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A  
B  
C  
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F  
G  
H  
I  
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L  
M  
N  
O  
P  
Q  
R  
S  
T  
U  
V  
W  
Y  
Z

LNU  

---

11 18

Attinack Incident 57, 63

Auditors 71

Annual report 83, 93, 100.

Adison, Lord 146, 154

Abyssinia 159, 163, 25

Ashby, Mrs. Corbett, 129

Apologie for Absence 190

Australian W. Society 66, 151

Albania 80

Atlantic Charter (Anglo-American Declaration.) 147

America, Union with 182

A  
B  
C  
D  
E  
F  
G  
H  
I  
J  
K  
L  
M  
N  
O  
P  
Q  
R  
S  
T  
U  
V  
W  
Y  
Z

2

Bugs, Viscountess 4, 17

Bull. N.S. 12, 36

Queen Report <sup>5<sup>th</sup> Chm</sup> 28

Bull. Mast. of 39, 45

Bees, Mr. Leonard 70, 87

Barnes, Rt. Hon. G. M. 92

Barling, Sir Gilbert 98

Burma Rly. Closing of 14<sup>th</sup>, 174, 201

Beale, Mrs. 180

Behrens, G. 177, 83

Beal Baker, Noel 93

Branch Secretaries' Conference. 178

B

C

D

E

F

G

H

J

K

L

M

N

O

P

R

S

T

U

V

W

Y

Z



Czechoslovakia 38, 45, 51, 139, 145, 173, 183

China 76, 142, 147, 201

Canadian Society 116, 156, 34

Co-optation 118, 127, 133, 146, 154, 161, 177, 183, 192, 201  
60, 76, 77, 104, 120, 121, 146, 152, 166

Crabtree, Lord. 3

Church Leaders, Letter from 8, 10, 128(c) (Statement by)

Christian Organization South 8, 10

Colonial Administration <sup>Statement</sup> 81, 132, 141, 150, ~~156~~ 157, 41

Conference with Allied Dominion Govts. 113

Collective Security Conference 129, 160

Contact with Other Societies (Conference) 164, 171, 176

Cooperation, Education in World 190

Denbroski, Death of Da 25  
Denmark 106

D  
E  
F  
G  
H  
J  
K  
L  
M  
M  
N  
O  
P  
R  
S  
T  
U  
V  
W  
Y  
Z

Executive Meetings 6, 62, 65, 72, 81, 96, 154,

Education Council 21, 55, 56, 65, 85, 96

Cooperating Office 148, 155, 160

Economic Measures 172, 23, 59

Education for World Citizenship 201, 207, 15, 49, 85, 190.

Eden, Mr. Anthony 3, 95, 102, 111,

Education & World Order 106

Eichellinger, Mr. Isak 162, 163, 166, 172, 173, 177,

Economic (+ Social) Reconstruction 156

5  
E

F

G

H

J

K

L

M

N

O

P

R

S

T

U

V

W

Y

Z



Finland 2 (403), 14, 34, 52, 62  
see under Queen's Hall meeting

French L. of N. Society 10, 15, 23, 27, 31, 33, 48, 54, 64, 74

French Union 11, 101, 53

Finance Committee 56, 168, 207, 27, 27, 105, 114

French L. of N. Society (Paris conference) 78, 95, 100, 105, 110

Fisher, Mrs. H. A. 31

For Carl 201

Forces, A.M. Members of 55

For Boston Service 99

F  
 G  
 H  
 J  
 K  
 L  
 M  
 M  
 N  
 O  
 P  
 R  
 S  
 T  
 U  
 V  
 W  
 Y  
 Z

General Council (Resolutions) 120

General Council Annual Meeting 1940. 100, 102, 111, 157, 163, 184, 197, 201, 204-207, 211

German Aggression 66, 74, 106

Stanger Empire Exhibition (Peace Pavilion) 175

Green 199

"Great Experiment" (Lord Cecil Book) 20, 54

General, 1910 60

General Council, invited members of 76

General Council, Hon Vice Presidents 76, 93, 94, 104

General Council, (line of) 104, 155

- - - - - subject 115, 121, 168, 191

G  
H  
J  
K  
L  
M  
N  
O  
P  
R  
S  
T  
U  
V  
W  
Y  
Z

HEADWAY 2 (408) 82, 39

Harris, J. G. 98

Henderson, Mrs. C. 134

H. M. Jones and L. M. O. Meetings 6, 10, 55, 59

Hopkins, Mr. Harry. 26, 37

History of the League 32

Huffman, Mr. Sebastian ("Offensive against Germany") 46, 57

Hymans, Paul & Mr. Tellezco 63

Non-Residents & Vice Presidents 76, 83, 87, 104

Heller's New Order 123

Howe, A. V. 126

Huntley, Cardinal 127

Indices 128 (see overleaf)

H  
I  
J  
K  
L  
M  
N  
O  
P  
R  
S  
T  
U  
V  
W  
Y  
Z





(Richmond) Summer School 152, 166, 153

K

L

M

N

O

P

Q

R

S

T

U

V

W

Y

Z

Library S. 192,

Pittman, R.D. (Speech to Senate Council) <sup>1919</sup> 5, 66, 107

League of Nations <sup>(July 1919)</sup> 129, 140, 150, 48, 78, 80

Liaison Committee (of Federalist Assocn) <sup>(for World Government)</sup> 176, 51

London International Assembly 124, 130, 143, 157

Lodge, J.H. 126

L

M

N

O

P

R

S

T

U

V

W

Y

Z



Meetings of Executive 6, 17, 138, 7, 134, 156, 184,  
 Motte, Death of Dr. 18, 24  
 Membership 19, 113, 136, 160, 174, 28, 49, 53, 68, 98, 117, 135, 148,  
 Message from H.M.S. 20, 24, 47, 53 <sup>169</sup>  
 Murray, Sir Robert 42  
 Maynard, Sir John 108  
 Message to Union Members 125, 132  
 (July, 1920)  
 Master of Balliol 161  
 Mills (Mrs.) - designation 196  
 Murray, Dr. Sillit 2  
 Preston, Lord 11  
 Reliefs & Members of Forces 59  
 Finance sub Committee 75, 105, 131, 149, 188,  
 Membership sub. Committee 148, 152, 178

M  
 M  
 N  
 O  
 P  
 R  
 S  
 T  
 U  
 V  
 W  
 Y  
 Z

5

M  
N  
O  
P  
R  
S  
T  
U  
V  
W  
Y  
Z

New Britain Broadcast 2 (109)

Norway 57, 63, 106

New, Miss 72

New Commonwealth (Suggestion for conference) 101

National Peace Council 52, 70, 170

New Zealand L.O., Resolutions from 77

Newspaper Article, Joint London 78

Midson, Mr. Harold, 146, 152

N  
O  
P  
R  
S  
T  
U  
V  
W  
Y  
Z

Office Accommodation 178, 183, 195, 203, 29, 45

Office blowing 197, 205

Occupied quarters, Range of Thornton in 193

O

P

R

S

T

U

V

W

Y

Z

Polish Research Centre 37

Queen's Hall Meetings 46, 52, 62, 68, 79

Palestine 49, 5

Pland 66, 74

Parnell, Miss Stewart 69

Plans for the Peace 75, 156, 169, 179, 181, 194, 195, 189 (then  
Peace Plan)  
no "World Settlement  
after the War")

Paris Conference (see French L. of A. Society)

Paton, Professor H. G. 91

Prisoners of War 123

Public Meetings 143, 145, 154, 163, 171, 55

Payment of Salaries & Wages 149

Peace News, Joint Statement on 87

Peaceful Change 20, 132, 140, 159

Pearson Lord, death of 119, 126

Post-war Organization 153, 187

P  
R  
S  
T  
U  
V  
W  
Y  
Z



Russia, 1918's Negotiations with 36, 45, 51  
 Refugees, 112, 115, 123, 126, 141, 151, 201  
 Recognition of Branches 114  
 Roosevelt, President 200, 203

R  
 S  
 T  
 U  
 V  
 W  
 Y  
 Z

8  
Smuts, General 13, 77, 102, 153

Sweden (Report by Mr. Arnold Foster) 14

Summer School 56, 104, 152, 166, 157

Sealing of Documents 121

Teaching Mrs. D. 134

Text 135 ff. 137

Salaries & Wages War Emergency Measure 149

Social and Economic Reconstruction 25, 28, 37, 41, 43, 57, 157, 186

South African C.N.S. 91

Swiss C.N.V. 92

Speeches by members of H.M.C. 112,

"Spectator" article on "Post-war League" 179, 183

Transfer in Occupied Countries, Danger of 193

Tuesday 3

Temperley, General 30

Thompson, Alderman, 196

Treasurer's Report, 5, 11

Trade Union's (Annual Bd. of) 40

T  
U  
V  
W  
Y  
Z

Union Funds 26.30

U  
V  
W  
Y  
Z

Vanillat, <sup>S.M.</sup> 21. 26  
Victoria Branch, Australian L.N.O., 154

21

V  
W  
Y  
Z



- Wells, Mrs. Silvester 61, 142
- Women's Advisory Council 74, 93, 105,
- Women's Organisations 135
- War Aims for U.N.U. 156, 169 (See "Peace Aims")
- Woolf, Mrs. Leonard, 177, 183, 192, 17
- World Settlement after the War. See "Peace Aims", then 183, 193, 197,  
201, 207, 4, 10, 12, 20, 31, 33, 34, 37, 39, 66, 67, 73, 82
- Wyllie, Mrs. Kenneth, 26
- Wyllie-Jones, Mrs. 50, 152
- World Settlement after the War (contd.) 107 (suggested expansion on, 122)  
128, 139, 161, 167, 175, 185
- Wilmington Bld. resolution of 116
- Wright, Miss E. 126
- Wrightwood, Sir Ralph. 152, 166
- White, Miss Freda. 164.

W  
Y  
Z

23  
Youth Committee 27

Youth Conference 42

Youth Council 73, 86, 94, 99, 122, 128  
(and Restoration)  
(action regarding youth camp)

Youth Groups 165, 134, 156

Y  
Z

79

2

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## FINLAND

STATEMENT BY THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION.

The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union, at its meeting on December 14th, had under consideration Finland's appeal to the League of Nations, and the action taken upon it by the Assembly and Council of the League.

The Executive Committee welcomed the action of the Finnish Government in appealing to the League, and also the promise of support to Finland made by the States Members. It hopes that this help will in fact be substantial. The condemnation by the League of Russian aggression in Finland — the latest of a long series of similar aggressions by other States in other parts of the world — was inevitable. The Assembly to which the matter was referred could have taken no other action.

Article 1 (3) of the Covenant provides that a State Member can only resign from the League after giving two years' notice, provided that all its international obligations and all its obligations under the Covenant have been fulfilled at the time of its withdrawal. No State Member, therefore, that has been declared a Covenant breaker is entitled to resign in consequence of such condemnation. The proper remedy in such cases is provided by Article XVI (4).

The Executive Committee which has on each occasion protested against the acceptance by the League of the resignations of Japan and Italy, since this action implied that these States had fulfilled their Covenant obligations, cannot question the propriety of the action taken by the Council under Article XVI (4) in declaring Russia to be no longer a Member of the League, but they would point out that every argument by which such action could be defended is equally applicable to Japanese aggression in China and Italian aggression in Abyssinia and Albania. Indeed, had the action taken in 1939 when the League was at its weakest, been taken in 1935 when the League was at its strongest, the subsequent wars would probably never have taken place.

15.12.39.

With the compliments of THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION,  
60, St. Martin's Lane,  
London, W.C.2.

For the favour of notice.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION HELD AT NO. 60, ST. MARTIN'S LANE, LONDON, W.C.2, ON THURSDAY, JANUARY 11TH, 1940 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams M.P., Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Prof. S. Brodetsky, F.H. Burris, Miss J.H. Courtney, Dean of Chichester, Miss F. Pawcett, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, Sir Arthur Haworth, J. Macdonald, Brig. Gen. L.G.P. Milnan, Dr. Gilbert Murray, W.T. Fritchard, Miss E. Bathons M.P., Counsellor H.F. Shaw, H.S. Syrett, E. Wallis-Jones, Mrs. Whitfield and Major Freshwater.

1. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on December 14th, 1939, were confirmed.
2. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 403 — Finland, it was reported that the Chairman's statement (copy filed with these minutes) prepared in accordance with the Executive's request, had been communicated to the press on December 15th.

On Minute 408 — HEADWAY, Mr. Fritchard, on behalf of the London Regional Federation, strongly criticised the further delay in the publication of the January HEADWAY. After the Committee had expressed dissatisfaction at the delay, and after the Chairman had stated that negotiations for the future policy of HEADWAY were at present under consideration, it was

RESOLVED: "That it be an instruction to the Editor to produce HEADWAY punctually at the beginning of each month in future."

Reference was also made to the form and content of HEADWAY and it was suggested that space should be allowed for correspondence and for Union news in each issue.

The Chairman hoped that reference would also be made in HEADWAY to the November issue of the League's MONTHLY SUMMARY which, in an article on "International Order and the Conditions of its Reconstruction" quoted in full the Union's statement on WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR.

On Minute 409 — Mr. Noel-Baker's Broadcast, it was reported that an adaptation of Mr. Noel-Baker's broadcast was included in the January number of HEADWAY. Requests had been received from the London Regional Federation and other local organisations that the speech should also be made available in leaflet form, and it was

RESOLVED: "That Mr. Neal-Baker's broadcast be also published for sale in leaflet form."

3. TURKEY. The Chairman reported that the Union had sent a message to the Turkish League of Nations Society, expressing sympathy in the disaster which had overtaken their country. A telegram received in reply was read to the Committee.

4. DEATH OF MISS MORTIMER JONES. The Executive learned with deep regret of the death of Lady Joyce, who had been a staunch supporter of the Union since its inception and a Vice-President for many years. It was

RESOLVED: "That a message of condolence be sent on behalf of the Executive to Mrs. Kessler, a sister of Lady Joyce."

5. LIBRARY. Mr. Syrett reported that the Librarian had been re-appointed and was at present at Radminton making arrangements for the re-opening of the Union's Library. A lending service from Radminton would be resumed almost at once, and a certain number of publications would be available at Headquarters. The re-opening of the Library would not involve the Union in any additional expense, owing to the generosity of a member of the Executive Committee and to the very satisfactory arrangements which had been made with Miss Baker and the Governors of Radminton School.

6. FUTURE MEETINGS OF EXECUTIVE. The Executive considered the question of future meetings and, after discussion, it was

RESOLVED: "That, for the future, ordinary meetings of the Executive be held fortnightly, except during vacations; but that it be left to the Chairman to summon a special meeting whenever in his opinion it was desirable to do so."

Before fixing the dates of the fortnightly meetings, it was decided to ask all members of the Executive to express their preference for (a) the first and third Thursdays in each month, (b) second and fourth Thursdays, or (c) alternate Thursdays. The Chairman expressed the hope that, when the dates for the Executive's meetings had been settled, members would enter them in their diaries and would, so far as possible, attend regularly.

7. MINUTES OF GENERAL COUNCIL. It was recalled that, although in the past the Union had spent some 50c on printing and circulating the minutes of General Council meetings, the Executive had decided that the minutes of the Birmingham meeting should not be printed. No criticism of this



policy had been expressed at the last meeting of the Council; indeed, some members considered it a useful economy. The Committee were reminded that a full account of the last meeting, including the text of all the resolutions and reports of the principal speeches, had been included in the December HEADWAY, and it was

RESOLVED: "That, during the war period, the practice of not printing and circulating the Minutes of General Council Meetings be continued."

8. LORD LYTON'S SPEECH TO GENERAL COUNCIL. A suggestion from the Harnt Green branch of the Union having been considered, it was

RESOLVED: "That the report in the December HEADWAY of Lord Lyton's speech to the General Council be published for sale in leaflet form."

9. INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF LEAGUE OF NATIONS SOCIETIES. At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. F.E. Figgures, Secretary-General of the International Federation, made a statement concerning the present position of the Federation and its constituent societies, and replied to a number of questions.

The question was discussed of the Union's financial contribution to the Federation which, at the present rate of exchange, amounted to some £500 a year but for which provision had not been made in the Budget adopted by the General Council last month. The Executive having expressed its belief in the usefulness of the Federation and the necessity of maintaining contact between League of Nations opinion in the various countries, it was

RESOLVED: "That the Federation be informed that it is the Union's intention to continue its support of, and its annual contribution to, the work of the International Federation."

Mr. Figgures reported that M. Borel's term of office as President of the International Federation had expired on December 31st although he was willing to continue in office until a successor was appointed. After the names of possible successors to M. Borel had been suggested, the Chairman stated that he would write to Lady Gladstone and invite her suggestions and Sir Arthur Haworth was asked to discuss the matter with Mr. Figgures.

10. FRENCH LEAGUE OF NATIONS SOCIETY. Mr. Figgures presented to the Executive a draft resolution on the Organisation of Peace (S.687) which, although not a formal resolution of the French Society, was the product of two long discussions on the Union's statement. The French Society attached the greatest importance to co-operation with the Union at the present time and hoped it would be possible

for the two societies to reach substantial agreement. They would welcome a meeting between representatives of the two societies for an exchange of views on the specific points contained in the draft.

The Chairman expressed the opinion that it was more important that the Union should draw up a document acceptable to the French L. of N. Society as a basis for their common working than that the Union should draw up a document between itself and the Federal Unionists in Great Britain. After discussion it was

- RESOLVED: (1) "That the French League of Nations Society be informed that the Union would welcome an exchange of views with their representatives and that, for this purpose, they be invited to come to London during the week-end of February 14th or 23rd, preferably the latter,
- (2) "That a special meeting of the Executive be held on Thursday, January 18th, to discuss the draft resolution of the French Society."

It was suggested that discussion of the draft resolution by the Executive would be facilitated if the Committee could also have before them an alternative document, containing amendments which the Union would like to see made in the French draft.

The Chairman expressed the hope that it would be made clear to the representatives of the French Society, at a very early stage in the discussions, that the L.N.U. could not support any proposals for a "Carthaginian peace" but that, in any effort to establish peace on the basis of an agreed settlement, the Union would co-operate with them in the closest possible way.

11. **FEDERAL UNION.** The Executive had before them (a) a draft submitted by Mr. Kimber for a joint declaration by the L.N.U. and Federal Union (S.824); (b) an alternative draft submitted by Lord Cecil (S.885); and (c) amendments to Lord Cecil's draft proposed by Dr. Murray (S.886).

Mr. Syrett was strongly opposed to the Union issuing any joint declaration with Federal Union.

Professor Brodetsky thought that the two draft statements represented something in the nature of a non-aggression pact with Federal Union. The problem was not to mark off a delimitation of territory between the Union and the Federal Union, but rather to take into account the important psychological change that had taken place in regard to the whole approach to the question.

If it was possible to arrive at some real thinking about the matter with the Federal Unionists, it would be of very great advantage, especially in preparation for the Union's conversations with the French representatives.

At the Chairman's invitation, Professor Brodetsky expressed his willingness to prepare a draft memorandum for consideration by the Executive at its special meeting on January 18th.

Dr. Murray agreed with Professor Brodetsky and hoped the Union would emphasize that the practical settlement at the end of the war depended on the co-operation of England and France, and would express the hope that, as the Prime Ministers of both Britain and France had stated, the co-operation between the two countries would become closer, would proceed further in different directions and would, in that sense, move towards a greater organized co-operation throughout Europe. Dr. Murray hoped that the Union would give prominence, either in HEADWAY or in a leaflet, to the statements made by M. Daladier and the British Prime Minister.

Mr. Wallis-Jones, while welcoming the Union's co-operation with its French colleagues, expressed the hope that at the earliest opportunity such co-operation would be extended to include the neutral countries.

Miss Courtney thought the Union should welcome anything which induced people to think and talk about international co-operation, whatever form it might eventually take, but warning should be given that things could not be made to work merely by putting down something which looked well on paper. The League system had not failed, but no system could work without the will to make it do so.

After further discussion, it was agreed that it was undesirable for the Union to publish a joint statement with Federal Union, but that the question of the Union issuing a statement of its own be decided after the Executive had discussed in detail the draft resolution of the French Society (referred to in minute 10 above) and the memorandum to be prepared by Professor Brodetsky.

In the meantime, the Secretary was authorized to write a letter to Branches and others inquiring on the subject of Federal Union, based on the Executive's discussions and including a few of the main points which, in the Union's view, made Federal Union as at present envisaged impracticable. The hope was expressed that

Union Branches would not hold joint meetings with Federal Union groups but would instead organise independent gatherings to explain the principles of the League system.

Lord Lytton suggested that Branches should be informed that the Union was vitally concerned with the terms of peace at the end of this war and its business was to get those fully discussed with our French friends. That was work on which the Union was at present engaged and it involved closer co-operation than had been the practice in the past.

(Note. During the discussion on the above minute Lord Lytton left the meeting and the Chair was taken by Miss Courtney.)

12. ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF B.U.L.N.S. It was agreed that at the next regular meeting of the Committee, Mr. Wallis Jones should be asked to report on the recent Annual Conference of the B.U.L.N.S., when the question of Federal Union among other matters had been discussed.
13. GENERAL SMITS. Dr. Murray was asked to communicate to General Smits the congratulations of the Executive on the ready response which South Africa had made to the League's request for help for Finland by ordering the diversion to Finland of a number of aeroplanes already on their way to South Africa.

*Lytton*  
CHAIRMAN

3 Jan 25th, 1920



S. 898  
8.1.40.

DRAFT OF JOINT DECLARATION BY FEDERAL UNION AND  
THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION.

(Submitted by Mr. Kinbor)

Federal Union and the League of Nations Union believe that peace and world order depend upon a rule of law which commands the moral backing of the peoples of the world. Each society, however, has a distinctive aim.

Federal Union stands for a federation wherein the peoples of different nations, in order to achieve a common policy and to remove the causes of dispute between them, freely elect a common government to legislate for affairs which they define as being of concern to them all. They retain their national governments to legislate for matters of purely national concern. In order to provide for their mutual security, the control of foreign policy and armed forces is given to the common government.

The League of Nations Union stands for a League in which each Member State signs a Covenant committing it to certain obligations but retains the power both to translate and to implement these obligations as it chooses. It is recognised as the particular task of the League of Nations Union to restore the effectiveness of the League and to build up its membership.

Federal Union, however, does not believe that the causes of war can be removed by the machinery of a League. It believes that at the end of this war we should make a start with world government by forming a nucleus federation on the basis of individual liberty and preferably



composed of belligerents and interested neutrals, but which others may join at any time on a similar basis. It believes that such a start is possible owing to the work which the League and the League of Nations Union has done in the last quarter of a century in focussing attention, hopes and loyalty on an international authority and in arousing respect for a rule of law binding the acts of governments. It believes further that such a start will be immediately necessary at the end of the war since an independent foreign policy for each separate state will make the creation of prosperity and peace impossible. Federal Union therefore regards a nucleus federation as both immediately necessary and possible. Its particular task is to win sufficient public support for the idea that such a federation is proposed and created as rapidly as possible.

Both societies believe that in principle federation is a more effective method of achieving the rule of law than a league. They recognise that federation on a world-wide scale is at present out of the question as a political possibility. They agree that both a Federation and a League could exist simultaneously and that the Federation could be a member of a wider League. They agree, therefore that although their aims are distinct they are not mutually exclusive.

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S. 695  
8.1.40.

ALTERNATIVE DRAFT OF JOINT DECLARATION BY FEDERAL UNION AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION.

(Submitted by Lord Cecil)

The League of Nations Union and the Federal Union both hold that peace and world order can only be maintained on the basis of a rule of law accepted and obeyed by the peoples of the world. Any international peace-keeping machinery can only succeed if this prior condition is achieved.

Further the nations must be convinced that peace is literally the greatest of their national interests and they must be ready to use their whole power to maintain it. It was because the peace-loving nations failed to act on this principle in the series of crises which began with the Japanese invasion of Manchuria that the existing peace machinery failed. The problem is whether by any, and if so what, change in that machinery future failure can be avoided.

Federal Union holds that it is essential to establish a federation wherein the peoples of different nations, in order to achieve a common policy and to remove the causes of dispute between them, freely elect a common government to legislate for affairs which they define as being of concern to them all. They retain their national governments to legislate for matters of purely national concern. In order to provide for their mutual security, the control of foreign policy and armed forces is given to the common government.

It believes that at the end of this war we should make a start with world government by forming a nucleus federation on the basis of individual liberty and preferably composed of belligerents and interested neutrals, but which others may join at any time on a similar basis. It believes that such a start is possible owing to the work which the League and the League of Nations Union has done in the last quarter of a century in focussing attention, hopes and loyalty on an international authority and in arousing respect for a rule of law binding the acts of governments. It believes further that such a start will be immediately necessary at the end of the war since an independent foreign policy for each separate state will make the creation of prosperity and peace impossible. Federal Union therefore regards a nucleus federation as both immediately necessary and possible. Its particular task is to win sufficient public support for the idea that such a federation is proposed and created as rapidly as possible.

P. O.

The League of Nations Union fears that any attempt of this kind would fail, that to try for instance to put the British Fleet, the French Army or any of the American forces under the command of an international body in which each country would only command a minority of the votes in that body would be rejected. They cannot help recognising that there are many other practical difficulties about Federal Union, some of which have special force in the British Empire. The L.N.U. therefore are of opinion that the only practical course is to build on the League, that is, on an association of independent states bound by obligation to defend one another from any attack by another nation. They agree that this obligation should be made clearer and more definite than it is in the Covenant. They think, as was suggested by M. Briand, that there should be a European Chamber of the League to whom should be entrusted among other things the duty of organising the prevention and arrest of European aggression. For this purpose an international general staff might be constituted and as part of a scheme for international disarmament, the monopoly of military aircraft might be put at the disposal of such a staff.

The most important difference between the two proposals seems to be whether the final word as to foreign policy and the use of armed force should, subject to contractual obligations, rest with each State or whether a new international body should be created with power to decide by majority over the heads of the component states all questions of defence and foreign relations. In any case both Societies are agreed that the League as it is should continue to discharge its existing duties and that the new organisation should be co-ordinated with it.

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DR. MURRAY'S PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO LORD GREIL'S  
ALTERNATIVE DRAFT.

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Page 1, para. 3.

.....essential to establish a federation in the strict sense, like that of the U.S.A. or Australia, wherein the peoples of different nations .....

Page 2, lines 13 to 28.

They agree that this obligation should be made clearer and more definite than it is in the Covenant. They welcome the increasingly closer co-operation, both military and economic, between Great Britain and France as the nucleus of a wider co-operation in which Germany and other nations may join. They think, as was suggested by M. Briand, that there should be a European Chamber of the League to whom should be entrusted the duty not merely of developing the political, economic and cultural unity of Europe, but also of organising the prevention and arrest of European aggression. For this purpose an international general staff might be constituted and as part of a scheme for international disarmament the monopoly of military aircraft might be put at the disposal of such a staff.

Both bodies agree that national sovereignty and the emotions with which it is associated form the greatest obstacle to world peace. The most important difference between them seems to be whether, in the present state of the world, general agreement and collective action can best be secured by clear contractual obligations between otherwise independent states, or whether a new international body should, and could, be created with power to decide by majority over the heads of the component states.....

CONFIDENTIAL.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION HELD AT NO. 60, ST. MARTIN'S LANE, LONDON, W.C.2, ON THURSDAY, JANUARY 18TH, 1940 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Wyvyan Adams M.P., Sir Norman Angell, Professor S. Brodetsky, Dean of Chichester, Miss A.D. Courtney, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss P. Fancett, W. Arnold Forster, Sir John Harris, D.L., James M.P., J. Macdonald, G. de M. Mander, M.P., Brig. Gen. L.C.F. Blincoe, Dr. Gilbert Murray, W.T. Fritchard, Miss E. Rathbone M.P., R.S. Snyott and Major Freshwater.

14. REPORT BY MR. ARNOLD FORSTER. At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Arnold Forster reported on his recent visit to Sweden, with particular reference to the position in Finland, and communicated to the Executive a resolution (S.692) and a declaration of terms of armistice and peace (S.691) adopted at a meeting of representatives of the Danish, Norwegian and Swedish Committees of the I.P.C. in Stockholm on January 10th and 11th.

Mr. Arnold Forster was warmly thanked for the information he had given to the Executive, both in his statement and answers to questions.

15. FRENCH LEAGUE OF NATIONS SOCIETY. In accordance with the decision contained in minute 10 (2), the Executive gave further consideration to the draft resolution of the French Society on the Organisation of Peace (S.687). The Executive also had before them a note by the Chairman (S.690) and a memorandum on League and Federation (S.688) prepared by Professor Brodetsky at the Committee's request.

The Executive expressed agreement with the Chairman's opinion that it was necessary to maintain a distinction between (1) Conditions of Peace (i.e. conditions on which we would terminate hostilities with Germany) and (2) Conditions of Settlement (i.e. conditions we should hope to secure at an international conference, attendance at which would be one of the Conditions of Peace). The first concerned the Allies and Germany alone; the second concerned neutral countries as well.

During the subsequent discussion, it was agreed that one of the conditions for a cessation of hostilities should be the withdrawal of German troops from the whole of what was Czechoslovakia as well as from Poland, and that an opportunity for the self-determination of Austria should also be afforded.

It was agreed to ask the Chairman, in the light of the Executive's discussion and of Professor Brodetsky's memorandum on "League and Federation", to prepare a revised document dealing with the French resolution for consideration by the Committee at its next meeting on January 25th.

*Lytton*  
CHECKED 25/1/40

STAGES OF A FRENCH RESOLUTION  
ON THE ORGANISATION OF PEACE.

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(NOTE. The French Society attaches the greatest importance to co-operation with the League of Nations Union at this time. It hopes that it may be possible for the two societies to reach substantial agreement on the problem of the "Organisation of Peace". The following resolution, though not a formal resolution of the French Society, is the product of two long discussions of the resolution on the same subject adopted by the L.N.U. The French Society has preferred to make its criticism in this form rather than by way of amendment. F.F.F.)

- (1) Restoration of the right of self-determination to the peoples of Austria, Poland and Czechoslovakia, and reparation for wrongs unjustly caused them.
- (2) Constitution of an international organisation on a federative basis, including a European Federation within a World League of Nations.
- (3) Consequent limitation of national sovereignty to the degree necessary for the establishment of a "common life", and the organisation of international security. This international security will be guaranteed by:
  - a) General disarmament under supervision, accompanied by the establishment of an international air, military and naval force.
  - b) The organisation of mutual assistance and material help to a state victim of aggression must proceed by stages.
    - c) Each member state of the International Community must be prepared to undertake a share of the responsibility for preventing and resisting aggression.
    - c) Compulsory solution by pacific means of all international conflicts.
    - d) Organisation of a system for the revision of Treaties.
- (4) Since it is indispensable that certain principles be common to all the members of a federation (respect for law, dignity of man, etc.) it may be that a European federation can only be set up in stages, beginning with an Anglo-French Federation, open, from the beginning, to all States wishing to join and ready to assume duties corresponding to their rights.



Adoption of measures aimed at bringing Germany to a consciousness of her duties as a European nation and of her consequent obligations.

The extension of the federative system in Europe will lead to the disappearance of most minority problems.

