Dean of Chichester to discuss with them the possibility of continuing the work of the Christian Organisations Committee.

4. Between 200 and 250 branches subscribed for the Posters; there were 14 new subscribers this year. It had been agreed that the name of the Union should be made more prominent and bolder type used generally, and that it was desirable that one of each set of 3 Posters should draw attention to the work of the Union and/or the League.

5. It had been decided to invite "Youth" representatives, including Miss Betty Shields Collins, Miss Betty Sparks and Miss Betty Rutherford Smith, to meet some members of the Committee to consider how the post-war organisation of the Union should be developed.

6. There was strong feeling that there should be some change in the Union's title; United Nations Union had been suggested.

7. A letter had been received from Mrs. Beale suggesting that members of Branches might be invited at times to meet the Membership Committee to discuss difficulties.

8. The Committee would, in future, meet at 11 a.m. on the third Thursday in every other month, commencing April 15th.

487 YOUTH COUNCIL ON JEWISH CHRISTIAN RELATIONSHIPS: A letter was read inviting the Executive to appoint an Observer or representative on the Council; it was decided to ask Miss Waite to act as an Observer.

488 AMERICA: Colonel Cazalet gave his impressions of a recent visit to America.

G.M.
 Chairman.
 4.3.43.

S. 1023
18.2.43

For the Membership Committee

Individual Membership Subscriptions Collected

	<u>1940</u>		<u>1941</u>		<u>1942</u>	
	<u>New</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>New</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>New</u>	<u>Total</u>
Jan.	102	5,287	31	3,584	69	2,594
Feb.	144	8,941	94	5,726	105	4,179
March	347	13,553	69	4,646	99	4,707
April	298	11,980	33	6,259	165	7,160
May	287	12,218	97	6,083	107	3,683
June	145	7,216	90	4,086	82	3,817
July	71	5,306	123	4,429	139	4,746
August	65	4,420	79	4,446	104	2,456
Sept.	52	2,710	84	2,507	65	2,732
Oct.	94	4,793	108	4,261	122	3,392
Nov.	91	4,173	92	5,121	103	3,735
Dec.	<u>145</u>	<u>20,499</u>	<u>290</u>	<u>17,914</u>	<u>475</u>	<u>18,049</u>
	<u>1,861</u>	<u>101,076</u>	<u>1,190</u>	<u>69,354</u>	<u>1,638</u>	<u>61,364</u>

Collective Membership Subscriptions collected in 1942

667 Corporate Members
32 Industrial Associates
21 Affiliated Members.

REPORT of action taken at the EXTRAORDINARY MEETING of the Executive Committee on Thursday, February 25th, 1943, at 11 a.m.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Lord Cecil, the Dean of Chichester, Miss Fawcett, Lady Hall, J. Macdonald, Dr. Murray, Lord Perth, Sir George Young, Dr. Basil Williams, Sir Ralph Wedgwood, K. Zilliacus and Major Freshwater

The adjourned consideration of the Social & Economic Reconstruction Report, S.1001A, was continued.

pp.5 & 6

B. Inter-State Communications

This was adopted in the following form:

The States-members should undertake to review the transit conventions adopted through the League, and to accept their obligations so far as they prove applicable to the conditions of the post-war world.

Consideration should be given to what further obligations may be necessary for 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)

With regard to civil aviation in particular we draw attention to its close connection with military aviation and to the fact that it is today a means of transport which in virtually all countries is dependent on Government subsidies and control. We suggest that Governments should consider how best to avoid international rivalry potentially dangerous to peace.

Two alternative principles have been suggested as applicable to the problem:

(1) The establishment of a "World Airway", directly controlled by the International Authority, for all inter-state or at least inter-continental air traffic.

(2) The acceptance by all States-members of the obligation to allow air lines regulated by the International Authority to cross their territory and to use their aerodromes, while retaining their rights of sovereignty in the air with regard to privately or nationally owned and/or controlled air lines.

It would seem necessary that any solution should be based upon one of these principles or possibly on a combination of them both.

Existing international agencies concerned with transport and communications should in principle be fused into a single comprehensive organisation (this means that room should be found in one form or another within the new machinery or what remains of the League Transit Organisation; for the transport controls established by the United Nations that they may decide to maintain; and for older bodies such as the Universal Postal Union and the International Telegraphic Alliance.

E. Education.

It was agreed to accept Dr. Murray's S.1029 as the basis of further discussion and to defer consideration of the amendments, S.1030 by Dr. Garnett till he is present.

Insert after first paragraph:

A We are glad to understand that the Government have appointed a Committee presided over by a Minister (Sir William Jowitt) to examine and report upon Domestic Reconstruction. The speeches of members of the Government indicate that the international aspect is also being considered. There have been further special reports (Scott, Uthwaite & Beveridge) dealing with particular post-war problems.

Third paragraph:

Alter second sentence to read:

But it is obvious that these international obligations can only be fulfilled by such States as have taken domestic measures to enable them to co-operate effectively.

Omit last sentence.

Fourth paragraph:

Alter to read:

B It is fairly clear that in order to make these international agreements effective, much of the present system of economic controls established by the war should be maintained at any rate during the early years of peace and perhaps permanently, and that the national bodies for controlling and planning economic life should be represented in some international economic planning board whose task it will be to harness the economic policies of the States-members to the attainment of the common social objectives to which they are pledged. This will not be an easy task, because at the end of the war the chief nations of the

world are likely to have different social structures and different types and degrees of government control over their economic life.

p.8. Insert after first paragraph:

The case for concerting measures of this character at an early date and in any case before the end of hostilities receives support from the following passages of the Beveridge Report:

"The answer to the question whether freedom from want should be regarded as a post-war aim capable of early attainment is an affirmative - on four conditions. The four conditions are:

1. That the world after the war is a world in which the nations set themselves to co-operate for production in peace, rather than to plotting for mutual destruction by war, whether open or concealed;
2. That the re-adjustment of British economic policy and structure that will be required by changed conditions after the war should be made, so that productive employment is maintained;
3. That a Plan for Social Security, that is to say for income maintenance, should be adopted, free un-/from/necessary costs of administration and other waste of resources;
4. That decisions as to the nature of the plan, that is to say as to the organisation of social insurance and allied services, should be taken during the war.....

The fifth clause of the Atlantic Charter declares the desire of the American and the British leaders 'to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field, with the object of securing for all improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security'. The proposals of this Report are designed as a practical contribution towards the achievement of the social security which is named in the closing words. The proposals cover ground which must be covered, in one way or another, in translating the words of the Atlantic Charter into deeds. They represent, not an attempt by one nation to gain for its citizens advantages at the cost of their fellow fighters in a common cause, but a contribution to that common cause."

We agree with the views expressed in these passages of the Beveridge Report. We consider that the Government should take as rapidly as possible the decisions called for in paragraphs 2, 3 and 4 above.

p.8 The second paragraph was adopted in the following form:

The programme of economic co-operation, if it is to achieve its end should, in our view, include a system of international economic controls, based on national controls as suggested above, and supported by the preparation, on international lines, of all relevant statistical information. The States-members should consider the desirability of preparing by agreement programmes of public works of an international character, or such as are likely to affect international trade, especially those which are calculated to increase the welfare and productive powers of undeveloped nations and areas.

NOTE: As Lord Cecil did not consider that the paragraph belongs here, it was agreed to consider, at the report stage, the possibility of adding to Section C. Labour, words on the lines of the second sentence of this paragraph.

For consideration by
Executive 25.2.43
at 11.a.m.

S.1030
22.2.43

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

Social & Economic Reconstruction Report S.1001A

B. Inter-State Communications

(S.1026 by Mr.Zilliacus)

(The 1st, 2nd and 4th paragraphs below are as adopted by the Executive on 11.2.43; the 3rd paragraph is a redraft and is submitted for approval)

The States-members should undertake to review the transit conventions adopted through the League, and to accept their obligations so far as they prove applicable to the conditions of the post-war world.

Consideration should be given to what further obligations may be necessary for 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).

Two alternative principles have been suggested as applicable to the problem:

(1) The establishment of a "World Airway", directly controlled by the International Authority, for all inter-state or at least inter-continental air traffic.

(2) The acceptance by all States-members of the obligation to allow air lines regulated by the International Authority to cross their territory and to use their aerodromes, while retaining their rights of sovereignty in the air with regard to privately or nationally owned and/or controlled air lines.

It would seem necessary that any solution should be based upon one of these principles or possibly on a combination of them both.

P.T.O.

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Existing international agencies concerned with transport and communications should in principle be fused into a single comprehensive organisation (this means that room should be found in one form or another within the new machinery for what remains of the League Transit Organisation; for the transport controls established by the United Nations that they may decide to maintain; and for older bodies such as the Universal Postal Union and the International Telegraphic Alliance.

E. Education

Dr.Murray's redraft (S.1029)

Amendments to S.1029 by Dr.Garnett:

1. Replace the word is in the first line of the third paragraph by "and some common bond of ideals (or, at least, some common loyalty and common purpose) are"
2. Replace, in the paragraph numbered 2 at the bottom of p.1, the words "on the lines of the Committee of Intellectual Co-operation, with much the same duties, but with far greater resources and governmental support" by "It should be representative of Governments, Education Authorities, Teachers', Parents' and Students' Associations. It should have far greater resources and governmental support than the Committee of Intellectual Co-operation ever possessed. Among its many other tasks the I.O.E. would
 - (a) prepare international agreements upon minimum educational standards;
 - (b) advise, inspect and report upon carrying out of such agreements;
 - (c) make financial grants in aid of educational expansion to states requiring such assistance;
 - (d) provide a bureau of research and information on educational organisation and methods;
 - (e) recommend methods whereby the peoples of all countries can best be educated in the knowledge of international co-operation and the spirit of world citizenship, and prepare, inspect and report upon such international agreements as may be concluded for this purpose;

-3-

(f) carry out on behalf of the member states such enquiries and such undertakings as they may agree upon for the further advancement of education generally, and in particular of education for world citizenship.

3. Replace the word This at the opening of para.3 on p.2 by "The first aim of this Organisation would be the development of a sense of common citizenship among all the peoples of the United Nations. The"
4. Insert after the word abilities in the 5th line of para.5 on p.2: "and will best fit them for their duties as citizens as well as for the service of their own countries and of mankind."

p.9 Extract from Mr. Winant's Speech.

The following is submitted by Lord Cecil as a substitute for the extract from Mr. Winant's speech or in addition to it:

We have, in accordance with the desire of the Council, drafted a more detailed statement of the economic and social reforms which we recommend, without pledging ourselves to their practicability in the near future. At the same time it must not be forgotten that the object for which the League of Nations Union exists is the maintenance of peace on the general lines of the Covenant of the League of Nations; that is to say, by the support of a League or Confederation of Nations whose chief duty it is to prevent or arrest international aggression. If that duty is to be performed, each of the states members of the League must regard as its primary obligation to use the whole of its strength for resistance to any aggressor and for protection of the victim. It was the failure of the states members of the League, and particularly of some of the larger powers, to recognise this duty that led to the breakdown of the League. No social or economic reform is an adequate substitute for its performance and any teaching which implies the contrary is a grave danger to future peace.

S.1031
25.2.43

For consideration at the Special Meeting
of the Executive, February 25, 1943

Amendments to S.1001A - Draft Report on
Social & Economic Reconstruction.

Pages 5 and 6, Section B. Amendment by Mr. Zilliacus - S.1030

Page 6, Section E. See papers S.1029 (Dr. Murray) and S.1030, p.2, (Dr. Garnett)

Page 7, Lord Cecil, S.1014:

Add the following at the end of the first paragraph:

We are glad to understand that the Government have appointed a Committee presided over by a Minister (Sir William Jowitt) to examine and report upon Domestic Reconstruction. The speeches of the Foreign Secretary indicate that the international aspect is also being considered. There have been further special reports (Scott, Uthwaite & Beveridge) dealing with particular post-war problems.

Page 7 Third paragraph, second sentence.
Lord Cecil. Alter to read:

With regard to such of these obligations as can only be fulfilled by States members who have taken the necessary domestic measures for that purpose, we have already said that they should provide themselves with all necessary powers to enable them to give effect to their treaty obligations.

Mr. Zilliacus, S.1012: Omit "international action on the part of"

Lord Perth, S.1016: Alter to read:

But it is obvious that these international obligations can only be fulfilled by such States as have taken domestic measures to enable them to co-operate effectively.

Page 7, Third paragraph, last sentence

Lord Cecil, S.1014: Omit the sentence

Fourth paragraph:

Lord Cecil, S.1014: Omit the paragraph.

Lord Perth, S.1016: Replace "during the peace" in first sentence by "at any rate during the early years of peace and perhaps permanently".

Mr. Zilliacus, S.1012: Omit "between the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. and" from last sentence.

Page 7. Lord Perth, S.1016. Alter last sentence to read:

In carrying out this task Great Britain, in virtue of her geographical position and her membership of the British Commonwealth of Nations, will have a vitally important function to perform as a link between the new world and the old.

Page 7, fifth paragraph (continued on page 8)

Lord Cecil, S.1014: Omit the paragraph.

Page 8. After first complete paragraph add as in 'S.1015

Second complete paragraph.

Lord Cecil, S.1014: The paragraph does not belong here, but if it is desired, words might be added to Section C - Labour, on the lines of the second sentence of this paragraph and the rest of the paragraph omitted.

Lord Perth, S.1016:

For the words "It should also include the preparation, by agreement between the nations, of programmes of public works, etc" - substitute

The States Members should consider the desirability of preparing by agreement programmes of public works, etc.

Page 8, third paragraph.

Lord Cecil, S.1014: This paragraph, redrafted, might ask the Government to consider what could usefully be published. Much must depend on the course of international negotiations. I could not agree to the paragraph as it stands.

Page 8, fourth paragraph:

Lord Perth, S.1016: Omit the words "In order to perform this function successfully."

Pages 8 and 9. Fourth paragraph on page 8 and the succeeding

two paragraphs.
Lord Cecil, S.1014: These three paragraphs seem to be arguments setting out some but not all of the arguments for dealing with unemployment. I do not think they fit in well with the proposals of the Executive Committee, but they would be in place as arguments in support of them.