- (6) This juridical and political organisation for a new Europe and for the world will enable us, under the aegis of an international authority, to raise the standard of living, to share raw materials, to develop economic relations, in particular by industrial specialisation, by the increase in consumption, and by the creation of an international money.

The International Labour Organisation should be specially consulted in connection with post-war demobilisation and the carrying out of major international public works.

E.690  
18.1.40

NOTE BY THE CHAIRMAN ON THE FRENCH STATEMENT

I find it impossible to amend the French Statement or to draft an alternative to it until there is a clearer recognition both by the French Society and ourselves of the purpose which the statement is to serve.

In my opinion it is necessary to maintain a distinction between (1) Conditions of Peace (i.e. conditions on which we would terminate hostilities with Germany) and (2) Conditions of Settlement (i.e. conditions we should hope to secure at an international conference, attendance at which would be one of the Conditions of Peace).

The first concern the Allies and Germany alone.

The second concern neutral countries as well.

With the exception of par. 1, the whole of the French Statement deals with matters belonging to (2) rather than (1), and I think we should concentrate on (1) first. Even in their first paragraph Austria will, I think, have to be omitted. The restoration of Austrian independence cannot properly be made a condition of peace, since the incorporation of Austria in the German Reich was recognised and accepted diplomatically before the war. Similarly the evacuation of Poland by Russian troops cannot be made a condition of peace with Germany. When we come to consider conditions of Settlement we shall easily agree with the French that the Austrian people ought to have the right to determine their future status. If they should determine to maintain their national independence, the boundaries of their state and their relationship with the German Reich would be settled by the International Conference of Settlement. The boundaries of the re-established Polish and Czech-Slovak states would be similarly fixed.

I should like to try and secure agreement with the French Society on some such lines as the following:

I. Conditions of Peace

In view of the repeated violations by the German Government of Treaties to which they are parties and of solemn assurances given by the head of their State, the Allies should require specific performance of certain acts by Germany before they can agree to a cessation of hostilities. These acts are:

- (1) The withdrawal of German troops from Poland, Bohemia and Moravia.
- (2) The establishment in those countries of a Government acceptable to their people.
- (3) The occupation of those countries by national or neutral forces sufficient to maintain order and resist any external aggression.

When these conditions have been fulfilled, the Allies would consent to a cessation of hostilities on receiving from Germany acceptance of the principles of the Covenant of the League of Nations (which may be defined as follows:



(1) Recognition that aggression is an international crime and acceptance of the obligation to concert collective measures to resist it; (2) The limitation of armaments by international agreement and subject to international supervision; (3) The obligation to settle all disputes by peaceful means; and a declaration of willingness to enter into conference with such other States as also accept these principles in order to effect a new European settlement by agreement.

If we can agree upon some such Conditions of Peace we can proceed to a discussion of the Conditions of Settlement and try and arrive at agreement upon the kind of Settlement we should hope to secure.

It seems to me that it would be a mistake to depart from the principles of the Covenant and use other terms whether they be called "Federative Basis, Confederation, Federation, International Co-operation or anything else." We know that if the will to make the Covenant work existed, peace could have been secured through that instrument. And if the will does not exist, no other system would work any better, and we are only deluding ourselves by using new phrases.

The reason why the Covenant was not sufficient to maintain peace was because each State Member of the League continued to think and act individually and not collectively, and because in every country the desire for peace was so strong, yet so uninstrumented, that the fear of meeting force with force prevailed over every other consideration. This enabled any State with aggressive designs to exploit the peace sentiment of all other countries, and once it was demonstrated that force could be successfully used against a weaker neighbour, confidence in any collective stand for law was destroyed and an ultimate conflict between the most powerfully armed states became inevitable. Can anyone really believe that nations which were too nationally minded for the Covenant system are ready for the much greater surrender of national sovereignty involved in a Federal System?

I have not attempted to draft a statement of Conditions of Settlement until I know whether the Executive approves of proceeding on these lines. If they do, I should be willing to try my hand at the much more difficult problem which is involved in the second part.

## LEAGUE AND FEDERATION

S. Brodetsky

The problem of maintaining world peace cannot be made to depend upon a single formula. Each one of us must avoid the danger of concentrating upon some formula which happens to be attuned to a particular phase of the peace problem in which he is interested, for this must lead to dispute and disruption within the peace movement itself. There is an element of truth in almost any formula. A League of more or less sovereign states, a Confederation of independent states, a Federation of united states, a World State: these are the four conceptions which are mainly prevalent today, and each has its contribution to offer to the establishment and preservation of world peace.

The fallacy under which many labour in is considering these conceptions of a new world order as being mutually incompatible and contradictory, whereas in reality they represent component parts of a united constructive policy. The fundamental question is the direction in which we wish to go, for we cannot decide upon the next step until we know what is the path of which this step is the beginning.

We who believe in a world order based upon an international authority which will limit the scope of sovereignty of individual states are aiming at something in the nature of a World State. But clearly we cannot think that this World State is to be achieved as the immediate result of a Peace Conference after the present war. A World State can only be the result of a long evolution. It cannot in fact be a state in the ordinary sense, for the larger the area over which statehood is claimed the more devolution there must be in regard to the problems of a more localized character. Hence we must conceive of the World State as representing a final goal of thought, striving and evolution, in the form of an international machinery for dealing with the large problems affecting the whole world.

The conception of Federal Union is a decisive step in the direction of a World State. It is not the same as a World State, because under federation the individual states would still have a measure of independence in regard to many important matters which are bound to influence international relations. But Federal Union represents the evolution of a wider democracy, which goes beyond the boundaries of the individual state, and which aims towards the widest democracy of all, in which each human being is a citizen of the world.

Federalism thus represents an inevitable development along the path leading to permanent peace. But it would need generations of evolution, beginning with Federal Unions of a limited character, like a Federal Union of states representing the various races and nationalities in central and east Europe, a Federal Union of the democratic states of the north west of Europe, a Federal Union of the British and French Empires, etc. In each case the aim would be to maintain as far as possible the independence of the component states, but to combine for the purpose of military security and freedom of economic exchange and development.

Confederation is a less advanced conception. It does not involve a democratically elected super government for a number of states, but rather a co-operation between the governments of such states, these governments delegating to some joint body certain functions of a collective character like defence, currency, customs relations, etc. The elements of such a confederation exist in the present arrangements for war purposes between Great Britain and France, and it is to be hoped, as has indeed been admitted both by the Prime Minister of this country and by the French Premier, that the present war time collaboration between Great Britain and France may be extended into the peace, and develop into a confederation of the British and French empires. This would be a step towards real federalism between these two empires, leading towards federation of a wider character, and ultimately towards a world federation which could be called a World State.

But when the present war comes to an end, and representatives of the nations meet in order to make the peace, their first task must be to ensure that such a war catastrophe shall not occur again by making aggression impossible in the future. This must be done immediately and cannot wait for the acceptance of the federal idea and the development of a world federation. In fact, the very essence of the federal idea makes an immediate arrangement for the prevention of aggression essential, for federation can only take place between states that have some basis of common interest.

Protagonists of federal union continually emphasize that they want a federation of democratic states. Now the immediate danger to Europe is not a quarrel between democratic states, but a quarrel between democracies on the one hand and tyrannical aggressors on the other. The essence of the problem lies in the difference in conception as between democratic states and the totalitarian states; in the difference between the ideal of peace and liberty of the former, and the ideal of war and citizen slavery of the latter; in the false contrast between the "have nots" and the "haves"; etc. We therefore must have an immediate machinery for preventing war between states whose ideals are different, whose interests cross and clash, and who have different views of how to behave internationally. For this purpose nobody has yet proposed any other machinery than a League of Nations. It must be added, however, that it is not clear that such a League must be endowed with real power to reach decisions quickly and to enforce them with success, and not be dependent upon the hesitations or particularist motives of any state member of the League.

If the problem of peace is looked at in this way, then those who work for the League of Nations need have no fear of Federal Union, and those who work for Federal Union need not act in antagonism to the League. It is the collective result of the various contributory conceptions mentioned that will lead to a really permanent peace system.

To sum up, the stages by which world peace can be safeguarded are the following:

- (1) A reconstructed League of Nations, with the necessary authority and power to take its decisions quickly and to enforce them effectively.
- (2) The development of a Confederation between such groups of states as Great Britain and France, Scandinavia and the Low countries, the small states in central and eastern Europe, the Balkans, etc.
- (3) The development of real Federal Unions between larger and larger groups of states, that decide to pool their international interests and to entrust them to a super-government, democratically elected by the populations of all the states voting together.
- (4) The gradual covering of the world by a system of world federalism, which will place all important world interests under the control of an internationally recognised and elected authority.

S.692  
18.1.40.RESOLUTION OF SCANDINAVIAN CONFERENCE OF I.P.C.Stockholm, Jan. 11.

This Conference of Representatives of the Danish, Norwegian and Swedish Committees of the I.P.C.,

1. Recognises that very grave problems, economic, social and cultural, will arise during the Transition Period between the present wars and the full establishment of peace and social security;
2. Believes that it may be possible to ease this transition to some extent if these problems are studied in advance and if constructive proposals are prepared (so far as practicable in advance);
3. And therefore respectfully submits the following suggestion to the governments of the Four Northern States, on behalf of the many organisations throughout Scandinavia which the I.P.C. represents:-
4. That these governments should, jointly or separately, propose to the League of Nations that the League Secretariat and International Labour Organisation should be charged with the task of preparing (a) an objective study of these problems of the transition, and (b) constructive proposals for easing the transition, for the general advantage;
5. The problems to be considered will presumably include demobilisation; unemployment; re-direction of industrial production; promotion of public works; improvement of agricultural conditions (e.g. in E. Europe); repair of communications; reconstruction of devastated areas; relief of famine and distress; concerted action against disease; and the continuance, for purposes of peace, of collective controls created for purposes of war.

S.691.  
18.1.40.PEACE AIMS

representatives of the Danish, Norwegian and Swedish Committees of the International Peace Campaign, meeting in Conference in Stockholm on January 10th and 11th, 1940, after a long discussion of terms of armistice and peace, have agreed upon the following declaration.

1. Preparatory peace-conversations should be undertaken as soon as possible, without any prior conditions being laid down by either party. But, in the interests of justice and enduring peace, it does not appear possible for an armistice to be concluded until guarantees have been given for the restitution of the freedom of the Czechs and Poles. Questions about frontiers which cannot be settled by negotiations between the parties should be referred for decision by impartial bodies.
2. A Peace Treaty should be concluded by the method of negotiation, on a footing of equality, and not by the dictation of the victors.
3. A World Peace Conference, which should include the neutral States, should be convened after thorough preparation, to establish a comprehensive system for the peaceful solution of the world's pressing problems. With the help of the experience gained by the League of Nations, an international order should be established on the surest possible foundations, strong enough to prevent and stop lawless violence. The League of Nations must have enough authority and political power to be able to carry through effectively such solutions of international differences as it finds equitable in the general interest.
4. Membership of this reconstructed League of Nations should be open to all States which are willing to accept the obligations involved in membership, on the basis of equal rights and equal duties.



CONFIDENTIAL.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION HELD AT NO. 60, ST. MARTIN'S LANE, LONDON, W.C. 2, ON THURSDAY, JANUARY 23RD, 1940 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Professor S. Brodetsky, F.H. Burris, Lord Cecil, Miss K.D. Courtney, Viscount Cranborne M.P., Mrs. Dugdale, Miss P. Fawcett, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, Lady Layton, G. Le M. Hender M.P., Brig. Gen. L.O.P. Milman, Dr. Gilbert Murray, Miss E. Rathbone M.P., Brig. Gen. E.L. Spears M.P., Mrs. Whitfield, and Major Freshwater.

16. MINUTES. The minutes of the meetings held on January 11th and January 18th, 1940 were confirmed.
17. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 4 - Death of Viscountess Erwig, a letter from Mrs. Kessler, thanking the Executive for their message of condolence, was read.

On Minute 8 - Future Meetings of Executive, after it had been reported that, as a result of the inquiry addressed to members of the Committee, 9 members preferred first and third Thursdays, 4 second and fourth, 8 alternate Thursdays, and 8 had no preference, it was

RESOLVED: "That, until the summer vacation, meetings of the Executive be held on first and third Thursdays; and that the position be afterwards reviewed."

The Secretary was asked to send a note of the actual dates of meetings to all members of the Committee with an expression of the Chairman's hope that they would enter them in their diaries and, so far as possible, attend the meetings regularly.

On Minute 9 - International Federation: Appointment of President, the Chairman stated that he had not yet received a reply to the letter he had written to Lady Gladstone on this subject.

18. DEATH OF DR. MUTA. It was

RESOLVED: "That a letter be sent, on behalf of the Executive, to the Swiss Minister in London, expressing sympathy in the loss his country had sustained in the death of so distinguished

a citizen as Dr. Motta, and requesting that the Executive's message should be conveyed to the Swiss Government if he thought fit"; and

"That a letter of sympathy be also sent to the Swiss League of Nations Society."

19. **REPORT ON MEMBERSHIP ETC.** The Executive had before them a report on Membership, Discussion Groups, Factors Meetings etc. (S.695). They were encouraged to learn that notifications of the collection of subscriptions in December, 1939 had been received from 723 Branches, seeing that in the earlier part of the month communications had been received from a little more than 400 Branches.
20. **SUGGESTED MESSAGE FROM H.M. GOVERNMENT.** Sir John Harris suggested that it would be of great help to the Union's local organisations in their work at the present time if the Prime Minister or the Foreign Secretary could be persuaded to send a message to the Union, following up their statements in recent speeches and in reply to Parliamentary questions, and stating clearly that one of H.M. Government's peace aims was the re-establishment of the League of Nations.
- Miss Courtney expressed the hope that, if such a statement were forthcoming, it would make clear that the closer collaboration between Great Britain and France, which had been advocated by M. Dauidar and taken up by the British Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary, was intended to be within the framework of the League.
- After discussion, it was agreed to leave it to the Chairman or Lord Cecil to speak to Lord Halifax in regard to the above suggestions.
- Dr. Murray expressed the hope that the Union would give the utmost publicity to the statements made on behalf of H.M. Government by Mr. Butler at the December meeting of the League's Assembly.
21. **REPORT BY CHAIRMAN OF EDUCATION COUNCIL.** Dr. Murray reported that a first meeting of the new education council, which had been brought into existence under the arrangements approved by the Executive on May 18th and June 8th, 1939, had been held on Friday, January 12th. Fourteen members had been present and letters had been received from many who could not attend, expressing their deep interest in the Council and urging the importance of carrying on its work.



7. Youth Committee: consideration of following resolutions adopted by the Committee on January 14th, 1940:

(1) The Youth Committee regrets that the resolution on India put forward for submission at the General Council was not granted "urgency"; it considers that the recognition of the opinions of the peoples of India as expressed through the National Congress is a sine qua non of any world settlement; and

RESOLVES: "That the Executive be asked to include the question of India in the policy of the Union".

(2) The Youth Committee expresses its indignation at the denial to the workers of France of the rights of free speech and association, and a free press by the suppression of trade unions, the banning of newspapers (particularly L'HUMANITE with the third largest circulation of all the French newspapers), by the arrest of hundreds of trade unionists and by the proposed legislation to exclude from the Chamber of Deputies the elected Communist representatives, and holds that this action is not in accordance with the professions of democracy made by the French and British Governments in carrying out the present war.

The council proposed to describe itself as:

COUNCIL FOR EDUCATION IN WORLD CITIZENSHIP  
(established by the League of Nations Union)

It was

RESOLVED: "That the above title be approved."

22. YOUTH COMMITTEE. The Executive had before them two resolutions adopted by the Committee on January 14th dealing with (1) India and (2) the action taken by the French Government towards its Trade Unionists, Communists, etc. (copy filed with these minutes).

*See opposite page*  
The Chairman said that, although he sympathised with the members of the Youth Committee in their feelings, they must find other opportunities than in the Union for expressing their views, because the matters were not such as could be discussed, or on which opinions could be expressed, by the Union either in the Executive Committee, the General Council, the Branches or the Youth Groups. He recalled the ruling given by the President at the last meeting of the General Council on the subject of India in relation to Union policy.

Lord Cecil hoped it would be made clear to members of the Youth Committee that although individually they were perfectly entitled to hold whatever views they liked about India or the French Government's action, they must make it clear that such opinions did not in any way represent the policy of the Union.

The Chairman said that, in his individual capacity, he would be very glad, if the Youth Committee desired, to discuss with them the subject of India. Mrs. Whitfield thanked Lord Lytton for his kind offer which she would communicate to the Committee.

Dr. Murray suggested that it might be useful if, when the representatives of the French Society visited this country, they could be invited to explain the policy of the French Government.

23. STATEMENT FOR FRENCH LEAGUE OF NATIONS SOCIETY. The Executive had before them a revised draft statement (S.695) prepared by the Chairman (in accordance with minute 15) as a basis for discussion with the French League of Nations Society.

The Committee considered the statement paragraph by paragraph, and letters from Captain Liddell Hart, Mr. Arnold Forster, Sir Arthur Haworth and Mr. Kayser were read.

After considerable discussion, during which certain amendments in the first two pages of the statement were adopted, it was agreed to adjourn consideration of the remainder of the paper (from the final paragraph on page 2 to the end) until the next meeting, and to invite those members who could not be present to submit in writing any comments or suggested alterations they might wish to make.

Lord Cecil and Dr. Garnett, after stating that it was unlikely that they could attend the next meeting, submitted for the Executive's consideration the comments and amendments contained in paper A (attached) in which is given also the relevant parts of Mr. Arnold Forster's letter.

*H. D. Courtney*  
CHAIRMAN. Feb 1. 1920

## REPORT ON MEMBERSHIP, ETC.

Membership

	1938			1939		
	<u>New</u>	<u>Renewed</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>New</u>	<u>Renewed</u>	<u>Total</u>
Jan.	337	14,006	14,343	499	9,780	10,279
Feb.	1,248	19,376	20,624	305	18,763	19,068
March	2,829	30,391	33,220	1,337	28,916	30,253
April	1,886	20,546	21,432	1,274	20,348	21,622
May	1,662	19,870	21,532	998	12,594	13,492
June	1,652	18,152	19,774	810	12,347	13,757
July	1,114	12,600	13,714	552	12,090	12,642
August	771	9,410	10,181	655	11,147	11,780
	12,099	144,321	156,420	6,908	126,585	133,493
Sept. &						
Oct.	2,042	22,799	24,841	557	11,772	12,329
Nov.	1,220	16,871	18,091	289	9,009	9,298
Dec.	3,926	60,832	64,758	932	37,314	38,246
	7,258	100,502	107,760	1,778	58,095	59,873
Totals for whole year	19,357	244,823	264,180	8,686	184,680	193,366

The subscriptions notified in December 1939 came from 723 Branches (those in December 1938 came from 581 Branches)

Discussion Groups

200 copies of the first part of Mr. Arnold Forster's "Suggestions" have been supplied to 185 Branches and individuals.

Posters

There are standing orders for 240 sets and 107 single copies of each issue.

Meetings

53 meetings have been arranged from January to the end of March. The Leamington, Harrow, West Hampstead, Bournemouth, Streatham, Green Lane (Coventry) and Cambridge University Branches have arranged series of meetings to be held at intervals of a week, a fortnight or a month. Regular lectures on the Background of the War are being given to W.R.N.S. groups in training at Kennington. Birmingham is holding weekly lunches. Montagu Burton Branch is having luncheon meetings alternate months, the speeches are broadcast to 6,000 employees at lunch in the canteens.

3.693  
20-1.40

The Chairman's Revised Draft of a Statement  
to be submitted to the French League of  
Nations Society

The British League of Nations Union and the French League of Nations Society in this joint statement of their common peace aims recognize that their objects can only be achieved by two stages:-

First, by a definition of the conditions under which the Allies would be prepared to terminate hostilities with Germany and meet representatives, not only of Germany but of neutral countries also, at a Conference table to negotiate a final peace settlement.

Secondly by a definition of the conditions that the Allies would try to secure by agreement at such a Conference.

For the sake of brevity let us call the first, Armistice Terms, and the second, Peace terms. Armistice terms concern the belligerent Powers alone and will in fact be determined by the military situation. Peace terms concern other countries besides the belligerents, namely, first the States that have been the victims of German aggression in the past, secondly the States that fear to become the victims of German aggression in the future, and thirdly the States whose cooperation would be necessary to the establishment of the kind of world order we desire to achieve. Roughly we shall not have the drafting of either Armistice Terms or Peace Terms, we wish to agree, if possible, upon the main principles of both which we can recommend to those whose opinions we are in a position to influence.

#### I. ARMISTICE TERMS

These must of necessity be dictated, and can only be defined on the supposition that the military situation will leave the Allies with the power to enforce them. We are fighting against the murderer of more than one State, who but for our resistance would certainly attempt the murder of many others. A murdered individual cannot be restored to life. A murdered State fortunately can, and the liberation of Hitler's victims of yesterday would be an essential condition of any Armistice, just as the defence of those who but for the victory of our arms might be his victims tomorrow would be the main object of the Peace Conference.

To be precise, we should require the restoration of the right of self-determination to the people of Austria, Poland and Czechoslovakia and adequate provision for the exercise of that right without any external pressure. For this purpose German troops would have to be withdrawn from these territories and replaced by neutral forces sufficient to maintain order and resist any external aggression. The national Governments would have to become responsible for the administration, and their representatives must have the right to sit at the Peace Conference.

As these measures would take some time to accomplish the Armistice period would have to be prolonged into three stages:

- (1) A declaration by Germany of her willingness to restore the right of self-determination to the three countries she has forcibly occupied, to conduct her foreign policy in future according to the principles of the Covenant of the League of Nations, and to enter into a Conference with such other States as also accept these principles to effect a new European settlement by agreement. On receipt of such a declaration hostilities would cease.
- (2) The occupation of some German territory by allied forces, while the restoration of Austria, Poland and Czechoslovakia was being carried out.
- (3) The withdrawal of the allied occupation when the steps above enumerated were completed and the summoning of the Peace Conference.

#### II. CONDITIONS OF PEACE

Though the terms of the Armistice must be dictated by those in a position to enforce them against an administration which has committed every possible crime, both against its own people and the people of neighbouring States, the terms of the Peace, if it is to be durable, must be freely negotiated by equal parties. The withdrawal of German troops from the countries they have occupied is necessary to ensure the freedom of these countries to negotiate, and the withdrawal of allied troops from Germany is necessary to ensure the freedom of Germany to negotiate. For the same reason the Conference should take place in the city of some neutral State.

The delineation of frontiers and the treatment of minority communities would be negotiated at the Conference.

The main purpose of the Conference would be the consideration of how future wars of aggression can be prevented, since it is the fixed determination of the Allies who are now at war with Germany to save future generations from the necessity of experiencing a repetition of the sacrifices which have twice been imposed upon them by the same Nation.

In the pursuit of this purpose the establishment of an effective international organisation should be advocated, but no particular formula should be insisted upon: - a League of independent sovereign states all co-operating for the maintenance of agreed principles, a confederation of independent states in definite alliance for certain purposes, an association or federation of united states or a world state or commonwealth could each and all fulfil the purpose aimed at, and that one will prove the most effective which can ensure the largest measure of support and the greatest unity of action. But whatever form the ultimate organisation may take, this feature must be found in it - such limitation of national sovereignty as may be necessary for



the establishment of a common life, the maintenance of law between nations and the organisation of international security. Every member of the organisation must accept the obligation:-

- (i) To accept third party judgment in its disputes with other States and to refrain from the use of force for national gain.
- (ii) To undertake a share of responsibility for preventing and resisting aggression.
- (iii) To keep its armaments within an agreed limit and under the supervision of an international authority.

In the opinion of the two Societies the most satisfactory outcome of the Peace Conference would be:-

- (1) The re-establishment of the League of Nations on a universal basis with well-defined but limited obligations.
- (2) The establishment within the League of a close Confederation for mutual protection of States contiguous to each other, or with a strong community of interest. Even the relationship which already exists between the Members of the British Commonwealth of Nations might serve as an example to be followed by the Scandinavian States, the Danubian States, the German States of Central Europe, etc.
- (3) The creation within the League of a partnership between States or groups of States providing for a common policy and common action in certain matters of which the Anglo-French co-operation in the war is an example. It is to be hoped that this co-operation will be continued and even extended in peace time.

The object of all such arrangements would be to remove the causes of friction between nations which lead to war and to increase such advantages as freedom of trade, individual liberty of action and movement, the maintenance of high standards in public health, conditions of labour, education and social services - on which the happiness of the individual citizens in all States depends. All measures calculated to achieve these objects should be freely discussed at the Conference, but loyalty to the conception of a world order freed from the menace of war must be required of those by whom any proposal is made.

CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION HELD AT NO. 60, ST. MARTIN'S LANE, LONDON, W.C.2, ON THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 1ST, 1940 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Miss K.D. Courtney (in the Chair), Wyvan Adams M.P., Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Professor S. Brodetsky, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss P. Fawcett, Miss Megan Lloyd George M.P., Sir John Harris, G. le M. Mander M.P., Brig. General L.C.F. Milman, Wilfred Roberts M.P., and Major Freshwater.

23. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on January 25th, 1940 were confirmed.

24. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 17 - 9 - International Federation: Appointment of President. It was reported that Lady Gladstone had written to Lord Lytton suggesting that a British President of the Federation should be appointed to succeed M. Morel (a Frenchman) and that the name of Lord Lytton himself should be proposed if he were willing to accept the office. The Executive cordially supported Lady Gladstone's suggestion and expressed the earnest hope that Lord Lytton would favourably consider it.

On Minute 18 - Death of Dr. Molit. A letter from the Swiss Minister, thanking the Executive for their message of condolence, was read.

On Minute 20 - Suggested Message from N.H. Government. It was reported that neither Lord Cecil nor Lord Lytton had yet been able to see Lord Halifax.

25. DEATH OF M. DEMINSKI. It was reported that a letter had been sent to Count Belinski of the Polish research Centre in London, expressing the Union's profound sympathy in the tragic death of M. Deminski, a Past-President of the International Federation and President of the Polish League of Nations Society.
26. APPEALS FOR UNION FUNDS. Sir John Harris suggested that the present might provide a most opportune moment for the Union to make an appeal for funds to certain firms who were known to be in sympathy with its objects and who were profiting financially from the war.
27. STATEMENT FOR FRENCH LEAGUE OF NATIONS SOCIETY. It was reported that the delegates of the French Society were



unable to visit London on February 16th or 23rd but would be glad to do so on March 6th. After it had been reported that Lord Lytton would be able to attend on that date and that it was understood Lord Cecil would be available on March 6th, and after the Chairman and members of the Executive present had expressed their general agreement, the Secretary was asked, after consulting Dr. Murray and Mr. Syrett, to accept the kind offer of the French delegates to visit London for the week-end of March 6th.

The Executive then considered the revised draft statement prepared by Lord Lytton (S.693) from page 2 (II. Conditions of Peace). Comments and suggested amendments by Lord Cecil, Dr. Garnett, Mr. Arnold Forster and Admiral Drury-Lowe were considered.

It was reported that, if Lord Cecil's suggested amendment were adopted for substituting a new sub-paragraph (2) in place of the existing (2) and (3), Lord Lytton proposed that the following should be inserted as an additional sub-paragraph:

- (3) The agreement to abolish all military air forces, to control civil aviation by international agency, and to place a military air force under the control of the League of Nations.

In the course of discussion certain amendments were adopted on page 2 and in sub-paragraphs (a) and (1) on page 3.

In regard to sub-paragraphs (2) and (3) on page 3, Professor Brodetsky held that the essence of the League system was that the prevention of aggression was the business of the whole world and not of a few States, and that it was therefore important to distinguish between the problem of the prevention of aggression and the making of a regional arrangement for other purposes and the possibility of the creation of confederations by voluntary grouping of States. The idea of saying that a number of States might join together for certain defensive purposes gave, he thought, the impression of a military alliance.

After discussion it was agreed to adjourn sub-paragraphs (2) and (3) on page 3 for further consideration at a special meeting to be held on Thursday, February 8th, and to ask members of the Committee who had amendments to suggest to submit them in writing in order that they might be circulated to the Committee.

It was further decided at the special meeting:

To consider the exact meaning to be attached to the word 'accept' in sub-paragraph (a) on page 3 which, in the opinion of some members, might mean the enforcement of an arbitral decision which was an entirely new principle and was not contained in the Covenant.

To consider the desirability of Lord Lytton's additional paragraph (3) (see above), perhaps in a revised form in order to bring it into closer accord with the resolution adopted by the General Council at Birmingham, being inserted after the existing sub-paragraph (c)

28. BRUCE REPORT. The Chairman reminded the Executive that, following upon the adoption of the Bruce Report by the Assembly of the League, a Committee was to be set up consisting of representatives of certain nations and of a number of 'experts' who, because of their peculiar knowledge and qualifications in certain fields, would be invited to assist in the work of the Committee. The Liaison Committee of Women's International Organisations was anxious that a qualified woman should be among the 'experts' to be appointed, and had expressed the hope that the Executive would support this suggestion. A list of suitable women of different nationalities had been prepared, together with particulars of their qualifications in different spheres.

On the motion of General Milman it was

RESOLVED: "That representations be made to the appropriate authority in regard to the suggestion outlined above."

*Lytton*  
CHAIRMAN

February 8th 1940

CONFIDENTIAL.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION HELD AT NO. 83, ST. MARTIN'S LANE, LONDON, W.C.2, ON THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 8TH, 1940 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Lady Violet Bonham Carter, F.M. Buxie, Lord Cecil, Miss E.D. Courtney, Lord Cranborne, Mrs. Digdale, Miss F. Fawcett, Sir John Harris, J. Macdonald, Dr. Gilbert Murray, Brig. Gen. L.C.P. Milman, Miss E. Rathbone M.P., and Major Freshwater.

29. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on February 1st, 1940 were confirmed as circulated.

30. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 28 - Appeals for Union Funds, Sir John Harris stated that, following upon his suggestion at the last meeting, he had made inquiries of a firm of chartered accountants and understood that firms making donations to the Union or other "charities" would be exempt from payment of Excess Profits Tax on the amount of such donations.

31. STATEMENT FOR FRENCH LEAGUE OF NATIONS SOCIETY. The Executive gave further consideration to the draft statement for submission to the French Society (S.693a) and had before them amendments suggested by the Chairman, Mr. Vyvyan Adams, Professor Brodetsky, Lord Cecil, Admiral Drury-Lowe, Dr. Garnett and Mr. Arnold Forster.

In the first paragraph of section I (Armistice Terms) it was agreed to substitute "destroyer" for "murderer" in line four and "destruction" for "murder" in line 5.

The Executive were unable to accept the amendment proposed by Mr. Vyvyan Adams and Professor Brodetsky in sub-paragraph (1) on page 3 since, in the Committee's opinion, it implied that the League was not already in possession of the necessary power and authority.

Sub-paragraphs (2) and (3) and the final paragraph on page 3 were amended to read as set out on page "5" of these minutes.

The Committee then, in accordance with the decision taken at the last meeting, gave further consideration to the exact meaning to be attached to the word "accept" in sub-paragraph (a) on page 3, and had before them observations on the subject by Mr. Arnold Forster. After discussion it was agreed to substitute the words "submit to" for the word "accept" and to delete "in".