Page 9. Mr. Winant's speech

Lord Cecil's proposals on p.3 of S.1030

Page 9. Lord Perth, S.1016:

Omit last paragraph and replace by -

Collective security for national life in the political field and collective security for national livelihood in the economic field should be our objectives. Both require active initiative and not complacent inactivity.

Miss Waite, S.1018: Add as the penultimate paragraph:

We realise that broad principles must first be formulated as a guide to post-war planning. We have referred above to the need for national domestic policies which will enable governments to implement their international obligations, but we feel that if the public is to give its wholehearted support to such a policy it will need to be convinced of the sincerity of future promises by actions to alleviate some of its immediate sufferings. We believe, further, that knowledge of such action taken in our own country would encourage those countries at present under enemy occupation to support our plans for international reconstruction, since evidence of achievement in territory under our own authority would prove our earnestness and ability in a wider sphere.

Pages 3 & 4, Section II:

Sir George Young's proposal S.1006.

For consideration by
Executive 4.3.43

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

Social & Economic Reconstruction Report
S.1001A.

E. Education

Note & Amendment by Mr. Zilliacus.

In its present form, Dr. Murray's alternative text (S.1029) is out of proportion to the texts we have already adopted for Sections A, B, C and D, particularly in view of the fact that Education, although so important as to require mention, is nevertheless not quite such a central feature in our report as the sections on Economics, Finance, Transport and Labour. I therefore venture to propose that part only of Professor Murray's text should go into Section E and the rest, which in any case deals largely with questions of detail and transitional measures, should be embodied in a footnote. The Section that should go into E, as amended in the light of Dr. Garnett's proposals (S.1030, p.2), and of the discussion in the Committee when the matter first came up, might be on the following lines:

Amendment

The States-members should recognise that Education is a matter of international concern. On the one hand some common educational background leading to a common bond of loyalty, or at least to a common purpose and understanding, is an almost necessary condition of concord between nations. On the other hand, the evils that have flowed from Fascist and militarist education show that there should be some international means of preventing the system of education in any country being directed to the encouragement of war.

Therefore the new International Authority should contain an International Organisation for Education, representative of governments, education authorities, teachers, parents and students associations. It should take over all that had proved valuable in the work and organisation of the International Committee and International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, but should have far greater resources and governmental support than those bodies ever possessed.

On certain subjects, in which nationalist propaganda has perverted the truth to a dangerous extent, such as History, Ethnology and International Relations, an effort should be made to obtain a broad general agreement among competent national authorities. These authorities should have the right to make complaints to the International Organisation for Education about any school or university text book on any of these subjects issued by a State-member, and the International Organisation for Education should have the duty to investigate such complaints and to issue recommendations.

P. T. O.

Amendment by Mr. Zilliacus to Lord Cecil's proposal on

p. 3 of S.1030.

After the first sentence, substitute the following for the original text:

The proposals we make are in our view ultimately essential to the success of the new International Authority because, in the words of WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR, "reconstruction is vital to peace". At the same time it must not be forgotten that, as stated in the same paragraph, "peace is essential to reconstruction" and "both depend on the supremacy of law". The object for which the League of Nations Union exists is the maintenance of peace by the support of a League or Confederation of Nations capable of promoting co-operation between all nations on matters of common concern; effecting the settlement of disputes by pacific means; controlling armaments; and preventing or if necessary arresting international aggression. It is true, as stated in the constitution of the International Labour Organisation, that peace cannot in the long run be maintained unless it is based on social justice. But neither can social justice prosper except in the context of international justice. The obligations and machinery of the new League of Confederation must be such as to enable it to grow into an effective system of world government. But it will become a real world government only if the confederated states regard the fulfilment of their obligations as members as the major purpose of their foreign policy, as a matter of honour and vital interest and as their prime duty to civilisation.

S.1032
24.2.43

Social & Economic Reconstruction

Amendment to Lord Cecil's final paragraph (p.3 S.1030)
by Sir George Young.

Substitute for last sentence "No social.....
future peace."

"So long as the moral and material authority of the League rests on the military armaments of Sovereign States and not on the results of recent economic evolution and scientific civilisation, so long will the risk of such break-down not only continue but increase. For, as the results of applying to a co-operative civilisation a sanction suitable only to competitive civilisations become more ruinous and repugnant, peaceful and progressive peoples will be more reluctant to resist aggression. The degree to which war can be eliminated therefore depends on the development of a federal system whose sanction is an economic interdependence and a democratic ethic."

SOCIAL & ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION

Submitted by Lord Cecil to replace his proposal in S.1030:

We have, in accordance with the desire of the Council, drafted a more detailed statement of the economic and social reforms which the Executive Committee recommend. Our report is an elaboration of Articles 11-13 of WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR. It is based on the view, expressed in Art.4 of this document, that "reconstruction is vital to peace". It agrees with the statement in the constitution of the International Labour Organisation that in the long run peace cannot be maintained unless it is based on social justice. It recognises that in the post-war world governments will be actively engaged in fostering the trade and industry of their respective countries, so that their peoples may have work, a reasonable standard of living, and social security. It suggests machinery and obligations through which governments can co-operate to their mutual advantages in pursuit of these objects.

We believe that action on the lines suggested would also strengthen the International Authority and make it a more effective guarantor of peace. But it must not be forgotten that the object for which the League of Nations Union exists is the maintenance of peace on the general lines of the Covenant of the League of Nations, which includes as one of the chief duties of the League the obligation to prevent or arrest international aggression. If that duty is to be performed each of the states-members of the International Authority must regard as its primary obligation the use of the whole of its available strength for resistance to any aggressor and the protection of the victim. It was the failure of some of the larger powers to recognise fully this duty that led to the breakdown of the League. No social or economic reform is an adequate substitute for its performance, and any teaching which implies the contrary is a grave danger to peace.

Amendment by Mr. Zilliacus.

Replace the whole of the above by:

We have, in accordance with the desire of the Council, drafted a more detailed statement of the economic and social reforms which the Executive Committee recommend. Our report is an elaboration of Articles 11-13 of WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR. It is based on the view, expressed in Art.4 of this document, that "reconstruction is vital to peace". It agrees with the statement in the constitution of the International Labour Organisation that in the long run peace cannot be maintained unless it is based on social justice. It recognises that in the post-war world governments will be actively engaged in fostering the trade and industry of their respective countries, so that their peoples may have work, a reasonable standard of living, and social security. It suggests

machinery and obligations through which governments can co-operate to their mutual advantage in pursuit of these objects.

We believe that action on the lines suggested would strengthen the new International Authority and make it a more effective guarantor of peace in three ways: First by removing economic incentives to war; second by giving the states-members such a stake in the new League or Confederation that its normal work would visibly become part of the bread and butter politics and the daily lives of their citizens, and its success would come to be felt as literally a matter of vital interest; third by making an important contribution of the problem of peaceful change.

But it should never be forgotten that the object for which the League of Nations Union exists is the maintenance of peace by the support of a League or Confederation of Nations capable of acting as an effective system of world government. The prime function of government, in world affairs as on a national scale, is to uphold law and order. The supremacy of law means two things in international relations: the settlement of disputes by pacific means and the use of force to prevent or arrest aggression. If the new International Authority is to be any more effective in keeping the peace than the old League, the member-states must fully accept the duty to use force in upholding the supremacy of law and in preventing or ending aggression. How this obligation is to be discharged in the new International Authority, that is, how disputes are to be adjudicated, armaments and war industries controlled, and force assembled and applied to resist aggression, are matters that fall outside the scope of this report. But they are part and parcel of the organisation of peace, and will impose onerous duties on all the states-members, duties which they will be more likely to accept and better able to discharge efficiently if they organise their common economic interests and pledge themselves to common social progress on the international lines suggested in this report.

Amendment by Lord Perth.

Replace the last sentence but one of the above proposal by Lord Cecil by:

"unless the states-members, particularly the larger powers, fully recognise this duty, the International Authority will break down."

Confidential

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE held at 11 Maiden Lane, W.C.2 on Thursday, March 4th, 1943 at 2.15 p.m.

PRESENT: Dr. Murray (in the Chair for Minutes 490 and 491), Lord Lytton (in the Chair for other Minutes), Lord Cecil, the Dean of Chichester, Mrs. Dugdale, W. Arnold Forster, Miss Fawcett, Dr. Garnett, Lady Hall, A. J. Howe, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, J. Macdonald, G. le M. Mander, Lord Perth, W. T. Pritchard, Miss Rathbone, Nowell C. Smith, H. S. Syrett, A. E. W. Thomas, Professor Basil Williams, Sir George Young, K. Zilliacus Sir Ralph Wedgwood and Major Freshwater.

MINUTES: The Minutes of the meeting held on February 15th were confirmed as circulated.

WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR (Minute 484) It was reported that the Secretary of the Biddington, Carshalton and Wallington Branch had communicated with the Hull Branch, who had suggested that the Branch should lay its views before the Executive straight away, obtain the Executive's answer and then revise its resolution as it thought fit and submit it for consideration at the General Council meeting in June.

It was agreed that a representative of the Biddington, Carshalton & Wallington Branch be invited to meet the Chairman and Dr. Murray.

JEWISH COMMITTEE (4.3.43) Dr. Murray said that an agreed Report was almost ready for circulation to the Executive.

An Appendix to the Report, containing suggestions for the immediate dealing with the problem, had been prepared. The Committee, however, thought it best to hold it up for the time being in view of the paragraph in the TIMES that morning referring to a Note (text not yet available) from the U.S. Government proposing that British and U.S. representatives should meet in Ottawa with reference to the calling of an International Conference to deal with refugees from countries overrun by the Germans.

The Committee was of opinion that, should such a Conference be held, there should be an international organisation under someone of governmental political status, with authority and power such as Dr. Ransen had, to carry out the policy agreed upon at the Conference, and that provision should be made for the financing of any scheme agreed to by the Conference, seeing that the cost would be altogether too large to be met by a charitable institution.

Lord Cecil hoped that anything the Union might say to H.M. Government about an International Conference would be accompanied by a definite statement that the Executive hoped the Government would, none the less,

go on with anything they were already doing; he feared that the meeting of British and U.S. representatives referred to in the Note might lead to delay. He thought it better that the British Government should have a policy of its own and should entrust some individual with the power of calling together an inter-departmental committee immediately to see what was practicable.

Miss Rathbone was concerned at the delay in taking action and wondered whether the Conference really met the urgency of the case.

Dr. Murray said that the Appendix recommended things that could be done by the United Nations and by this country at once, and envisaged an approach to the enemy to ascertain under what conditions the emigration of Jews and others to whose presence they objected would be permitted.

Finally the Officers of the Union were authorised to take any action they might think desirable when the text of the Note about the Conference had been made clearer.

It was also decided to keep the Jewish Committee in being.

Miss Rathbone referred to a co-ordinating Committee which had been set up by the Liberal Organisation and on which Lord Crewe, Colonel Cazalet and (she thought) Mr. Greenwood as representing Labour, were serving; she hoped that the L.N.U. would also be represented on it.

492 UNITED NATIONS (Minute 472) The Chairman reported that he had not felt justified in approaching Mr. Eden at the present time on the resolution passed by the Executive on February 4th, especially in view of the fact that Lord Cecil had put a Motion on the Order Paper of the House of Lords which would be discussed at the end of March and enable these questions to be raised.

Lord Cecil hoped Dr. Garnett would be satisfied if he and Lord Lytton went together to see Mr. Eden prior to discussion of the Motion in the House of Lords and put before him the points detailed in the resolution.

It was decided that the result of this interview and of the discussion in the House of Lords should be brought before the Executive in due course.

493 L.N.U. AND F.U.: Sir George Young presented a report (filed with these Minutes) on a joint meeting of the Kensington Branch of the L.N.U. and F.U.

Sir George was desirous of having a report printed in HEADWAY, like any other Branch meeting. After considerable discussion it was agreed that Sir George or the Chairman of the Kensington Branch, Professor Basil Williams, might write a letter to the Editor of HEADWAY

in the usual way, setting forth the proposals made at the Kensington meeting; the Editor would exercise his discretion concerning the publication of the letter. Further it was suggested that if Sir George and Professor Williams thought it desirable, they might submit a resolution on the lines of the last sentence of the Report.

494 MR. MORRISON'S SPEECH AT THE GUILDHALL: Lord Cecil presented the following Motion:

That it is very desirable for the Union to support as strongly as possible the post-war policy advocated by Mr. Herbert Morrison on February 24th and that it be referred to the Officers of the Committee to draft a short leaflet with this object.

It was decided that a letter be sent to Mr. Morrison telling him that the Union thought his speech at Guildhall on February 24th should be read by everybody and asking him to agree to the Union suggesting to the Ministry of Information that the speech should be printed as a pamphlet, copies of which the Union would undertake to distribute to its members; and that if the Ministry were not willing to do this, would Mr. Morrison agree to the Union printing his speech and distributing it in pamphlet and leaflet form.

495 GENERAL COUNCIL: It was resolved that the Twenty-Fourth Annual Meeting of the General Council be held in London on Thursday and Friday, June 24th and 25th.

496 SOCIAL & ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION REPORT:

The Committee continued its examination of the draft Report, S.1001A.

p.6 E. Education

After consideration of Dr. Murray's draft, S.1029, with amendments by Dr. Garnett (S.1030) and Mr. Zilliacus (S.1034), Dr. Murray undertook to give further consideration to those amendments and to submit a redraft of his S.1029.

p.8 Fourth paragraph: It was decided to replace the first line and the first word of the second line by "It is important that the public should"

[At the suggestion of Lord Cecil it was decided to re-examine the fourth paragraph on p.8 and the two succeeding paragraphs on the "Report" stage. To Lord Cecil it seemed that these three paragraphs were arguments setting out some, but not all of the arguments for dealing with unemployment; he did not think they fitted in well with the proposals of the Executive, but they would be in place as arguments in support of them.]

p.9 Second line: Omit "and particularly the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R."

Consideration was then given to proposals by Lord Cecil (S.1030), Mr. Zilliacus (S.1034) and Lord Perth (S.1016) (filed with these Minutes), and it was finally decided that the closing part of the Report covered by the above three documents should be decided upon after the Report itself (S.1001A), as amended at the meetings on 10.12.42, 7.1.43, 14.1.43, 21.1.43, 11.2.43, 16.2.43, 25.2.43 and 4.3.43 had been considered.

It was decided that copies of the amended Report should be circulated for consideration at the meeting on March 18th.

Lytton
Chairman,
18.3.43.

S. 1025.
10.2.43.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS OR FEDERAL UNION

Report of a meeting of the Kensington Branch
from Sir George Young

Why not both? was the answer arrived at after lively discussion at the first Joint Meeting of the L.N.U. and F.U. in Kensington on January 30th. The agreement as to co-operation between the Central Executive having been explained by the Chairman, Rev. J.C. Ballantyne, the previous agreement between the Kensington Branch L.N.U. and the W. London F.U. as to a common policy was expounded by Sir George Young (L.N.U. Executive) and Professor Catlin (F.U. Council). This agreement was for beginning with what Sir George defined as "a League of confederated Nations and national Federations" in the reconstruction period following that of post-war restoration; this League being so organically democratic that "by economic evolution and ethical education" it would grow naturally within a generation, as Professor Catlin described, from "a Free Assembly of Sovereign Nations into a Sovereign Assembly of Free Nations". As to how to secure more expeditious and effective evolution and insure against usurpation of the international authority and its air power, it was decided in discussion that this could be secured by the democratic constitutions of Federation interposed between the central Confederation and the formerly sovereign Nations, also by instituting occupational and social electorates to reinforce parliamentary representation.

It was also proposed that the two organisations should practice as well as profess Federalism by confederating under a campaign committee. A resolution moved by Prof. B. Williams (Chairman, Kensington L.N.U.) was unanimously passed urging the central Executive to promote Branch Joint meetings generally.

Confidential

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE held at 11 Maiden Lane, W.C.2, on Thursday, March 18th, 1943, at 2.15 p.m.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Mrs. Beale, Lord Cecil, Dean of Chichester, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Fawcett, Lady Hall, A.J. Howe, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, J.R. Leslie, J. Macdonald, Dr. Murray, Lord Perth, W.T. Pritchard, Miss Rathbone, Nowell C. Smith, A.E.W. Thomas, Sir Ralph Wedgwood, Professor Basil Williams, K. Zilliacus & Major Freshwater

497 MINUTES: The Minutes of the meeting held on March 11th were confirmed as circulated.

498 WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR: The Secretary reported that the Beddington, Carsaltton & Wallington Branch had appointed two representatives to meet the two representatives of the Executive and had suggested that the discussion of their resolution should take place on the morning of Thursday, April 1st.

As the Chairman is already engaged on that morning it was left to the Secretary to arrange for another date.

499 THE JEWS: (Minute 491) The Chairman said that, SWINE to Mr. Eden's visit to America, no action had been taken.

Miss Rathbone said that at a conference in the House of Commons it had been decided to send a telegram, over the signatures of influential people, to Mr. Eden, urging him to use the opportunity which his visit to America presented, to get everything possible done for the Jewish refugees, and stating that this country was willing to make any sacrifice to help which was not incompatible with the war effort. She thought it would impress American public opinion to have as many signatures of a highly representative character as possible.

The Executive authorised Miss Rathbone to use its name and the names of the Joint Presidents and Chairman in this connection.

The Chairman reported that at the request of the L.R.F. he had written to the Lord Mayor about the holding of a meeting. The Lord Mayor had replied that Mr. Eden thought that it might embarrass the Government.

It was agreed to send the Appendix to the Report of the Jewish Committee to the Prime Minister, the Foreign Office, the Home Secretary and the Colonial Secretary.

- 500 UNITED NATIONS (Minute 492): Lord Lytton and Lord Cecil said they would try to arrange an early meeting with Lord Cranborne to discuss the motion and to urge that if there was to be an international authority after the war, the nucleus of such an authority should be created among the United Nations during the war.
- 501 MR. MORRISON'S SPEECH (Minute 494). It was reported that a reply had not yet been received from Mr. Morrison.
- 502 SIR GEORGE YOUNG: The resignation of Sir George Young from the Executive was accepted with regret.
- 503 UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF WALES: It was resolved to re-appoint Dr. Murray to represent the Union on the Advisory Board of the Wilson Chair of International Politics.
- 504 SOCIAL & ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION: The draft Report embodying all amendments up to date (S.1037) was before the Committee and consideration was given to proposals by Miss Waite (S.1018), Lord Cecil (S.1041), Mr. Zilliacus (S.1041) and Lord Perth (S.1031 and 1041) for the concluding paragraphs of the Report. The following was finally agreed to:-

"We have, in accordance with the desire of the Council, drafted a more detailed statement of the economic and social reforms which the Executive Committee recommend. Our report is an elaboration of Articles 11-13 of WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR. It is based on the view, expressed in Art.4 of this document, that 'reconstruction is vital to peace'. It agrees with the statement in the constitution of the International Labour Organisation that in the long run peace cannot be maintained unless it is based on social justice. It recognises that in the post-war world governments will be actively engaged in fostering the trade and industry of their respective countries, so that their peoples may have work, a reasonable standard of living, and social security. It suggests machinery and obligations through which governments can co-operate to their mutual advantages in pursuit of these objects.

We believe that action on the lines suggested would also strengthen the International Authority and make it a more effective guarantor of peace. But it must not be forgotten that the object for which the League of Nations Union exists is the maintenance of peace on the general lines of the Covenant of the League of Nations, which includes as one of the chief duties of the League the obligation to prevent or arrest international aggression.

We have dealt elsewhere with the political and other methods for organising resistance to aggression, but to avoid misconception it is important to insist that in the end all member-states must be prepared to

use the whole of their available strength for organising resistance to an aggressor and the protection of a victim, as described in WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR. Unless the States-members, particularly the larger powers, fully recognise this duty, the international authority will break down. No social or economic reform is an adequate substitute for its performance, and any teaching which implies the contrary is a grave danger to peace.

Collective security for national life in the political field and collective security for national livelihood in the economic field should be our objectives. Both require active initiative and not complacent inactivity."

✓The Chair was taken by Dr. Murray during the discussion of this item 7

505

CONTROL OF COLONIES: Paper S.1039 by Mr. Macdonald on Colonel Stanley's Speech on March 5th (copy filed with these Minutes) was considered, as was a message from Lady Layton.

It was agreed that there should be a Note in HEADWAY on Colonel Stanley's speech of March 5th, his subsequent speech and that of Mr. Churchill in the House of Commons, and the Mandate principle referred to in the Union's draft Report on Colonial Settlement.

Layton

Chairman.

1. 4. 43.

Control of Colonies - Post-war Policy
Colonel Oliver Stanley's Speech.
Oxford, 5th March, 1943.

S.1039

Occasions occur when a reaffirmation of principle becomes necessary. The speech delivered by the Colonial Secretary, as above, presents such an occasion. He is reported to have said, inter alia:

1. "The administration of the British Colonies must continue to be the sole responsibility of Great Britain."
2. "Because I believe strongly that the administration must remain British, and the sovereignty national, it does not mean that I exclude the possibility of close international cooperation."
3. "I am more interested in what Britain thinks of the British Empire than in what the United States of America think of it, and if I know the people here are interested in our Colonies, are instructed about our Colonies, and being both interested and instructed, are satisfied with our Colonies, then I should feel content."

It is not for the League of Nations Union to attempt to reconcile the curious contradictions in these statements. It is the Union's business, however, to reaffirm their adherence to the Mandate principle as expressed on p.5 of "A Draft Report on Colonial Settlement", which reads -

"The ruling idea of trusteeship, voiced by Great Britain in a series of official statements, and accepted by the States-members of the League of Nations, under Article 22 of the Covenant, should be generalised from the mandated areas to which it now applies by international treaty, to all colonial areas in which it would represent an advance towards self-government."

Possibly no good purpose would be served by drafting an appropriate resolution for submission to the Colonial Office but the nationalist spirit displayed in the Colonial Secretary's speech does call for a reaffirmation by the Executive Committee of the Union of the Mandate principle and, as an offset to the speech, an immediate communication should be sent to all Branches embodying such reaffirmation and explaining, quite shortly, the cause for such action.

James Macdonald
 12.3.43.

EDUCATION AND THE UNITED NATIONSMotion for General Council

1. The General Council of the League of Nations Union warmly welcomes the report on The Place of Education, Science and Learning in Post-War Reconstruction, prepared by a Joint Commission of the London International Assembly and the Council for Education in World Citizenship. Without necessarily endorsing all the detailed proposals of the Commission the Council trusts that they will receive the earnest consideration of H.M. Government and of the governments of the other United Nations. In particular
 2. The General Council pays homage to the professors, teachers and students of the occupied countries who daily risk their lives or have already fallen in the fight for liberty and truth. It views with horror the brutal destruction of education, science and all true learning by our enemies in the countries they have overrun and recognises that their reconstruction will be a task beyond all private charity and must be regarded as the collective responsibility of all the United Nations who should contribute to it in proportion to their wealth and opportunity. For this reason the Council urges H.M. Government to propose the immediate formation of a United Nations Bureau for Educational Reconstruction to prepare and eventually carry through the necessary measures with full governmental support.
 3. The Council records its detestation of the uses made of education in Germany and other Axis states to imbue their peoples with the spirit of narrow nationalism, racial hatred and aggressive war. It calls upon H.M. Government to consider with the governments of the other United Nations how best to ensure that the Universities and Schools of the Axis states are purged of such corruption and that the peoples of those states learn to be willing and loyal partners in a peaceful world community.
 4. In order that future generations may "live out their lives in freedom from fear and want" the Council believes there must be such an extension and improvement of education in all countries as will enable young people to see themselves as members of a world community, to subordinate their narrower interests, whether personal, family or national, to a greater common good and to contribute the best that is in them to the welfare of their fellow men. Such an educational advance must be a matter of international concern and the Council calls upon H.M. Government to ensure that, as part of any International Authority that may ultimately be established, there shall be an International Organisation for Education to promote, through the co-operation of the governments, the education authorities and the great associations of teachers, the general advancement of education and, in particular, of education for world citizenship.
 5. Finally, the Council offers to the Council for Education in World Citizenship, the London International Assembly and their Joint Commission its most hearty congratulations upon the work that they are together doing for the advancement of education for world citizenship here in Great Britain during the war.

not affixed
(20 1044)

Confidential

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

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Professor Erodetsky, F.M. Burris, Lord Cecil, Miss Hawcett, W. Arnold-Forster, Dr. Garnett, A.J. Howe, D.L. Lipson, Dame Adelaide Livingstone J. MacDonald, Dr. Murray, Lord Perth, W.T. Fritchard, Miss Rathbone, H.S. Syrett, Alan Thomas, F.W. Cover, Professor Basil Williams, K. Zilliacus and Major Freshwater.

506 MINUTES: The Minutes of the Meeting held on March 13th were confirmed as circulated.

507 THE JEWS: It was reported that, in accordance with Minute 499, copies of the Appendix to S.1023 A, the Report of the Jewish Committee, had been sent to members of the Government and that acknowledgments had been received from the Prime Minister, Colonel Stanley and the Home Secretary.

The following amendments were then made to the Report which was approved, as amended, and ordered to be circulated to branches and presented to the General Council in June:

- D.1, para.2, first line - After "question" insert "not mutually exclusive"
- " " second line - For "the simplest" substitute "One".
- " 3, last line but two - Add at end "and be accepted as a welcome citizen".
- " 6, para.1 - Substitute "Bermuda" for "Ottawa" and omit "whole" before "Refugee".
- " 7, para.5 - Begin "It is a matter for consideration by the Government whether the enemy nations should be approached either through the Protecting Powers or by Neutrals or in some other way to see whether....."
- para.6 - Add at end: "and that at least temporary asylum in excess of the immigration quota till March, 1944, should be permitted there."

508 UNITED NATIONS: With reference to Dr. Garnett's Motion in the Minutes of February 4th (Item 472), on the future International Authority, the Chairman said the interview Lord Cecil and he were going to have with Mr. Eden had been inevitably postponed owing to Mr. Eden's absence in America; when the interview did take place they intended to put before Mr. Eden the points set out in the Motion.

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- 509 SPEECHES BY MR. MORRISON AND THE PRIME MINISTER:
It was reported that Mr. Morrison had not yet replied to the suggestion made to him about the printing of his speech of February 24th, and that reference to it and to the Prime Minister's broadcast of March 21st was being made in HEADWAY.

It was pointed out that these speeches and that just made by Mr. Eden, all advocated the views long held by the League of Nations Union. The Committee was reminded that the Prime Minister's speech had been published in pamphlet form by the TIMES at a penny: it was decided that a supply should be obtained for sale in the Union's bookshop.

Miss Fawcett thought a cheap leaflet devoted entirely to the speech would be more useful to the Union than the TIMES pamphlet or references in Union publications.

Lord Cecil stressed the importance of preparing the public for the new international authority; he thought the essential ideas in these speeches should be published and republished, but that nothing more should be issued by the Union till after the interview Lord Lytton and he were going to have with Mr. Eden.

- 510 SOCIAL & ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION: The paper on Social and Economic Reconstruction (S.1037 A) was given final consideration and was approved after the following amendments had been made:

- p.3, last para., D.Emergency Relief, etc.
Insert at end of first sentence - "and it is important for people to realise that this relief can only be afforded at some expense to themselves"
6th line - Insert "so" after "confidence".
7th to 10th lines - delete the sentence commencing "The necessary stocks..."
- p.4, fourth line - For "Sept.4" substitute "Sept.24".
Insert following at bottom of page -
"Since this agreement was adopted the United States administration has appointed Governor Lehman as United States Director of Foreign Rehabilitation and Relief".
- p.5, World Settlement after the War:
Add Sections 11, 12 and 13 after Section 4.
II. International Machinery:
Insert "International Authority" between fourth and fifth lines.
- p.6, first para: Omit from "and hope" to end of sentence.
Delete "III. International Authority".

- p.6 Fourth para: 7th & 8th lines - Delete "the International Authority's" and substitute "but" for "and"

Add at bottom of page a new paragraph to be provided by Mr. Zilliacus (replacing the words omitted from the first paragraph and from the middle of the third paragraph on page 9).