In regard to the amended sub-paragraph (2) it was agreed that, before the conference with the French Society took place, it would be desirable, if possible, to prepare a further document stating the kind of action which might be taken towards strengthening, perpetuating and making open to other countries the partnership at present existing between the British Commonwealth of Nations and France.

The Chairman read to the Committee extracts from a letter he had received from Mr. Figgures, reporting on conversations he had recently had with representatives of the French Society and stating that the French delegation to London would probably include:

M. Paul Boncour, M. Rene Cassin, M. Georges Scelle and M. Robert Lange.

Mr. Figgures purposed coming to London a few days before the conference in order to assist in the final arrangements. Lord Cecil expressed the hope that M. Grumbach and M. Pierre Oct would, if possible, also be included in the French delegation.



STATEMENT TO BE SUBMITTED TO THE FRENCH  
LEAGUE OF NATIONS SOCIETY

The British League of Nations Union and the French League of Nations Society in this joint statement of their common peace aims recognise that their objects can only be achieved by two stages:-

First, by a definition of the conditions under which the Allies would be prepared to terminate hostilities with Germany and meet representatives, not only of Germany but of neutral countries also, at a Conference table to negotiate a final peace settlement.

Secondly by a definition of the conditions that the Allies would try to secure by agreement at such a Conference.

For the sake of brevity let us call the first, Armistice Terms, and the second, Peace terms. Armistice terms concern the belligerent Powers alone and will in fact be determined by the military situation. Peace terms concern other countries besides the belligerents, namely, first the States that have been the victims of German aggression in the past, secondly the States that fear to become the victims of German aggression in the future, and thirdly the States whose co-operation would be necessary to the establishment of the kind of world order we desire to achieve. Though we shall not have the drafting of either Armistice Terms or Peace Terms, we wish to agree, if possible, upon the main principles of both which we can recommend to those whose opinions we are in a position to influence.

I. ARMISTICE TERMS

These can only be defined on the supposition that the military situation will leave the Allies with the power to enforce them. We are fighting against the destroyer of more than one State, who but for our resistance would certainly attempt the destruction of many others. A murdered individual cannot be restored to life. A murdered State fortunately can, and the liberation of Hitler's victims of yesterday would be an essential condition of any Armistice.



To be precise, we should require the restoration of the right of self-determination to the peoples of Austria, Poland and Czechoslovakia and adequate provision for the exercise of that right without any external pressure. For this purpose German troops would have to be withdrawn from these territories and replaced by other forces sufficient to maintain order and resist any external aggression; national Governments would have to become responsible for the administration, and their representatives must have the right to sit at the Peace Conference.

Guarantees for the enforcement of these conditions would, of course, be determined by the military authorities on whom the responsibility rests.

## II. CONDITIONS OF PEACE

Though the terms of the Armistice must be imposed by those in a position to enforce them against an administration which has committed every possible crime, both against its own people and the people of neighbouring States, the terms of the Peace, if it is to be durable, must be freely negotiated by equal parties. For this reason the Conference should take place in the city of some neutral State.

The delineation of frontiers would be negotiated at the Conference. The problems of national, racial, linguistic and religious minorities would also be considered.

The main purpose of the Conference would be to consider how future wars of aggression can be prevented, since it is the fixed determination of the Allies who are now at war with Germany to save future generations from the necessity of experiencing a repetition of the sacrifices which have twice been imposed upon them by the same Nation.

In the pursuit of this purpose the establishment of an effective international organisation should be advocated, but no particular formula should be insisted upon. But whatever form the ultimate organisation may take, this feature must be found in it - such limitation of national sovereignty as may be necessary for

the establishment of a common life, the maintenance of law between nations and the organization of international security. Every member of the organization must accept the obligation:-

- (a) To submit to third-party judgment its disputes with other States whether justifiable or not and to refrain from the use of force except with the sanction of an international authority.
- (b) To undertake a share of responsibility for preventing and resisting aggression.
- (c) To keep its armaments within an agreed limit and under the supervision of an international authority.

In the opinion of the two Societies the most satisfactory outcome of the Peace Conference would be:-

- (1) The re-establishment of the League of Nations on a basis as universal as possible with clearly defined obligations.
- (2) The restoration of a partnership within the League of States or groups of States providing for a common policy and common action for the precision and fulfilment of their obligations as Members of the League to prevent and resist aggression. As the basis of such partnership the present Anglo-French co-operation should be continued, developed further and opened to other States.
- (3) An international agreement to abolish all national military air forces, to place all civil aviation under the control of an international agency, and to provide the League of Nations with a military air force in order to prevent the abuse of civil aviation and to check aggression.

The objects of all such arrangements would be

- (i) To facilitate the peaceful revision of treaties;
- (ii) To remove all causes of friction between nations;
- (iii) To increase such advantages as  
 freedom of trade, individual liberty of action and movement, the maintenance of high standards in public health, conditions of labour, education and social services,  
 on which the happiness of the individual citizens in all States depends; and
- (iv) To encourage the free flow of thought and knowledge between nations.

All measures calculated to achieve these objects should be freely discussed at the Conference provided that they contribute to the conception of a world order based on justice and freed from the menace of war.

*Lyell*  
 CHAIRMAN.

1924/0

CONFIDENTIAL.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION HELD AT NO. 60, ST. MARTIN'S LANE, LONDON, W.C.2, ON THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 15TH, 1940 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Lady Violet Bonham Carter, P.H. Barris, Lord Cecil, Miss K.D. Courtney, Viscount Cranborne M.P., Miss P. Fawcett, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, D.L. Lipson M.P., J. Macdonald, G. le M. Mander M.P., Dr. Gilbert Murray, Miss E. Rathbone M.P., H.S. Syrett, E. Wallis-Jones, F.V. Weaver, Major Lawrence Wright, and Major Freshwater.

32. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on February 8th, 1940 were confirmed as circulated.
33. CONFERENCE WITH FRENCH LEAGUE OF NATIONS SOCIETY. It was reported that copies of the statement (S.893b), as agreed upon by the Executive at its last meeting, had been sent to the French League of Nations Society and to Mr. Figgures at the International Federation.

The composition of the Union's delegation to the conference was then considered. Lord Cecil, Dr. Murray, Mr. Syrett and Miss Courtney expressed their willingness to attend, as did the Chairman who suggested the names of certain other members of the Executive who ought to be specially asked to be present at the conference.

The question of arranging for a luncheon, dinner or other social function in connection with the conference was considered, and it was suggested that Major Cazalet might be willing to help in providing some entertainment for the delegates. Sir John Harris thought that Lord Noel Buxton might also be willing to help and expressed readiness to speak to him on the subject.

Further consideration was given by the Committee to the proposal that, before the conference took place, a document should be prepared stating the kind of action which might be taken towards strengthening partnership and making open to other countries the partnership at present existing between the British Commonwealth of Nations and France. It was suggested that such a document should include proposals for a joint secretariat to deal with non-military questions, e.g. currency, trade and foreign policy, and a common general staff to deal with naval and military questions.

At the request of the Chairman, Lord Cecil expressed his readiness to prepare a draft of such a paper, and asked members of the Executive to send him any suggestions they might wish to make on the subject.

Lady Hall stated that the special sub-Committee, appointed by the Executive on December 7th would hold its first meeting on February 23rd to consider what should be the place of the I.L.O. in world settlement after the war. She expressed the hope that at the conference with the French reference would be made to the work of this sub-Committee and the French Society be urged to undertake a similar investigation with the help of experts in their own country.

34. FINLAND. A letter from Mr. Figgures (copy filed with these minutes) reporting information which had reached him concerning the situation in Finland, was read.

H.M. Government's recent decision to join in raising an international voluntary force for Finland was discussed, and the Chairman stated that he had been invited to serve on the Committee which was responsible for raising and equipping the voluntary force. He understood that the Committee was most anxious to do everything possible in fulfilment of the League resolution.

It was reported that several Branches of the Union had asked whether, in view of the action taken by the League in regard to Finland, it would be in order for them to subscribe money out of their funds to Finnish aid societies. The Chairman expressed the opinion, and the Committee agreed, that Union funds could not be used for such purposes, but that Branches were at liberty, if they so desired, to raise special funds, as had been done in the past for Spanish and Czech refugees, or to hold meetings at which collections could be taken for the purpose.

35. RUSSIA. Reference was made to the promise given by H.M. Government to issue, in the form of a White Paper, an account of the Anglo-Russian negotiations of last summer. Mr. Mander reported the circumstances in which, as he understood, the publication of the White Paper had been delayed, and stated that he had put down a question in the House for the following week urging that the document should be published forthwith.
36. REPORT ON ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE B.U.L.N.S. Mr. Wallis-Jones presented a report (copy filed with these minutes) on the work of the British Universities League of Nations Society in 1939, and referred in particular to the work that had been done in Universities and Colleges since the outbreak of war.



He reminded the Executive that, in the B.U.L.N.S., a number of university bodies who were interested in international affairs but were not necessarily protagonists of the League of Nations were brought together under the aegis of the League of Nations Union at a time when international affairs could not be discussed without the League of Nations. The first part of the constitution of the B.U.L.N.S. which could not be changed without the consent of the Executive, included the following: to promote international understanding, to study international affairs and to make known the aims and objects of the League of Nations.

At the present time certain Branches had dis-associated themselves from the Society because they felt it was too limited in its objective, and at the recent Annual Meeting of the B.U.L.N.S. a feeling had been expressed that certain modifications in the aims, and perhaps in the title, of the Society might be desirable. An inquiry had therefore been addressed to all Branches of the Society, asking for their views on this matter, and a special meeting would be held in the summer to discuss the situation. It had also been suggested that Dr. Murray might be willing, on the occasion of the inaugural meeting of the Education Council in Oxford, to discuss with some of the senior members of the University Branches the present position of the Society and possible developments in the future.

Dr. Murray expressed his willingness to do this, but said that the B.U.L.N.S. should carefully consider the important difference between a mere organ for study and a Society whose aim was to study and work in order to rid the world of war.

37. **POLISH RESEARCH CENTRE.** At the invitation of the Chairman, Count Balinski, a member of the Executive of the Polish League of Nations Society and Director of the Polish Research Centre, attended the meeting and spoke to the Executive of the present situation in Poland and of the work which his Polish Research Centre was hoping to do in London.

Count Balinski had, in a letter to Major Freshwater, suggested certain ways in which the Union could assist in the work of his Research Centre and some of his suggestions were already being acted upon.

The Chairman, on behalf of the Committee, thanked Count Balinski for his statement and assured him that the Union would help him by every means in its power.

38. **CZECHOSLOVAKIA.** It was suggested that, with a view to obtaining information about the conditions in Czechoslovakia, it would be useful if a representative of that country could attend a future meeting of the



Executive and make a statement as Count Balinski had done in regard to Poland. It was suggested that either Dr. Benes or Mr. Masaryk might be willing to do this.

39. VACANCY ON COMMITTEE. Lord Cecil was asked to write to the Master of Balliol with a view to ascertaining if he would be willing to join the Executive Committee and to attend its meetings.

40. ANNUAL MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the Annual Meeting of the General Council be held in Brighton on Wednesday and Thursday, June 19th and 20th, and, if necessary, Friday the 21st."

41. DATE OF NEXT MEETING. It having been recalled that the next ordinary meeting of the Executive would not take place until Thursday, March 7th (the day preceding the conference with the French Society) it was agreed that a special meeting should be held on Thursday, February 29th, unless, in the opinion of the Chairman, such a meeting was unnecessary.

42. YOUTH CONFERENCES. A report from Mr. Raymond Cauntlett concerning the arrangements which were being made for the following series of Youth Conferences, was approved:

Saturday, 17th February.

Yorkshire Conference at Leeds  
North London Conference at Muswell Hill

Saturday, 24th February.

Bristol and District Conference at Bristol  
Worcester " " Worcester

Sunday, 25th February.

Lancs. and Cheshire Conference at Manchester  
Midlands " " Derby

Saturday and Sunday, 2nd and 3rd March.

National Conference in London

Sunday, 10th March.

Northamptonshire Conference at Kettering.

Date not finally settled.

Scottish Conference at Edinburgh.

*Lynne*  
CHAIRMAN  
February 29th 1920

COPY OF LETTER WRITTEN BY MR. F.E. FIGURES TO  
MAJOR FRESHWATER ON 8TH FEBRUARY, 1940.

I have just received some very interesting news about Finland which I think Lord Lytton and the Executive might like to know. It comes from an extremely well informed Swede who left Finland a week ago; he had been on all the fronts and also been in Helsinki.

There is a very great danger that the Finnish war might be turned round. Wallenius, the General of the northern front, is a 100 per cent Nazi, who detests Sweden, detests Mannerheim and the present Finnish Government and wishes to carry on the war against Russia with the assistance of the Germans. I am told also that Finland is full of Nazi agents who are insinuating that the Pact with Russia is nothing but a ruse and that before long Germany will go to the assistance of Finland. I am also told that Mr. Tamer knows perfectly well of these tendencies of Wallenius, knows of the intrigues that are going on and is very much worried about it.

Of the two questions which immediately emerge: 1) is this news true? 2) does it represent a real danger? I think the answer to the first must certainly be yes. I can have no view on the second. My Swedish informant believes that the danger is serious and it is a danger however which is not yet taken seriously in Sweden because the Government is as yet totally unwilling to take positive action in the open to assist Finland.

Obviously this danger, if it exists, is most serious. Either of two actions might avert it. The first would be for a development of Scandinavian solidarity to a greater extent than has been manifested hitherto in official pronouncement and action. This may very well occur since it is clear that the extreme caution of the Swedish and Norwegian Governments is not relished by the populations of these two countries. The second method would be quite overt and considerable assistance by France and Great Britain to Finland.

THIRTEENTH ANNUAL REPORTOFFICERS AND COMMITTEES

At the Thirteenth Annual Council Meeting the following officers were elected to serve during the year 1933:

President:	John A.F. Bernal (Cambridge)
Treasurer:	Edgewood Fraser, M.A.
Hon. Secretary:	C.H. Judd, B.A.
Hon. Hostess:	Diana Adelaide Livingstone
Hon. Study Groups:	
Adviser:	Hon. Hubert Howard
Hon. Auditors:	Hon. Michael Davies James G. McBurnie, D.A.
Secretary:	F.A. Timberlake, B.A.

The following were elected to serve on the Executive Committee:-

Mr T.C. Boyd (London School of Economics); Mr. C.A.R. Gosland (University of Oxford); Mr. A.S. Egan (University of Cambridge); Mr. G. Griffith (University of Bristol); Mr. I. Mercer (University of Liverpool); Miss A. Ginnell (Southampton); Mr. I. Robinson (Sheffield); and Miss P. Tingle (Lincoln Training College and Mr. J.F. Budias (Sheffield Training College) to represent the Associate Members.

For the second year in succession it is necessary to explain changes in the administration of the Society. On this occasion the reason is the war, and the consequent curtailment of staff by the League of Nations Union, with whose help the Organising Secretary of the B.U.L.N.S. had hitherto been appointed. This action involved the departure of our Secretary, Mr. F.A. Timberlake, from his position in the office; fortunately, however, he has succeeded in obtaining interesting and important work in the Ministry of Information. His departure has been a great blow to the Society, and our warmest thanks are due to him for the months of hard work which he carried through with such tireless energy. It is some consolation that he is still actively concerned with the work of the B.U.L.N.S. as he has been acting as Treasurer, by the invitation of the Executive Committee, in place of Mr. T. Cameron Fraser, who was mobilized in September.

Faced with the difficulties of the new war situation, the Executive Committee empowered the Standing Committee to appoint a Travelling Secretary for at least one year. Miss M.R. Gals was asked to take on this work and has been visiting Branches throughout the term.

ANALYSIS OF BRANCHES

At the beginning of what is really a new period in the history of the Society it is useful to get a general picture of the forces that exist. The following analysis is based on the visits paid and letters received from Branches since war broke out:

Universities

We are in contact (or have been in the past year) with 24 Universities.

In 8 there are L.N.U. Branches:

- 4 of these are alive and flourishing
- 3 are known or believed to be weak
- 1 has gone out of existence this term.

F.T.O.

In 7 there are International Relations Clubs affiliated to B.U.L.N.S.

All are fairly active, with one possible exception.

In 7 there are International Relations Clubs not affiliated to B.U.L.N.S.

Of these, 5 are active, 2 are probably not.

In 2 there is either no activity or no news of any so far as B.U.L.N.S. is concerned.

From this it appears that there is greater support in the Universities for a broad "discussion" organisation rather than for one linked up with a particular form of international organisation.

In the Training Colleges the same trend has begun to show itself, by disaffiliations, by the formation of new societies and by comments within the existing I.N.U. societies that a broader basis would be more successful.

Here are some figures:

The B.U.L.N.S. has contacts in 64 Colleges.

In 28 there are I.N.U. Branches or Societies:

24 of these may be considered active\*  
14 are weak.

In 18 Colleges some broader form of organisation is in existence.

In 10 Colleges there is either no activity or no news of any.

During this term the following societies have changed their nature or disaffiliated from the B.U.L.N.S.:-

Sheffield University, Manchester University, Liverpool University, Bedford Froebel Training College, Whitelands Training College, Roehampton Froebel Training College, Yorkshire Domestic Training College, Chester Training College, Leeds City Training College, Sunderland Training College, Salisbury Training College.

This tendency therefore is one of the most important questions for the B.U.L.N.S. to consider, particularly now when the Society's strength, financially and otherwise, resides more in the Branches than before.

New Branches or Societies affiliated to B.U.L.N.S. are:-

Durham University (Newcastle Division) Peace Group, Leeds University, Salisbury Diocesan Training College, Bishop Wilson Training College, Isle of Man. There are hopes of starting Branches next term in the National Domestic Training College, Fishponds Training College and Bedford College.

So far as it is possible to estimate the individual membership of the Society, the following figures will be of assistance:-

Branch	Number of Members
Aberdeen University	no report received
Banor, University College	130
Belfast, Queen's University	28
Birmingham University	no report received
Bristol University	33
Cambridge University	346
Cardiff, University College	no report received
Durham University	" "
Edinburgh University	230
Glasgow University	72
Liverpool University	no report received
London University	186
Manchester University	67
Nottingham, University College	100 (approx)
Oxford University	245
Reading University	no report received
St. Andrew's University	180
Sheffield University	5
Southampton University	51
Swansea, University College	no report received
Avery Hill College	" " "
Barry Training College	13
Belfast, Stranmillis Training College (Men's Section)	no report received
Belfast, Stranmillis Training College (Women's Section)	97
Bingley Training College	56
Bishop Otter Training College, Chichester	23
Borough Road Training College and College of St. Mark and St. John	55
Caerleon Training College	84
Cardiff Domestic Arts Training College	no report received
Creeve Training College	" " "
Darlington Training College	40
Derby Training College	no report received
Elze Hill Training College	84
Froebel Institute, Roehampton	38
Fuzesdown Training College	65
Gipsy Hill Training College	30
Hampstead Domestic Science Training College	20
Hereford Training College	12
Hockwille College, Bishop's Stortford	no report received
Hull College of Art and Crafts	31
Hull Municipal Training College	36
Isle of Man, Bishop Wilson College	31
Leeds City Training College	178 (approx)
Leeds Wesley College	52
Lincoln Training College	55
Maris Grey Training College	30
Norwich Training College	12
Portsmouth Training College	58
Rison Training College	8
Saffron Walden Training College	7
St. Gabriel's Training College	32
St. Mary's College, Banor	no report received
St. Paul's College, Cheltenham	120
Saltley College, Birmingham	no report received
Shoreditch Training College	10
Southlands Training College	2
Sunderland Training College	no report received
Swansea Training College	50
Warrminster, St. Boniface College	no report received
Waretree, St. Katharine's College	" "
Whitelands College, Putney	14
Winchester, King Alfred's College	99
Winchester, King Alfred's College	24
Gloucester Domestic Science T.C.	34
Individual Members	34
	<u>3,093</u>



The total recorded membership of these Branches for the year was 2,036 but it should be emphasized that these returns are incomplete. It is known that many Branches have membership records, and yet have sent no report in to Headquarters. It would be a great help if Secretaries were to report more regularly.

#### SPEAKERS

The excellent speakers who visited Branches during the year earned a big debt of gratitude from the Society. Notable among these were the following who undertook speaking tours for us: Count Jean Ballinaki-Jundzill, a former President of the C.I.R. and now Deputy-Director of the Polish Research Centre in London; Mr. Bernard Flood, who spoke on his recent visit to China, and Mr. K. Zillkaus, formerly of the League of Nations Secretariat and well-known to all Geneva students for his stimulating analysis of international affairs. Others who were very kindly addressed individual meetings during the year were Dr. Gilbert Murray, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, M.P., Mr. Ronald Carlisle, M.P., Mr. Robert Boothby, M.P., and Dr. Herbert Rosinski.

The speaking tours during the vacation were carried out as before with the energetic aid of C.A.H. Crossland, A. Lee, Ruth Kosy, George Stent, Eric Stanton, A.S. Telling and D. Colwyn Williams. Unfortunately the summer tours had to be curtailed owing to the outbreak of war.

#### STUDY MATERIAL

The 1939 Council of the B.U.I.N.S. decided that new study outlines should be prepared, particularly on German Expansion and on Palestine. In consultation with the Hon. Hubert Howard of the Carnegie Endowment, and with the help of the I.N.W. Intelligence Department a revision was made of study material. After the outbreak of war, most of the material was out of date, and the B.U.I.N.S. Branches have been supplied with the material of the Student Co-ordinating Committee (see below) on Events Leading to the War, on the Indian National Congress and the War, and on Colonies.

#### THIRTIETH ANNUAL CONFERENCE

About 45 students attended the Thirtieth Annual Conference in Clifton Hill House, Bristol from January 6th - 8th. The general title of the Conference was 'The Defence of Britain in 1939', and Mr. Vendalour Robinson, Mr. Ronald Carlisle, M.P., and Dr. Herbert Rosinski were the speakers. Visitors to the Conference included Mr. Richard Clark of the British Youth Peace Assembly, Mr. G. Garrett of the I.Y.P., Youth Committee and Lt. Col. G. Watt, D.S.O., Regional Representative of the I.N.W. and Professor R.B. Howat of Bristol University.

#### GENEVA CONFERENCES

Everything indicated that this year's Geneva Conference would be one of the most successful ever held. Registrations were good, and the programme of speakers and discussion leaders included Mr. John Strachey, Commander E.H. Young, Mr. P.H. Figures, Professor Rappard, Captain V. Cazalat, Professor R.L. Holtby, Mr. W. Halliott, Mr. A.A. Humphreys, Mr. E. Habbakini and Professor L.M. Fraser.

Unfortunately the members of the Conference were forced to leave for England two days after they had arrived in Geneva, as the international situation was becoming so critical. The students were naturally extremely disappointed, but even their short visit showed the great value of such parties; for in nearly every College it is the student who has "been to Geneva" who is the mainstay of the Society. During this emergency Mr. Timberlake and Miss Higgins carried through the arrangements completely, and without them the party might have been completely stranded.

#### RELATIONS WITH OTHER BODIES

##### F.U.I.

At a short "antrelion" in Paris on April 16th attended by representatives of the British, French, Bulgarian, Swedish and Swiss Groups and Presided over by Dr. Ernest Spuhler, Mr. Timberlake was elected Acting Secretary-General, and plans were discussed for a Conference or Antrelion Council of the Federation. The competition of various other international gatherings prevented this from materialising at the time originally contemplated, and later attempts to arrange some form of reunion in Geneva at the time of the Conference of the International Federation were frustrated by the outbreak of war.

Although the F.U.I. has now paid off debts which were hanging over it at this time last year, it would be idle to pretend that the links between the surviving Groups are at the moment very much more than formal.

##### Carnegie Endowment

Many Branches of the Society continued to be recognised by the Endowment as International Relations Clubs and received the usual quota of books. Mr. Howard's valued co-operation as Honorary Study Groups Adviser to the B.U.I.N.S. has already been mentioned.

##### Youth Parliament

The B.U.I.N.S. played an important part in the work of the first National Parliament of Youth. A former President, Mr. Dean Ballinaki-Jundzill, was Speaker of the House; and the B.U.I.N.S. co-operated with the I.N.W. Youth Groups in presenting a Bill to incorporate the League Covenant in the law of the land. A strong delegation attended from the Unification and Training Colleges and some members received bursaries from the Society for the purpose of attending. The only "M.P." from Northern Ireland at the Parliament was a representative of B.U.I.N.S.

##### British Youth Peace Assembly

Mr. P.A. Timberlake was elected Chairman of the B.Y.P.A. in June 1939. The B.U.I.N.S. has played a consistent role of support of the work done by B.Y.P.A. It took part in the preparatory work on students' educational and economic problems for presenting evidence at the National Hearing into Youth Conscription. It circulated relief appeals widely and a number of Colleges responded to these. The Student Committee of B.Y.P.A. has ceased to function as such, and its place has been taken by the Co-ordinating Committee (see below).



National Youth Campaign

The B.U.I.W.S. was represented on the National Youth Campaign Committee and a large number of members were present at the Youth Pilgrimage in February.

Co-ordinating Committee

On the outbreak of war the National Union of Students convened a meeting representing all student societies to co-ordinate study group work and discussions within the Universities. The B.U.I.W.S. gladly associated itself with this new work. The Committee has issued a number of discussion outlines, and has been engaged in forming University Committees of a similar nature to its own. One-day Conferences are being held in many places on such questions as international affairs, social and political problems arising from the war, and the great problem of education and student welfare. The U.I.S. in considering its Annual Congress at Easter has this year invited all the other student organisations to take part in the negotiations; and the Congress Agenda has been drawn up by the Co-ordinating Committee on which the B.U.I.W.S. is represented. Of particular interest is the fact that there will be special facilities for participation by Training College students. The general scope of the Congress is the War and the Universities, and in most places there are preparatory study and discussion groups working - many of them on international affairs and supported by our Branches. Our own Annual Conference has been planned with reference to the U.I.S. Congress which will be of very great importance to students everywhere.

STUDENT FORUM and STUDENT NEWS

FORUM ceased publication at the end of last session and was succeeded by STUDENT NEWS, published by the U.I.S. in collaboration with ourselves and the other student organisations. The B.U.I.W.S. Branches have played a large part in the distribution of the paper, particularly in the Training Colleges. The financial obligation incurred by the B.U.I.W.S. in connection with STUDENT NEWS is dealt with in the Treasurer's Report.

CONCLUSIONS

The Society, in common with all other inter-university and inter-collegiate organisations has suffered greatly from this disintegration of University and College life caused by the outbreak of war, the evacuation of many colleges, and the fact that many of its own members have already volunteered for military service, have been called up, or have not resumed their studies this year. These problems for the B.U.I.W.S. have been all the more acute since it enjoys the services of only one full-time officer.

In these circumstances the Council has considered all the more carefully what should be the main function of the Society during the war. It realises that throughout the Universities and Colleges there exists a deep and widespread interest in international affairs, but that there are at the same time other student organisations are now concerning themselves with such questions. But it is convinced that there is a vital need to continue and to strengthen the work of the B.U.I.W.S. as the only national organisation of students existing solely for international study and in no way committed to propaganda for any one particular policy.

In our view it is the unique and urgent duty of the B.U.I.W.S. to unite all students who are seeking to play their part in planning and working for a new and better world order:

- a) by keeping alive during the war a genuine spirit of friendship with peoples of other nations;
- b) by bringing together for constant exchange of views and joint study and research all students interested in international affairs;
- c) by ensuring that in such studies special regard should be had to the history of the League of Nations as the most significant and far-reaching attempt yet made to secure world peace.

We believe that such work is more necessary than ever before, particularly because many former supporters of the League of Nations are now disillusioned, and the future of world organisation is again in the melting-pot.

CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION HELD AT NO. 60, ST. MARTIN'S LANE, LONDON, W.C.2, ON THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 23TH, 1940 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Lord Cecil, Mrs. Douglas, Miss F. Barrett, Sir John Harris, Lady Layton, D.L. Lipson M.P., J. Macdonald, C. le H. Mander M.P., Dr. Gilbert Murray, P.J. Noel-Baker M.P., W.T. Fritchard, H.P. Shaw, Mrs. Whitfield and Major Freshwater.

43. DEATH OF SIR HUBERT MURRAY. The Chairman conveyed to Dr. Murray the sincere sympathy of the Committee in the bereavement which he had suffered by the death of his brother, Sir Hubert Murray.

Sir John Harris spoke of Sir Hubert Murray's work as Governor of Papua and, at the Chairman's invitation, expressed his willingness to write a short article on the subject for inclusion in HEADWAY.

44. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on February 15th, 1940 were confirmed as circulated.

45. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 35 - Russia. Mr. Mander stated that, in reply to his question, he had been informed that H.M. Government were in consultation with the French Government concerning the publication of an account of the Anglo-Russian negotiations of last summer, but that it was not possible at present to give a date for publication. Mr. Mander proposed to continue his inquiries in this matter.

On Minute 38 - Czechoslovakia. the Chairman stated that, following a recent conversation with Madame Benes, he proposed to write to Dr. Benes and to invite him to attend a future meeting of the Executive in order to speak to the Committee on Czechoslovakia.

On Minute 39 - Vacancy on Committee, after Lord Cecil had reported the reply he had received from the Master of Balliol it was

RESOLVED: "That the Master of Balliol be co-opted to the Executive Committee."

46. QUEEN'S HALL MEETING. The Chairman stated that, following a suggestion which had been made to him, he had enquired of the Finnish Minister whether he would be

- 2 -

willing to address a meeting in the Queen's Hall under the Union's auspices. The Minister had expressed his willingness to speak at such a meeting on Wednesday, April 3rd; the Queen's Hall had been booked provisionally; the Finnish Aid Bureau in London had welcomed the suggestion; and the London Regional Federation had accepted a proposal made to them to undertake the organisation of the meeting with the co-operation of Head Office.

A collection would be taken for help for Finland and the proceeds from the collection and the sale of tickets, after deducting the cost of the meeting, would be given to the Finnish Aid Bureau.

After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the proposal for a meeting in the Queen's Hall at 8 p.m. on Wednesday, April 3rd, on the lines indicated by the Chairman, be approved and adopted;

That in addition to the Finnish Minister, Mr. Noel Baker and Mr. Harold Nicolson be also invited to speak;

That Lord Lytton be asked to take the Chair; and

That the cordial thanks of the Executive be conveyed to the London Regional Federation."

47. MESSAGE FROM H.M. GOVERNMENT. Sir John Harris asked whether any inquiries had yet been made with a view to securing a message from H.M. Government on the lines indicated in minute 20. The Chairman stated that he had not yet had an opportunity of speaking to Lord Halifax, but that he proposed to write and ask him for an appointment before the conference took place with the French L. of N. Society, and he would take advantage of that interview to speak to the Foreign Secretary about the suggested statement on the League.
48. CONFERENCE WITH THE FRENCH LEAGUE OF NATIONS SOCIETY. The Chairman reported that some changes had been made in the French delegation which would now consist of: M. Emile Borel, M. Paul Bastid, M. René Cassin, Mme. Eliane Brault, M. de Monbrison and possibly M. Paul-Boncour. The French representatives would be arriving in London on Friday, March 8th and had asked that no arrangements of any kind should be made for that day. The conference would therefore begin on the morning of Saturday, March 9th and continue on Sunday,

- 3 -

March 10th. The members of the French party would be leaving London by plane on the morning of March 11th.