- p.7 1st line - delete "intended merely as"
Last para: For "World Airway" substitute "World Airways"
- p.8 Third para. 3rd line, last word: Substitute "This" for "(this)"
- p.9 First para. 5th line - Substitute "standards" for "standard"
Second para. 4th and 5th lines - delete "in 48 closely-printed pages"
Third para. 11th line - delete "far greater resources and"
Fourth para. - delete "or social welfare"
- Last section - Domestic measures for attaining these objects. Substitute "III" for "IV".

- p.10 Last line but one of first para: Insert "Barlow" before "Scott" and alter "Uthwaite" to "Uthwatt".
Second para. 6th line - Delete "only" before "be" and place it after "fulfilled".

- p.11 Last para. but one. Alter to read -
"In our view the prevention of unemployment in this country depends on the maintenance of productive employment and that, in turn, depends predominantly upon international action".

Replace "it" in fourth line by "such action".

- p.12 Delete fourth paragraph as far as "almost impossible" and substitute:
"A high level of exports will be a vital necessity after the war, both to assist the maintenance of full employment and to pay for our necessary imports. Before the war this country was able to sell a high proportion of its exports to the Empire and derived a considerable income from foreign investments. Even so we did not quite make ends meet. We also had to contend with a high level of unemployment. After the war many of our foreign investments will have gone and we shall be indebted to several overseas countries: at the same time Empire countries will have developed industries which will compete with ours".

Lord Cecil said he did not think the publication of the Report would help the cause of the Union, and reserved the right to express this opinion at the meeting of the General Council in June.

It was agreed that when the Report receives the approval of the Council it will have the same status as "World Settlement after the War".

(The Chair was taken by Dr. Murray)

- 511 EDUCATION AND THE UNITED NATIONS: Consideration was given to the draft Motion for the Agenda for the General Council Meeting in June (filed with these Minutes). There was some criticism of the suggestion that a High Commissioner for Education should be appointed, and anxiety was expressed lest passages in the Report might be interpreted as meaning that the Allies intended themselves to re-educate Germany; it should be made clear that ultimately Germany alone could save Germany.

On Dr. Garnett's suggestion the Executive expressed its gratitude to Lord Cecil, Dr. Murray and Mr. Judd, as Secretary, for the excellence of the Report and the admirable way the publicity had been handled.

Dr. Murray was invited to shorten the draft Motion, and it was agreed that the Report be circulated to branches and brought before the General Council. Additional copies of the Report would be supplied on payment.

It was decided that members of the London International Assembly and of the Council for Education in World Citizenship be invited to speak on the Report when it and the Motion are considered by the General Council.

- 512 INTERNATIONAL BRIGADE ASSOCIATION: It was reported that this Association had invited the Executive to send delegates to a conference to be held on April 3rd at Gas Industry House: no action was taken.
- 513 FEDERAL UNION: A communication was read from the Secretary of Federal Union (filed with these Minutes) inviting the L.N.U. to join with Federal Union and the New Commonwealth in arranging a meeting on Christianity and International Reconstruction to be addressed by prominent churchmen chosen by a joint committee of the three organisations; the meeting would not be considered as propaganda for any particular view.
It was decided not to accept the invitation.
- 514 CORPORATE MEMBER: St. George's Church, Headstone, Barrow, was admitted as a corporate member of the Union, and the fixing of the Union's seal to the certificate was authorised.

R. K. Courtney

Chairman,
15.4.43.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION
SOCIAL & ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION

I. International Obligations

We have considered the documents recommended for our study and report that the following passages appear to us to require concerted national and international action in the economic and social field:

A. The Atlantic Charter

August 12th, 1941

Article 4 - "They will endeavour, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment, by all States, Great or Small, Victor or Vanquished, of Access, on Equal Terms, to the Trade and to the Raw Materials of the World which are needed for their Economic Prosperity."

Comment: We would point out here that if the reservation "with due regard to their existing obligations" is interpreted too narrowly, e.g., by the maintenance of the preferential clauses of the Ottawa Agreement, it would militate against the achievement of effective economic reconstruction. This article ensures the same freedom of access to trade and raw materials to enemy countries as is assured to the United Nations and neutrals.

Article 5 - "They desire to bring about the Fullest Collaboration between All Nations in the Economic Field with the object of securing, for all, Improved Labour Standards, Economic Advancement and Social Security."

Comment: We recognise that great difficulty will be encountered in the future, as it has been in the past, in securing the same labour standards from countries with widely differing standards of living. There may have to be different standards of labour in different parts of the world; but the article implies that countries with similar standards of living should maintain similar standards of labour.

Article 6 - "After the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a Peace which will afford to All Nations the means of dwelling in Safety within their own Boundaries, and which will afford Assurance that All the Men in All the Lands may Live out their Lives in Freedom from Fear and Want."

Comment: We would point out here that the obligation accepted by the authors of the Charter is not to guarantee "to all men in all lands freedom from want or fear", which would be impossible of realisation, but an obligation "to establish a peace which will afford to all nations the means" etc. The conditions of peace therefore must be such as to provide as far as possible freedom from the danger of war in the political field, and a reduction of the risk of unemployment and the shortage of food and raw materials in the economic field, in so far as this risk can be diminished by concerted action. This will involve the abandonment of complete national freedom of action in the economic field, and the necessity of concerted action in that field, as in the political one, for the benefit of mankind generally.

B. The Mutual Aid Agreement

(Lease Lend)
February 23rd, 1942.

Article VII: In the final determination of the benefits to be provided to the United States of America by the Governments of the United Kingdom in return for aid furnished under the act of Congress of March 11, 1941, the terms and conditions thereof shall be such as not to burden commerce between the two countries, but to promote mutually advantageous economic relations between them and the betterment of world-wide economic relations. To that end, they shall include provision for agreed action by the United States of America and the United Kingdom, open to participation by all other countries of like mind, directed to the expansion, by appropriate international and domestic measures, of production, employment, and the exchange and consumption of goods, which are the material foundations of the liberty and welfare of all peoples; to the diminution of all forms of discriminatory treatment in international commerce, and to the reduction of tariffs and other trade barriers; and, in general, to the attainment of all the economic objectives set forth in the joint declaration made on August 12, 1941, by the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.

"At an early convenient date, conversations shall be begun between the two Governments with a view to determining, in the light of governing economic conditions, the best means of attaining the above-stated objectives by their own agreed action and of seeking the agreed action of other like-minded governments."

Comment. This article defines the action which the United Kingdom and the U.S.A. agree to take to realise the economic objectives of the Atlantic Charter. It does not add to the obligations contained in the Charter, though it specifically mentions domestic measures.

C. The Anglo-Russian Treaty

May 26th, 1942

Article V - "The High Contracting Parties, having regard to the interests of the security of each of them, agree to work together in close and friendly collaboration after the re-establishment of peace 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."

Article VI - "The High Contracting Parties agree to render one another all possible economic assistance after the war"

Comment: This treaty does not add anything to the obligations of the U.K. in the economic field, but it does ensure the co-operation of the two countries in applying the relevant provisions of the Atlantic Charter and the Lease-Lend Agreement of February 23, 1942, to which both are parties, to the economic reconstruction of Europe, and in rendering one another all possible economic assistance after the war.

D. Emergency Relief & Reconstruction Measures

The United Nations have undertaken to supply populations of territories liberated from enemy rule with food and raw materials the moment the enemy is driven out. It is intended that these emergency relief measures should be carried out in such a way as to inspire international confidences that they become the starting point for international reconstruction policies. The necessary stocks of food and raw materials are already being accumulated, chiefly in the Western hemisphere and British overseas territories. The main responsibility for purchasing, storing, transporting and distributing

these stocks will fall on the United States and the British Commonwealth. The operative agreement is one of six clauses, signed by the Allied Council on Sept. 4, 1941, which set up a standing committee of allied representatives under the Chairmanship of Sir Frederick Leith-Ross, with a Bureau in London, and which was accepted by the Soviet Government with a reservation that the Bureau should have an inter-Allied character and that this should be dealt with on the basis of equal representation of all the Governments concerned:

1. That it is the common aim to secure that supplies of food, raw materials, and articles of prime necessity should be made available for the post-war needs of the countries liberated from Nazi oppression.
2. That while each of the Allied Governments and authorities will be primarily responsible for making provision for the economic needs of its own peoples their respective plans should be co-ordinated in a spirit of inter-Allied collaboration for the successful achievement of the common aim.
3. That they welcome the preparatory measures which have already been undertaken for this purpose, and express their readiness to collaborate to the fullest extent of their power in pursuing the action required.
4. That accordingly each of the Allied Governments and authorities should prepare estimates of the kinds and amounts of foodstuffs, raw materials, and articles of prime necessity required and indicate the order of priority in which it would desire supplies to be delivered.
5. That the reprovisioning of Europe will require the most efficient employment after the war of the shipping resources controlled by each Government and of Allied resources as a whole, as well as of those belonging to other European countries, and that plans to this end should be worked out as soon as possible between the Allied Governments and authorities in consultation as and when appropriate with other Governments concerned.
6. That as a first step a bureau should be established by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom with which the Allied Governments and authorities would collaborate in framing estimates of their requirements and which after collating and co-ordinating these estimates would present proposals to a committee of Allied representatives under the chairmanship of Sir Frederick Leith-Ross.

E. "World Settlement after the War"

This Statement of Policy, after exhaustive study, was approved by the Executive Committee, and subsequently accepted by the General Council. It may be taken therefore as stating broadly the considered opinion of the Union on the subject of post-war settlement.

Section 4: "Whatever territorial or financial arrangements are made, the two vital problems to be solved will be the Maintenance of Future Peace, and Economic and Social Reconstruction to secure freedom and social security for every citizen. These problems are closely related. Peace is essential to Reconstruction; Reconstruction is vital to Peace. Both depend on the Supremacy of Law."

The measures here contemplated were set forth in greater detail in -

F. "Draft Report on Social & Economic Reconstruction".

This document, which is a most valuable study of Post-war Economic problems, both long term and immediate, differs from the Statement of Policy in that it was never textually adopted by the Executive Committee or by the General Council, but had been warmly welcomed by the latter and recommended as the subject for meetings throughout the country and ordered to be given full publicity in the Union's propaganda and in HEADWAY and the NEWS SHEET.

This Report makes it clear that the Economic objects aimed at cannot be attained without (1) a common economic policy concerted between States; (2) the willingness of each State to make its national action conform to such a policy; (3) the existence of an International Authority to secure such concerted action as may be required for the attainment of an international policy of economic reconstruction. The Report also stresses the need for the retention by the State of extensive powers of control.

II. International Machinery. We further considered:

"What international machinery would be needed for co-ordinating the action of various national governments."

We are unanimously of opinion that it is impossible to separate economic from political policy and that to set up two International Authorities, one for political matters and another for economic matters, would lead to confusion and prove quite unworkable.

In saying this we do not desire the abolition or essential modification of the I.L.O. We share the general approval of its work and hope it may be given larger resources and wider activities.

Subject to that observation we recommend that the work of economic reconstruction should be undertaken by the same International Authority as may be established to give security in the political field. The position of the I.L.O. is referred to below.

III. International Authority.

The International Authority should set up a system of committees and technical secretariats in order to give effect to the agreements enumerated in Section I above. The States-members would be represented in these committees on the principles governing their representation in the political organs of the International Authority.

The relation between these committees and the International Authority is a subject for arrangement when they have been brought into existence, the object being to secure efficiency and despatch while preserving the International Authority's ultimate control. We think that the latter should normally be responsible for taking the final decisions in every field of the International Authority's work and that the bodies concerned with economic, social and related questions should be autonomous in matters of internal organisation and procedure, including the appointment of ad hoc committees. The technical secretariats would form sections in the general Secretariat of the International Authority.

The new system of international co-operation on economic and social matters should include, in addition to the I.L.O., whatever has proved of value in the old League technical organisations and other international institutions concerned with the same subjects. The machinery devised by the United Nations to serve their war-time economic and social needs should be maintained as part of the new system of co-operation in so far as it can be adapted to serve the purposes of reconstruction.

We consider that the relevant sections of the treaty constituting the International Authority should contain the obligations to which the international economic and social machinery is intended to give effect. These obligations would be, broadly speaking, those set forth in the agreements quoted in Section I above. But they would no doubt include various consequential and supplementary obligations. In particular it should be agreed that the States-members will provide themselves with all necessary powers to give effect to their economic and social obligations under the treaty, and to prevent any public or private interest from obstructing their fulfilment. Further, the States-members should be asked to agree in principle to the consolidation of all existing international bodies dealing with the subjects hereinafter referred to.

The following is intended merely as an illustration of the kind of obligations and machinery suggested by these general considerations:-

a. Economic and Financial

The above-mentioned treaties contain obligations to afford equal access to raw materials; to eliminate all forms of discriminatory treatment in international commerce; to reduce tariffs and other trade barriers; to expand production, employment and the exchange and consumption of goods; to secure improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security.

In view of these obligations the Governments concerned should examine sympathetically the possibility of establishing a universal means of exchange on the basis, if practicable, of an international monetary union. In addition to the regular system of committees and conferences, consideration should be given to the creation of such institutions as an International Economic Planning Board, an International Bank (absorbing the B.I.S.) and an International Investment Board. Such institutions, if established, should in principle absorb older bodies such as the International Institute of Agriculture, whose work is connected with economic and financial questions.

b. Inter-state Transport and Communications.

The States-members should undertake to review the transit conventions adopted through the League, and to accept their obligations so far as they prove applicable to the conditions of the post-war world.

Consideration should be given to what further obligations may be necessary for 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)

With regard to civil aviation in particular, we draw attention to its close connection with military aviation and to the fact that it is today a means of transport which in virtually all countries is dependent on Government subsidies and control. We suggest that Governments should consider how best to avoid international rivalry potentially dangerous to peace.

Two alternative principles have been suggested as applicable to the problem:

- (1) The establishment of a "World Airway", directly controlled by the International Authority, for all inter-state or at least inter-continental air traffic;

- (2) The acceptance by all States-members of the obligation to allow air lines regulated by the International Authority to cross their territory and to use their aerodromes, while retaining their rights of sovereignty in the air with regard to privately or nationally owned and/or controlled air lines.