Before it was known that the French representatives would prefer that no arrangements should be made for Friday, March 8th, Major Cazalat had very generously offered to give a small private dinner for them on that evening. He had now been asked whether he would be able and willing to postpone his dinner until the following evening.

The Chairman reported that he had invited a certain number of members of the Executive to act as the Union's representatives, but that all other members of the Executive would be welcome at the conference if they were able to attend. In order to facilitate the business of the conference he suggested that such members should not take part in the discussions but that, if there was any particular point they wished to see raised, they should either ask a member of the delegation to deal with it or ask the permission of the Chairman to speak.

The place of meeting for the conference was discussed and it was suggested that a room might be obtained in the hotel where the French delegates were staying or possibly at Gas Industry House.

It was reported that a French translation of the statement submitted by the Executive as a basis of discussion had been prepared by M. de Monthison; copies had been circulated to the Union's Officers.

Mr. Horsfall Carter had been engaged to act as interpreter at the conference.

The Executive then considered a draft memorandum on Post-war Organisation against Aggression (S.707) prepared by Lord Cecil in response to the Committee's request at its last meeting. Comments on, and suggested amendments to, the memorandum which had been submitted in writing by Dr. Garnett and Mr. Arnold Forster were considered, and after considerable discussion it was

**RESOLVED:** "That the memorandum on Post-war Organisation against Aggression be approved and adopted in the attached amended form (S.707a); and that it be regarded as a supplementary aide memoire to the Statement (S.693b) for the guidance of delegates to the conference."

P. T. O.



49. PALESTINE. The Committee discussed the statement made by Mr. MacDonald in the House of Commons on the previous day concerning H.M. Government's action in regard to the Land Clauses of the Palestine White Paper of 1939, and it was

RESOLVED: (1) "The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union takes strong exception to the procedure adopted by His Majesty's Government in putting into force, without previous reference to the League Council, the Land Clauses of the Palestine White Paper of 1939. Of this White Paper the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League expressed the unanimous opinion that the policy therein set out "was not in accordance with the interpretation which, in agreement with the Mandatory Power and the Council, the Commission had always placed upon the Palestine Mandate";

The Executive Committee considers that the intention of His Majesty's Government to put these Clauses into operation should have been communicated to the League for its opinion instead of being reported to it as an accomplished fact."

- (2) "That the above resolution be communicated to H.M. Government and to the press."

*L. J. ...*

CHAIRMAN

March 7<sup>th</sup> 1940



S. 707a  
4.3.40.

MEMORANDUM ON POST-WAR ORGANISATION AGAINST AGGRESSION

It is admitted that, when the League system was challenged first in the Manchuria crisis and afterwards over Abyssinia, the chief members of the League failed to put in force the coercive articles of the Covenant; and the other members, without the leadership and assistance of their more powerful colleagues, were unable to do anything.

The failure proved so disheartening that afterwards, in the second Japanese invasion of China, as well as in the Austrian, Czechoslovak, and Polish questions, the League machinery was scarcely referred to. Even with regard to Finland, the League's action was very incomplete.

It is certain that unless this weakness can be remedied, world peace and, particularly, European peace will not be safe.

There were doubtless several causes which led to the League's failure. But it is believed that they all depend on one central difficulty, which is that the members of the League did not regard the maintenance of peace in itself as of such importance as would justify them in throwing their whole force into the struggle to preserve it. If the threat to peace came from one of the smaller Powers, then the League Members were prepared to coerce the aggressor, since they ran no serious risk in doing so. But if one of the Great Powers was the culprit, then the immediate danger of stopping the aggressor by force outweighed, in the average bureaucratic mind, the ultimate peril of allowing the aggression to succeed. Events have shown the disastrous consequences of this reluctance to act in time.

It is hoped that recent experience will help to convince everyone that in present conditions aggression, wherever it takes place, and more particularly if it occurs in Europe, is a danger to all peaceful countries. But it would be hazardous to rely on the teaching of experience. Some international reorganisation is essential to make the peace-keeping machinery effective.

There are some who think that the only adequate plan is the Federal Union of the democracies, controlled

P.T.O.

by a parliamentary constitution, depending on direct election by the peoples concerned.

The League of Nations Union have examined this proposal and have arrived at the conclusion that so considerable a change in international relations is not practical politics at present. But they do agree that if the Peace machinery is to work it is essential to bring into existence an organization which will command a greater measure of loyalty than has been given to the League as it is now. They hold that the nations who are to be the active keepers of the Peace must be brought into much closer relations than heretofore. If, as they think, Federal Union is impossible, they do not think that is true of Confederation — that is to say a Union or Association of States, or groups of States, within the framework of the League who will solemnly undertake to treat aggression as an international crime and to cooperate with their full strength in restraining the aggressor and will also combine to create such organs of joint administration as will make for rapid and certain action on behalf of the victim.

One difficulty of the League at present is its geographical extent. To take an extreme case, it is difficult for a South American State to feel deeply about a European quarrel and almost as difficult for some European States to be interested in what goes on in South America. We saw in the Manchurian case, even, the extent to which a similar feeling about the Far East operated — very wrongly, as most of us now know. Still, as things are, we must reckon with this feeling and regretfully admit that it is doubtful if a closer world-wide organization is practicable. That does not mean that the existing Articles of the League should be weakened. But the closer organization, the Confederation, should be set up in a relatively restricted area such as Europe. In other words, we welcome the proposal made by Monsieur Daladier and assented to, apparently, by Mr. Chamberlain, that the present Anglo-French partnership should be continued after the war and should in the time be enlarged into a European Confederation. We propose that it should be as Monsieur Briand's similar body was originally intended to be, an autonomous body within the League, capable of acting independently of the Assembly and Council of the League, but keeping those bodies informed and welcoming any assistance which they might be disposed to give. We think that the Confederation would require a joint General Staff to advise and prepare for military action if it became necessary, and to watch most carefully the developments of the international situation,

If, as we hope, some scheme for the limitation of armaments is, in the future, adopted with the necessary provisions for supervising the operation of that scheme, the Confederation, either through its General Staff or otherwise, would be represented on the controlling bodies. If, as part of disarmament, it was agreed to abolish national air armaments and set up a control of Civil Aviation backed by an International Air Force, that Force would, in Europe, be under the control of the European General Staff.

Beyond this, it is not certain what other organs of the Confederation would be needed except, of course, a Secretariat on the lines of the League Secretariat. It is to be desired that the Confederation should have a common Economic policy which might include both Tariff and Currency questions, as well as those affecting social and industrial conditions in the various countries. The Confederation would have to consider whether special organs would be needed to deal with these matters or whether they should be subject to Committees with the needed secretarial assistance.

This is only a sketch of what the L.N.U. have in their minds about the organization of the Confederation, which should be, as far as possible, left to grow of itself. The only immediately essential feature of it would be the system of its defence, including the General Staff.

We have said that the nucleus should consist of France and England and their Allies in this war. But we warmly agree with Monsieur Daladier that any European member of the League should be welcomed into the Confederation provided such member can be trusted to take its share in the Defence against aggression. We look forward to the time when those European States who are at present outside the League will re-enter it and take their places in the Confederation. Obviously, only the members of the Confederation would be entitled to call on the Confederation for special protection beyond that which they might be entitled to under the Covenant. As time goes on, it is possible that the Confederation's operations might be extended beyond Europe, as for instance to the Far East and Africa.

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CONFIDENTIAL.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION HELD AT NO. 60 ST. MARTIN'S LANE, LONDON, W.C.2, ON THURSDAY, MARCH 7TH, 1940 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams, M.P., Mrs. Beale, F.M.Burgis, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Lord Cecil, Miss P.Fawcett, W.Arnold Forster, Dr. Garnett, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, Lady Layton, D.L.Lipsch, M.P., Dame Adelaide Livingstone, James Macdonald, G. le M. Mander, M.P., Dr. Gilbert Murray, W.F. Pritchard, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, M.P., Wilfred Roberts, M.P., H.S.Syrett and Major Freshwater.

50. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on February 29th, 1940, were confirmed as circulated.

51. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 4E - 38 - Czechoslovakia, the Chairman reported that he had written to Dr. Benes, who had expressed his willingness to attend a meeting of the Executive in the near future. It was hoped to arrange for Dr. Benes' visit to take place soon after Easter.

On Minute 4E - 38 - Russia, Mr. Mander reported a statement by the Prime Minister on the previous day that, as a result of consultation with the French Government, it had now been decided not to publish a White Paper giving an account of the negotiations with the Soviet Government last summer.

52. FINLAND. It was reported that Mr. Harold Nicolson had consented to speak at the Meeting at the Queen's Hall on April 3rd, but that a definite reply had not yet been received from Mr. Noel Baker. It was agreed that, if Mr. Noel Baker found himself unable to accept the invitation, it should be left to the Chairman to invite some other prominent Labour Member to speak.

Other questions arising out of the organisation of the meeting were considered, and after discussion it was agreed:

- (1) That a short leaflet, as suggested by the L.R.F., be prepared;
- (2) That the meeting begin at 7 p.m. instead of at 8 p.m.
- (3) That the French Ambassador be invited to sit on the platform; and
- (4) That, if necessary, permission be obtained for a collection to be made outside the Queen's Hall.

53. **MESSAGE FROM H.M. GOVERNMENT.** The Chairman reported a conversation he had had with Lord Halifax on the previous day when he had told him of the forthcoming Conference with the French Society and had read extracts from the Statement to be submitted to the Conference. The Foreign Secretary had expressed his pleasure at the holding of the Conference. The Chairman had stated that he hoped later to have a further interview with Lord Halifax and to inform him of the document adopted by the Conference.

Lord Lytton had also discussed with the Foreign Secretary the steps that ought to be taken officially by H.M. Government in order to study the problems that would arise at the Peace Conference. Lord Halifax had promised to bear Lord Lytton's suggestions in mind.

The Chairman had further spoken about the present position and activities of the Union and the desirability of having an official statement by H.M. Government concerning the need for some form of a League of Nations after the war, if possible in some documentary form. Lord Halifax had replied that an appropriate sentence might well be included in a speech but that to do so in a document presented greater difficulties, but he would bear the suggestion in mind.

In regard to Federal Union the Foreign Secretary's re-action was the same as the Union's, viz: that it was better to build up from something which already existed and to expand it to meet future needs rather than to scrap what was already in being and run after some will-of-the-wisp in the form of a new formula or phrase.

The Executive expressed their gratitude to Lord Lytton.

Lord Cecil suggested that Lord Halifax might be willing to send a letter to Lord Lytton, perhaps in reply to one from him, expressing his hope that the League of Nations Union would continue its activities on the lines of its Charter.

The Chairman agreed with Lord Cecil but thought it better to proceed by stages and to secure the statement by H.M. Government in the first place.

54. **CONFERENCE WITH FRENCH LEAGUE OF NATIONS SOCIETY.** The Chairman reported that the Conference would meet at Gas Industry House, Hyde Park Corner, and that the first session would be held at 10.15 a.m. on Saturday, March 9th.

The Committee were glad to learn that, in addition to the members of the French delegation mentioned at the last meeting, M. Pierre Cot would also be present.

It was reported that the French Ambassador had generously offered to give a dinner at the Embassy to the members of the French delegation and an equal number of the British representatives on Saturday evening. Lord Lytton, Lord Cecil, Dr. Murray, and



Mr. Mander each expressed their willingness to invite a few of the French representatives to lunch on Saturday and/or Sunday.

55. **COUNCIL FOR EDUCATION IN WORLD CITIZENSHIP.** The Chairman reported that the draft Constitution for the Education Council had now been prepared, and had been considered by the Union's Officers who had found it to be in accordance with the agreement approved by the Executive last June. Copies of the draft Constitution would be circulated to the Executive for consideration at the next meeting.

56. **FINANCE COMMITTEE.** Mr. Syrett reported on a meeting held the previous day:

	31.12.39	31.12.39	23.2.40
Bank overdraft	£22,000	18,076	16,914
Outstanding a/cs	11,370	11,008	9,487
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>£33,370</b>	<b>29,084</b>	<b>26,401</b>

Included in the Outstanding accounts are some £1200 which the Surveyors have agreed as the cost of dilapidations at 15, Grosvenor Crescent for which the Union is liable under the lease; the substantial loss on HEADWAY - several hundred £'s to be paid off during the present year; and the rent of Deyveraux Court, the lease of which still has a considerable time to run.

	<u>RECEIPTS</u>		<u>PAYMENTS</u>	
	1938	1939	1938	1939
Jan. to				
Aug.	44,419	34,810	46,361	41,607
Sep. to				
Dec.	23,893	11,978	21,168	9,259
Jan.	6,946	3,918	2,962	4,995
Feb.	4,438	5,694	2,990	5,178
				5,178
				1,496

The fall in receipts had been great, but a still greater reduction had been made in the payments because of drastic economies brought into force at the outbreak of war. The expenditure authorised by the General Council was £10,000, that was being exceeded by the authority of the Executive, and the cost of electricity and paper was up; the present rate of expenditure was now about £11,000. This would be increased by the continuation of the subscription to the International Federation. Mr. Syrett said that the Finance Committee was reasonably satisfied with the position but further increases in expenditure could not be contemplated.

It had been agreed that the making good of the dilapidations should be deferred till after the war, but the Finance Committee were in favour of settling now for a cash payment of about £500 if possible. There was general agreement in the Executive that this would be advisable.

The Finance Committee had decided to get rid of surplus furniture and old files on which storage was being paid, among the files and documents were some of the Intelligence section. As many as possible of those would be disposed of; of those preserved as many as room could be found for would be brought to the office and the London Federation had kindly offered to house the remainder.



Mr. Syrett having referred to a suggestion for a Summer School to be held in Oxford, the Chairman directed that a definite proposal should be prepared for examination and report by the Finance Committee and the Officers.

In response to a request from the Education Council, Mr. Syrett stated that a certain amount in respect of what was known as the Pioneers' Account would be placed at the Council's disposal, but as the Union would have a legal responsibility for what was done by the Council the Finance Committee was strongly of opinion that the Council should not open a separate banking account but should bank with the Union.

The Finance Committee had authorised certain arrangements and expenditure in connection with staff and the Finland Meeting, and was considering the suggestion made by Sir John Harris (see Executive Minute 26)

57. **THE ALTMARK INCIDENT.** Dr. Garnett drew the Committee's attention to questions arising out of the Altmark incident, and suggested that, if the matter could not be settled amicably between the British Government and Norway, it was desirable that this country should state its readiness to submit the question to third party judgment. Since we were at war not only to save our own lives but also for certain ideals which we had in common with the greater part of mankind and were therefore fighting for Norway as well as for ourselves, H.M. Government should state that it did not wish to distract its attention from the successful prosecution of the war by preparing a case and going into arbitration at the present time, but that it was prepared when the war was over to submit to third party judgment any matters that had not been amicably settled between it and the Norwegian Government concerning questions of fact or law or money damages. Dr. Garnett suggested that the Executive should do all it could, perhaps by questions in the House, to press H.M. Government to make such a statement.

Lord Cecil suggested that advice in this matter should be sought from Sir William Maitland at the Foreign Office. In Lord Cecil's opinion the Government had made a great mistake in not emphasising at the very outset that, whatever had happened, the Covenant of the League of Nations clearly provided that, in the case of all unauthorised aggression, every Member of the League was bound to do all it could to help the State which was resisting aggression. No rules of neutrality or anything of that kind therefore applied. That was the real issue he would like to see brought before an international court.

Mr. Arnold Forster felt that the Altmark incident had done a serious injury to British status in Norway, and he reminded the Executive that quite recently Norway had submitted an important dispute with Denmark about Greenland to arbitration when the award had been given against her. If this country rejected arbitration it was liable to do a great injury to British status with the neutrals generally.

After further discussion Lord Cecil expressed his willingness to talk with Sir William Malkin concerning the various questions arising out of the Aitmark incident and to report to the Executive at a later meeting. Lord Lytton said that he hoped also to be present at the interview.

58. CLOSING OF OFFICE FOR EASTER.

RESOLVED: "That the office be closed from 5.30 p.m. on Thursday, March 21st until 10 a.m. on Tuesday, March 25th."

59. DATE OF NEXT MEETING. In view of the fact that the next ordinary meeting was due to be held on Maundy Thursday, it was

RESOLVED: "That the next meeting of the Executive be held on Thursday, March 14th instead of March 21st."

*Lytton*  
CHAIRMAN

13 March 1940

CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION HELD AT NO. 80, ST. MARTIN'S LANE, LONDON, W.C.2, ON THURSDAY, MARCH 14TH, 1940 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Mrs. Beale, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Miss K.D. Courtney, Miss P. Fawcett, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, D.L. Lipson M.P., Dame Adelaide Livingstone, James Macdonald, C. de W. Mander M.P., Brig. General L.C.F. Milman, Dr. Gilbert Murray, W.T. Pritonard, Wilfrid Roberts M.P., H.S. Syrett and Major Freshwater.

60. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on March 7th, 1940 were confirmed as circulated.
61. MR. SUMNER WELLES. The Chairman reported that he had written to Mr. Sumner Welles expressing the hope that he would receive a delegation from the Union while he was in London. Lord Lytton read the reply he had received in which Mr. Sumner Welles thanked the Chairman for his letter but regretted that his three days in London had already been so filled up with official engagements that he had had to forgo the pleasure of seeing many individuals and representatives of organisations whom he would have liked to see.

The Executive expressed their thanks to Lord Lytton for the action he had taken.

62. FINLAND. The desirability or otherwise of proceeding with the arrangements for the meeting in the Queen's Hall on April 3rd was considered in the light of the present situation in Finland. After it had been reported that very little expense had so far been incurred in respect of the meeting and that the only public announcement which had been made was that contained in the March number of HEADWAY, it was

- RESOLVED: (1) "That the projected meeting on April 3rd in the Queen's Hall be not proceeded with."
- (2) "That the London Regional Federation be asked to consider and make suggestions to the Executive for the holding of another meeting in the Queen's Hall at a later date."

S 724

COUNCIL FOR EDUCATION IN WORLD CITIZENSHIP  
(Established by the League of Nations Union)

Articles of Constitution

The Council for Education in World Citizenship has been established by the League of Nations Union in accordance with an Agreement made on June 8th, 1938, between its Executive and Education Committee, as a self-governing body with the powers and responsibilities of the Articles of that Agreement, to further in schools and colleges and other educational organisations within the public system of education the second of the Union's objects set forth in its Royal Charter:

"to foster mutual understanding, goodwill and habits of co-operation and fair dealing between the peoples of different countries";

and to take necessary steps to ensure that students are trained in the knowledge and principles of international co-operation, including the aims and activities of the League of Nations and the terms of its Covenant.

1. Purpose and Work

The main purpose of the Council is to promote throughout the educational system such studies and teaching as may best contribute to mutual understanding, peace, co-operation and goodwill between all peoples and lead to the building of a world commonwealth. To this end the Council shall

- (a) Encourage and assist such teaching of history, of geography and of other school subjects and, for more mature students, such special studies as will lead to knowledge and understanding of world affairs, including the growth of civilisation, forms of government, the chief characteristics of nations and the differences that divide them as well as the factors that unite them, the nature of modern society and the responsibilities of citizenship, the history of international co-operation and the aims and work of international institutions.
- (b) Assist both teachers and students in studying the causes of war, the international problems that it accentuates or creates, the means whereby a more just and stable world order may best be created and the lessons to be drawn from the history of the League of Nations as the greatest and most significant attempt yet made to organise a world of peaceful international relations.
- (c) Seek to provide every possible opportunity for pupils in the schools to appreciate the best in other peoples and to make friendly contacts with boys and girls of other nations so that they may in time come to regard them as fellow builders of a new world.
- (d) Seek to ensure that nothing in our colleges and schools shall arouse hatred or contempt of other peoples; and
- (e) Teach the principles of freedom and justice, co-operation and good faith as the foundations of the good society, both in the home and school and in the state and world community.

General Milman suggested that Empire Day might be a suitable occasion for a meeting and would provide an opportunity for explaining the position of the Empire in international affairs.

Sir John Harris suggested that General Mannerheim might be persuaded to address a meeting in the Queen's Hall at some future date.

63. NORWAY AND THE ALTMARK. The Chairman reported that he and Lord Cecil had seen Sir William Malkin at the Foreign Office on March 8th when they had talked over the whole question of Norwegian neutrality and when Sir William Malkin had indicated the kind of line which the Government intended to take, if they followed his advice. The substance of it would consist in a reasoned reply, insisting mainly on the proposition that all that Germany could claim from Norway was the right to innocent passage, and that meant passage in the normal course, whereas in the Altmark case there was a use of Norwegian waters in order to avoid attack while carrying through what was substantially a warlike operation. Lord Cecil had pressed Sir William Malkin to reserve our rights under the Covenant of the League, and he had said he would consider that, but evidently was not very hopeful that anything of the kind would be acceptable.

Sir William had also said that, on the instructions of the Secretary of State, the despatch was to contain a passage emphasising that Great Britain really had a considerable grievance against Norway in the circumstances and an admission that, though we thought our action justified, it was undoubtedly exceptional, and that in those circumstances perhaps Norway would not desire to press her request for an arbitration.

Sir William Malkin was emphatic that all the neutral States had in the conference of 1938 repudiated Article 18 in toto and said they were no longer bound by it. As many of the rights which Lord Cecil thought Great Britain should claim arose under that Article, Sir William thought it unlikely that any useful action could be taken; and, in view of the Government's hope that it would be able to settle the matter with the Norwegian Government, it might, in his opinion, do real mischief if any resolution about arbitration were published at present.

The Committee agreed that no action should be taken at present.



The Council shall seek the co-operation of all who are engaged in the practice or administration of education in carrying out these aims in universities, colleges and schools and other educational institutions in ways best fitted to the age and development of the student and pupil.

The Council shall take no action and express no opinion in any matter of state policy other than educational questions which directly affect its work.

## 2. Membership

The Council shall consist of

(a) Members whom the following bodies shall be invited to nominate in the numbers indicated as their representatives:

Two representatives from each of

The Association of Directors and Secretaries for Education  
National Union of Teachers

One representative from each of

The Association of Education Committees  
Association of Municipal Corporations  
County Councils' Association

The Association of Teachers in Technical Institutions  
Association of University Teachers  
Council of Principals of Training Colleges  
Educational Institute of Scotland  
Headmasters' Conference  
Incorporated Association of Headmasters  
Incorporated Association of Headmistresses  
Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters  
Incorporated Association of Assistant Mistresses  
Incorporated Association of Preparatory Schools  
National Association of Head Teachers  
National Association of Schoolmasters  
National Union of Women Teachers  
Training College Association

The National Adult School Union  
Young Men's Christian Association, Education Committee  
Young Women's Christian Association, Education Committee  
Workers' Educational Association  
British Institute for Adult Education

The Association for Education in Citizenship  
British Association, Education Committee  
British Broadcasting Corporation: Central Committee for Group Listening  
British Broadcasting Corporation: Central Council for School Broadcasting  
British Co-ordinating Committee for International Studies  
British Film Institute  
British Universities League of Nations Society  
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace,  
Division of Intercourse and Education  
League of Nations Union Executive Committee  
New Education Fellowship.

## 64. CONFERENCE WITH THE FRENCH LEAGUE OF NATIONS SOCIETY.

The Chairman reported on the conference with representatives of the French League of Nations Society held during the previous week-end. The conference had provided a very satisfactory interchange of views and the discussions had revealed a wide unanimity of opinion. The keynote of the whole proceedings had been that the new world order after the war must be influenced neither by illusions nor feelings of revenge. A statement had been adopted by the conference but, largely owing to the fact that the final wording had to be somewhat hastily drafted, the Chairman had since felt that some modifications were necessary in the precise wording and arrangement of certain passages in order to remove obscurities. A copy of the statement containing such amendments and re-arrangements as were, in the Chairman's opinion desirable, had been forwarded to the Chairman of the French League of Nations Society for his observations. Until his approval had been obtained no use could be made of the document by the Union; but when the final text had been approved it would be published in HEADWAY and Union branches would be asked to study it.

Mr. Syrett asked that copies of the French as well as the English texts of the statement as finally approved should be circulated to the Executive.

The Chairman further reported that it had been decided to hold another conference of the two societies during the week-end of April 25th/26th in Paris when questions arising out of (a) the form and powers of the association to be set up within the framework of a universal League, (b) the problem of general disarmament, and (3) measures of collective defence would be considered. It had also been decided that, on the occasion of that conference, representatives of the Polish and Czech League of Nations Societies should be invited to meet representatives of the British and French Societies to discuss their common interests.

It had been agreed that the statement adopted last week-end should not be circulated to the other Societies in the International Federation, but that the final document to be issued after the next conference in Paris should be communicated to all Societies for consideration at the meeting of the Federation in Geneva in June.

At the conclusion of the conference the following messages had been sent to the Finnish and Chinese League of Nations Societies:

- (1) British League of Nations Union and French League of Nations Society in conclusion of conference in London express unbounded admiration for

The Boy Scouts' Association  
Girl Guides' Association

- (b) Members nominated by such other educational organisations as support the work of the Council and which the Council may from time to time invite to appoint representatives.
- (c) Members not exceeding one-quarter of the representatives appointed under 2(a) and (b) who shall be elected by the Advisory Conference (see 7(c)).
- (d) Members not exceeding one-sixth of the representatives appointed under 2(a), (b) and (c) whom the Council may from time to time elect.

The Board of Education, (the Scottish Education Department and the Ministry of Education for Northern Ireland), the Secretary-General of the League of Nations and the Director of the International Labour Office shall each be invited to appoint an Observer.

The Council shall meet at least once a year and shall hold such further meetings as it may from time to time determine but the Chairman shall in any case summon a meeting upon the request in writing of any two of the associations represented on the Council or of any ten of its members.

### 3. Management Committee

- (a) The Council shall at its first meeting in every academic year elect not more than ten of its members to be an executive committee, to be known as the Management Committee.
- (b) The Management Committee shall have power to co-opt not more than five additional members but no person shall be eligible to serve on the Committee who is not already a member of the Council or who is not elected to the Council at the meeting of the Council first succeeding his co-optation.
- (c) The Management Committee shall be responsible for the conduct of all the affairs of the Council subject to any directions which the Council may give.

### 4. Officers

The Council shall elect annually from among its own members a Chairman, Vice-Chairman and Treasurer and shall have power to elect an Honorary President, Vice-Presidents and other officers.

### 5. Co-operating Organisations

- (1) The Council shall have power to recognise as National Co-operating Organisations any national association of teachers and any national educational body which expresses in writing its general agreement with the objects of the Council and promises to pay a minimum annual subscription of £5.5s.0d.

heroic struggle Finnish people are making against unprovoked aggression and hope their respective Governments will continue to give every possible help.

- (2) British League of Nations Union and French League of Nations Society at conclusion of conference in London express unbounded admiration for the heroic struggle that Chinese people are making against unprovoked aggression, and assure them that they realise that China fights for triumph of same cause as themselves.

The Chairman reported that, in Lady Hall's absence, no reference had been made at the conference to the work of the Union's sub-Committee which was considering what should be the place of the I.L.O. in world settlement after the war. It was agreed that this should be borne in mind at the next conference in Paris, and that Lady Hall should be asked to provide a memorandum.

Lord Lytton also stated that he had discussed with M. Cassin the French Government's treatment of its Communists about which the Youth Committee had recently passed a resolution. M. Cassin had said that, although he and other members of the French Society considered that the methods adopted by their Government were open to considerable objection, it would have been quite impossible for any French Government not to have taken some action since the Communists in France were definitely seditious and were carrying on propaganda and agitation against the country which could not have been tolerated by any Government in time of war.

Mr. Syrett expressed the opinion that the successful outcome of the Conference had been mainly due to Lord Lytton's efforts as Chairman of the proceedings; the Union owed him an immense debt of gratitude for all that he had done both in the Conference and the drafting Committees.

65. COUNCIL FOR EDUCATION IN WORLD CITIZENSHIP. The Executive had before them draft Articles of Constitution (S.724) for which provision had been made in the agreement adopted by the Executive Committee last June and which would be presented to the Council for adoption when it met on April 11th.

Dr. Murray made reference to the reduction which had taken place in the Union's budget and staff as a result of the war, and since the Agreement was adopted, which made it impracticable for the Union to provide the services that it had had in mind to do; the Council itself, because of conditions resulting from the war, would not be able to carry out quite such an ambitious programme as it had hoped. But it was

- (2) The Council shall have power to recognise as a Local Co-operating Organisation any local association of teachers and any local educational body which expresses in writing its general agreement with the objects of the Council and promises to pay an annual subscription of £1.
- (3) Each National Co-operating Organisation shall have the right to appoint five of its members and each Local Co-operating Organisation shall have the right to appoint two of its members to be members of an Advisory Conference which the Council shall convene at least once a year to advise it on its work.

#### 6. Affiliation

Provided the Council is satisfied that the British Universities League of Nations Society is effectively promoting the objects of the Council among students in universities and colleges and provided also that the British Universities League of Nations Society, in accordance with the terms of its constitution, takes no partisan action in matters of public policy, the Council shall have power to accept that Society as an affiliated Member and to assist it in its work.

#### 7. Correspondents

In the promotion of its work the Council shall seek to be represented in colleges, schools and other educational institutions by correspondents whom it will recognise under such conditions as it may from time to time determine.

#### 8. Work among Boys and Girls

Among boys and girls in the schools and other educational institutions the Council shall form and direct the work of an organisation to promote its objects and shall seek to associate with it existing school societies or clubs (e.g. International Relations Clubs, School Branches of the League of Nations Union, Contemporary Affairs Groups, etc.) which are in agreement with its objects.

#### 9. Amendment of the Constitution

No motion to amend this constitution shall be voted upon until four weeks' notice thereof has been given to all members of the Council and such motion shall require a majority of two-thirds of the members present.

understood that both parties would fulfil the terms of the Agreement in spirit although they might not be able to do so in the letter.

The Executive Committee would be kept in close touch with the work of the Council: Dr. Murray was Chairman of the Council, Mr. Judd was its Secretary, and the Executive was, in the draft Articles of Constitution, invited to nominate a representative to serve on the Council.

The question of the minutes of the Council's Management Committee was raised, since there was no mention of this Committee in the Agreement. Dr. Murray stated that, just as the minutes of the Council and of its Finance Committee were to be communicated to the Executive for their information, so also would be the minutes of the Management Committee.

It was reported that the President of the Board of Education had promised to attend the Council's meeting in April, and encouraging letters had been received from the Minister of Education in Northern Ireland and the Secretary of State for Scotland.

After further discussion it was

RESOLVED: That the approval of the Executive be given to the draft Articles of Constitution (S.724); and

(See appendix page)

That Major Freshwater be appointed to act as the Union's representative on the Education Council. "

66. GERMAN AGGRESSION IN POLAND. Mr. Mander asked whether it would be desirable at the present juncture, since Russia was no longer a Member of the League, to urge that the German aggression against Poland should be formally brought before the League with a view to getting a technical decision in order that the provisions of the Covenant might be brought into operation. If that were done the position of the Allies, from the point of view of international law, would be strengthened, and a resolution of the League would theoretically prevent the neutral States from providing Germany with supplies. The suggestion was briefly discussed but it was not decided to take any action.