It would seem necessary that any solution should be based upon one of these principles or possibly on a combination of them both.

Existing international agencies concerned with transport and communications should in principle be fused into a single comprehensive organization (this means that room should be found in one form or another within the new machinery for what remains of the League Transit Organisation; for the transport controls established by the United Nations that they may decide to maintain; and for older bodies such as the Universal Postal Union and the International Telegraphic Alliance).

c. Labour

The States-members should establish minimum wage standards and hours and conditions of labour such as will enable the whole of their populations to attain the standards of nutrition, housing, education and leisure regarded by their competent national authorities as the minimum necessary for ensuring physical health and making good citizens. They should be further pledged to co-operate for raising standards of living in backward countries so as to approach uniform international standards as rapidly as possible. The International Labour Organisation should be co-ordinated with the new machinery for co-operation in social and economic matters and should be adapted to the differences and changes in the social structure of the States-members after the war.

d. Public Health & Social Questions

The obligations contained in the various agreements concluded under the auspices of the League Health Organisation and the Office Internationale d'Hygiene Publique should be accepted by the States-members in so far as they prove applicable to post-war conditions.

There should be a single world-wide health organisation absorbing and uniting all the international bodies active in this field and co-ordinated with the rest of the social and economic machinery of the International Authority.

The States-members should examine how far it is practicable in continuation of the work done in this subject by the League Health Organisation and the I.L.O. to ascertain and lay down from time to time the minimum standard of nutrition, housing and leisure considered necessary for civilized existence in various areas of the world.

e. Education.

The Council for Education in World Citizenship, which now takes the place of the Education Committee of the L.N.U., has issued, in conjunction with the London International Assembly, a Report in 46 closely-printed pages, dealing with (1) Educational Reconstruction in the Enemy-Occupied Countries, (2) the Re-education of the German people, and (3) the general Principles of Education in the Post-war system.

Without discussing or necessarily endorsing in detail the recommendation of this Report, we would observe that Education is in certain respects a matter of international concern and must be so recognised by States-members. The disastrous fruits of nationalist and militarist education are only too conspicuous, and indeed some common educational background is almost a necessity for mutual understanding and concord between nations. Consequently the new International Authority should contain an International Organisation for Education, with far greater resources and governmental support than the old Organisation of Intellectual Co-operation, but with the same broad duty of "accustoming young people throughout the world to regard international co-operation as the normal method of World Government" and developing among them a spirit of service not to their own countries alone, but to all mankind.

While in the long run every nation must educate itself and should have full freedom to develop its own special tastes and gifts, the Education Organisation should have the duty of checking, by appeal to the International Authority or otherwise, any educational development which definitely threatens the common peace or social welfare.

IV. Domestic Measures for Attaining these Objects

We were asked to report "what types of domestic reform are implied" in the agreements specified, "or appear necessary for their fulfilment."

The resolution passed by the General Council in July, 1942, also "expressed approval of recent statements made by Government spokesmen emphasising the necessity of planning ahead to prevent unemployment in the post-war world" and urged "H.M. Government to take effective steps now to realise these aims both in the economic and social field, at home, and in our international relations."

We are glad to understand that the Government have appointed a Committee presided over by a Minister (Sir William Jowitt) to examine and report upon Domestic Reconstruction. The speeches of members of the Government indicate that the international aspect is also being considered. There have been further special reports (Scott, Uthwatta & Beveridge) dealing with particular post-war problems.

Article 7 of the Mutual Aid Agreement quoted in Section I above further contains the obligation to take appropriate domestic as well as international measures in order to comply with its provisions.

We do not feel called upon by these terms of reference to recommend a specific post-war economic policy or to enumerate the particular domestic measures which may become necessary to fulfil our international obligations. But it is obvious that these international obligations can only be fulfilled by such States as have taken domestic measures to enable them to co-operate effectively. That means that the States-members must accept the duty and possess the means of carrying out international agreements - economic, political and social - to which they are parties, and must not allow domestic legislation to hinder the fulfilment of their treaty obligations.

It is fairly clear that in order to make these international agreements effective, much of the present system of economic controls established by the war should be maintained at any rate during the early years of peace and perhaps permanently, and that the national bodies for controlling and planning economic life should be reconstituted in some international economic planning board whose task it will be to harmonise the economic policies of the States-members with the common social objectives to which they are pledged. This will not be an easy task, because at the end of the war the chief nations of the world are likely to have different social structures and different types and degrees of government control over their economic life.

One of the main objects of international economic co-operation will be to provide employment for all who can work. The agreements and resolutions quoted above contemplate action both of a domestic and of an international character for this purpose.

The case for concerting measures of this character at an early date and in any case before the end of hostilities receives support from the following passages of the Beveridge Report:

"The answer to the question whether freedom from want should be regarded as a post-war aim capable of early attainment is an affirmative - on four conditions. The four conditions are -

1. That the world after the war is a world in which the nations set themselves to co-operate for production in peace, rather than to plotting for mutual destruction by war, whether open or concealed;
2. That the readjustment of British economic policy and structure that will be required by changed conditions after the war should be made, so that productive employment is maintained;
3. That a Plan for Social Security, that is to say for income maintenance, should be adopted, free from unnecessary costs of administration and other waste of resources;
4. That decisions as to the nature of the plan, that is to say as to the organisation of social insurance and allied services, should be taken during the war.....

The fifth clause of the Atlantic Charter declares the desire of the American and the British leaders "to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field, with the object of securing for all improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security". The proposals of this Report are designed as a practical contribution towards the achievement of the social security which is named in the closing words. The proposals cover ground which must be covered, in one way or another, in translating the words of the Atlantic Charter into deeds. They represent, not an attempt by one nation to gain for its citizens advantages at the cost of their fellow fighters in a common cause, but a contribution to that common cause."

We agree with the views expressed in these passages of the Beveridge Report. We consider that the Government should take as rapidly as possible the decisions called for in paragraphs 2, 3 and 4 above.

In our view the prevention of unemployment in this country depends predominantly upon international action,

it must be concerted in the economic field as well as in the political field. We feel therefore that the L.N.U. is entitled to call upon the Government to prepare now, in consultation with the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., a common programme of post-war economic co-operation. To do so is no more than to carry out what the Atlantic Charter, the Lease-Lend Agreement and the Anglo-Russian Agreement all seem to us to require.

*The programme of economic co-operation, if it is to achieve its end should, in our view, include a system of international economic controls, based on national controls as suggested above, and supported by the preparation, on international lines, of all relevant statistical information. The States-members should consider the desirability of preparing by a recent programme of public works of an international character or such as are likely to affect international trade, especially those which are calculated to increase the welfare and productive powers of undeveloped nations and areas.

Finally, we hold the view that, after the necessary consultation with the powers already named, the Government should lose no time in announcing their proposals, together with the domestic measures that will be necessary to give effect to them, in the same way as they have announced their intention of abandoning extra-territoriality in China after the war.

It is important that the public should realise how far-reaching are the economic and social changes which will have to be made if our paper pledges are to be translated into effective policies. Take the crucial question of unemployment. In the case of this country, for instance, half a million unemployed was regarded as a normal minimum before the last war; one million between the last war and the great slump; two million from the great slump until labour and capital were absorbed in the vast preparations for the present war.

Before the war this country was doing one-third of its over-seas trade with the Empire and derived a considerable income from interest on foreign investments. Even so we did not quite make ends meet - our foreign investments showed a small but steady annual margin of sales over fresh investments - and had to wrestle with the chronic problem of unemployment. After the war most of our foreign investments will have gone and the Empire will have changed in ways that make a return to Imperial Preferences almost impossible. On the other hand our national economic needs and our international economic commitments in the post-war world are such as to make it literally a vital necessity to concert action with other countries, first for reconstruction purposes and then in pursuit of common social objectives.

In all this the position of this country is not exceptional. On the contrary, although we are more dependent on overseas trade than most, what is happening in this country is closely paralleled by what has taken place everywhere, and merely exemplifies the profound social crisis through which all mankind is passing.

*As Lord Cecil did not consider that this paragraph belongs here, it was agreed to consider, at the Report stage, the possibility of adding to Section c. Labour, words on the lines of the second sentence of this paragraph.

We have, in accordance with the desire of the Council, drafted a more detailed statement of the economic and social reforms which the Executive Committee recommend. Our report is an elaboration of Articles 11-13 of WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR. It is based on the view, expressed in Art. 4 of this document, that "reconstruction is vital to peace". It agrees with the statement in the constitution of the International Labour Organisation that in the long run peace cannot be maintained unless it is based on social justice. It recognises that in the post-war world governments will be actively engaged in fostering the trade and industry of their respective countries, so that their peoples may have work, a reasonable standard of living and social security. It suggests machinery and obligations through which governments can co-operate to their mutual advantages in pursuit of these objects.

We believe that action on the lines suggested would also strengthen the International Authority and make it a more effective guarantor of peace. But it must not be forgotten that the object for which the League of Nations Union exists is the maintenance of peace on the general lines of the Covenant of the League of Nations, which includes as one of the chief duties of the League the obligation to prevent or arrest international aggression.

We have dealt elsewhere with the political and other methods for organising resistance to aggression, but to avoid misconception it is important to insist that in the end all member-states must be prepared to use the whole of their available strength for organising resistance to an aggressor and the protection of a victim, as described in WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR. Unless the States-members, particularly the larger powers, fully recognise this duty, the international authority will break down. No social or economic reform is an adequate substitute for its performance, and any teaching which implies the contrary is a grave danger to peace.

Collective security for national life in the political field and collective security for national livelihood in the economic field should be our objectives. Both require active initiative and not complacent inactivity.

S. 1007 a.

10. 3. 43.

"JEWISH" COMMITTEE.AMENDED DRAFT REPORT

by

Dr. Gilbert Murray.

as amended by the Committee, March 4th, 1943

If the Jewish problem is treated as a minority question it differs from all others, both by its world-wide extent and by the extremity of persecution involved. The two essential causes of trouble are (1) that the Jewish community is scattered over the world with no home country of its own to give it diplomatic support or afford a refuge from persecution; (2) it has such marked racial or cultural characteristics that wherever it is numerous it rouses feelings of xenophobia, and even when not numerous, a certain amount of jealousy and ill-will.

Two solutions of the question are theoretically possible. The simplest would be to carry out the full ideal of Western Liberalism by ignoring racial differences and providing absolute civic and social equality for all citizens alike. There seemed every hope of attaining this ideal in such countries as England in the nineteenth century. The other solution would be to find some territory for the establishment of an independent Jewish State, or at least a National Home, in which the Jews should have self-government and be no longer a minority. The existence of such a Home, even on a small scale, would, it is thought, have a profound psychological effect and would also afford a refuge to persecuted communities.

Objections can of course be found to both methods. The first, it is argued, in the present state of the world, will

be extremely difficult to carry through. In England, indeed, there is so little racial differentiation that Jews have occupied some of the highest positions in the State and many Jews have been elected to the House of Commons, not by one particular party, but by all parties. Yet even in England there is latent anti-semitism which has of late years broken out with some violence though on a small scale. In Eastern Europe, persecution and pogroms are endemic, and the frightful excesses committed in Germany, where assimilation between the Jewish and "Aryan" populations had perhaps reached its most complete development, show how terribly precarious this assimilation was. On the other hand, it would be foolish not to recognise the hopeful significance of the change produced by the revolution in Russia, where conditions of terrible oppression seem to have been exchanged for something like real equality.

The second solution also has its difficulties. The obvious policy to propose is Zionism, to develop the National Home in Palestine into an independent Jewish State with separate guardianship of the Holy Places and with Jerusalem as its capital.

Palestine is of course a small country but there is every reason to believe that it could support a very much larger population than it now has. The actual achievements of Jewish settlers, together with the technical plans which exist for increasing the productiveness of the country, are sufficient evidence of this. The immediate obstacle to a large Jewish development of Palestine is not economic but political. None the less it remains very serious.

The ruling consideration is the Balfour Declaration of 1917, promising that the British Government "would use their best endeavours to facilitate" the attainment of "a National Home for the Jewish people." This Declaration was accepted by the Principal Allied Powers, and forms the basis of a

Mandate awarded to Great Britain by the Supreme Council of the Allies in 1920 and confirmed by the Council of the League of Nations in 1922. It is under this Mandate that Palestine is now administered. The Declaration, however, also contains a condition that "nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine", and the Mandate (Cl.6) similarly insists that "the rights and position of other sections of the population shall not be prejudiced." Such phrases easily give rise to different interpretations, and varying interpretations have, in fact, been made at different times both to Jews and Arabs which have further darkened the controversy.

Both the two lines of progress indicated above can at least be pursued with some hope of alleviating a situation which is now intolerable. As to racial equality, in one respect a practical recognition of this principle appears not only desirable but urgently necessary. Anti-Semitism has become not merely an injury to the Jewish people themselves, but a grave danger to our whole civilisation. It will be one of the tasks incumbent on the religious, educational and political leaders of the United Nations to devise plans for eradicating as far as possible this peculiarly malignant social disease. Besides that, the Jews should clearly be included in any provisions made after the War for the protection of Minorities and the United Nations might well insist on a clear and definite acceptance of a Charter of the Rights of Citizens by all nations concerned, with a power of appeal to some international tribunal in case of any violation of this Charter. There is no reason to despair of ultimately making it possible for a Jew to live happily in any civilised country that he may choose.

There remains the Zionist programme. The obvious difficulty here is that the Arabs regard Palestine as an

Arab country, an integral part of the Arab territories which were repeatedly promised "independence" by the British Government during and after the last war; they resent the prospect of unlimited Jewish immigration, the progressive transfer of land by sale from Arab to Jewish owners, and, above all, the making of Palestine into a Jewish State. Whether these susceptibilities are reasonable or unreasonable, spontaneous or chiefly a result of Axis propoganda, they have resulted in a condition which all parties concerned regard as intolerable and which has gravely increased the difficulty of working the Mandate system.

Is it possible to allay this Arab discontent without failing in the main task of the Mandate? Several proposals are in the field.