Lynch  
CHAIRMAN  
A.4.40



CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE  
COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION  
HELD AT NO. 80, ST. MARTIN'S LANE, LONDON,  
W.C.2, ON THURSDAY, APRIL 4TH, 1940 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Professor  
Eradtsky, F.J. Burris, Lady Violet Bonham  
Carter, Lord Cecil, Miss K.D. Courtney,  
Miss P. Fawcett, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris,  
Sir Arthur Haworth, D.L. Lipson, M.P.,  
James Macdonald, G. le M. Mander, M.P.,  
Dr. Gilbert Murray, F.J. Noel-Baker, M.P.,  
H.S. Syrett and Major Freshwater.

67. MINUTES. After questions on Minutes 63 and 65 had been answered, and after the last sentence of Minute 66 had been amended so as to read, "The suggestion was briefly discussed and it was decided to defer the matter for further consideration on a substantive resolution", the Minutes of the last meeting were confirmed as circulated.
68. QUEEN'S HALL MEETING. The Chairman read a letter from Mr. H.H. Walker stating that the L.N.F. Executive urged the desirability of holding a Queen's Hall meeting (see Minute 62), but different in theme from that originally intended. There were three possibilities: (a) a meeting at which representatives of the chief political parties would speak on, say, "Our Challenge to Aggression"; (b) an Anglo-French meeting; or (c) a meeting at which the speakers might be representative of Finland, Poland and Czechoslovakia. It was

RESOLVED: "That the London Regional Federation be informed that the Executive agree that it would be desirable to hold in the Queen's Hall a meeting to be organized by the Federation, to be concerned with Anglo-French co-operation as a basis for wider international co-operation, and that a prominent Frenchman should be invited to address the meeting (in English if possible);

That the Federation be asked to advise about the title of the meeting and the earliest date on which it could be held, and whether it is desired that H.Q. should make enquiries about a French speaker."

The purpose of the meeting should be to welcome the recent declaration of the Supreme Council of the Allies, and to urge that the Franco-British co-operation should not merely be an Anglo-French alliance but the basis for future world co-operation.

Lord Cecil suggested that a leaflet setting out in detail the Union's policy should be available for distribution at the meeting.



69. MISS STEWART PARNELL. The Committee having been informed that Miss Stewart Parnell had resigned from the London Regional Federation to take up an appointment with the Ministry of Food, it was

RESOLVED: "That the Committee's great appreciation of Miss Parnell's services to the Union be placed on record and that she be so informed."

70. DR. EDWARD BONES. With reference to Minute 51-45-38 of 7.3.49, the Chairman reported that Dr. Bones had accepted the invitation and would be present at 12 noon at the meeting on April 13th. The Chairman had suggested to Dr. Bones that there should be a short speech followed by questions, and that he expected that the meeting would be over about 1 o'clock.

71. AUDITORS. Mr. Syrett reported that the Auditors, whose FEE had been 125 guineas but which had been reduced to 100 guineas on the last two occasions, had most generously agreed to accept 75 guineas for the audit of the 1939 Accounts.

RESOLVED: "That the thanks and appreciation of the Executive be expressed to Messrs. Deloitte, Plender, Griffiths & Company for their generous action."

72. MISS NEW. The Committee learned with regret from the Chairman that Miss New was in hospital with a fractured femur, and

RESOLVED: "That a message of sympathy on behalf of the Committee be sent to Miss New."

73. NATIONAL YOUTH GROUPS' COUNCIL. There was a long discussion in which nearly all members of the Committee took part, on the resolutions adopted at the Easter meeting of the Council. General regret was expressed that many of the resolutions should have been passed. Apart from their substance, objection was taken to the method of expression, which was definitely partisan and would have been equally wrong had it been anti-Communist, the Union was not concerned with the party political views of its members.

Resolution 1 asked the Executive to take action completely contrary to the decision of the General Council. Some of the resolutions were on subjects which it was known had been ruled out of order at the General Council Meeting in December last. Youth was bewildered, there was need of leadership to show them that the war was in support of a principle. They had been misled, their earnest desire for social reform had been exploited. They wanted to remain in the Union; to get rid of communists would only mean that, later on, other sections would have to go: a fuller, wider, programme would arouse their enthusiasm. It was objected that that would be to enlarge the scope of the Union beyond what it was given its Charter for.

Copy filed  
with the  
minutes

General support was expressed of a proposal made by the Chairman that there should be a conference with Youth Group leaders, not on the merits or otherwise of the form or substance of the resolutions, but on what it was right for Youth Groups as parts of the Union to do; the Chairman was averse from anything but a small conference.

Miss Ethel Waite, Chairman, and Mr. Raymond Gauntlett, member, of the Youth Committee, spoke by invitation of the Chairman. The claim was made that the Youth Council had been in order in passing its resolutions seeing that they were only recommendations to the Union and consequently were an internal matter for the Union. The Executive was assured that members who opposed the Union's policy and had voted for Resolution 1 were loyal to the League and held that they were acting in accordance with League and Union principles; they were not communists even if their views were held to be communist. The rider to Resolution 1 had been put forward as a compromise which it was believed would work and would keep the different sections of the Youth Groups all within the Union. To this it was objected that the experience of organisations retaining within their ranks without injury to themselves people who did not agree with the policy of the organisations. References were made to the behaviour of communists at the recent Youth Peace Aims Conference organised for the Executive by Mr. Gauntlett.

Finally, on the motion of Lord Cecil, it was

RESOLVED: "The Executive Committee, being of opinion that no committee or council of the Union is entitled to pass any resolution inconsistent with the Charter of the Union or with the declared policy of the Executive Committee or the Council of the Union, is unable to receive the resolutions recently passed by the National Youth Groups' Council, and accepts the suggestion of the Chairman for a conference with the leaders of the Youth Groups."

Mr. Gauntlett then stated that it was proposed to circulate copies of the resolutions to all the Youth Groups whether they had been represented at the Youth Council Meeting or not, together with a letter pointing out that none of the resolutions had yet been adopted by the Executive Committee and that they were still only recommendations. The Executive did not agree to the proposed action and decided that no copies of any of the resolutions were to be sent out before the conference had taken place.

74. POLAND. On the motion of Lord Cecil and in accordance with a hope expressed by Count Balinski on his visit to the Executive on February 15th, 1940, it was

RESOLVED: (a) "In view of the systematic depopulation of the parts of Poland occupied by Germany, partly by the cold-blooded slaughter of thousands of the Polish and Jewish inhabitants - men, women and children - and partly by the deportation and enslavement of hundreds of thousands of others, and in view of the seizure and confiscation of all Polish property, public and private, in these districts, and the establishment of the Lublin Reserve,

we urge the Allied Governments that they should make it clear to all concerned that they condemn such proceedings as ruthless breaches of law and justice, and should give notice that they do not recognize and will not admit any claims by individuals founded on such proceedings and will require full restoration and compensation to be made by the German Government for these crimes."

Arising out of the discussion with regard to Minute 86 of the meeting of March 14th, 1940, it was, on the motion of Mr. Lander,

RESOLVED: (b) "That the League of Nations Union Executive considers that when a suitable opportunity presents itself following the precedent of the action of the Council of the League in the case of Soviet aggression against Finland, the case of German aggression against Poland should be brought before the Council under Article 17, with a view to obtaining a decision placing the force of the Covenant behind any actions undertaken by the Allies, and as an indication that aggression is the concern of the League from whatever quarter it may arise."

It was decided that the first motion should be sent to the Government and published in the Press, the second motion should only be sent to the Government.

75. **PLANS FOR THE PEACE.** The Chairman reported that before Easter he had sent to Lord Halifax a copy of the Statement adopted at the conference with representatives of the French League of Nations Society on March 9th and 10th. Later he had had a talk with Lord Halifax, who expressed pleasure and approval of the conclusions arrived at and the procedure of building up from actual realities in co-operation with the French. The Chairman had explained to Lord Halifax that the British and French Societies wanted such developments as might take place during the war to be undertaken with an eye to their continuance afterwards, and in such a way as would enable other countries to come in, everything being related to obligations under the Covenant.

Lord Halifax had criticised the passage in the Statement which referred to third party judgment. This, he thought, was visionary and unrealistic in existing circumstances. Lord Lytton had pointed out in reply that collective defence against aggression, third party judgment in disputes and international supervision of national armaments were three inseparable features of the League system which postulated the elimination of war as a method of settling international disputes. Those features were referred to in the Statement as necessary limitations of national sovereignty which States joining the international organisation of the future must accept. The matter was quite clear to the members of the British and French Societies who had been explaining it for twenty years. Lord Halifax thought it would not be clear to others and should have been explained in more detail.

75. CHINA. Reference having been made to a recent speech by Sir Robert Craigie, the British Ambassador in Tokio, the Chairman was asked to prepare and send to the press and to the Government a resolution expressing the Executive's approval of the statement made by Government spokesmen in both Houses of Parliament with reference to the speech and removing any impression that while we were fighting against German aggression in Europe we were condoning aggression in Asia.

The following is the text of the resolution as prepared by the Chairman after the meeting:-

X "The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union noted with approval the statements made by the Government in both Houses of Parliament yesterday that the speech recently made in Tokio by the British Ambassador, Sir Robert Craigie, did not indicate any condonation of Japanese aggression in China or any change in the British attitude towards the Government of General Chiang Kai Shek as the legitimate Government of China. As some of the words used by Sir Robert Craigie on this occasion might give the impression that though we were fighting against German aggression in Europe we were in sympathy with aggression in Asia, the Executive Committee are glad that both Lord Halifax and Sir Lytton gave assurances to dispel such an impression."

76. OTHER BUSINESS. The remaining items on the agenda were postponed for consideration at the meeting on April 18th.

Lytton  
Chairman  
April 12th, 1940.



LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION.  
NATIONAL YOUTH GROUPS' COUNCIL.

EASTER, 1940.

RESOLUTIONS.

1. THE WAR. This Council, regarding the Executive Committee of the L.N.U. to express its belief that the present war is not being fought in defence of League of Nations principles, but rather for the imperialist interests of the belligerents, and that its continuance can only bring increased misery and suffering to the peoples of the world, and further recommends the Executive Committee to explain to the people of this country why it is in their interests to demand a Government which will end the war and call a Peace Conference with the purpose of removing the causes of war. (This resolution was carried by 29 votes to 21, with 4 abstentions.)

As shown by the preceding resolution, the National Youth Groups' Council was unable to reach any clear decision on their attitude to the Union's policy of support for the war. The Council felt that in this they were representative of opinion throughout the Groups, and therefore agreed to recommend the following procedure:-

- (i) To continue to work together on all other points of Union policy.
- (ii) To embark on a more intensive course of self-education about the issues involved in the war.
- (iii) Meanwhile members holding either opinion would feel themselves bound to work within the movement for support for their particular policy. Members holding views in opposition to official L.N.U. policy understand that such policy could only be advocated by them as individuals on public platforms other than those of the L.N.U. Members agreeing to advocate publicly L.N.U. policy would do so as members of the Union without compromising Youth Group opinion.
- (iv) All members would, as far as is in their power, prevent publicity being given to their meetings and discussions which will be damaging to the L.N.U.
- (v) Should the situation change, the National Youth Committee would ascertain the opinions of the Youth Groups with a view to advising the Executive as to the policy the Groups would recommend.

2. CHINA. This Council welcomes the decision of the recent Anglo-French League of Nations Societies' Conference to send a message of support to Free China,

Believes more strongly than ever that all forms of assistance should be withheld from Japan, but should be given to China on a greatly increased scale, in particular by the immediate despatch of War Material, which recent events have demonstrated that H.M. Government are well able to spare.

Recommends the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union to do everything which lies in its power to ensure that no agreement be made with Japan which is at the expense of China, and especially that no support whatsoever be given to the Wang Ching-wei or any other puppet government of Japan.

### 3. ALBANIA AND CHINA This Council

Views with profound disappointment the recent action of the League Council in refusing to recommend the Assembly to consider the cases of Albania and China, thus becoming an instrument of Franco-British policy.

Considers that such action is contrary to the best interests of the League.

Calls the attention of the Executive Committee of the L.N.U. to such a deplorable state of affairs.

### 4. PALESTINE (Ashton-Under-Lyne Youth Group)

This Council

Recognising that Jews and Arabs have equal rights and responsibilities,

Views with disgust the cynical action of H.M. Government with regard to land settlement in Palestine.

Believes that this action will induce further friction between Arab and Jew in Palestine at a time when prospects of a peaceful settlement seemed to be becoming clearer.

Condemns this policy as a violation of the Covenant and a rebuff to the Mandates Commission.

Welcomes the recent action by the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union in this matter, but recommends the Executive Committee again to call upon H.M. Government to withdraw the new regulations and to take steps to enable the representatives of the peoples and governments concerned to bring the matter before an enlarged Mandates Commission.

### 5. INDIA. This Council

Recognising that from the purely legal and constitutional points of view the future of India is, in present circumstances, a matter of concern only to the British and Indian Governments,

But believing that the problem of World Settlement after the War cannot be considered exclusively from such points of view, and, in particular, that the future of 350,000,000 people who are not yet self-governing cannot be excluded from any realistic conception of a new world order.

Considering that the Indian people have indisputable rights to freedom and self-government, and that until they are granted, plans for "a lasting Peace, based on justice and international good faith" are incomplete,

Recommends the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union to declare its support for the proposal to allow the Indian people further to convene a Constituent Assembly elected by universal adult suffrage and empowered to frame a new and democratic constitution for India.

6. RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION.This Council

Aware that the foreign policy of Great Britain has continuously been prejudiced and against the Soviet Union,

Believing in the need for and advantages of friendly relations between the two peoples,

Fearing that the present position, in which influential politicians and newspapers have recommended war on the Soviet Union, may get still worse, even to the point of war,

Believes that such a war would be a tremendous disaster and setback to human progress

Therefore recommends the Executive Committee of the L.N.U. to avert such a war and to improve relations and understanding between Great Britain and the Soviet Union.

7. THE EXTENSION OF THE WAR.This Council

Fears that the present diplomatic struggle to obtain the support of nearby neutrals, and the position of stalemate in the military theatres of the war, may cause non neutrals to be opened up and neutral states to be forced into the war,

Believes that this move would multiply the difficulties of securing peace and that the consequent death, destruction and suffering inflicted on yet more millions of people would be in vain,

Recommends the Executive Committee of the L.N.U. to mobilise the Union against involving more countries in the war.

8. EUROPEAN FEDERATION.This Council

While believing in some ultimate form of Federation draws the attention of the Executive Committee of the L.N.U. to the dangers of European Federation which under the present economic system will lead to the strengthening of imperialism and is now blinding the people to the real direction of the war.

9. THE REFUGEES IN FRANCE.This Council

Recalling its pledges of solidarity and assistance for all anti-fascist fighters and especially the Spanish Republicans and the heroic illegal fighters of Germany;

Realising the difficulties which faced the French Government in dealing with refugees but nevertheless noting with great concern that it has treated the soldiers of the Spanish Republican Army as convict labour gangs, has permitted 12,000 Spanish children to suffer exposure and hunger, and treated the wives of German anti-fascists as Hitler treats their husbands in Germany;

Recommends the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union to urge H.M. Government to make clear to the French Government

(1) Its grave concern at the present treatment of refugees in France;

- (ii) Its willingness to assist the French Government in dealing with the problem in an humane and just manner.

#### 10. FRANCE AND CIVIL LIBERTIES.

This Council

Deeply concerned at the recent restrictions on civil liberties in France,

Determined that no such restrictions shall be imposed here at any time in the future

Calling attention to the existence of legislation which might be further applied to restrict the activities of the League of Nations Union and other voluntary bodies in Great Britain,

Believing it necessary to be on the alert for any infringements of the traditional rights of the British people,

Recommends the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union jealously to guard all forms of freedom of thought and expression, and to urge the branches and Youth Groups of the L.N.U. to do likewise.

#### 11. SOCIAL JUSTICE, YOUTH CHARTER AND I.L.O.

This Council

Anxious at the grave economic and social consequences of the war, and especially their effect upon youth conditions,

Opposed to any demand for extra sacrifice from those who are least able to bear it, and on whom the burdens of war already fall most heavily, whilst profits from the war continue to rise,

Deeply suspicious about proposals for a Youth Labour Corps proposed from various quarters,

Believes that the only effective means of dealing with the problems of Youth are those already outlined in the B.Y.P.A. Youth Charter and now applied to the war situation in the draft Youth Wartime Programme,

Welcomes the continued activities of the I.L.O., especially those affecting the working and living conditions of young people, those concerned with special problems created by the war, and those which aim at the peaceful solution of post-war economic and social problems,

Recommends the Executive Committee of the L.N.U. to point out to all sections of the Union the close connection between Youth Charter work and the work of the I.L.O. and to urge upon them all, but the Youth Groups in particular, careful study and active support for this work.

#### 12. PEACE AIMS - ALLIED AND INTERNATIONAL CONSULTATION

This Council

Viewing with apprehension the growing feelings, apparent in the French press, for the dismemberment of Germany after the war,

Welcomes the conversations of the Executive with representatives of the French League of Nations Society,

Recommends the Executive Committee of the L.N.U. to have the closest possible consultation with all societies in other countries which are concerning themselves in any way with the problem of World Settlement after the War.



13. REFUGEES IN THIS COUNTRY.

This Council

Realising that the great need is for refugees to establish themselves again in the life of a community, welcoming the talents which many bring for the enrichment of their country of refuge.

Recommends the Executive Committee of the L.N.U. to use its influence to see that such restrictions as are imposed on the activities of refugees do not obstruct their desire to serve the community, or to make a new and more secure life for themselves.

14. CO-OPERATION FOR COMMON PEACE AIMS.

This Council

Realising the unique position of the League of Nations Union as an all-party organisation, and conscious of the danger of splitting the forces of those who believe in any way in policies which seek for the betterment of civilisation and the maintenance of peace,

Recommends the Executive Committee of the L.N.U. to do all in its power to co-operate with other organisations on points where policies agree so that the maximum pressure can be brought to bear to ensure a just world settlement at the conclusion of hostilities.

15. WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR AND THE L.N.U.

This Council,

Affirms its belief that the best hope for a just and lasting peace lies in the recreation of the worldwide League of Nations, improved, extended and revitalised.

Recommends the Executive Committee of the L.N.U. to study and to encourage all L.N.U. members to study all the problems involved, and then to initiate vigorous and far-sighted activities calculated to win the maximum support for such a policy.

16. B.Y.P.A.

This Council

Recalling that the Youth Group movement has always been in favour of co-operation with other youth organisations, and that work through the B.Y.P.A. is one of the most useful ways of co-operating,

Recommends the Executive Committee of the L.N.U. to urge the Youth Groups to co-operate in the work at present being done by the B.Y.P.A. to organise Youth Forums and Youth Parliaments which bring young people of many organisations together to discuss the urgent social and political problems which face them, and in its Youth Charter work which aims at safeguarding the standards of living of young people during war-time.

Further, to urge Youth Groups in towns where there is not a B.Y.P.A. to consider what steps they can take to initiate an assembly or parliament.

Lastly, to take steps to inform the Branches of the Union of the nature of the B.Y.P.A.

17. THE YOUTH GROUPS.

This Council

Noting the valuable work of forming contacts which was accomplished during the organisation of the Youth

Peace Aims Conferences, considers that these contacts should be maintained - and extended to deal with other topics - for the benefit of the Youth Groups movement; Believing that this is most necessary, especially in view of the serious decline in the membership of the Groups and in the activities of the National Youth Committee, the Regional, County and District Committees and the Youth Groups, in some places noticeable before the war, and in all places a matter of vital importance as a result of the war.

Recommends the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union to call upon

- (i) The National Youth Committee to develop Regions where there are no active Regional Committees.
- (ii) The active Regional Committees, (a) to help existing Youth Groups, by every means in their power, to plan educational programmes, and (b) to develop and consolidate Youth Groups in their Regions through County and/or District Committees.

#### 18. FUNCTION OF THE YOUTH GROUPS

This Council,

Believing that all our work will be wasted unless it is based on a real understanding of the issues involved, and the forces at work, in international affairs, Declares that the function of the Youth Groups in any given situation is,

First to establish the facts by means of study, Then to examine the implications of these facts, through full and free discussion,

And having understood fully these implications, to assume the responsibility for explaining the situation to the Young People of the country, both by extending the size of our movement, and by working in co-operation with other organisations.

Declares further that it is the function of Youth Groups to advocate and give support for a constructive policy for future world settlement.

Recommends the Executive Committee of the L.N.U. to make these functions clear to all Youth Groups.

#### 19. ELECTION OF OFFICERS

This Council,

Resolves that the following shall be officers of the National Youth Groups Council and of the National Youth Committee for the forthcoming year:-

Chairman:	Miss E. Waite (London)
Vice-Chairmen:	Miss M. Willison (Midlands)
	Miss T. Bird (Yorkshire)
	Mr. T. Walshaw (North-West)

#### 20. NATIONAL YOUTH COMMITTEE

This Council,

Recommends the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union to suspend the second paragraph of Article V of the National Constitution for Youth Groups (National Youth Committee) for the duration of the war, and to approve

- 7 -

the following temporary arrangements for the National Youth Committee:

The Full Committee shall consist of two representatives of each Youth Groups' Regional Council, one of whom may reside outside the Region he represents, together with co-opted members whose number shall not exceed seven. This Full Committee shall meet normally six times a year, approximately every two months, in London and different provincial centres alternately.

The Standing Committee shall consist of one representative of each Youth Groups' Regional Council, who, if he resides outside the Region he represents, shall be required to consult with the officers of that Region both before and after each meeting of the Committee; together with co-opted members whose number shall not exceed four. This Standing Committee shall meet normally six times a year, in London, usually in the months when the Full Committee is not meeting.

If the Chairman of the Committee is an appointed representative of a Youth Groups' Regional Council, that Council shall have the right to appoint another ordinary representative in his place.

CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS HELD AT NO. 60, ST. MARTIN'S LANE, LONDON, W.C.2, ON THURSDAY, APRIL 18TH, 1940 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Professor Brodetsky, P.A. Burris, Lord Cecil, Miss K.D. Courtney, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss P. Fawcett, Lady Hall, Sir Arthur Haworth, B.I. Lipson, M.P., Dame Adelaide Livingston, James Macdonald, G. le M. Lander, M.P., General Milman, Dr. Gilbert Murray, P.J. Noel-Baker, M.P., W.T. Fritchard, Miss M. Mathison, M.P., Wilfrid Roberts, M.P., H.S. Syrett, Mrs. Whitfield and Major Prosser.

77. MINUTES. The Minutes of the last meeting, held on Thursday, April 4th, were approved as circulated.

78. PARIS CONFERENCE. The Chairman reported that the French Society had sent in a detailed far-reaching memorandum which would require more consideration than it would be practicable for the Executive to give it before April 28th. He proposed, therefore, that the French should be asked to postpone the conference for about three weeks. Such postponement would make it possible for Lord Cecil and, he hoped, Dr. Murray, to attend.

The proposal was adopted.

79. QUEEN'S HALL MEETING. A letter from the London Regional Federation was read, stating that the Federation was prepared to undertake the organization of the meeting on the lines suggested (in Minute 68). In view of the decision recorded in Minute 78 above, it was

RESOLVED: "That the date of the meeting be not fixed or the title decided upon until after the conference."

80. GENERAL TEMPERLEY. The Chairman reported that, on behalf of the Committee, he had sent a message of sympathy to Mrs. Temperley on the death of her husband, and read a letter he had received in reply.

81. MR. H.A.L. FISHER. The Committee learned with great regret of the death of Mr. H.A.L. Fisher, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Union and a former member of the Executive.

RESOLVED: "That the Chairman be asked to write a letter of sympathy to Mrs. Fisher on behalf of the Committee."

82. HEADWAY. The Chairman reported that Mr. le Prevost would not be continuing the editorship of HEADWAY. Miss Courtney and he and Mr. Arnold-Forster had interviewed Mrs. Croome, a lecturer at the School of Economics who had done work for the SPECIATOR and had



been recommended by Mr. Wilson Harris. He proposed that Mrs. Croome should be appointed editor of HEADWAY, at a salary of £120 a year with a six months' contract.

RESOLVED: "That the proposal be adopted."

63. ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1939. The Committee had before it an uncorrected proof - copies of which had been sent out with the agenda for the present meeting - of the 1939 Report of the Executive to the General Council. The Report met with general approval, but some suggestions were made for alteration in the earlier part. The Chairman stated that he had already made one alteration at the beginning of the report and would be glad to consider others if members of the Committee who had any to suggest would be so kind as to send them to him; if necessary he would bring the alterations before the Executive before printing off.
64. WOMEN'S ADVISORY COUNCIL. Miss Courtney reported that the WOMEN'S ADVISORY COUNCIL on March 14th had decided to form a group of organisations who were willing to do active work in studying the conditions required for a real world settlement after the war, on the understanding that any action that the group might take or any material that it might issue would in no way commit other organisations which form part of the Council. All organisations represented on the Council had already been asked if they would join such a group, and if they desired to be represented on the committee for organising it. The replies had been very encouraging, ten organisations, including the Association of Headmistresses, the Women's Liberal Federation, National Union of Conservative Unionist Organisations, Y.F.C.A. and the Federation of Women's Institutes, had expressed their readiness to join the group, and the members of the Woman's Peace Crusade, the activities of which had been suspended for the duration of the war, would be taking part in the work.
- RESOLVED: "That the Report be approved."
65. EDUCATION COUNCIL. Dr. Murray reported on the Conference organised by the Council for Education in World Citizenship held the previous weekend at Oxford. The Conference had been a great success, the number of bookings being greatly in excess of that anticipated. Special reference was made to the round table discussion on the next peace settlement, at which the speakers were Mr. Masaryk (Czechoslovakia), Count Balinski (Poland), Dr. Olden (Germany), Mr. Mahou (France), Mr. Ivor Montagu (Communist), Mr. A.C.F. Deales, (Pax Romana), Mr. Adariga (Spain), the summing-up had been most ably done by Mr. Arnold-Forster.
66. RESOLUTIONS OF NATIONAL YOUTH LEAGUE COUNCIL. Consideration was given to proposals for action prepared by the Chairman and circulated with the agenda for the present meeting. The Chairman stated that the proposals were an outcome of the conference (referred to in Minute 73) which on April 15th Lady Violet Bonham

Carter, Mr. Mander and he had had with Miss Waite, Mrs. Whitfield, Mr. Gauntlett and Mr. Crossdell of the National Youth Committee. The resolutions were practically the minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Youth Groups' Council and they were to be circulated by the Youth Committee to all Youth Groups. Holding that the resolutions should not be circulated without the Executive's observations on them, the Chairman had arranged for them not to be sent out till after the present meeting. He had prepared for and given to the Youth representatives some observations of his own on certain of the resolutions, but they had not got the Executive's authority behind them. A considerable discussion followed, during which doubt was expressed about the desirability of the Executive receiving any of the resolutions.

After it had been agreed that many of the resolutions contained expressions of opinion suggesting a strong political bias, the cumulative effect of which was prejudicial to the non-party character of the Union, and that some of them dealt with subjects outside the scope of the Union, that others were contrary to the settled policy of the Union, and that others, though in harmony with that policy, were vitiated by the political bias and consequently were not acceptable, it was

RESOLVED: "That the Chairman be asked to prepare a statement for the next meeting of the Executive, showing which resolutions in his view should not be received for the above reasons, and indicating the action to be taken with regard to the others."

87. DR. EDOUARD BENEŠ. Dr. Beneš, who was present by invitation and who received a cordial welcome, gave a most interesting account of what had led up to the present state of affairs in his country, and spoke of his hopes for the future and what he thought might be likely to happen.

88. DATE OF NEXT MEETING.

RESOLVED: "That the Committee meet again on 25th April to discuss the Chairman's statement dealing with the National Youth Groups' Council's resolutions and the French memorandum referred to in Minute 78.

89. OTHER BUSINESS. The remaining item on the agenda - Suggestion for Conference with New Commonwealth and Federal Union - was postponed for consideration at a later meeting.

*L. J. M.*  
CHAIRMAN

25th April, 1940.

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RESOLUTIONS OF NATIONAL YOUTH GROUPS' COUNCIL  
Proposals for Action by the Executive Committee

The Executive Committee regrets that it cannot accept these resolutions because so many of them contain expressions of opinion suggesting a strong political bias that their cumulative effect is prejudicial to the non-party character of the Union. If resolutions 2, 13 and 15 had been submitted without the others they would have been acceptable, but in their present setting even these resolutions create some suspicion as to the motives which may have inspired them. Some of the resolutions deal with subjects which are outside the scope of the Union, others are contrary to the settled policy of the Union, and those that are in harmony with that policy are vitiated by the political bias referred to above.

As it is impossible for the Executive Committee to enter into an argument with the Youth Groups' Council on the wide field covered by these resolutions it can only consent to accept resolutions 2, 13, 15 and 19.

The procedure suggested in the five paragraphs commenting on Resolution 1 will receive the careful consideration of the Executive and be made the subject of a further communication in due course.

Resolution 16 is accepted provided that care is taken to ensure that under cover of "the social and political problems which face them", Youth Groups do not concern themselves with subjects which are outside the scope of the Union.

Resolution 20 is accepted subject to the previous consent of the Executive Committee being obtained to the names of those whom it is proposed to co-opt.

## CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION, HELD AT No. 80, ST. MARTIN'S LANE, LONDON, W.C.2, ON THURSDAY, APRIL 26TH, 1940, AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Professor S. Brodetsky, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Lord Cecil, Miss K.D. Courtney, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss P. Fawcett, Lady Hall, Sir Arthur Haworth, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, James Macdonald, G. le H. Bander, M.P., Dr. Gilbert Murray, F.W. Koel-Dor, M.P., Professor H.J. Paton, W.F. Fritchard, Miss E. Rathbone, M.P., Wilfrid Roberts, M.P., H.S. Wyatt, Mrs. Whitfield and Major Freshwater.

90. MINUTES. The Minutes of the last meeting, held on THURSDAY, April 19th, were approved as circulated.
91. PROFESSOR H.J. PATON. The Chairman welcomed Professor Paton, who was attending the Committee for the first time.
92. RT. HON. G.N. BARNES. The Committee learned with regret of the death of the Rt. Hon. G.N. Barnes, one of the signatories of the Treaty of Versailles, a Vice-President of the Union and formerly President of the Industrial Advisory Committee. After it had been reported that Mr. Fanshawe was representing the Executive Committee at the funeral, it was
- RESOLVED: "That the Chairman be asked to write a letter of sympathy to Mrs. Barnes on behalf of the Committee, and to include in the letter an appreciation of Mr. Barnes' work in connection with the I.L.O."
93. ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1939. The Chairman reported that in response to his invitation at the last meeting to members of the Committee to send his suggestions for amendments to the first page of the report (Minute 83), he had received alternative versions from Dr. Murray and Mr. Arnold-Forster, and had caused copies to be made of them and of a revised version of his own, for use at the present meeting.