(1) One is Partition, as recommended by the Peel Commission in 1936. The Commission considered it possible to divide the country on lines partly national and partly economic, giving the Jews the northern maritime plain country, already largely occupied by Jewish settlement, and leaving the south and the hill country to the Arabs. The Commission recognised that this partition of a country already very small was open to obvious objections; but argued that it would give the Jews a genuinely self-governing territory of their own and might be accepted somewhat unwillingly by the Arabs.

(2) Some years later, however, after Lord Peel's death, the surviving ex-members of the Commission believed they saw the prospect of a better solution. The demand for Arab "independence" had begun to envisage some form of federation as an almost necessary condition of independence. It was considered that a federation of, for example, Syria, the

Lebanon, Palestine and Trans-Jordan, would so strengthen the position of those States, as perhaps to allay their anxiety about the increase of Jewish immigration. Palestine would then be a province in a Federation. It might well be made a condition of the grant of independence to that Federation that each province should have such a degree of autonomy as would enable Palestine, undivided, to be a National Home. One condition would be complete control by each province of its own immigration. This point is vital.

(3) Attempts have been made to find a "National Home" in some unoccupied region elsewhere than in Palestine ever since the offer by the British Government in 1903 of a tract of country in the highlands of British East Africa for the creation of a Jewish colony, but they may by now be regarded as having definitely failed. Such regions, even if they could be found, would be places of settlement; they would not be a Home.

(4) If no agreement with the Arabs proves to be possible, and the task imposed by the Mandate has to be carried on in the teeth of opposition from a considerable part of the population, it has been suggested that the government of Palestine might be more effectively carried on if the Mandate were terminated and the country incorporated in the British Commonwealth as a Jewish Crown Colony or, perhaps, as a Jewish Dominion. Any such plan would of course have to be approved and proposed by the League of Nations or its equivalent, and it remains to be seen whether any British Government would accept the responsibility.

For the present, without attempting to reconcile all the pledges given or implied in the language of various British documents or conversations, 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. It is to be observed that, since the outbreak of war, and particularly since the recent victories, all disturbances in Palestine have ceased.

After the war, the task of finding a solution for the Jewish problem will be an obligation resting not on Great Britain alone but on all the United Nations. Probably also the Palestine problem will be considerably easier. The Arabs have definitely cast in their lot with the United Nations. By our victories they will greatly have improved their position both in Asia and Africa. The anti-British agents, foreign and native, who formed the chief disturbers of the peace, will have lost influence and prestige, and, as we have said, Arab ambitions will probably centre on the claim for "independence", and may be ready to make local concessions in order to obtain it.

APPENDIX.

Apart from political problems about the future of the Jewish people there is the immediate question, or may we say the duty, of seeking to rescue masses of innocent fellow creatures from torture and massacre. We would suggest that

1. A joint policy to this end should be framed by the United Nations, especially by Great Britain and the American Republics. We note with satisfaction that, on the invitation of Great Britain and the United States, a Conference for joint action on the whole Refugee Question is to be called at Ottawa.
2. Meantime we trust there will be no delay on the part of separate Governments in taking separately such steps as can be taken at once for dealing with urgent needs.

For example

Great Britain should revise and relax all regulations which prevent victims of torture and massacre from finding asylum on British soil. Special attention should be paid to the opportunities offered by Palestine to those escaping from eastern Europe and by North Africa to those from Southern France, Spain and Portugal. Refuge camps should be started for the reception of such refugees, and for the careful sifting out of any enemy agents who might be mixed with them.

3. Neutrals should be invited to help by giving temporary reception to as many refugees as possible. To this end the United Nations should offer (i) to bear the expenses and make the necessary supplies of food required; (ii) to receive in their own territories, as soon as practicable, refugees now resident in neutral countries as well as those who may be able to escape there in future.
4. For the present the numbers affected by this proposal are likely to be quite small; but it must be recognised that after the war the problem to be dealt with will be vastly larger in scale, and the expenses of transport and settlement will be beyond the capabilities of private charity, munificent as this has been. The necessary financial provisions must be undertaken by the United Governments.
5. The Enemy Nations should be approached either through the protecting Powers or by Neutrals, to see whether, and under what conditions, they will permit the emigration of Jews and others to whose presence they object.
6. In the case of Palestine, though we fully appreciate the importance of not disturbing the present interval of comparative peace, we consider that the conditions limiting normal Jewish immigration cannot reasonably be maintained in the present abnormal crisis.

Confidential

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE held at 11 Maiden Lane, W.C.2 on Thursday, April 15th, 1943, at 2.15 p.m.

PRESENT: Miss Courtney (in the Chair), Mrs. Beale, the Dean of Winchester, Miss Fawcett, Lady Hall, Dame Adelaide Livingston, J. MacDonald, W.T. Pritchard, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, Nowell C. Smith, H.B. Syrett, F.W. Weaver, Sir Ralph Wedgwood, Professor Basil Williams, K.Zilliacus and Major Freshwater.

515 MISS COURTNEY: Mr. Syrett, in the absence of the other Officers, expressed the Executive's pleasure at the safe return of Miss Courtney from America. Miss Courtney thanked the Committee for their welcome and at the end of the meeting gave some impressions of her visit.

516 MINUTES: The Minutes of the meeting held on April 1st were confirmed as circulated.

517 UNITED NATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL AUTHORITY: (Minutes 472, 503 and 509) It was reported that, in view of the debate which was going on in the House of Lords and in which Lords Cecil, Lytton and Porth were taking part, no statement could yet be made to the Executive.

518 SOCIAL & ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION REPORT: A new paragraph by K.Zilliacus for insertion at the bottom of p.6 was agreed to as follows:

"The contributions of states-members to the economic and social budget of the International Authority will be only a small fraction of their national budgets allocated for kindred purposes. The International Authority will nevertheless have to budget for its economic and social work on a much more generous scale than was the case with the League and the I.L.O. if it is to perform the duties laid upon it by the obligations we have quoted."

An Introduction to the Report was considered and agreed to with small verbal alterations (amended copy filed with these Minutes)

519 "EDUCATION AND THE UNITED NATIONS": An amended draft Motion (filed with these Minutes) by Dr. Murray for the General Council was considered. Mr. Syrett objected to the proposal for a "High Commissioner" and considered that Chapter II, Section (11), page 25, on the Re-education of the German people, would give a wrong impression and produce a result other than the one aimed at. Mr. Syrett's objections were shared by a number of members, and finally it was agreed to omit from the Motion "warmly" on the first line and "detailed" on the

2-

sixth. It was also agreed to add at the end of para.3:

"The Axis peoples must be re-educated and, in our view, they must re-educate themselves. No one else can bring about that change of feeling and of purpose that alone can enable them to become loyal and trusted members of the community of nations. Certainly such a spiritual change cannot be dictated by conquering powers, but they can and should do whatever may be possible to create the conditions in which the re-education of the mind and character of the Axis peoples may be most likely to succeed."

520 MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE, 15/4/43. Mr. Pritchard made the following report:

The Membership return (filed with these Minutes) for the first three months of 1943 showed an increase in new members and some falling off in renewals.

Youth: A discussion with Miss Sparks and Mrs. John Garnett was in process of being arranged; later it was hoped to meet other "Youth" representatives and others who could advise on how best to interest "Youth" in the work of the Union.

Conference of Branch Secretaries and other Workers at the General Council: It was proposed that the subjects for discussion should be (a) Women's organisations and (b) The best way to bring the policy of the Union before the outside public.

Posters, for some considerable time, had consisted of quotations from prominent people; it was purposed that in future some posters should draw attention to the League, the Union and the Union's policy.

The post-war organisation of the Union had been discussed. It was suggested that the Finance Committee should be asked to give consideration to the division of membership subscriptions between branches and headquarters and how best to finance Federal Councils.

The Report was agreed to.

521 CLOSING OF OFFICE AT EASTER. It was agreed that the office be closed from Thursday night till the following Tuesday morning.

522 CO-OPTATION TO EXECUTIVE: As a result of enquiries he had made at the Executive's request, Mr. Syrett moved that Mr. Bullock, an Industrial Officer of the National Union of General & Municipal Workers, and who already represented it on the General Council, be co-opted to the Executive. Lady Hall seconded the Motion, which was adopted.

523

SIR NORMAN ANGELL: It was reported that Lord Cecil had suggested to Sir Norman Angell that an article by Sir Norman in the NEW YORK TIMES might be very useful if it could be used as a leaflet by the Union. Lord Cecil had received the following cable from Sir Norman: "Certainly use my NEW YORK TIMES article in any form desirable. Am cabling you hundred pounds for Union or similar use."

Miss Courtney undertook to read the article with a view to considering in what form it might be used either for a pamphlet or in HEADWAY.

524

SCOTLAND: At the suggestion of Mr. Macdonald, Major Freshwater reported that during the previous week he had spoken at the Annual Meeting of the Edinburgh Branch. He had attended a meeting of the Branch Education Committee, by whom the Report "Education and the United Nations" was under consideration; there was criticism of that part of the Report which dealt with the appointment of a High Commissioner and the re-education of the German people. He had also attended a meeting of a Committee which had been making enquiries about War Victims Relief; there was a strong general desire to do something now to help starving people in Europe. It was understood that the International Red Cross was doing something, and he had been asked to try and obtain some information in London on the subject. The Icelandic Consul was very interested in the work of the Committee and was participating in it.

With Mr. Hawkins of the East of Scotland District Council, Major Freshwater had also been to Glasgow, where the Branch had more or less closed down at the beginning of the war, to meet a few members of the Branch Committee. There were, in addition, some 40 others present. It had been decided to get the Branch going again; a new Chairman and provisional Committee had been appointed and it had been agreed to send copies of the Union's Statement of Policy and other pamphlets and leaflets to them from London. Great interest was shown in what Edinburgh was doing about War Victims Relief; Glasgow shared Edinburgh's desire to help the suffering.

525

WAR VICTIMS RELIEF: Arising out of the previous Minute, Miss Fawcett and others expressed the wish that the matter should be discussed at the General Council.

Lyle
Chairman.
29.4.43

8. 1046
15.4.43

For the Membership Committee

Individual Membership Subscriptions Collected

	<u>1941</u>		<u>1942</u>		<u>1943</u>	
	<u>New</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>New</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>New</u>	<u>Total</u>
Jan.	31	3,584	69	2,594	85	2,079
Feb.	94	5,726	105	4,179	108	3,366
March	69	4,646	99	4,707	83	3,999
April	33	6,259	165	7,160		
May	97	6,083	107	3,683		
June	90	4,088	82	3,817		
July	123	4,429	139	4,746		
August	79	4,446	104	2,456		
Sept.	84	2,507	65	2,732		
Oct.	108	4,261	122	3,392		
Nov.	92	5,121	103	3,735		
Dec.	<u>290</u>	<u>17,914</u>	<u>475</u>	<u>18,049</u>		
	1,190	69,354	1,838	61,364		

Collective Membership Subscriptions collected

	<u>1942</u>	<u>1943</u>
Corporate Members	637	131
Industrial Associates	32	3
Affiliated Members	21	19

EDUCATION AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Motion for General Council.

1. The General Council of the League of Nations Union warmly welcomes the report on The Place of Education, Science and Learning in Post-War Reconstruction, prepared by a Joint Commission of the London International Assembly and the Council for Education in World Citizenship. Without necessarily endorsing all the detailed proposals of the Commission the Council trusts that they will receive the earnest consideration of H.M. Government and the governments of the other United Nations. In particular
2. The General Council pays homage to the heroic resistance under persecution and famine of the professors, teachers and students of the enemy-occupied countries. It views with horror the systematic destruction by our enemies of the education and national culture of those countries. It recognises that their reconstruction will in many cases be a task beyond the resources of the separate nations themselves and must be regarded as the collective responsibility of the whole body of the United Nations. For this reason the Council urges H.M. Government to propose the immediate formation of a United Nations Bureau for Educational Reconstruction.
3. The Council records its detestation of the uses made of education in Germany and other Axis states to falsify facts and to imbue their peoples with the spirit of racial hatred and aggressive war. It calls upon H.M. Government to consider with the governments of the other United Nations how best to ensure that the Universities and Schools of the Axis states are purged of such corruption and that their peoples are set free to learn the lessons of willing and loyal partnership in the common quest for truth and a good life.
4. Among the measures that will be necessary in the effort to attain "freedom from want and freedom from fear" the Council recognises that there must be a general extension and improvement of education in all countries and that this must of necessity be a matter of international concern. It therefore calls upon H.M. Government to ensure that, as part of any International Authority that may ultimately be established, there shall be an International Organisation for Education to promote, through the co-operation of the governments, the education authorities and the great associations of teachers, the general advancement of education and, in particular, of education for world citizenship. This Organisation should also have the duty of checking, by appeal to the International Authority or otherwise, any educational development which definitely threatens the common peace.
5. Finally, the Council offers to the Council for Education in World Citizenship, the London International Assembly and the Joint Commission its most hearty congratulations upon the work that they are together doing for the advancement of education for world citizenship here in Great Britain during the war.

3. 10/44
(Minute 511)
519

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNIONSOCIAL & ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTIONReport of the Executive Committee to the General CouncilIntroduction.

At its twenty-third Annual Meeting in June, 1942, the General Council, having heard with interest and approval the statements made by the Minister of Production on April 26th, the Lord Privy Seal on May 3rd and the Foreign Secretary on May 6th, all of whom emphasised the necessity of planning ahead to prevent unemployment in the post-war world, decided to urge H.M. Government to take effective steps now to realise those aims, both in the economic and social field at home and in our international relations.

As a result of the adoption of the resolution we decided to investigate the general bearing of social reform on international relations and what was within the competence of the Union and what was not.

We then decided to examine the Atlantic Charter, the Mutual Aid Agreement (Lend-Lease) of February 23rd, 1942, the Anglo-Russian Treaty, May 26th, 1942, an Agreement signed by the Allied Council on September 24th, 1941, which set up a Standing Committee under the Chairmanship of Sir Frederick Leith-Ross with a Bureau in London, the Union's Statement of Policy "World Settlement after the War" and the Union's draft Report on Social & Economic Reconstruction.