After a discussion, in which it was pointed out that the original draft, though historically accurate as a record of conditions in 1939, might be misinterpreted in view of the rapid and far-reaching changes which had taken place in 1940, it was decided to adopt the Chairman's revised version with certain amendments taken from Dr. Murray's and Mr. Arnold-Forster's versions embodied in the first and last sentences, so that they would read:-

"All the world will remember 1939 as a year of disaster, the year which brought the Second Great War. And to members of the League of Nations



Union this year has also brought a sense of tragic disappointment inasmuch as it has seen the beginning of the war which we had striven so hard to prevent."

"But the persistent neglect of the League of Nations for several years, notably by the British and French Governments, had had so damaging an effect upon public opinion both in this and other countries, that even this last opportunity of concerting action for the preservation of peace was lost and events moved rapidly to the inevitable catastrophe. All our hopes for a future League, for a commonwealth based on peace and justice, are now bound up with our hopes and resolves for the victory of the Allied cause."

94. **YOUTH GROUPS.** The Chairman read a letter from Miss E. Waite (Chairman of the National Youth Committee), stating that at a meeting of that committee on April 21st she had moved the resignation of three members of the committee who had violated the "Compromise" appended to Resolution 1 of the meeting of the National Youth Groups' Council at Easter. Her motion having been defeated, she, Mrs. Whitfield, Miss F. Bird and Mr. Gannett had themselves resigned, and the committee had appointed Mr. Geoffrey Crossdell as Acting Chairman.

In view of this, which showed that the National Youth Committee as well as the National Youth Groups' Council was dominated by opponents of the Union's policy, the Chairman thought that the Executive might not wish to deal with the resolutions of the National Youth Groups' Council in the way it was inclined to at its previous meeting (Minute 8C). He thought that the proper course to take now was to suspend the National Constitution in accordance with which the various Youth Groups' Councils and Committees had been set up. The Youth Groups themselves should, however, be kept in being; an original reason for their formation was to encourage and to make it more easy for members of Junior Branches after attaining the age of 16 to pass into an adult Branch, and for the younger members of the Branch to play their part in the work of the Branch. He would retain, therefore, the following Sections 1(a) and 2 of the Constitution:-

- 1(a). The purpose of a Youth Group shall be to band together young men and women between the ages of 16 and 30, residing within an area covered by one or more Branches, in order to carry out the Objects of the Union in ways most suited to their special opportunities and interests.
2. Each Group shall be formed with the consent of, and be an integral part of, one or more Branches. Two or more representatives appointed by the Youth Group Committee, and generally including its Chairman and/or Secretary, shall be co-opted on to the Branch(es)'s Committee(s).

The Chairman also suggested that a Youth advisory committee should be set up which, like the other advisory committees, should derive its authority from the Executive, and exist for the purpose of helping the Executive to help Youth Groups.

As requested by the Committee, he had prepared the following suggestions for dealing with the resolutions of the National Youth Groups' Council:-

That the Executive should decline to receive 1 and 7, as being contrary to the settled policy of the Union; 8 and 10, as being outside the scope of the Union; and 3, 4, 6, 8, and 9, as being vitiated by political bias.

Resolutions 12 and 14 should be received; 13, 15 and 16 third paragraph of 2, could be accepted. No action should be taken on any of the other resolutions until the whole Youth Group position had been cleared up.

A general discussion followed in which nearly all the members of the Committee and Miss Waite and Mr. Gauntlett, who were present by the Chairman's invitation, took part. All expressed themselves in favour of the suggested suspension of the Constitution and the setting-up of a Youth advisory committee. Some were in favour of setting up the committee at once, but others held it would be more desirable to communicate the Executive's intentions to the Groups before actually constituting the committee, and urged that the three persons present who had resigned from the National Youth Committee should be asked to prepare a statement setting forth what had happened at the meeting on April 21st; announcing the suspension of the Constitution and the Executive's decision to set up a Youth advisory committee; and asking Youth Groups if they accepted the policy of the Union and were ready and willing, as parts of the Union, to work for that policy. Finally it was

- RESOLVED:-(a) That with the exception of Sections 1(a) and 2, the National Constitution for Youth Groups be suspended;
- (b) That a Youth advisory committee be set up by the Executive Committee at an early date;
- (c) That Mrs. Whitfield, Miss Waite and Mr. Gauntlett be asked to prepare a statement for circulation, after approval by the Chairman and Vice-Chairman, to the Youth Groups and the Branches of which those Youth Groups are integral parts, recounting what had happened at the National Youth Committee Meeting on April 21st, announcing the Executive's

- 4 -

decisions in (a) and (b), and enquiring if the Groups accepted the policy of the Union and were ready and willing, as parts of the Union, to work for that policy."

95. PARIS CONFERENCE. Some consideration was given to MEMORANDUM S.768 "Suggested Foundation for the Organisation of Peace", received from the French League of Nations Society. Generally speaking, it was felt that in the memorandum the importance attached to the Franco-British alliance and its continuation too greatly exceeded the importance of the confederation advocated in the pink paper (S.707a), and seemed to leave the League far too much in the background.

Lord Cecil agreed to draft, for consideration at the next meeting, amendments to the French memorandum designed to bring it more into line with the pink paper.

The Committee agreed that the French Society should be asked to arrange for the Conference to commence on May 28th.

96. EDUCATION COUNCIL'S CONFERENCE AT OXFORD. With reference to Minute 85 of the previous meeting, Dr. Murray reported that Mr. Mahen was somewhat aggrieved at not being allowed to make a reply to Mr. Ivor Montagu about the treatment of Communists in France. Dr. Murray had suggested to Mr. Mahen that he might like to write something for HEADWAY on the subject.

*Layton*

CHAIRMAN

2nd May, 1940.

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SUGGESTED FOUNDATIONS FOR THE ORGANISATION OF PEACE.

There is no doubt that the failures of the League of Nations to maintain peace and prevent aggression have been due partly to the political mistakes of Governments and partly to its structural weakness and to the universal applicability of the Covenant. The remedy must be sought in a more organic construction of international society.

On the basis of past experience and the facts of existing relations between peoples, this organisation may be conceived as consisting of three plans or stages superimposed on each other:-

1. A Franco-British partnership as the foundation, the key to the system and the essential kernel of all further development;
2. A European organisation;
3. A world organisation provided by a reorganised League of Nations on a universal basis.

I. Franco-British Partnership.

A. Foundation. The partnership or union could be brought into existence by a Treaty to be concluded and ratified at once, incorporating the results which have already been achieved by the inter-Governmental agreements for the prosecution of the war and so adjusted as to secure the desired object - the maintenance of peace in the future.

B. Machinery.

(a) A joint inter-Governmental Committee to take the place of the existing Supreme War Council and responsible to the representatives of the two Nations.

(b) A General Staff organisation to maintain permanent contact and to make definite plans which could be put into operation with the minimum of delay.

(c) A Secretariat to co-ordinate the administrative services on the model of the existing co-ordinating Committees dealing with economic, commercial, financial, Colonial and cultural matters, etc. This machinery adapted to peace time conditions should create a status of legal equality between the citizens of the two Nations, such citizens being considered in both countries as "confederates".

C. Purpose. Decisions of policy would be taken by the inter-Governmental organ, especially in matters connected with foreign policy and security.

This Franco-British union would in the first instance constitute itself the guardian of the peace Treaty and take the necessary steps to secure the execution of the security guarantees laid down therein. This responsibility should continue until such time as a larger confederate organisation has been created able effectively to take it over from them.



2.

II. European Organisation.

This could only be brought into existence by stages :-

A. It should consist in the first instance of preliminary organisations which might be the following:-

First the Anglo-French Union itself, enlarged by the successive addition of neighbouring States which possess political institutions similar to theirs and share their conception of social matters, (e.g. Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Portugal, etc.)

Ultimately:-

- a Balkan Federation;
- a Danubian Federation;
- a Scandinavian, Baltic or Northern Slav Federation;
- a German Federation, etc..

Each of these preliminary organisations would be responsible for the regulation of its own internal affairs (self-government).

They would act as pillars or supports of:-

B. The European organisation.

(a) Powers of the European Organisation.

1. Economic and commercial matters, Customs, Freedom of trade and communications, Transit, common currency, if possible, juridical, social and philanthropic institutions, etc.
2. The maintenance of peace, machinery for conciliation, arbitration and legal settlements. Such of the affairs of the preliminary organisations as, being of general European interest, may ultimately be transferred to this European organisation (e.g. political disputes, revision of Treaties, guarantees of the rights of man, of minorities, etc.)

(b) Machinery. An executive body on the model of the Council of the League of Nations, but with permanent delegates, a deliberative Assembly, a Secretariat, a permanent Court of International Justice and organs of conciliation and arbitration.

The machinery and functions of the organisations dealing with security should be evolved progressively to take the shape already indicated by the Franco-British Union.

A Treaty for the limitation of armaments with an organisation exercising effective control must be envisaged, but in keeping with the disarmament agreements which may have been made in the last or world-wide stage.

- 3.

III. World Organisations. (L. of N.)

A. Reconstituted League of Nations on as universal a basis as possible. Its aim should be to gather together within itself those organisations which have previously been established in the second stage, such as the European organisation and others of the same kind which either exist at present or may be created hereafter, such as:-

The British Commonwealth of Nations.

The Pan-American Union, the maintenance of which may be necessary in order to secure the indispensable collaboration of the United States of America.

A Russian Federation ?

One or more Asiatic organisations ?

and finally, isolated States which are not included in any group.

B. The business of this organisation would be to concern itself with matters of world-wide interest, especially:-

1. A complementary security organisation to resist aggression, aiming at the development of the Briand-Kellogg Pact and imposing as a barrier to aggression the universality of the peace loving States, but leaving to each one of its members the responsibility for fulfilling the wider obligations which they may have assumed.
2. The control of disarmament.
3. An economic organisation, world-wide if possible.
4. Technical organisations with an appropriate method of representation animated by the principles of the I.L.O.
5. The Permanent Court of International Justice and other organs of conciliation and arbitration.

CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE  
COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION  
HELD AT NO. 60, ST. MARTIN'S LANE, LONDON,  
W.C.2, ON THURSDAY, MAY 2ND, 1940 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), F.M. Burris,  
Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Lord Cecil, Miss  
K.D. Courtney, Miss P. Fawcett, J.C. Maxwell  
Garnett, Lady Hall, D.L. Hanson, M.P.,  
James Macdonald, Dr. Gilbert Murray,  
H. Nicolson M.P., W.T. Fitchard, R.S. Syrett  
and Major Freshwater.

97. MINUTES. The Minutes of the meeting of April 25th were approved as circulated.
98. SIR JOHN HARRIS AND SIR GILBERT BERLING. The Committee learnt with regret of the death of one of its oldest members, Sir John Harris, and of Sir Gilbert Berling, a Vice-President of the Union, and
- RESOLVED: "That the Chairman be asked to write letters of sympathy on behalf of the Committee to Lady Harris and to Sir Gilbert Berling's daughter, and
- that the Committee be represented at the funeral of Sir John Harris on Saturday, May 4th." (Mr. Burris kindly agreed to do this.)
99. YOUTH GROUPS. The Chairman reported on Minute 94 that the memorandum had been prepared and that with certain amendments he had made, which had been agreed to by the authors of the memorandum and Miss Courtney, it was being sent out with a covering letter signed by himself to all Youth Groups and the Branches of which they formed part. Replies had been asked for by May 31st, and he had agreed that further action should not be taken till after that date.
- It was reported that one or two Youth Group Regional Councils already had in hand arrangements for Conferences to be held at Whitstunside and in August, and that there had already been a number of bookings. It was agreed not to raise objection to these Conferences being held.
100. PARIS CONFERENCE. Consideration was given to a substitute for the French memorandum (S. 736), prepared by Lord Cecil, who stated that after a closer examination of the memorandum he had found it impossible to do what the Committee had asked him to do by way of amendments. Doubts were expressed about the desirability of making any reference to a possible amendment of Article 16; about the setting up of local organisations and about the various proposals concerning the League itself. Objection was raised to the stress laid, in the French memorandum, on the Anglo-French alliance and to leaving too much in the background the League itself and the

entry of other states into the alliance. The general view was that the post-war organisation for the upholding of law and the preservation of peace should be a League of Nations as universal as possible with a European organisation, and possibly others, within its framework; and that the European organisation should be built up out of the existing Franco-British collaboration. The Chairman pointed out that this had already been agreed to by the French, and read the relevant paragraph from the Statement adopted at the Conference on March 10th, when it had been agreed that the form and powers of the organisation to be set up within the framework of a universal League, the problem of general disarmament, and the measures of collective defence, were to be among the questions to be considered further by the two Societies at their second Conference. It was pointed out that if Lord Cecil's paper dealt with matters which had already been decided, it was because he had had to work on the French memorandum, S.738, itself the outcome of the pink paper, S.707a, which had been prepared before the Conference on March 9th and 10th, and so before the general plan of the post-war organisation had been agreed to. Finally it was

RESOLVED: "To ask the Chairman to draft proposals for the form and powers of the organisation to be set up within the framework of a universal League, to obtain the views of Lord Cecil and Mr. Nicolson on them, and to circulate the draft, with such amendments as the Chairman may consider necessary to meet those views, to the Executive for consideration at a special meeting to be held on Thursday, May 9th, at 11 a.m."

101. SUGGESTION FOR CONFERENCE WITH NEW COMMONWEALTH AND FEDERAL UNION. Lord Cecil reported that he had received a letter from the Archbishop of York, suggesting that the Union should hold a Conference with the New Commonwealth and Federal Union. The Chairman reminded the Executive that they had begun the study of Federal Union proposals last year and had interrupted it to prepare for the Conference with the French Society, and suggested that it would be better to defer holding such a Conference as had been suggested by the Archbishop until after the next Conference with the French and after the Annual Meeting of the Union's General Council at Brighton in June. Lord Cecil said that he would be glad to write to the Archbishop in that sense.
102. TWENTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL. It was reported that those who had in hand the arrangements for the Council Meeting, to be held in the Royal Pavilion at Brighton on June 15th, 20th and 21st, had suggested that the opening session should commence at 3 p.m. on Wednesday, 19th, to be followed by a service in the Parish Church at about 6.15 p.m. The second and third



- 3 -

sessions would be held on the morning and afternoon of Thursday, 20th, to be followed at 8 p.m. by a public meeting, at which it was hoped that Lord Cecil and Lord Lytton would be able to speak. If necessary, there could be a further session of the Council on Friday, 21st. General approval was given to the proposals and Lord Cecil said that he would be willing to speak at the public meeting on the 20th.

*Lytton*

CHAIRMAN

9th May, 1910.

S. 742

For consideration by League of Nations Union Executive Committee  
on May 2nd, 1940, under Item 2 of Agenda.

Lord Cecil's substitute for French Memorandum S. 735.

The main cause of the failure by the League in certain cases to maintain peace and to prevent or stop aggression has been the non-recognition by the Members of the League of the vital importance of preventing war in itself, apart from any special danger to the special interest of individual Members of the League. Unless this attitude is changed no alternative in the machinery of the League will be of much use. Indeed, the justification for any such alteration must be that it will make it easier to emphasise this central point.

In speaking of the failures of the League, we must not forget the very remarkable achievements in all parts of international life that exist to its credit. Nothing therefore, should be done to weaken or undermine the existing organisation at Geneva. Any reform of it should be by way of adding to it an organ or organs whose special function should be the more effective resistance to aggression.

It will be convenient to take this point first:-

I. ANTI-AGGRESSION SPECIAL MACHINERY

The principle of this should be that special obligations to prevent and stop aggression in certain regions should be laid upon those Members of the League that are situated in such regions.

Europe is the most important of these regions and should be organised first. The nucleus of the European Organisation should be the Anglo-French entente together with their allies in the war. The existing Allied Council should be continued together with a joint committee of the British and French General Staffs and a secretariat.

The first business would be to supervise the execution of the treaty of Peace and the general security of Europe. As soon as possible such other European States

- 2 -

should be admitted to the organisation as give satisfactory guarantees of their readiness to utilise the whole of their powers to prevent or stop any aggression that may take place in Europe. That must be the test for the membership of the organisation.

Any member of the European Organisation would thus have an absolute right to the protection of all the other members in case it was attacked.

All members of the European Organisation must also be members of the League of Nations, and would therefore share in the rights and duties of the League. The European Organisation would in fact be an autonomous body within the League on the lines of the I.L.O.

It is possible that as time goes on other duties would be placed on the European Organisation. That may be left to the future.

Other regional organisations, as for instance in Asia and America, might follow.

There may be advantages in the creation of groups of states within the region. If they should be formed they might be recognised as members of the Regional Organisation.

## II. THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

It is not proposed to advocate any amendments to the Covenant except perhaps to the wording of Article 16 in view of the many debates and discussions as to its exact meaning. If a regional organisation for Europe is formed on the lines indicated, then it might be made clear that though the obligations under the Covenant to take coercive action against an aggressor would remain as it now is, the nature and extent of such action must depend on the circumstances of each case and particularly on whether a sufficient force can be counted on to make coercion successful.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION HELD AT NO. 60, ST. MARTIN'S LANE, LONDON, W.C.2, ON THURSDAY, MAY 2nd, 1940, AT 11 a.m.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Lord Cecil, Miss K.D. Courtney, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss P. Fawcett, Lady Hall, Sir Arthur Hadoworth, James Macdonald, Dr. Gilbert Murray, H.S. Syrett and Major Freshwater.

103. MINUTES. The Minutes of the meeting of May 2nd were approved as circulated.

104. SUGGESTED SUMMER SCHOOL. Consideration was given to a report prepared by Mr. Judd. An examination of the correspondence arising out of the notice in the April HEADWAY showed that it was likely that more than fifty members of the Union would attend a Summer School in July or August. The organisation of such a School in time of war would be bound to attract considerable notice, and it would be essential that the Presidents and the Chairman of the Executive Committee should visit the School and make authoritative statements on Union policy. It would also be of great advantage if a prominent member of the French League of Nations Society could attend. The School should last four or five days, and commence between August 10th and 14th so as to take advantage of an offer by the Education Council to include attendance at the School in the programme of a Teachers' Conference which the Council will be holding at that time. If held at Oxford the fee for a five days' School would be about £3 lbs. 0d. If held at a holiday hostel it would be slightly less than £3. Given a reasonable number of bookings, either figure might be expected to provide a small profit for the Union. If, however, the School had to be cancelled after the notices had been printed and circulated, the loss to the Union might be some £25.

It was also reported that suggestions had been made that the School should not be held either at Oxford or Cambridge but at a provincial University or a holiday hostel. Objection was raised to this and the Committee expressed itself as being in favour of Cambridge or Oxford. Finally it was

RESOLVED: "That a four or five day Summer School be held, if possible at Cambridge or Oxford, about the middle of August, provided that the Education Council arrange to include attendance at the School in the programme of the Teachers' Conference which the Council would be holding at that time; and that the Chairman and Treasurer, in consultation with the Chairman of the Education Council, be authorised to approve detailed arrangements including time, place and fees."



105. PARIS CONFERENCE. Consideration was given to a statement (S.745A) prepared by the Chairman in accordance with Minute 100. Commenting upon the statement, Lord Cecil pointed out that as the peace-keeping body apparently would not operate outside Europe, it would mean the abandonment of all efforts to keep Asiatic peace and look like a desertion of China. He thought that the peace-keeping organisation should not be restricted simply to the keeping of peace but should include economic objects such as common currency, tariffs, etc. He thought it would be better to keep the League with all its powers just as it is, including Articles 10 and 15, but that it should be declared that since the object was to provide action that would be co-operative and preventive rather than penal, no coercive action should be obligatory for any member of the League unless there were sufficient international support to make success reasonably certain. The basic doctrine of the European Confederation, into which he would like to see the peace-keeping organisation develop, should be, aggression is an international crime.

There was an exchange of views between the Chairman and Lord Cecil, from which it became evident that there was but little real difference between them. Should the countries forming the peace-keeping body wish to enter into agreements between themselves in respect of common currency, tariffs, etc., their power to do so would not be affected by their having been appointed "guardians of the law in certain areas" by the League.

At the suggestion of Lady Hall, it was agreed that a new paragraph should be inserted to the effect that the New Peace should be built on a social foundation and that the I.L.O. with its special functions of securing the promotion of better conditions internationally, should be retained, and the essential importance of its work recognised and extended. It was also agreed that the hope should be expressed that another document dealing in detail with those functions of the I.L.O. which in the opinion of the two Societies should find a place in the post-war settlement, should be incorporated with the reports of the two Conferences.

The Chairman explained that as he had been writing his report his ideas had developed. He agreed to Miss Courtney's suggestion that some reference to the Mandate idea in the Summary should be made earlier in the document, and undertook, in consultation with Miss Courtney, to shorten his statement and to alter it in certain places with a view to meeting points raised by Lord Cecil. The revised statement would be sent forthwith to Paris and attention would be called to the paragraph inserted at the suggestion of Lady Hall. A copy of the Interim Report of her Subcommittee would also be sent with the suggestion that

at the Conference there should be some consideration of the subject, concerning which it was hoped that another document dealing in greater detail with those functions of the I.L.O. which the two Societies were of opinion should find a place in the post-war settlement would be considered by correspondence, and that when agreement was arrived at this, third, document should be incorporated with the Reports of the two Conferences.

106. NORWAY. Consideration was given to a draft motion by LORD Cecil, and it was

RESOLVED: "The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union,

Deeply regrets that the treacherous attack by Germany on Norway should have had an initial success and confidently believes that the complete restoration of the integrity and independence of Norway together with the payment of compensation for damages suffered by the Norwegians will be made one of the chief war aims of the Allies;

Welcomes the decision of H.M. Government that the restoration of the freedom and independence of Denmark would be included as one of the war aims of the Allies; and

Desires to point out that immunity from such outrages as Norway and Denmark have undergone can only be secured by the organisation beforehand of effective international co-operation for mutual defence."

It was decided that this motion should be sent to the Government and published in the press.

107. DATE OF NEXT MEETING. The Committee was reminded of its decision that the next meeting of the Committee would be held on the first Thursday in June.
108. COMPOSITION OF COMMITTEE. Dr. Murray suggested that SIR JOHN LEYBARD might be invited to join the Committee. It was agreed that his name should be included amongst those for co-optation at the first meeting of the new Committee after the General Council Meeting at Brighton.

  
CHAIRMAN

6th June, 1940.

Suggested Foundations for the Organization of PeaceAlternative British Proposal.

The British League of Nations Union and the French League of Nations Society having at their first conference defined their war aims and indicated the nature of the International Organisation which they hope may result from a general Conference summoned to consider a new World Order after the war, devoted their second Conference to a more precise definition of the form and powers of such organisation and its relation to the problems of disarmament and collective defence. They arrived at the following conclusions:-

The first object to be aimed at is to make the League of Nations as nearly universal as possible, in order to secure the co-operation of all States in that vast field of economic and social activities from which all people wherever they may live are benefited.

It is recognised, however, that a League so constituted cannot be relied on effectively to fulfil the narrower and specific function of securing the respect for law without which these activities cannot be made operative. It should be the acknowledged function of the League to provide effective machinery for the modification of treaties, the peaceful adjustment of differences and the promotion of human welfare for all those who are willing to make use of such machinery.

The problem of dealing with deliberate breaches of the peace and the attempted coercion of States by war or threats of war remains of paramount importance and must be dealt with by a special procedure. The procedure of the Covenant for dealing with this problem was based on the expectation that all peace-loving States would combine to restrain an aggressor. This expectation was not fulfilled in practice. Experience has shown it to be one of those illusions which must be avoided in the future. The unwillingness of States to go to war or to incur the risk of war to preserve peace has frustrated the operation of the Covenant, and this fact must be recognised by those who seek new means of dealing with this problem.

Aggression is an act of violence which can only be restrained by those who have sufficient force to prevent it and are prepared, if necessary, to use that force to do so. It is necessary, therefore, that within the universal League of Nations there should be constituted an Association or Associations of States possessing sufficient force and willing to exercise it jointly for the maintenance of law and resistance to aggression. Such an Association can only be built up gradually, but there exists already a foundation on which it should be possible to build. This foundation is provided by the Anglo-French Entente which has been established in the present war and which the two Societies at their first conference agreed should be further developed and continued after the war.

The first step is the formation of such an Association should be the consolidation of the Anglo-French Entente by the creation of a common Secretariat to advise the Governments of the two countries on all matters affecting their international obligations and a common General Staff to advise them on all matters affecting the use of their armed forces. It is essential, however, that this

co-operation, which should be as complete and definite as possible, should be regarded as only the nucleus of a wider Association to be created gradually by the progressive adhesion of other States which may be willing to accept the same obligations and concert their policy and action to fulfill them. Ultimately it may be possible to secure the adhesion of all or nearly all the States of Europe, so as to constitute a Confederation willing and able to maintain the peace and security of every European State. With this object in view the Anglo-French Entente should from the first make it clear that their object was not the domination of Europe, the curtailment of the liberty or independence of any other European State, or the promotion of British and French interests at the expense of any other State, but merely the preservation of peace, the maintenance of law and resistance, by force if necessary, to all attempted aggression - and that the adhesion of any State willing to share their responsibilities would be welcome.

It must be no function either of the League of all Nations or of the smaller Association within it to preserve the status quo either politically or territorially. All complaints against actual conditions, all grievances whether of whole States or of minority communities, all demands for change and all disputes between different States should come before the whole League to which belong the functions of conciliation and arbitration. The only concern of the smaller Association would be to prevent change being brought about by force and to resist the application of force if it is attempted.

It is clear that a single Association of States within the League, such as is here contemplated, could not, at any rate for many years, undertake the responsibility of resisting aggression in all parts of the world. For that reason a beginning must be made in that part of the world where wars are most likely to occur - namely, Europe. The European group of States the nucleus of which could be formed immediately should undertake to resist aggression by any European State on any other, whether in Europe or not, and to maintain a combined armed force under a single command sufficient for the purpose. This group would necessarily be small to start with, but it is hoped that it would be increased gradually by the adhesion of other States as experience showed it to have used its powers uniformly in the service of the Covenant and not for the promotion of merely national interests. A mere Anglo-French alliance for the protection of Anglo-French interests would not serve the purpose contemplated.

It is hoped that on the model of the European group other groups may be formed in course of time to fulfill similar functions in other parts of the world. The Pan-American Union, for instance, might form such a group for the maintenance of law on the American Continent.

As Mandates have been granted to some Powers to become responsible for the administration of certain areas "as a sacred trust of civilization", so the Powers willing to undertake it should receive from the League a Mandate to act as the guardians of the law in certain areas "as a sacred trust on behalf of the whole body of Members", but in fulfilling that trust they should be able to count on the moral and economic support of the whole League and its refusal to help any declared aggressor with whom they may be at war. Neutrality is incompatible with organized international action for peace.



The problem of disarmament remains to be considered. General disarmament by international agreement is another feature of the Covenant which was contingent on a system of general collective security, but without such collective security it can never be achieved. If the responsibility for resisting aggression is to be entrusted to a group of States, it is obvious that the members of that group must have sufficient armed force for the purpose. General disarmament must therefore wait until general collective security has been made effective.

Those who have shown that they recognise no law but the interest of their own State, who glorify war as a national aim, and train their people from childhood to hate their neighbours and to be prepared to kill them, must accept the consequences when those whom they have threatened and attacked acquire the power to deny them the means of repeating their crimes.

To sum up: the new World Order which we hope to see established by a General Conference, meeting after peace has been restored in Europe, will comprise:

#### I. THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Every effort should be made to make the League as universal as possible since the sphere of its activity is the whole world. The principles of the Covenant will continue to be the basis of its work but some amendments will be necessary in order to provide for the general obligations of every State member and the special obligations of those States which are members of groups charged with special responsibilities in particular areas.

The functions of the League should be to concern itself with matters of world-wide interest, the improvement of the conditions of life for all people wherever they may live, the removal of causes of friction between States in political and economic spheres and the provision of effective machinery for securing the removal of national grievances and the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

It is also desirable that the International Labour Organization, the Permanent Court of International Justice and the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation should continue in existence.

#### II. SECURITY ORGANIZATIONS

Within the League, and operating on its behalf, it is contemplated that a smaller Association of States will be established for the purpose of resisting any attempt to effect change by violence or threat of violence. The immediate object would be to constitute a European group for the maintenance of law in Europe, but it is hoped that other groups might also be formed to fulfil the same function in other Unions, e.g., the Pan-American Union.

-4-

As the nucleus of the European Group and the first step towards its creation, the Anglo-French Union together with any other States that may be willing to join it should be made as close and definite as possible.

The essential condition of such Security Organization is that the members composing it should have a clear understanding of their obligations, that they should mean the same thing, and should concert their policy and prepare their plan of action in time to make that action effective.

CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS HELD AT NO. 60, ST. MARTIN'S LANE, LONDON, W.C.2, ON THURSDAY, JUNE 8TH, 1940, AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Professor Brodetsky, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Lord Cecil, Miss K.D. Courtney, Lord Cranborne, M.P., Mrs. Digdale, Miss P. Fawcett, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Lady Hall, D.L. Lipson, M.P., Miss M. Lloyd George, R.P., James Macdonald, G. de L. Vander, M.P., Dr. Gilbert Murray, W.T. Pritchard, Miss E. Rathbone, M.P., H.S. Syrett, E. Wallis-Jones and Major Freshwater.

109. MINUTES. The Minutes of the meeting of May 9th were approved as circulated.
110. PARIS CONFERENCE. The Chairman reported that the Conference had been postponed, and called attention to the revised statement (S.752) which he had prepared in accordance with Minute 105.
111. 21ST ANNUAL MEETING OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL. The Chairman reported that in view of the international situation, the advice of Councillor Trevelyan Leak (Honorary Secretary of the Sussex Federal Council) had been sought, and that he had wired stating that it would be preferable to hold the meeting in London rather than Brighton. It was accordingly decided that the meeting should be held at the Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London.

Consideration was then given to the Procedure Committee's proposals for the Final Agenda. Those proposals were agreed to in the following form:-

Wednesday, June 19th, 3 p.m.

1. President's Welcome to the Council.
2. Annual Report.  
(In presenting the Annual Report, the Chairman of the Executive will take the opportunity of informing the Council of certain steps recently taken by the Executive in regard to the Youth Group Organisation.)
3. Accounts for 1939.
4. Roll Call.
- 5, 6 and 7. Election of Officers, Executive and Co-opted Members.
8. Motion to Grant Urgency.  
NOTE: Urgency Motions can only be taken if leave is granted by the Council by a two-thirds majority. The Executive Committee gives

notice that it may ask for urgency to propose motions on current aspects of international affairs.

Thursday, June 20th, at 10.30 a.m.

9. Plans for the Peace. (Executive Committee)

The General Council,

Convinced that it is the duty of every member of the Union to do everything possible to secure an early victory of the Allies in the present war;

Welcomes the Conference of the Union and the French Society and thanks the Conference for its labours in preparing the statement in Appendix D and the Executive for its statement in Appendix B;

Commends these statements to the Districts, Branches and Youth Groups of the Union; and Requests the Executive, when the situation permits, to pursue with the French League of Nations Society their consideration of these matters.

(NOTE: It was agreed that the speech made by the Chairman when moving the adoption of this motion should be supplemented by an oral statement by Lady Hall on the position of the I.L.O.)

Amendment by Mr. F.M. Keen.

(NOTE: In view of the acceptance by the Executive Committee of much of Mr. Keen's amendment, it was decided to ask Mr. Keen whether he accepted the Executive's motion, or whether he wished to move his amendment.)

Amendment by Weymouth Branch.

10. War Refugees. (Executive Committee)

The General Council of the League of Nations Union,

Recalling the splendid services rendered by Dr. Nansen through the League of Nations in the cause of War Refugees,

Expresses its admiration of the noble way in which the French people are making efforts to provide for the millions of War Refugees now in their country, but feels strongly that the burden should not be borne by them alone. The Council recognises also the great services which are being rendered by the International Commission, the Red Cross and other organisations, but believes that all this help should be co-ordinated and developed by the League of Nations.



11. Children of Neutral and Belligerent Nations.  
(Roydon Branch)  
Amendment by Executive Committee.

The General Council

Welcomes the offers made by Canada and Australia to receive children who are in danger from war; and

Expresses the hope that H.M. Government will give sympathetic consideration to the proposals and, if desirable, will encourage other States remote from Europe to make similar offers.

(NOTE: It was agreed that the Roydon Branch should be asked to move its motion in the above form. If Roydon declines, both the motion and the Executive's amendment will be printed in the Agenda.)

12. Further Business. (Executive Committee)

The General Council considers that in existing circumstances it is undesirable to proceed with the discussion at this meeting of the remaining items of the Agenda.

13. International Police Force. (New Commonwealth)

Amendment by Boscombe Branch.

14. Federal Union. (Miss Helen Ward)

Amendment by Southampton Branch.

15. Economic and Financial Peace. (Sir George Paish)

Amendment by Burslem Branch.

16. Palestine. (London Regional Federation)

17. Refugees. (National Youth Committee)

18. The Work of the I.L.O. (National Youth Committee)

19. Restrictive Legislation. (National Youth Committee)

20. U.S.S.R. (National Youth Committee).

112. WAR REFUGEES. The Committee

RESOLVED: "That the motion in (10) above be adopted by the Executive and sent in the Executive's name to H.M. Government."

113. MEMBERSHIP RETURN. Memorandum S.754 / Copy filed with these Minutes/ was received, showing that 111,832 subscriptions had been collected between September 1st 1939 and May 31st 1940; the number collected in the corresponding period of 1938/39 was 203,074. The number of Corporate Subscriptions collected since the outbreak of war was 1,073.

114. RECOGNITION OF BRANCHES

RESOLVED: "That Risca-Bethany (Lon.) Branch, and Alleley (Coventry) Junior Branch, and West Pelton Council Mixed School, Beamish (Durham) Junior Branch, be recognised, and that Certificates bearing the Seal of the Union be issued."

115. REFUGEES IN INDUSTRY. Consideration was given to the motion, printed as Item 5 of the Agenda of the present meeting. Lord Cecil agreed to write to the Government on the subject, and it was decided to discuss the whole subject of refugees, internees and prisoners of war, at the next meeting.

116. CANADIAN SOCIETY. The following telegram from Mr. Chipman of the Canadian League of Nations Society was read:-

SUGGEST YOU URGE YOUR GOVERNMENT AS WE Ours THAT ALL ALLIED GOVERNMENTS NOW PUBLICLY INVITE OTHER MEMBERS LEAGUE AND PAN-AMERICAN UNION THOUGH NOT MENTIONING EITHER BODY TO DECLARE THESELVES ON OUR SIDE AND CONSIDER CONTRIBUTIONS DIRECT OR INDIRECT TOWARDS DEFEATING PERIL TO CIVILISATION OF WHICH ALL ARE PART STOP SIGNATORIES WHILE ACKNOWLEDGING PAST FAILURES DUTY MAKE COMMON CAUSE COULD SAY ONLY ITS PRESENT FULFILMENT AND ENDING NEUTRALITY CAN PREVENT NEW MENACES AND SAVE WORLD CAUSE IN DEPENDENCE WHICH SIGNATORIES ARE BOUND AND THE OBLIGATIONS OF WHICH THEY ACCEPT AS FOUNDATION OF PEACE AND WHILE SIGNATORIES WILL USE ALL POWERS AND MAKE EVERY SACRIFICE YET RISK AND RESPONSIBILITY INDIVISIBLE AND COMMON ACTION REQUISITE WHILE COMMON POWER AVAILABLE STOP PUBLICITY OF INVITATION ESSENTIAL TO USEFULNESS

WARWICK CHIPMAN.

It was decided that a copy of the telegram should be sent to the Foreign Secretary and that Mr. Chipman should be informed that in view of past failures to induce the members of the League to stand by other countries victims of aggression, the Executive did not feel that it could urge the Government to do as suggested now that this country was in difficulties.

117. DATE OF NEXT MEETING.

RESOLVED: "That the next meeting be held on Thursday, June 27th, at 11 a.m.

*Lyflon*  
CHAIRMAN

June 27th, 1920.

## LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

## SUGGESTED FOUNDATIONS FOR THE ORGANISATION OF PEACE.

The British League of Nations Union and the French League of Nations Society having at their first Conference defined their war aims and indicated the nature of the International Organisation which they hope may result from a General Conference summoned to consider a new World Order after the war, propose to devote their second Conference to a more precise definition of the form and powers of such Organisation and its relation to the problem of disarmament and collective defence. The British League of Nations Union submits the following propositions:-

The first object to be aimed at is to make the League of Nations as nearly universal as possible, in order to secure the co-operation of all States in that vast field of economic and social activities from which all people wherever they may live are benefited. This is essential as in these matters the sphere of the League's activities is the whole world.

The existing machinery of the League for the modification of treaties, the peaceful adjustment of differences and the promotion of human welfare, for all those who are willing to make use of such machinery, does not call for radical alteration but only for further development. It has become apparent, however, that a universal League cannot in all cases be relied upon effectively to fulfill the narrower and specific function of securing the respect for law without which those activities cannot be made operative.

The problem of dealing with deliberate breaches of the peace and the attempted coercion of States by war or threats of war is of paramount importance. To deal with it effectively the provisions of the Covenant need to be supplemented in regard to certain areas. The procedure of the Covenant for dealing with this problem was based on the expectation that all peace-loving States would combine to restrain an aggressor. This expectation was not fulfilled in practice. Experience has shown it to be one of those illusions which must be avoided in the future. The unwillingness of States to go to war or to incur the risk of war to preserve peace has frustrated the operation of the Covenant, and this fact must be recognised by those who seek new means of dealing with this problem.

Aggression is an act of violence which can only be restrained if those who have sufficient force to prevent it are prepared, if necessary, to use that force to do so. It is therefore suggested that the League should delegate to such States as may be willing to undertake it, the responsibility for resisting any attempt to effect change by violence or threat of violence. As Mandates have been granted to some Powers to become responsible for the administration of certain areas "as a sacred trust of civilisation", the same principle might be applied by constituting certain States as guardians of the law in certain areas "as a sacred trust on behalf of the whole body of Members", but in fulfilling that trust they should be able to count on the moral and economic support of the whole League and its refusal to help any declared aggressor with whom they may be at war. Neutrality is incompatible with organised international action for peace.

In thus delegating its authority for action, the League would not relinquish its responsibility for deciding that circumstances had arisen calling for such action, but the Powers which had received the League's authority to act would proceed to do so without further reference to the League.



The formation within the League of a group or groups of States especially charged with its authority as guardians of the law must necessarily be gradual. But there exists already a foundation on which it should be possible to build at once. This foundation is provided by the Anglo-French Entente, which has been established in the present war and which the two Societies at their first Conference agreed should be further developed and continued after the war.

The first step in the formation of such an Association should be the consolidation of the Anglo-French Entente by the creation of a common Secretariat to advise the Governments of the two countries on all matters affecting their international obligations and a common Staff to advise them on all matters affecting the use of their armed forces. It is essential, however, that this co-operation, which should be as complete and definite as possible, should be regarded as only the nucleus of a wider Association to be created gradually by the progressive adhesion of other States which may be willing to accept the same obligations and concert their policy and action to fulfil them. Ultimately it may be possible to secure the adhesion of all or nearly all the States of Europe, so as to constitute a Confederation willing and able to maintain the peace and security of every European State. With this object in view the Anglo-French Entente should from the first make it clear that their object was not the curtailment of Europe, the curtailment of the liberty or independence of any other European State, or the promotion of British and French interests at the expense of any other State, but merely the preservation of peace, the maintenance of law, and resistance, by force if necessary, to all attempted aggression - and that the adhesion of any State willing to share their responsibilities would be welcome.

The European group of States the nucleus of which could thus be formed immediately should undertake to resist aggression by any European State on any other, whether in Europe or not, and to maintain a combined armed force under a single command sufficient for the purpose. This group would necessarily be small to start with, but it is hoped that it would be increased gradually by the adhesion of other States as experience showed it to have used its powers uniformly in the service of the Covenant and not for the promotion of merely national interests.

It must be no function either of the League of all Nations or of the smaller Association within it to preserve the status quo either politically or territorially. All complaints against actual conditions, all grievances whether of whole States or of minority communities, all demands for change and all disputes between different States should come before the whole League to which belong the functions of conciliation and arbitration.

It is hoped that on the model of the European group other groups may be formed in course of time to fulfil similar functions in other parts of the world. The Pan-American Union, for instance, might form such a group for the maintenance of law on the American Continents. A group might be formed for Asia, either by the Powers represented on the Institute of Pacific Relations or by the signatories of the Nine Power Treaty of Washington. A special group for Africa does not appear to be necessary at present, as aggression on that Continent could only be made by a European Power and such aggression would be dealt with by the European group.

The essential condition of any such Security Organisation is that the members composing it should have a clear understanding of their obligations, that they should mean the same thing, and should concert their policy and prepare their plan of action in time to make that action effective.

The problem of disarmament remains to be considered. General disarmament by international agreement is another feature of the Covenant which was contingent on a system of general collective security, but without such collective security it can never be achieved. If the responsibility for resisting aggression is to be entrusted to a group of States, it is obvious that the members of that group must have sufficient armed force for the purpose. General disarmament must therefore wait until general collective security has been made effective.

Those who have shown that they recognise no law but the interest of their own State, who glorify war as a national aim, and train their people from childhood to hate their neighbours and to be prepared to kill them, must accept the consequences when those whom they have threatened and attacked acquire the power to deny them the means of repeating their crimes.

The New Peace must be built on a social foundation. The International Labour Organisation with its special function of securing the promotion of better conditions internationally, must be retained and the essential importance of its work recognised and extended.

It is also essential that the Permanent Court of International Justice and the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation should continue in existence.

It is hoped that another document dealing in greater detail with those functions of the I.L.O. which in the opinion of the two Societies should find a place in the post-war settlement will be considered by correspondence. When agreed, this document should be incorporated with the reports of the two Conferences.



For Executive Committee 6/6/40

8,754  
5,640.MEMBERSHIP AND NEW BRANCHES.

	Twelve months before the War			Since the War began.		
	New	Renewed	Total	New	Renewed	Total
	1938			1939		
Sept. &	2,042	22,799	24,841	557	11,772	12,329
Oct.	1,220	16,871	18,091	289	9,009	9,298
Nov.	3,996	60,832	64,828	932	37,314	38,246
Dec.						
	1939			1940		
Jan.	499	9,780	10,279	102	5,165	5,267
Feb.	905	18,763	19,668	144	8,797	8,941
March	1,337	28,916	30,253	347	13,206	13,553
April	1,274	20,348	21,622	298	11,682	11,980
May	698	12,594	13,292	287	11,931	12,218
	12,171	190,903	203,074	2,956	108,876	111,832
June	810	12,947	13,759			
July	522	12,090	12,642			
August	633	11,147	11,780			

Corporate subscriptions paid since the war began

## Corporate members:

Churches and Church Societies	665	
Professional, Social & other organisations	215	880
Industrial Associates		39
Corporate Associates (Women's Organisations)		58
Study Associates (Women's Institutes)		96
		<u>1,073</u>

New Branch for recognition

Risca-Bethany (Monmouthshire)

New Junior Branches for recognitionAllesley (Coventry)  
West Pelton Council Mixed School, Beamish (Durham)REFUGEES IN INDUSTRYResolution considered by the Executive  
(Minute 115)

The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union, Realising the necessity of imposing some restrictions on the activities of Refugees in this country from enemy countries,

Nevertheless, calls the attention of H.M. Government to the class of Refugee settled in industries in this country mainly on the various Trading Estates; amongst whom are experts in various industries necessary to our war effort, those with knowledge of European export trade which should be of use to the Government, and heads or managers of industries employing many hundreds of British workmen,

Points out that the wholesale internment of this category of Refugee, even as a temporary measure, will mean the closing down of these industries with a subsequent loss, not only of employment for British citizens, but of valuable knowledge which could be put at the Government's disposal,

Therefore, urges H.M. Government to consider the practicability of relaxing such regulations as would destroy the work of these Refugees, and suggests that many of them could be interned on the Trading Estates where their industries are located; thus ensuring that their usefulness will not be wasted and that at the same time any possibility of danger would be obviated.

CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION HELD AT NO. 60, ST. MARTIN'S LANE, LONDON, W.C.2, ON THURSDAY, JUNE 27TH, 1940, AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Lord Cecil, Miss K.B. Courtney, Lord Cranborne, M.P., Mrs. Dugdale, Dr. Garnett, Dr. Gilbert Murray, Nowell Smith, H.S. Syrett and Major Freshwater.

118. CO-OPTIONS.

- RESOLVED: (a) "That the Dean of Chichester, Lord Dickinson, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Fawcett, Miss Lloyd George, M.P., Major Sir Derrick Gunston, M.P., B.L. Lipson, M.P., Dame Adelaide Livingstone, D.B.E., J. Macdonald, E. Wallis-Jones, and Mrs. Corbett Ashby, be co-opted to the Committee.
- (b) That Major V. Cazalet, M.P., Captain A. Henderson, M.P., and Brig.-General E.L. Speers, M.P., be co-opted to the Committee, and, as they may be prevented by their military duties from attending with any regularity meetings of the Committee, each be requested to nominate for appointment by the Committee someone ready and willing to act as Substitute Member for the time being.
- (c) That a representative Trade Unionist be co-opted to the Committee: that Mr. Syrett be asked to institute enquiries about a suitable person; that it be explained to Mr. E.H. Elvin, in view of his observation at the meeting of the General Council on June 19th, that the Executive found it very difficult to get a representative Trade Unionist to become a member of the Committee and attend meetings regularly, and that Mr. Elvin be asked if he could make any suggestions.
- (d) That Mrs. Whitfield be informed that the Committee is desirous of co-opting her as a member to represent Youth, and that if, because of inability to attend meetings, she is not able to accept the invitation, she be asked to suggest the name of some other person suitable to be co-opted to the Committee as a Youth representative.
- (e) That the remaining four vacancies be filled later."

With regard to (c), the desirability of appointing a second Trade Unionist, a woman, was discussed; Miss Bondfield and Mrs. Ayton Gould were suggested as suitable persons.

119. MINUTES. The Minutes of the meeting of June 6th were approved as circulated.

120. GENERAL COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS. Dr. Murray suggested that in view of the capitulation of France, when the resolutions were circulated to Branches and members, an explanatory note signed by the principal Officers of the Union should be appended, showing that any permanent peace settlement must be based on League of Nations principles. Dr. Garnett suggested that a further paper should be sent to Branches along with Appendices D and E of the Council Meeting Agenda, which would show the Executive's

attitude towards the two statements. Lord Lytton stated that there would be an account of the Council Meeting in the July HEADWAY, which would also contain the Resolutions and Appendices and extracts from the principal speeches.

Lord Cecil agreed to draft a suitable notice for inclusion in HEADWAY.

121. USE OF THE UNION'S SEAL.

RESOLVED: "That the action of the Chairman and Treasurer in authorising the sealing of Documents relative to a legacy which had to be invested in Government Stock, be approved."

122. YOUTH GROUPS: Consideration was given to the setting up of a Youth advisory committee (see Minute 94 of 25.4.40.), to be of assistance to the Executive in helping and guiding the Youth Groups to carry out the Objects of the Union in ways best suited to their special opportunities; to work in accordance with such directions as may be given from time to time by the General Council, and to work, as parts of the Union, for the declared policy of the Union.

RESOLVED: "That Mr. Wallis-Jones, Miss Waite and Mr. Gauntlett be invited to consider the Youth Group position with the Chairman and Vice-Chairman, and to make, for consideration by the Executive, suggestions for the composition and functions of the projected Youth advisory committee.

123. REFUGEES, INTERNEES AND PRISONERS OF WAR. Mrs. Dugdale reported that she had been invited by Miss Robinson to represent the L.N.U. Refugee Committee on a deputation from the Parliamentary Committee on Refugees, and the organisations dealing with refugees, which went to the Home Office on June 24th. The deputation was received by Mr. Robert Peake who was accompanied by General Hunter, Director of Prisoners of War.

The deputation did not challenge the Government's general policy of internment, but took up a number of points for alleviating conditions of internment. Their main plea was that the Government departments concerned should allow the Refugee organisations to co-operate with them, and utilise their experience and knowledge of the antecedents of refugees. This and most other suggestions were sympathetically received.

The Executive requested Mrs. Dugdale to continue to represent them in activities for internees, together with Dr. Brodetsky.

*Lytton*  
CHAIRMAN

24th July, 1940.

CONFIDENTIAL.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION HELD AT NO. 60, ST. MARTIN'S LANE, LONDON, W.C.2, ON THURSDAY, JULY 27TH, 1940 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), P.J. Noel-Baker M.P., Professor Brodetsky, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Lord Cecil, Miss L.D. Courtney, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss P. Fawcett, Sir Arthur Haworth, D.L. Lipson M.P., Dame Adelaide Livingstone, James Macdonald, G. le M. Manog M.P., Dr. Gilbert Murray, Miss E. Rathbone M.P., Newell Smith, H.S. Syrett, E. Wallis Jones, Mrs. Whitfield and Major Freshwater.

124. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting of June 27th were approved as circulated.

125. MESSAGE TO UNION MEMBERS. The Chairman reminded the Committee that at the previous meeting he had suggested the desirability of the Executive sending a statement to Branches and Members. He had accordingly drafted the Message S. 757 now before the Committee.

The Executive gave its hearty approval to the Message and with a few verbal alterations decided that it should be sent to H.M. Government and the press, and be circulated with HEADLINE to Branches and Members. Branches should be asked to try to get the Message into the local press, and to distribute copies, which would be supplied free, to their shilling members.

126. REFUGEES AND INTERNEES. There was a general discussion, in which most of the members of the Committee took part. Miss Rathbone considered that conditions were extremely bad and there was much dislocation of industry. Professor Brodetsky did not complain of the policy of internment of aliens, but considered that the policy was being executed in a very bad way. Lord Cecil pointed out that the U.S.A. was in sympathy with this country because it believed it was fighting for the right, it was essential therefore that we should not blacken our face by treating refugees and internees badly. It was undesirable that responsibility should be divided between the War and Home Offices, one person ought to be made responsible.

Finally, it was decided to ask Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Rathbone and Professor Brodetsky to keep in touch with the organisations dealing with refugees, and to report at the next meeting.

127. CO-OPTATIONS. Acceptances of co-optation were reported from Mrs. Corbett Ashby, the Dean of Chichester, Lord Dickinson, Mr. Macdonald, Mr. Lipson, Miss Fawcett, Mrs. Whitfield, Dame Adelaide Livingstone and Mr. Wallis Jones. A letter from the Secretary of the



- 2 -

General and Municipal Workers' Union was read, stating that Mr. Fred Marshall was anxious to continue to serve on the Executive.

RESOLVED: That Mr. Marshall be co-opted.

128. **YOUTH GROUPS.** The Chairman reported that Miss Courtney and he had had a discussion with Miss Waite and Mr. Gauntlett about the composition of the projected Youth Advisory Committee. The plan was that the Executive should invite Miss Waite, Mr. Gauntlett, Miss J. Prever and Mr. G. Crossdell to be a temporary committee to arrange for an informal meeting at a week-end with Youth representatives from different parts of the country, to consider the composition and functions of the projected Committee, and to make recommendations to the Executive.

RESOLVED: "That Mr. Gauntlett, Miss J. Prever, Miss Waite, Mr. Wallis-Jones and Mrs. Whitfield be invited to serve on the temporary committee, and that Mr. Crossdell should be invited to the informal meeting called by the temporary committee."

129. **THE LEAGUE.** Miss Courtney reported that she had had a talk with Mr. Arnold-Forster and with Mr. and Mrs. Pickard from Geneva, about the work of the League and the location of the Secretariat. It was decided to discuss the matter further at the next meeting.

130. **I.P.C.** Consideration was given to a memorandum (S.758) suggesting that the Executive should appoint a small advisory committee which could be recognised by the I.P.C. International Executive as its British Committee.

RESOLVED: "That a committee consisting of Lord Cecil, Dr. Murray, Miss Courtney, Mr. Noel-Baker, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Mrs. Whitfield and the Master of Balliol be appointed to enquire into and report on the possibility of organising co-operation, nationally and internationally, of voluntary societies in favour of the principles of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies and the International I.P.C."

*Lytton*  
CHAIRMAN

July 12th, 1940

3.759.  
3.7.40.INTERNATIONAL PEACE CAMPAIGNBritish Committee

- I. As most of the members of the L.N.U. Executive Committee will be aware, the old National Committee of the I.P.C., of which the Master of Balliol was Chairman, suspended its activities last January, owing to the fact that certain individuals not in agreement with the main principles of the I.P.C. persistently expressed communist or near-communist views, and made impossible the concerted action advocated by the majority, which majority was fully in agreement with the policy of the L.N.U. Because of this unsatisfactory state of affairs, the International Executive Committee of the I.P.C. has decided to withdraw recognition from the old British I.P.C. Committee.
- II. In order to maintain the good relations existing between the foreign committees of the I.P.C. - especially in Sweden, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, the United States and the British Empire - and the adherent organisations such as the International Co-operative Alliance and the Conférence Internationale de Rutilés et Anciens Combattants, it is essential to maintain the closest contact between Great Britain and the international I.P.C. movement.
- Moreover, no international organisation supporting the League principle can do useful work if there is no corresponding section in Great Britain. For these reasons it is of great importance to maintain a strong British National Committee; and, in fact, the I.P.C. committees abroad are constantly stressing the need for one.
- II. It is therefore suggested that the Executive Committee of the L.N.U. should set up a small committee, of which the Master of Balliol should be invited to be Chairman, and which should stand in a relationship to the L.N.U. similar to that of the Women's Advisory Council. It should then be recognised by the I.P.C. International Executive Committee as its British Committee, and should keep in close contact with the London office of the I.P.C. International Secretariat.

*Message from the Executive Committee  
to all Members of the  
League of Nations Union*

July 4th, 1940.

When the actual battle front was far distant it was possible for us who live far behind the lines to occupy ourselves with many problems that will become important as soon as the fighting ceases. But to-day the war has come to our very doors. The Battle of Britain has begun. We are all in it. We are the very last outpost in Europe for the defence of freedom. There is no such thing as "behind the lines" to-day. The only subject therefore for our Branches and Members to discuss at the moment is "How can we help to win this battle?"

In the dark days which lie ahead of us, there is one thing that is going to be decisive—the conduct of our civil population. We know that our fighting forces will do everything that is humanly possible to achieve victory. But their ability first to defend our country against the attacks of the enemy and afterwards to attack him in his own country depends upon the equipment with which we can provide them. We have greater ultimate resources from which to make good our present deficiencies in equipment, but long before we can take advantage of those resources the enemy, which has the superiority to-day, will try to prevent our overtaking him, to cripple our production, to break our hearts and to destroy our will. Whether or not he will succeed or fail in this will depend in the last resort upon ourselves—the civil population, the man-in-the-street, the woman-in-the-home.

P.T.O.

In this task of keeping up the courage, patience and discipline of the civil population, we of the League of Nations Union have a tremendous opportunity for service. We have exceptional facilities for helping in this vital matter. We are an organisation covering the whole country, with branches in almost every town and village. Moreover, we have been trained for this work, no less than the fighting men have been trained for theirs. We have a long experience of educating opinion, and we have a knowledge which makes us stronger than those who are without it. "Knowledge," says an Eastern writer, "has two wings, Opinion only one. The Bird of Opinion soon falls in its orphan flight, but when Knowledge receives it on its two wings it flies like Gabriel." We know that in this war more is at stake than our lives, our liberties or our homes. We have foreseen what we are now seeing. We know that no peace can come out of our defeat. We know how this war might have been prevented. We know that another war to follow this one will be made either inevitable or unlikely by the use we make of our victory. It is just because we have this knowledge that our strength should be greater than that of others and our example stimulating to them.

Benjamin Franklin's words in an earlier crisis may serve as our motto to-day, "Though the sun has gone down and it may be long before it rises again, let us make as good a night of it as we can. We may still light candles." That is our war work; whatever other candles may go out, ours must be kept burning, and by their light our people will find and follow the road to victory.

CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION HELD AT NO. 60, ST. MARTIN'S LANE LONDON, W.C.2, ON THURSDAY, JULY 16TH 1940 AT 11 A.M.

- PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Mrs. Beale, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Professor Brodetsky, Miss Courtney, Lord Cecil, Miss Fawcett, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, J. Macdonald, G. de M. Hender M.P., F. Marshall M.P., Dr. Gilbert Murray, P.J. Noel-Baker M.P., Miss E. Rathbone M.P., Novell Smith, H.S. Syrett, Mrs. Whitfield and Major Freshwater.

131. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on July 4th, 1940 were confirmed as circulated.

132. MATTER ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 125 - Message to Union Members, it was reported that the Executive's Message, of which 65,000 copies had so far been circulated, had met with general approval from the Branches as well as from the Government Departments to which it had been sent.

Miss Fawcett stated that at the meeting of the L.R.F. Executive on July 16th some exception had been taken to the wording of the last sentence of the first paragraph.

The Chairman said that the Message was not a document which required to be adopted textually by every individual. It was a statement of what the Executive felt about the present situation which Branches would interpret in terms of their local conditions.

Lord Cecil suggested that when a reprint of the Message was required, the sentence in question might be amended to read: "All activities of Branches should therefore be conditioned by the primary consideration of how to win the Battle".

133. CO-OPERATIONS. The Chairman welcomed Mr. F. Marshall and expressed the hope that he would find it possible to attend the regular meetings of the Executive. Mr. Marshall promised that, if his Parliamentary duties interfered with his attendance at the Committee, he would immediately inform the Chairman.

A letter from Major Cazalet was reported, suggesting that he should be allowed to resign from the

P.T.O.



Executive until his military duties came to an end. The Executive expressed the hope that, in view of Major Czapla's recent appointment as Polish Liaison Officer, he would be willing to continue his membership of the Committee.

It was further reported that Brig. General Spears was making inquiries with a view to suggesting someone who might act as a Substitute Member for him.

After the Chairman had reported a conversation he had had with Lady Gladstone, who was now living in the North of Scotland, and correspondence with Lord Weston, it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That a cordial invitation to join the Executive be sent to Lord Weston."

The Executive having been informed that Sir Norman Angell had gone to the U.S.A. and would not be returning to England for at least a year, it was

RESOLVED: (2) "That Lord Cecil be asked to inquire of Lord Addison whether he would be willing to accept membership of the Executive Committee and to attend its meetings."

154. DRAFTS OF MRS. ARTHUR HENDERSON AND MRS. OLIVER STRACHEY.  
It was

RESOLVED: "That letters of condolence be sent, on behalf of the Executive, to Captain Arthur Henderson and to Mr. Oliver Strachey."

155. WOMEN'S ORGANISATIONS GROUP. Miss Courtney presented a report (copy filed with these Minutes) of a meeting of the Group held on July 10th, 1930. The Group had to prepare Study Outlines for use in the autumn, dealing with (a) the U.S.A. and (b) events in France during the past few years leading up to the present situation in that country.

The Group also proposed to organise lunch-hour meetings, and an invitation to speak at such a meeting had been sent to Madame Tabouis, whose reply, however, had not yet been received.

RESOLVED: "That the report of the Women's Organisations Group be approved."

156. MEMBERSHIP. A memorandum (S.765, copy filed with these Minutes) was received, showing that of the

216,831 subscriptions paid from September 1933 to June 1934, a total of 115,947 had renewed since the beginning of the war.

137. USE OF THE UNION'S SEAL. It was, on the motion of Mr. Syrett,

RESOLVED: "That authority be given to the Secretary to use, with the approval of the Chairman or Treasurer, the Union's seal on the understanding that the precise use made of the seal shall be reported to the Executive for confirmation at the first opportunity."

138. FUTURE MEETINGS OF EXECUTIVE. In accordance with the decision contained in minute 17 consideration was given to the dates of future meetings, and it was

RESOLVED: "That meetings of the Committee be held on Thursday, August 1st and Thursday September 5th; that thereafter and until further notice regular meetings of the Committee continue to be held on the first and third Thursdays of the month; but that it be left to the Chairman to summon a special meeting at any time he may consider it advisable to do so."

139. CZECHOSLOVAKIA. Mr. Mander reported that it was likely that, during the coming week, official recognition by H.M. Government would be accorded to the Czechoslovak Government in the same way as it had been accorded to the Polish Government.

140. THE LEAGUE. The Committee discussed the present position of the League, and had before them a memorandum entitled "The League Now" (S.763) prepared by Mr. Arnold Forster, a Note on the position of the Secretariat and I.L.O. (S.764), and a note by Lord Cecil suggesting action which might be taken to deal with the famine with which European countries were likely to be faced in a few months' time.

Reference was made to the invitation to the League to transfer its Technical services to Princeton, and a lengthy discussion followed.

Lord Cecil considered that, before any definite proposal was made to H.M. Government, information should be sought regarding the Government's general policy towards the League. In the light of such information the small Sub-Committee, appointed by the Executive in minute 130 which Lord Lytton should be

asked to join, should consider the matter with a view to recommending to the Executive definite proposals for submission to H.M. Government. It was

**RESOLVED:** That Lord Cecil's proposal be approved; and that he and the Chairman be asked to discuss with the appropriate official of the Foreign Office H.M. Government's present general policy towards the League.

141. **INTERNES AND REFUGEES.** A letter dated July 12th from Mrs. Dugdale, who was unable to be present at the meeting, was read. Miss Rathbone reported on the debate which had taken place in the House of Commons on July 10th and on more recent events, and stated that a deputation of Members of Parliament was to be received by Mr. Peake on the present afternoon.

Professor Brodetsky drew attention to an article appearing in the *EVENING STANDARD* on the previous day, and suggested various matters which might be raised by the deputation to Mr. Peake.

Reference was made to a letter from the Executive Committee of the Oxford Branch, and it was suggested that the subject of Refugees and Internees should be dealt with in the next circular Letter to Branch Secretaries.

142. **CHINA.** The Committee discussed the decision of H.M. Government in regard to the closing of the Burma Road, and it was reported that resolutions on the subject had been received from several Branches. The Executive felt that no useful action could be taken until an official announcement had been made by H.M. Government; and it was agreed that, when such an announcement had been made, the Officers should be asked to prepare a statement on the subject for circulation to the Union's Branches.