Our conclusion was, that as the Union had already pledged its support of these documents and as, in our view, they required domestic legislation, it was within the competence of the Union to consider those social and economic matters which required such legislation. Furthermore it seemed to us that such simultaneous legislation in this and other countries was essential to carry through many social reforms and that it would be necessary to set up international machinery for co-ordinating the action of the various countries.

I. International Obligations

We accordingly re-examined the above-mentioned documents and report that the following passages appear to us to require concerted national and international action in the economic and social field.

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

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Lord Cecil, Miss Courtney, Miss Fawcett, W. Arnold-Forster, A.J. Howe, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, W.T. Pritchard, Nowell C. Smith, A.E.W. Thomas, Professor Basil Williams and Major Freshwater.

226 MINUTES: The Minutes of the meeting held on April 15th were confirmed as circulated.

227 EDUCATION AND THE UNITED NATIONS (519). The following letter from Dr. Murray was read:

"...I shall not be able to come to town on Thursday to attend the Executive. But if I had, I should have asked permission to utter a word of protest or explanation about the treatment of the Education Committee's report.

There will certainly be a movement in Germany for a reform of education, and to refuse this movement the help of a trained educationalist as High Commissioner would, in my opinion, be to repeat the mistake we made towards the Weimar Republic. We gave it no help, only rather harsh correction, and it was not strong enough without help to maintain itself against the militarists. Of course the High Commissioner will need tact and understanding, but I presume he will be chosen for those qualities.

The teaching profession in Germany has suffered cruelly from the Nazis. Teachers do not like being turned out of their jobs for party reasons, or being spied upon, or being cut off from the sources of information, or being forced to teach nonsense, or having education cut down and drill substituted. There is a considerable force here if it is wisely encouraged, but it will be helpless if it is merely left at the mercy of a foreign army and its own militarists."

528

UNITED NATIONS & INTERNATIONAL AUTHORITY (517, 472, 508, Lord Lytton said that Lord Cecil and he had seen 509). Lord Cranborne before the debate in the House of Lords and had told him what subjects they were going to raise. They had said in particular that if united action was to be assured after the war, the foundations should be made as firm as possible during the war and that it would be a great advantage if, instead of referring to the four Great Powers as if they would do everything, there were more frequent meetings with the representatives of the Allies. Lord Cranborne said that that was in fact the practice; meetings were not held at regular intervals but whenever there was anything of common interest to discuss. Lord Cecil and he said they thought meetings should be as frequent as possible and publicity given to them so that the outside public

would know that the "United Nations" was in fact in existence and doing something.

Lord Cranborne took note of these points; they had not, however, actually been discussed in the debate.

Mr. Arnold-Forster said he was sure that the Committee would wish to express their keen appreciation of the contributions to the debate in the House of Lords made by Lord Cecil and by Lord Lytton whose speech had elicited the valuable statement from Lord Cranborne about the chief permanent official of the new organisation having power to bring before the member states any potentially dangerous development at an early stage.

Lord Lytton said that at the last meeting of the 8th Commission of the L.I.A. he had suggested that these powers should be given to a separate Chairman of the Council who should not be a Minister or member of the National Delegation. A member of the Commission had urged that the Secretary General would be the proper person to exercise those powers; in his, Lord Lytton's, view, however, a panel of individuals should be set up: it was one thing to give powers to a person selected for his knowledge and experience and another thing to attach powers to an office.

529 THE TITLE OF THE UNION: Miss Courtney referred to a desire which she had heard expressed both in the U.S.A. and in this country that "League of Nations" should be replaced by "United Nations", and suggested that the possibility of making some alteration in the name of the Union might be considered.

It was decided to consider at a later meeting a suggestion that "and United Nations Association" might be added to the Union's title, and the Secretary was asked to consult Mr. Syrett concerning the legal position.

530 ARTICLE BY SIR NORMAN ANGELL (523). Lord Cecil said he had now written a Foreword to this article, which had made it clear that it was a statement by Sir Norman Angell. He thought most members of the Committee would be in substantial agreement with the article and it was decided to print it in pamphlet form for the use of the Union. Lord Cecil having referred to the £100 Sir Norman was sending for Union use, it was decided that a hearty vote of thanks be sent to Sir Norman Angell on behalf of the Executive.

531 THIRD REPORT OF THE COMMISSION TO STUDY THE ORGANISATION OF PEACE: The following cable from Mr. Eichelberger was read: "Dana requests assistance printing ten thousand copies Third Commission report English distribution wired him Endowment would pay two hundred dollars for printing if undertaken Union sponsorship."

It was reported that Mr. Dana, who with Captain Gammons, M.P. was interested in a body called the Atlantic Foundation, believed that 10,000 copies of the report could be produced for £50. As this would be covered by the 200 dollars from the Carnegie Endowment and as a considerable number could be sold, it would be

possible to distribute copies to Branches, members of the General Council, L.I.A. etc. free without incurring expense to the Union.

The Chairman said he had read the Report and thought it a good document; there was nothing in it that the Union would be likely to oppose.

It was agreed that the Report be reprinted by the Union but that it should be made clear by whom the Report had been produced and that it was republished in this country by the League of Nations Union, the form of words to be approved by the Chairman.

532

GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING: The following motions from BRANCHES FOR INCLUSION in the Preliminary Agenda (filed with these Minutes) were considered:

"World Settlement after the War" (Beddington, Carshalton & Wallington). It was reported that a discussion was to take place on May 8th between representatives of the Branch and the Chairman (and possibly Dr. Murray). The Chairman would then report to the Executive whether the Branch would agree to modify or withdraw their Motion.

Famine Relief (Edinburgh & East of Scotland). Mr. ARMOUR-FORSTER hoped the Committee would support the resolution of the East of Scotland District Council, with slight alteration in the wording. He said that if it be argued that it is to the interest of the Germans to keep people alive, he would point out that the people in question are of no military value to the Germans.

It was agreed that the East of Scotland District Council be informed that the Executive would be prepared to support their Motion if they would replace the words "minimum essential needs of vitamin-bearing foodstuffs, clothing and medicine" by "food concentrates and vitamins" and that the Edinburgh Branch be invited to withdraw its motion.

Social Security (Edinburgh). The Committee thought that as the Motion referred to domestic legislation it was not really a concern of the Union. The motion should, however, be included in the Agenda and the position explained to the Council unless Edinburgh should decide to withdraw it.

India (Bournville Works). Lord Lytton pointed out that the embargo referred to in motion a. applied only to internal matters, i.e., relations between the Government of India and those who were subject to it; he would be ready to deal with motion b. if it were included in the Agenda.

It having been explained that the Bournville Branch had tabled a. in order to enable b. to be considered by the Council, it was ready to withdraw it if b. could be discussed. It was agreed to include b. in the Agenda.

Solemnity of International Obligations (Eastbourne): The Secretary was asked to invite representatives of the Eastbourne Branch to meet some members of the Executive to consider this Motion, which it was not thought to be suitable for inclusion in the Agenda, if they were not willing to withdraw it otherwise.

Union Finance (Warwickshire & Birmingham Federal Council): It was reported that this subject was already under consideration by the Membership Committee and that the Finance Committee were going to give it their attention.

- 533 FAMINE RELIEF: The Secretary reported that he had received a letter from the Secretary of the Bristol District Council enclosing a copy of the Archbishop of Canterbury's statement on Famine Relief in Europe and expressing the desire of the Council to give their support to that statement by participating in the organisation of a public meeting.

It was agreed that there could be no objection to the Bristol District Council giving help in that way if it were understood that there would be no financial obligation and that neither the District Council nor any Branch of the Union in Bristol would become part of or affiliated to any "Famine Relief" organisation which might be set up locally.

It was pointed out that, sympathetic though the Union and its members must be towards what the Famine Relief Committee was attempting, Famine Relief, as such, was not really part of the work of the League of Nations Union as such.

- 534 REFUGEES: Lord Cecil expressed profound anxiety about the Bermuda Conference. He did not think that anything could be done at the moment, but it was decided that the subject be placed on the Agenda for the next meeting of the Executive if the Bermuda Conference had published its report by that date.

The importance of a really competent person being put in charge was stressed.

- 535 LIBRARY AT AMERICAN EMBASSY: Miss Courtney called attention to the valuable collection of books and pamphlets in the Library at the Embassy and hoped that the Union and members of the Executive would make use of them.

- 536 LOANS ISSUED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE LEAGUE: A communication (copy filed with these Minutes) from Mr. Wren (a co-opted member of the General Council) was read. It was decided to consult Mr. Syrett on the legal position about such loans and the Chairman undertook to make enquiries.

Lyle
Chairman
6/5/43

For the meeting of the
Executive Committee 29.4.43

S. 1047
27.4.43

League of Nations Union

Motions for General Council Meeting June 24 and 25,
1943.

"World Settlement after the War" (Beddington, Carshalton
& Wallington Branch), 3rd February, 1943:

"That the Executive Committee be requested to consider
the following points of view and to report fully
thereon to the Council:

(1) The present constitution of the League of Nations
requires amendment in order to give it a more demo-
cratic basis. The only really sound democratic
constitution would be one based upon direct election
by the various peoples. Assuming this ideal to be
not immediately practicable, some approach to it
should be made, and the particular method of such
approach is a matter for urgent consideration by
the Executive Committee. The relative voting power
of each State should receive special attention.

(2) Paragraphs 20 to 26 of the Union's Statement of
Policy for "World Settlement after the War" involve
regional arrangements for varying obligations -
military and economic. These paragraphs require
reconsideration in the light of the entry into the
war of the Soviet Union and the United States of
America, the twenty years' pact with Russia and the
establishment of the United Nations as a fighting
alliance. The post-war position will inevitably
grow out of the present position, and the need for
complicated regional arrangements and a variety of
obligations will disappear. In any case economic
sanctions, which are slow and uncertain in action,
will be of secondary importance, and the only effective
reply to military aggression will be military
action.

(3) A reformed and democratically-constituted League
growing out of the United Nations, and including
what are now neutral and enemy countries, should be
given positive tasks - particularly of economic
reconstruction - and definite powers. Its first
aim should be the attainment of world co-operation
and friendship. Ultimately it should possess an
international force, but this would not be practi-
cable until the League had firmly established itself
as a world organisation. In the meantime the
United Nations should undertake to resist aggression
and for this purpose should arrange for the complete
co-ordination of their armed forces, as well as for
whatever measure of actual fusion of these forces
is practicable."

P.T.O.

Famine Relief (Edinburgh Branch):

"That this Council of the League of Nations Union
having been made aware from many sources of the wide-
spread anxiety as to the condition of the suffering
populations in occupied Europe urges upon His
Majesty's Government that no effort should be spared
to expedite immediate measures of Famine and medical
Relief by the granting of every possible facility
for such assistance."

(East of Scotland District Council):

"That this Council, viewing with increasing
anxiety the worsening conditions of the distressed
populations in occupied countries, urges upon H.M.
Government that no effort should be spared to expe-
dite 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 it is urged that
the supply of the minimum essential needs of vitamin-
bearing foodstuffs, clothing and medicine for the
children, expectant mothers and the sick, may still
be possible by agreement under the control of the
International Red Cross."

Social Security (Edinburgh Branch):

"That this Council views with disquiet the con-
tinued failure of the Government to bind themselves
by legislative action to implement the pledges of
Social Security implicit in the Atlantic Charter, by
providing for at least a minimum standard of living.

The Council therefore calls upon the Government
to take action now in the above sense to create
general confidence and to prepare for the return of
the Armed Forces."

India (Bournville Works Branch):

a. "That the embargo on discussion by Branches and
by the General Council of the question of India, as
set out in the memorandum 'The L.N.U. and India'
S.944 of Dec., 1941, be rescinded".

b. "That H.M. Government be asked to do everything
in their power to facilitate the re-opening of nego-
tiations with a view to a speedy settlement with the
peoples of India, in the spirit of the principles
embodied in the Atlantic Charter."

Solemnity of International Obligations (Eastbourne Branch).

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 Pacts or Treaties 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 impress upon the Government the need for the devising of 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."

Union Finance after the War (Warwickshire & Birmingham Federal Council):

"That the Executive be asked 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".

Extract from Letter from Mr. Wren, 13.4.43: ".....There is one matter which I would like to urge is worth the consideration of the Executive Committee, and that is whether the Union should advocate that international loans, issued under the auspices of the League of Nations, should be honoured in the post-war settlement. Ordinarily, of course, the investor must take his chance when taking up any such loans, but those backed by the League of Nations are (or at least ought to be) in a different category, and I think it would add to the prestige of the League and make all the difference to its backing in future, if the League loans of the past are not allowed to become mere "scraps of paper", but have to be honoured.

Here in Somerset we live more or less in a backwater (at any rate in wartime), but the Prime Minister's reference to not scrapping all the work the League has already done in the post-war settlement, which he made in his last broadcast, has had a marked effect. It has already put the League into a new perspective in the eye of the public."

Confidential

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE held at 11 Maiden Lane, W.C.2 on Thursday, May 6th, 1943, at 2.15 p.m.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Lord Cecil, Miss Courtney, Miss Pawcett, Lady Hall, A.J. Howe, Lady Layton, J. Macdonald, G. Le Mander, Lord Perth, Miss Rathbone, Nowell C. Smith, H.S. Syrett, F.W. Weaver, Professor Basil Williams and Major Freshwater. Apologies for absence were received from Dr. Murray, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, F.M. Burris, Dame Adelaide Livingstone and Sir Ralph Wedgwood.

537 MINUTES: The Minutes of the meeting held on April 29th were confirmed as circulated.

538 SOLEMNITY OF INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS (Minute 532): Colonel W.J. Keen, who had attended to discuss with the Executive the Motion put forward by the Eastbourne Branch, explained that the purpose of his Committee was to give the General Council an opportunity of considering whether member States of the International Authority of the future should, at stated intervals, make some reaffirmation of the obligations of their membership.

Fear was expressed by some members of the Committee that any set form of words for use by the Assembly would become perfunctory: Lord Cecil said he would like to consider at some future time the possibility of the formation of a body parallel to the Assembly, representing Christianity primarily but other religions as well, which might concern itself with international affairs mainly from the spiritual and moral standpoint.

It having been pointed out that the wording of the Motion did not quite convey what Colonel Keen had in mind, it was agreed to alter "Facts or Treaties" to "a Pact or Covenant" and to replace "they should impress upon the Government the need for the devising of" by "consider the possibility of recommending."

It was agreed that the Motion should be included in the Agenda of the General Council Meeting in its amended form.

539 UNITED NATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL AUTHORITY (536) Arising out of Minute 528 Lord Perth said he was unable to be present at the last meeting when this was discussed, and wished to raise objection to the last paragraph. It was agreed that the matter be placed on the Agenda for the next meeting of the Committee.

540 EDUCATION AND THE UNITED NATIONS (519) Lord Cecil reported that he was one of a deputation of members of the L.I.A. and of the Council for Education in World Citizenship which had presented to Mr. Butler, the President of the Board of Education, on the previous day, the Report of the Joint Commission on Education.

-2-

Mr. Butler had received the Commission very favourably; he had expressed willingness to help in any way and gratitude for any assistance the L.I.A. and the Council might be able to give to him. ~~Mr. Butler had, however, expressed doubt concerning the attitude of the L.I.A. towards the education of Germany.~~ Mr. Syrett and other members hoped that in any second edition of the Report it would be made clearer that the Commission proposed that the Germans should be put in a position to re-educate themselves.

In this connection Miss Courtney said Mrs. Stevens, of the L.R.F., had expressed the opinion, in which she concurred, that the Report was of sufficient value to put before the public at the earliest opportunity; other members thought a session of the General Council Meeting might be given to the consideration of the Report.

Lord Cecil considered the Report much too long to be treated in this manner and it was decided to ask Mr. Nowell-Smith to prepare a short synopsis calling attention to the salient issues. The Report could then be presented at an evening session and the Executive Motion voted upon on the following day. This was agreed to.

It was also decided that members of the Joint Commission should be invited to address the General Council at this session, that invitations to attend the session should be sent to the L.I.A. and the C.E.W.C. It was further decided to ask the Procedure Committee to make necessary arrangements to put a notice in the June HEADWAY reminding members of the Union that they could be present and to empower the Secretary to send tickets to others as he thought fit.

541

WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR (532). Lord Lytton reported that he had that morning discussed with representatives of the Beddington, Carshalton & Wallington Branch the Motion they wished to put before the General Council. He had put before them the views of the Executive on their Motion, and in particular had told them that he would tell the General Council that, in his opinion, on the assumption that the world was ready for an International Air Force and the nations had decided to abolish national air forces and to set up an International Air Force, the Union should formulate the kind of procedure which would be desirable and workable; the International Air Force could not be left at the disposal of a body like the Assembly of the League of Nations, which would have to decide matters by a majority vote.

The representatives of the Branch had requested that the Motion should go forward in its original form.

542

THE TITLE OF THE UNION (539) Mr. Syrett, who had been asked to give his opinion on the legal position if the Union decided to change or add to its name, said the Union had been incorporated by Royal Charter for the purposes of securing the acceptance by the British people of the League of Nations as set up by the victorious powers after the last war. This was made clear by Objects 1, 2 and 3 of the Charter. It therefore seemed that nothing could be done by way of altering the title or the Objects of the Union without making an application to the Privy Council, who would probably want information as to the present position of the League of Nations itself and how far the United Nations were prepared, after victory had been achieved, to vary either its objects or its title. The Union could not depart from its objects as set out in the Charter without getting statutory authority to do so; it would not even be possible to add a bracket.

Lord Perth thought it would be a great mistake to attempt to change the title of the Union, but if a new international authority were set up, it might then become necessary to do so.

Professor Basil Williams said an organisation calling itself the United Nations did not seem to him appropriate to what was being done by the League of Nations Union; "United Nations" only applied to countries fighting Germany and that did not express what the Union was and had been working for.

It was decided to keep the matter on the Agenda and to include the following in the Preliminary Agenda for the General Council Meeting:

The General Council of the League of Nations Union welcomes the declarations of members of the Government as to the necessity of an International Authority after the war, and affirms its firm intention to give such an International Authority, under whatever name it may be established, the same support which it has always given to the League of Nations.

543

OTHER MOTIONS FOR THE GENERAL COUNCIL: It was reported:

On Minute 533 that the Edinburgh Branch had withdrawn its Motion on Famine Relief and that the East of Scotland District Council had agreed to the alterations suggested in Minute 533. Lord Perth thought it important that something should be said about the exigencies of the war and that he would move an amendment on this;

on Minute 532, Social Security, that the Edinburgh Branch wished their Motion to go forward; and

on Minute 532, India, that the Bournville Works Branch had withdrawn Motion (a).

-4-

It was agreed that a Motion approving the Social & Economic Reconstruction Report should be moved on behalf of the Executive; and that

Notice be given in the Preliminary Agenda that the Executive would ask for 'urgency' for a Motion on Refugees.

- 544 LOANS ISSUED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE LEAGUE (536)
 Lord Lytton said that he had been making enquiries about this subject, but the information he hoped for was not yet complete. He thought that though absolute security could not be given for League loans, they might receive high priority. There were, he thought, about four League loans in existence.

Lord Lytton hoped to get further information later.

- 545 STAFF. Mr. Syrett reported that at its meeting on May 4th the Finance Committee had decided to ask the Executive to authorise (as set out in Minute 4 of the Committee's Meeting on May 4th), additions of £100 per annum to the salary of a senior member of the staff and of 7s.6d. a week to the payments made to three members of the Junior Staff.

The recommendations of the Committee were adopted.

R. D. Coates

Chairman,

May 20th, 1943

Confidential

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE held at 11 Maiden Lane, W.C.2 on Thursday, May 20th, 1943, at 2.15 p.m.

PRESENT: Miss Courtney (in the Chair for business recorded in Minutes 548-552), Lord Lytton (in the Chair for business recorded in Minutes 553-558), Miss Fawcett, Lady Hall, H.J.Howe, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Dr. Gilbert Murray Lord Perth, W.T.Fritchard, 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, Mrs.Beale, F.M.Burris, Lord Cecil and Dr.Garnett.

546 MINUTES: The minutes of the meeting held on May 8th were confirmed as circulated, but omitting the second sentence on page 2.

547 LOANS ISSUED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE LEAGUE (544, 556)
The following statement provided by Lord Lytton was read:
The League Loans were outstanding examples of international co-operation in the financial field during the period of reconstruction after the last war. Nine separate issues - all but one of them in more than one market - were made under the auspices of the League of Nations during the years 1923-8. Their purpose was 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. In every case the competent organs of the League examined in detail and approved at every stage the schemes in connection with which the loans were issued, and for some years after their issue the League kept contact with the borrowing countries, by Special Commissioners and other means, and gave them advice and help in conducting their financial and monetary affairs. The lending countries included Great Britain, U.S.A., Belgium, Czechoslovakia, France, Holland, Italy, Spain, Sweden, and Switzerland. It is to be hoped that in post-war settlements a high priority in recognition will be given to these organised efforts at international financial co-operation.
Mr.Syrett thought the subject important and hoped Lord Lytton would ascertain in the actual position of the loans, the stockholders' rights, and whether interest was being paid.

Lord Perth said that borrowing countries were in default and that portions of the loans had been guaranteed by certain other countries, including Great Britain.

(Later, Lord Lytton said he would enquire how far the guaranteeing governments were responsible to those who had subscribed the loans.)

The General Council of the League of Nations Union

Welcomes

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 2nd 1942,

that they are convinced that complete victory over their enemies is essential to defend life, liberty, independence and religious freedom, and to preserve human rights and justice in their own lands as well as others;

that they are engaged in a common struggle against savage and brutal forces seeking to subjugate the world, and

that they pledge themselves to employ their full resources, military or economic, against those members of the Tri-partite Pact and its adherents with which they are at war and to co-operate with each other and not to make a separate Armistice or peace with the enemies

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 extension of the work of the Union; and

Calls

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

(b) Special Session for consideration of Education Report.

6. Any other business.

548

REFUGEES: It was reported that a communication, signed by Colonel Cazalet, had been received from the Committee for Rescue from Nazi Terror asking that certain papers and information might be circulated to the Union's Branches.

In view of the recent debate on Refugees in the House of Commons it was decided not to take any action for the present. It was expected that there would be another meeting of the Committee for Rescue from Nazi Terror on an early date.

549

ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1942: Mr. Syrett moved that the draft which had been circulated should be approved subject to suggested alterations which might be sent in by members during the next few days; this was agreed to.

The Committee expressed its appreciation to Mr. Aldous of the way the draft had been prepared.

550

ARTICLE BY SIR NORMAN ANCELL (530) In reply to a question by Miss Courtney it was reported that this was being printed.

551

THIRD REPORT OF THE COMMISSION TO STUDY THE ORGANISATION OF PEACE: (531) It was reported that this was being printed and that the Carnegie Endowment had increased its grant.

552

TITLE AND WORK OF THE UNION (542, 529) Mr. Syrett said that in the light of the discussion which had taken place at the previous meeting he had suggested to Lord Cecil that the Union might, alternatively

- (1) Approach the Privy Council for a supplementary Charter;
- (2) Form a Company, thereby protecting the title;
- (3) Pass a resolution approving the principles and ideals of the Atlantic Charter and the Declaration of the United Nations proclaimed at Washington on 2/1/42 and making their promotion part of the Union's work under its Charter, which gives very wide powers for carrying on any developments of work which the Union might think conducive to its ideals and aims.

Mr. Syrett said that the last alternative appealed to Lord Cecil and himself and hoped it would be the Executive; he had accordingly prepared the Motion on the Agenda (copy filed with these Minutes). It was decided to omit the quotations from the Declaration and to adopt the Motion in the following form for inclusion in the Agenda for the Council Meeting:

The General Council of the League of Nations Union 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 2nd, 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 to give their full support to that development.

It was decided also to add a footnote to the Motion giving the terms of the Declaration and giving the No. of the Union's pamphlet containing the terms of the Atlantic Charter. A suggestion was made that part or all of the Motion, if adopted by the Council, should be included in the Union's letter-heads and so make clear what was comprised in the Union's work.

553

GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING - EDUCATION REPORT:

Lady Hall reported that it had been possible to arrange for tea for the Council and the members of the L.I.A. and C.E.W.C. at 4.30 p.m. on Thursday, June 24th, followed at 5.30 by a special session to which members of the L.I.A. and C.E.W.C. were to be invited.

54

UNITED NATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL AUTHORITY: (539, 528)

Lord Lytton said he had received a communication from Lord Perth about the Chairmanship of the League Council and was prepared to accept what Lord Perth said.

Lord Perth said that, after considering this question and discussing it at some length with people with whom he had been associated in the League of Nations, he had come to the definite conclusion that the power to convoke the Council ought to rest with the Secretary General, but he would agree to the power being vested in the Chairman of the Council provided that he was the chief official of the League.

555

SWEDISH L.N.U. It was reported that a communication had been received from Mr. Allan Degerman, Secretary of the Swedish L.N.U. and I.P.C., inviting the Union to give some publicity to a paper on "Principles for a new International Order of Justice", which had been adopted by the Swedish Committee of the I.P.C. at Stockholm on 18/4/43.

The Editor was asked to include a short review of the paper in the next issue of HEADWAY.

556

YOUTH: Lord Lytton reported that earlier in the day there had been a meeting of the Membership Committee to consider the place of Youth in the post-war organisation of the Union. Miss Sparks, the Hertfordshire Youth Organiser and formerly a member of the Union's staff engaged in Junior Branch and Youth Group work, had been present by invitation.

They had had before them some notes by Miss Waite, in which the question was asked how far Youth Groups would be strictly under the guidance of the Executive, or whether the Union would be prepared to take a certain amount of risk by allowing the Groups a considerable amount of freedom. He had stated that Youth Groups,

if they were part of the Union's organisation, would be under the same obligation as Branches and must confine their activities to matters connected with the League of Nations.

Miss Sparks thought it was a mistake to have kept people after 21 in the Youth Groups - it had been bad for the Branches and bad for the Groups; the age limits should be made school leaving age to 21. Mr. Nowell Smith had then asked whether it was really the best way for the Union to work through Youth Groups.

Miss Sparks was then asked to say whether, from her experience of L.N.U. Youth Groups and the Youth Organisations now organised officially throughout the country, she thought it was better for the Union

- (1) To have a Youth department and staff and speakers, working in consultation and co-operation with the Council for Education in World Citizenship to educate and supply all those Youth organisations with information on such matters as the Union is primarily concerned with, and to get them to organise parties to visit foreign countries and arrange for parties of foreigners to visit this country and, generally, get youth organisations to take an interest in international affairs; or
- (2) To go back to the old plan and for the Union to have a special Youth section of its own.

Miss Sparks had said that she would prefer the first way and the Committee agreed that what they would like to do in the future instead of re-establishing Youth Groups would be to have a Youth Department to work with and through Youth organisations rather than take people away from them and get them into a special Youth section of the Union.

Lord Lytton said he had not intended to have made a report yet, but if the Executive shared the view of the Membership Committee that Committee would make its next meeting, on June 17th, a joint one with the Management Committee of the C.E.W.C. and, with Miss Sparks and Miss Shields Collins (International Youth Council) consider the matter further and report to the Executive. This was agreed to.

557 INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Dr. Murray reported that earlier in the day he had attended a meeting of the Board which manages the Chair of International Politics at Aberystwyth. It was felt that the Chair of International Politics had been a disappointment and that the position was perhaps worst at Aberystwyth; there were no students and there had seldom been more than 5 or 6. One of the reasons was that most of the students at Aberystwyth wanted to be teachers and the subject was no good for teaching in schools because there was no recognition in schools of anything like international politics or world citizenship. ~~The Aberystwyth Board were going to consult the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and the Welsh Examining Body and certain other people.~~

Dr. Murray said that he had told the Board that the Union and the C.E.W.C. had found there was great interest in international affairs among young people and that every Summer School they had organised had had more applications than could be dealt with.

7-11-43
Subject
The problem had become an educational one of how to get history taught with more reference to world politics and less exclusively with one's own country. That affected the whole of the work of the Union, and he purposed to bring the matter before the C.E.W.C.

L. J. M.
Chairman

3.6.43