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

143. **PUBLIC MEETINGS.** Mr. Noel Baker stated that he had been greatly impressed by the keenness and enthusiasm of the audiences at meetings he had recently addressed for the Ministry of Information. He hoped that everything possible would be done to encourage local Branches of the Union to organise public meetings, and he suggested that Mr. Lancaster, the Assistant International Secretary of the I.P.C., might be of help in securing foreign speakers for such meetings.

*N.D. Courtney*  
CHAIRMAN  
August 1st, 1940

REPORT OF A MEETING OF THE WOMEN'S ORGANISATIONS GROUP TO STUDY WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR, HELD AT 60, ST. MARTIN'S LANE, W.C.2., ON WEDNESDAY, JULY 20th, 1940, AT 2.30, P.M.

**PRESENT:** Miss Courtney (in the Chair); Miss Carroll (Y.W.C.A.); Mrs. Clapham, (British Commonwealth League); Dr. Hilda Clark, Hon. Sec. (A.I.L.); Miss Edwards (Federation of Women Zionists); Lady Horeley (Women's Liberal Federation); and Major Freshwater and Miss Lazarus.

Apologies for absence were received from Mrs. Jaffe (National Sisterhood Movement); Mrs. Neill (Nat. Fed. of Women's Institutes); Miss Pearce, (Association of Headmistresses); Miss Streachfield (Hospital Almoner's Association) and the Hon. Mrs. Wilson-Fox (Conservative and Unionist Organisations, Women's Advisory Council.)

A report of the last meeting held on Monday, May 20th having been read and adopted, the Chairman and Dr. Clark explained that the meeting which was to have been held on May 20th had been postponed because of the international position - viz: the defection of Belgium, the Fall of Paris and subsequent occupation of hostilities on the part of the French Government. It not being thought possible to continue with the projected study outline on France, the Chairman had decided that it was advisable to call a meeting of the Committee in order to ascertain the view of members as to what might best be done now by the Group.

A letter was read from the Hon. Mrs. Wilson-Fox stating that, both in her own opinion and in that of her organisation, nothing of any use could at present be done by the Group. *N.B. England with the British Council of Women here held it would have to defer on the Group till it returns*

Lady Horeley suggested that the holding of meetings at regular intervals to which should be invited a woman from France, Norway, Holland, Belgium, etc., who would speak about her country and that the talk and subsequent discussion should be reported to constituent organisations both in this country and, if possible, abroad. Dr. Clark suggested that it might be possible to have lunch talks and that Madame Taboulet might be invited to speak. The Committee thought that the position of Madame Taboulet was too difficult for her to feel able to accept such an invitation. On the suggestion of Miss Carroll (Y.W.C.A.) it was decided that Madame Odette Koun should be asked to address a meeting to be held during the luncheon hour in the Board Room at 60, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.2. either on July 24th, 25th, or any day except Thursday in the week beginning July 23th. Miss Carroll undertook to contact Madame Koun and report. It was also decided that all members of the Women's Advisory Council should be invited to attend this meeting, at which sandwiches and coffee should be served at a charge not exceeding 1s. 0d.

The Committee was of the opinion that at the present moment no use could be made of study outlines but that it might be useful to have available for use in the Autumn outlines on (1) France; (2) the Allies (3) the U.S.A., and the causes which led to the speedy surrender of Denmark, Holland etc. Dr. Clark thought it might also be of interest to prepare a paper on the events in France during the past few years - leading up to her capitulation. Dr. Clark undertook responsibility for the outline on France and Miss Courtney and Miss Carroll on those on the Allies and the U.S.A. It was further decided that the Committee should meet during the first half of September to discuss these drafts, should circumstances permit.



3,755  
18,740

For Executive Committee 18.7.40

## MEMBERSHIP

	Twelve Months before the War			Since the War began		
	New	Renewed	Total	New	Renewed	Total
	1938			1939		
Sept. &						
Oct.	2,042	22,799	24,841	557	11,772	12,329
Nov.	1,220	16,871	18,091	289	9,009	9,298
Dec.	3,996	60,832	64,828	932	37,314	38,246
	1939			1940		
Jan.	499	9,780	10,279	102	5,165	5,267
Feb.	505	18,763	19,268	144	8,797	8,941
March	1,337	28,916	30,253	347	13,206	13,553
April	1,274	20,348	21,622	298	11,682	11,980
May	898	12,594	13,492	287	11,931	12,218
June	810	12,947	13,757	145	7,071	7,216
	12,961	203,850	216,811	3,101	118,947	119,048
July	552	12,090	12,642			
August	633	11,147	11,780			

152  
3,763  
17,740.

## THE LEAGUE NOW

1. Should the League of Nations be now liquidated?

In our view, the answer is certainly - No. If Hitler's domination is broken - and everything depends on that - an international organisation, to deal with problems of the transition from war to peace, and to build a peaceful order, will be required. The League, whatever its weaknesses, still offers, with the I.L.O., the best means of promoting concerted action in the post-war transition, and the most suitable convener of a general conference for the refounding of a community of nations.

2. Should the League Council be convened soon?

Reluctantly we conclude that this would serve no good purpose at present. War conditions would render an adequate representation impossible.

3. Where should the League Secretariat be established? Must it be in the same place as the I.L.O.?

Evidently the League cannot now function in Geneva, surrounded completely by territory ruled or controlled by the League's enemies. It cannot well function in Lisbon or the Azores; nor, we consider, in an English town beleaguered and wholly concentrated upon the fight; nor in any of the South American countries, (partly because German and Italian influence is dangerously strong in many of them now). We reluctantly conclude also that the United States is out of the question as a temporary home for the League (though not for the I.L.O.). We therefore recommend a Canadian city - either Ottawa, Toronto, or (perhaps best) Montreal.

There would be many advantages in having the I.L.O. temporarily centred in Washington: but this is inconveniently far from any Canadian seat of the League. On the whole, we incline to the view that a Canadian seat for both would be desirable.

4. Should any changes or additions be made in the present skeleton staff of the League?

We have learned with deep regret of the liquidation of most of what remained of the Secretariat's once admirable staff of international civil servants. We fear that enquiry will confirm our belief that this liquidation was in many respects ill-judged and inconsiderate. We are strongly of the opinion that the present Secretary-General should be relieved of his office at the earliest date which allows for the appointment of a suitable successor.

We suggest that in rebuilding the nucleus of the Secretariat, special consideration should be given to the coming need, and probable opportunity, for services of health and reconstruction; and to the exceptional experience of such men as Dr. McKenzie and Dr. Rajchman in such work.

Each study has, we understand, been given to the problems of post-war economic reconstruction, in the League Secretariat and in the I.L.O.: it is important that this work, and the staff responsible for it, should not be wasted by dispersal.

5. Must the Budget of the League and I.L.O. be further reduced?

We offer no opinion on the technical question whether the reduction in the numbers of independent State Members of the League would wholly destroy the basis on which the present restricted budget has been planned. But we do strongly urge that the British Government, in the present extraordinary situation, should be prepared to find the relatively small supplement which may be found necessary to enable the League and I.L.O. to continue to function.

6. Lastly, what work should the League Secretariat, and the I.L.O., maintain under present conditions?

We wish it were practicable for the League to undertake some large enterprise, of such a kind that its successful achievement would serve to strengthen the League's credit. Perhaps, under a new Secretary-General, some such opportunity may be found. For the present, however, we see little prospect of any such spectacular activity. But we do believe that the League, and I.L.O., can do a good deal in a quiet way, even now, e.g. to prepare for the day when "collective defence" against such enemies as hunger and disease again becomes possible.

7. If these views are accepted, what action might be taken by the British Government to give effect to them?

(a) We submit that the Government would do well to make a declaration of its loyalty to the principles of international order which are indicated in the Covenant and Pact of Paris, whilst recognising that the covenants of peace may need considerable amendment in the light of the experience of the past 20 years.

(b) We suggest, further, that the Government should take whatever action may be found appropriate to secure authority for the establishment of the League Secretariat, and the I.L.O., temporarily, in a Canadian city; and for an agreed replacement of the Secretary-General as soon as circumstances permit.

PRELIMINARY NOTE ON POSITION OF SECRETARIAT AND I.L.O.

The Secretariat

During the latter half of May there was a general panic in Switzerland. Invasion seemed almost a certainty. Geneva was especially affected.

Emergency regulations were - in the circumstances with considerable haste - introduced for the Secretariat. Broadly speaking, what happened was this. Notices were sent to members of the League staff (already reduced to half the pre-war total) containing three lists. The first list contained just under seventy officials to remain at Geneva. The second list contained a score or more whose fate was to be decided in six weeks. A third list included some two hundred names of persons who were given a very short time limit to decide between immediate resignation with six months pay or suspension with three months pay and possible re-instatement. Finally, there was a group of a few caretakers, remaining at Geneva.

No official detailed version of what has been done has reached London. It is understood that a large number on the third list resigned.

Moreover, the events which followed - notably the collapse of France - unquestionably have made the situation at Geneva worse. How much it is not certain, as communication at present is by telegram only.

The Work Goes On.

The London Office of the League (14h, Portman Mansions, W.1.) state that the situation of the Secretariat is fluid and uncertain, but that the League is still functioning. Technical work is still being carried on. For example, figures are still supplied from London to Mr. Loveday for his Monthly Bulletin. Opium figures were wired for from Geneva by Mr. Felkin a few days ago. The Social Section is also still at work. It is understood that the same applies to the Mandates Section of the Secretariat.

Persomnel.

As regards persomnel the following brief details are supplied by the London Office:-

There are still at Geneva a number of the higher officials. Among these are:

M. Avenol	Secretary General
S. Lester	Deputy Secretary General
Aguñides	Under Secretary General
Loveday	Director of Economic, Financial, Transit Questions.
Charron	Director of Economic Questions
Skylstad	Minorities and I.C.I.C.
Stencok	Director of Persomnel and Internal Administration.

- 2 -

M. de Haller	Mandates Director
E. Jacklin	Treasurer
Dr. R. Gautier	M.S. Health, Social, Opium Questions
Felkin	Opium Board Secretariat.

It is understood that a considerable number of officials of the second list (see above) given six weeks' holiday, are still at Geneva, partly no doubt owing to the difficulty of leaving Switzerland.

A small staff, it is true, went to Vichy. But they only remained there two days. They were concerned with pensions and included Mr. Watterson (Chief Accountant), Mr. Purves (Internal Administration), Misses Snoddes, Peterson and Johnson (Pensions). The London Office states that for the time being these officials are at work in an office in the buildings of the London Office at 14h, Portman Mansions, W.1.

The London Office gives the names of a number of Secretariat officials expected to come home shortly.

#### THE I.L.O.

For the moment the position of the I.L.O. cannot be accurately stated. Mr. Winant was in London for a day last week, then went to America.

A month ago there were still some two hundred and fifty members of the staff at Geneva. The reduction of personnel had been considerably less drastic and less precipitate than in the case of the Secretariat. But recent events in France must have made the situation worse. Probably the number now is not more than one hundred of whom most are still at Geneva.

The London Office states that the general plan of the I.L.O. in view of war emergencies was to establish a new headquarters, and to achieve a considerable amount of decentralisation, which, it was confidently hoped, would enable research work to go on. At the present moment it is not clear how far the plan has been carried out.

Thus, for the time being, the full facts of the position of the League Secretariat and the I.L.O. are not available. It is suggested that it might be well for some responsible Union official to interview Mr. Winant when over here. No doubt this could be arranged through the London Office at 12, Victoria Street, S.W.1. The same could be done, perhaps, as regards Mr. Watterson or Mr. Purves, at present at 14h, Portman Mansions.

139

15.7.40

#### EUROPEAN FAMINE.

Statements have appeared in the newspapers to the effect that there may be a very serious shortage of food in many countries of Europe in a few months. This may result in wholesale epidemics graver even than those of 1919-20 with political consequences of a very serious kind. It is suggested that the League experts might enquire into this or, perhaps better, that the British Government with experts from allied countries might do so.

CECIL



CONFIDENTIAL.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION, HELD AT NO. 30, ST. MARTIN'S LANE, LONDON, W.C.2, ON THURSDAY, AUGUST 1ST, 1940.

PRESENT: Miss K.D. Courtney (in the Chair for minutes 144, 145, 148 and part of 147 and 149), Lord Lytton (in the Chair for remainder of business), Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Mrs. Beale, Professor Brodetsky, P.H. Harris, Lord Cecil, Dean of Chichester, Miss P. Fawcett, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Lady Hall, D.L. Lipson, M.P., Dame Adelaide Livingston, G. Le H. Mander M.P., Fred Marshall, M.P., Dr. Gilbert Murray, P.J. Noel-Baker M.P., H.T. Pritchard, Miss E. Sachse M.P., Wilfrid Roberts M.P., H.F. Shaw, Nowell Smith, Wallis-Jones and Major Freshwater,

144. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on July 16th, 1940 were confirmed as circulated.

145. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 139 - Czechoslovakia, it was agreed that a message should be sent to President Benes, expressing the Executive's great pleasure at the recognition by H.M. Government of the Czechoslovak Government with President Benes as its Head.

On Minute 143 - Public Meetings, several members of the Committee described their recent experiences in connection with the methods adopted by the Ministry of Information in regard to public meetings. After considerable discussion, it was agreed, on the suggestion of Dr. Garnett, to ask the Chairman and Lord Cecil to seek an early opportunity of discussing the matter with Mr. Harold Nicolson.

146. CO-OPTIONATIONS. After Lord Cecil had reported correspondence he had had with Lord Addison it was

RESOLVED: "That Lord Addison be co-opted a member of the Executive."

A letter dated 14th July from Sir Norman Angell was read, offering his resignation from the Executive in view of the fact that he would be in America until the Spring of 1941. In reply Lord Lytton had asked Sir Norman, instead of resigning his membership of the Committee, to nominate someone who might represent him during his absence. The Executive cordially supported the Chairman's action.

It was further reported that Lord Weston had written, expressing appreciation of the invitation to



- The General Council of the League of Nations Union  
 Applauds the Chinese people's resistance to conquest by Japan;  
 Believes that for the sake of justice and world peace, economic and political help should be withheld from Japan, but should be granted to China;  
 Hopes that the recent withdrawal of British troops from North China and gunboats from the Yangtse River does not imply recognition by the British Government of the legitimacy of Japan's occupation of any part of China;  
 Warns the people of Britain against any attempt at the so-called mediation in the Far East that would confirm the Japanese occupation of Eastern China, and allow the Japanese army to consolidate its temporary gains in China preparatory to further advance;  
 Requests the British Government to follow the firm policy of the U.S. Government towards Japan, preferably in close co-operation with the U.S.A.

join the Executive and stating his intention to discuss with the Secretary in the near future questions arising out of the exact dates of the Committee's meetings.

147. CHINA. The following resolution, drafted by the Officers in accordance with minute 142, was placed before the Committee:

"The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union

Deplores the decision of H.M. Government announced in both Houses of Parliament on July 15th to close the Burma Road into China for a period of three months;

Is of the opinion that such action merely tends to encourage Japan to proceed further in her aggression in the Far East;

Recalls the resolution of its General Council of December 1st, 1939; and

Urges H.M. Government in framing its further policy in the Far East to maintain its adherence to the Nine Power Treaty and to the other Treaties by which it is bound, if possible in close co-operation with the U.S.A.

Representations in the above sense had been made to H.M. Government. The resolution had been sent to Branches inquiring on the subject and would be printed in the August number of HEADWAY.

The Chairman and Mr. Mander reported on a meeting organised by the China Campaign Committee in the House of Commons at which members of both Houses of Parliament had been present, and when it had been decided to send a small deputation to the Prime Minister. The deputation, which would include Members of both Houses, would be led by Lord Lytton and would place before the Prime Minister certain constructive suggestions for action which might be taken consistently with the policy adopted by H.M. Government, viz: the free passage of medical supplies and a joint Anglo-American loan to China.

148. INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION FOR THE ORGANISATION OF WORLD PEACE. Dr. Murray presented to the Executive Recommendations adopted by the sub-Committee (appointed in minute 130) at its first meeting on July 30th, (S.789).

After considerable discussion in which many members of the Executive took part, and during which

the present position of the British National Committee of the I.P.C. was considered, it was

RESOLVED: "That in view of the necessity of keeping alive and vigorous the movement for the organisation of world peace, which has been carried out hitherto by various associations and notably by the B.U.P. and the International Federation of League of Nations Societies, both with offices in Geneva;

It is desirable

- (a) that these two Geneva bodies should in future work together in close union or be actually merged;
- (b) that the League of Nations Union representing the British effort for the organisation of world peace should set up an advisory Exploring Committee to seek ways of giving support to that movement by co-operation (1) with the international body, or bodies, in Geneva; (2) with national bodies in China, Sweden, the United States etc.; and (3) with societies in Great Britain ready to work to the same end; and to report to the Executive Committee;
- (c) that this Exploring Committee should be set up by the Executive immediately, and should consist partly of members of the Executive of the L.N.U. and partly of individuals appointed by the Executive from other British societies with similar aims.

It was further

RESOLVED: (d) that the composition of the advisory Exploring Committee be left to the Chairman after consultation with the Officers of the Union and the Master of Balliol.

Members of the Executive who had suggestions to make on (d) above were asked to communicate them to the Chairman.

149. **PAYMENT OF SALARIES AND WAGES: WAR EMERGENCY MEASURE.** Mr. Syrett reported that, in case it should become impracticable, owing to war conditions, to pay wages and salaries in the usual way from 60, St. Martin's Lane at the end of a week or month,

arrangements had been made for sums (£500 each) to be transferred to two suburban Branches (Dorking and Pinner) of the Midland Bank, and for cheques drawn on these subsidiary accounts to be signed by himself or the Secretary.

The Chairman having stated that he had been consulted and had approved the arrangements before they had actually been made, it was

RESOLVED: "That the action taken be approved."

150. **THE LEAGUE.** Lord Cecil reported on conversations he had had with officials of the Foreign Office both before and after the announcement of M. Avenol's resignation.

Lord Cecil stated that, since the original proposal had been put forward for the social and economic sections of the League to be transferred to Princeton University, the invitation had been repeated in a modified form, viz: that instead of certain sections of the League in their entirety going to Princeton, a delegation from their number should be sent. It was understood that H.M. Government were in favour of this invitation being accepted. Mr. Loveday, the head of the Economic Section, and a number of his assistants, had in fact already left Geneva and were proceeding to the United States. There appeared to be no authority for the statement appearing in the press that the administration of the League should be entrusted to three Under-Secretaries, and Lord Cecil had stressed the desirability of a new Secretary-General being appointed who should be British.

Lord Cecil had also spoken about the policy of H.M. Government in regard to the League after the war. He had referred to the recent speeches of General Smuts and Lord Halifax, and had urged the desirability, from the point of view of the morale of the people of Great Britain, of some concrete and definite expression of H.M. Government's intention to make fresh efforts to establish some international barrier against war. This was warmly endorsed by the Executive.

Lord Cecil further stated that the opinion had been expressed that the best solution would probably be found in some combined action by the British Empire and the United States. He suggested that the Executive should, in the light of the present situation, review the statements of policy already adopted, which were largely based on the union of England and France. When such a revised policy had been prepared it might, before being communicated to the

Foreign Office, be discussed at an informal meeting with certain representatives of foreign countries now in London. This suggestion was approved by the Executive and, at the request of the Chairman, Lord Cecil expressed his willingness to prepare a first draft of such a document.

151. **INTERNEES AND REFUGEES.** Miss Rathbone reported on action recently taken by H.M. Government in regard to refugees and internees: (1) an Advisory Committee of three persons had been appointed to advise on Government policy regarding refugees and particularly in regard to the extension of the categories of those who were not to be interned or were to be released; (2) an Advisory Council had also been appointed with wide terms of reference, including the welfare of internment camps for all types of refugees; and (3) an important White Paper had been published by H.M. Government dealing with the categories of persons who would now be considered for release from internment. This document, however, applied only to German and Austrian internees under Category C and did not include Poles, Czechs or Hungarians.

Professor Brodetsky expressed the Executive's cordial thanks to Miss Rathbone for all the efforts which she and her friends had made on behalf of refugees. He also referred to an article appearing in THE TIMES that morning, some of the statements in which were, in his opinion, most unfortunate and deserved immediate attention.

Lord Lytton stated that he had been invited to act as Chairman of the Government's Advisory Council, and reported a conversation he had had with Lord Halifax on the subject. Members of the Executive expressed the earnest hope that Lord Lytton would see his way to accept the Chairmanship of the Advisory Council.

152. **SUMMER SCHOOL.** It was reported that, since the Education Council had not found it possible to arrange a Teachers' Conference in August, plans for a Summer School on the lines suggested in minute 104 had been abandoned; but tentative arrangements were being made for a Week-end School at Knebworth House (Froebel Institute) from September 12th to 16th for some fifty persons, many of whom it was hoped would be ready to lead Discussion Groups during the coming autumn and winter.

The Chairman said that he knew the Froebel Institute would be glad to have the School in their premises and that he himself would be at Knebworth during the week-end suggested and would be ready to offer such hospitality as was possible at the Manor House to any members of the Executive who might be willing to address the School. It was

**RESOLVED:** "That arrangements for a Week-end School on the lines set out above be approved."



CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION HELD AT NO. 60, ST. MARTIN'S LANE, LONDON, W.C.2, ON THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 5TH, 1940 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Dr. Gilbert Murray (in the Chair for the business recorded in minutes 153, 154, 155 and part of 156), Miss A.D. Courtney (in the Chair for the remainder of business), Lord Addison, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Professor S. Brodetsky, Lord Cecil, Miss E. Fawcett, W. Arnold Forster, Sir Arthur Haworth, Lady Layton, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, J. Macdonald, G. le M. Mander M.P., F. Marshall M.P., Rowell Smith, H.S. Syrett, Mrs. Whitfield and Major Freshwater.

53. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on August 1st, 1940 were confirmed as circulated.

54. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 145 - 143 - Public Meetings, Lord Cecil reported that he had written to Mr. Harold Nicolson asking if the Union could be of any assistance to the Ministry of Information in connection with public meetings, and stating that the Union would be glad to use its organization for that purpose if desired. Mr. Nicolson had replied, thanking Lord Cecil for his suggestion which would be passed on to the Division responsible for Meetings and stating that a further communication would be sent shortly.

On Minute 146 - Co-optations, the Chairman welcomed Lord Addison who was attending the Committee for the first time.

55. INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION FOR THE ORGANISATION OF WORLD PEACE (EXPLORING COMMITTEE). Lord Cecil reported that the Committee, appointed in minute 148, had met on August 1st and that its findings would, it was hoped, be presented to the Executive at its next meeting.

Mr. Arnold Forster pointed out that the report of the Exploring Committee had not been communicated to the British National Committee of the I.P.C. Lord Cecil stated that it was not within the Union's province to take any action in this matter, and Dame Adelaide Livingstone said that a meeting of the British National Committee had been summoned by the Master of Balliol for September 12th in Oxford. She asked if she could be supplied with a copy of the Exploring Committee's report

before that meeting took place.

156. STATEMENT OF WAR AIMS FOR I.R.U. It was reported that, in accordance with minute 150, Lord Cecil had prepared a draft statement of War Aims for the I.R.U. (S.776) copies of which had been circulated to all members of the Executive for their observations. Lord Cecil stated that he had arranged with the Chairman that he (Lord Cecil) should reconsider the draft in the light of such observations as were received and that then it should be brought before the Officers and their report communicated to the Executive.

Mr. Arnold Forster and Mr. Nowell Smith expressed regret that, although the item had been included on the agenda for the present meeting, the revised document was not before the Committee.

Lord Cecil stated that the course of events, since his draft was prepared, had rendered necessary certain alterations in the paper. There was in his view no pressing need for a statement of war aims, but it was important that great care should be taken in order to formulate if possible a really satisfactory document.

A lengthy discussion followed in which comments on, and criticisms of, the draft statement were made by many members of the Executive.

Lord Cecil felt that the discussion showed that there was not a sufficient identity of opinion in the Committee to allow of much progress being made with a general statement. He suggested therefore that it might be preferable to draw up a certain number of fundamental propositions without argument of any kind for discussion by the Committee *seriatim*. Lord Cecil expressed his willingness to prepare another document on these lines and the Committee gratefully accepted his offer.

The Chairman ~~expressed~~ <sup>proposed</sup> that such a paper should ~~be~~ <sup>be</sup> with the extent to which nationality was to be respected after the war and how it was to be determined and controlled, as well as with the body which should exercise control in order to repel aggression: was it, for instance, to be a limited regional body or the international authority as a whole.

(During the discussion on the above item the Chair was taken by Miss K.D. Courtney.)

157. JOINT ALLIED COUNCIL. Mr. Mander reported that he had recently asked in the House of Commons whether the Prime Minister would consider the advisability of setting up a joint allied council for the prosecution of the war, including the Governments of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Norway, Holland and Belgium, together with representatives of such other countries as France as are giving

armed assistance to the Allied cause. The Lord Privy Seal's reply had been to the effect that H.M. Government were fully alive to the importance of the object set out. The existing arrangements for co-operation and consultation between H.M. Government and other Governments and organisations fighting with Great Britain against the enemy were, however, proving fully adequate to deal with all questions concerning the prosecution of the war, and he did not therefore see any advantage at present in setting up additional machinery for the purpose.

The matter was one which, in Mr. Mander's opinion, closely concerned the Union and he suggested that, in view of the unsatisfactory reply to his question the Executive should take such action as seemed to it desirable to persuade H.M. Government to form a joint allied council. Representations might be made by the Chairman to the Foreign Secretary, following a resolution of the Executive.

Lord Cecil thought that, although a joint council on the lines suggested was very desirable in theory, many practical difficulties existed. Before any approach was made to H.M. Government the Executive ought to know exactly how such an allied council could be organised, the kind of people who might serve on it, and what its functions would be.

After further discussion it was agreed that the matter be adjourned for consideration at a future meeting in order that more precise proposals might be submitted to the Executive.

158. DECEMBER MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL. The Executive were reminded that the statutory notice for an ordinary meeting of the Council was three months, and that it had been laid down that at the December meeting no Union domestic business should be transacted except only that the Council should determine the amount to be expended by the Executive during the following year.

After a letter from the Haslemere Branch had been read, it was agreed that a one-day meeting of the Council should be held in December at which financial proposals for 1941 should be submitted. It was further agreed that, having regard to existing conditions and to the fact that the Council might not be as widely representative as usual, it was not desirable to have motions submitted by Branches and other local organisations for inclusion on the Agenda, but that a general policy motion should be submitted by the Executive and that Branches should be invited to send, for the consideration of the Executive when preparing this motion, some indication of the views held by them on matters in which they are most deeply interested.

The date of the Council Meeting was left to the Officers to determine.

159. ABYSSINIA. On the motion of Mr. Arnold Forster it was RESOLVED: (1) "That the Executive Committee

Welcomes Sir Archibald Sinclair's statement in a recent broadcast that 'we are fighting to free the victims of Fascist tyranny as much as those of German tyranny -- the Abyssinians no less than the oppressed peoples of Europe', and

Trusts that H.M. Government will now make perfectly clear, by word and action, that our official war aims include restoration of the freedom of Ethiopia (which is still a Member of the League), that the Emperor is recognised by our Government as the rightful ruler of Ethiopia, and that Ethiopia, like Poland and Czechoslovakia, has the status of an Ally."

- (2) "That a copy of the above resolution be communicated to the Foreign Office, and that the subsequent use to be made of the resolution be determined by the Chairman in the light of the reply received from the Foreign Secretary."

160. MEMBERSHIP. A memorandum (S.780, copy filed with these minutes) was received, showing that, of the 241,253 subscriptions paid from September 1938 to August, 1939, a total of 125,517 had renewed since the beginning of the war, while 2,257 new members had been enrolled.

*L. Forster*  
CHAIRMAN 19/9/40



S. 780  
5.9.40

For Executive Committee 5.9.40

MEMBERSHIP

	<u>Twelve months before the War</u>			<u>Since the War began</u>		
	<u>New</u>	<u>Renewed</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>New</u>	<u>Renewed</u>	<u>Total</u>
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Oct.	2,042	22,799	24,841	557	11,772	12,329
Nov.	1,220	16,871	18,091	289	9,009	9,298
Dec.	3,996	60,832	64,828	932	37,314	38,246
	1939			1940		
Jan.	499	9,780	10,279	102	5,165	5,267
Feb.	905	18,763	19,668	144	8,797	8,941
March	1,337	28,216	30,253	347	13,206	13,553
April	1,274	20,348	21,622	298	11,682	11,980
May	898	12,594	13,492	287	11,931	12,218
June	810	12,947	13,757	145	7,071	7,216
July	582	12,090	12,672	71	5,235	5,306
August	633	11,147	11,780	85	4,335	4,420
	<u>14,166</u>	<u>227,087</u>	<u>241,253</u>	<u>3,257</u>	<u>125,517</u>	<u>128,774</u>

CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION HELD AT NO. 60, ST. MARLIN'S LANE, LONDON, W.C.2, ON THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 19TH, 1940 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Professor S. Brodelsky, Lord Cecil, Miss K.D. Courtney, Miss P. Fenwick, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, J. Macdonald, G. de M. Mander M.P., F. Marshall, Dr. Gilbert Murray, W.T. Pritchard, and Major Freshwater.

181. CO-OPTIONS. It was unanimously

RESOLVED: "That the Master of Balliol be co-opted to the Executive".

182. MINUTES. Subject to the amendment of the last paragraph of minute 158 by the substitution of the words "pointed out that the two main points raised were" for the words "hoped that such a paper would deal with", the minutes of the meeting held on September 5th, 1940 were confirmed as circulated.

183. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 154 - 145 - Public Meetings, a further letter from Mr. Harold Nicolson was read, stating that, if the Union would supply a list of its speakers, the Ministry of Information would be glad to use them for meetings organised by the Ministry.

Lord Cecil felt that, while meetings which were organised by the Union and which reached a particular section of society were great, to be desired, no useful purpose would be served by supplying a list of Union speakers to the Ministry of Information. At the request of the Executive, Lord Cecil expressed his willingness to discuss the matter personally with Mr. Harold Nicolson.

On Minute 158 - December Meetings of General Council, it was reported that provisional arrangements had been made for a meeting of the General Council to be held in the Conway Hall, London, on Friday, December 6th.

On Minute 159 - Abyssinia, after letters had been reported from the Foreign Office, acknowledging receipt of the Executive's resolution and stating that the Foreign Office would not wish to express

any views on the question of publication, it was

RESOLVED: "That the resolution be communicated to the press."

164. INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION FOR THE ORGANISATION OF WORLD PEACE: EXPLORING COMMITTEE. Lord Cecil presented the report of the Exploring Committee appointed by the Executive (minutes 148). The report was adopted in the following form:

In view of the fact that, for practical purposes, the International Federation of League of Nations Societies, the International Committee of the I.P.C. and the British National Committee of the I.P.C. are closed down,

Noting that existing contacts with League of Nations Societies still functioning in other countries are being maintained by the Union, and

Convinced of the necessity of maintaining contact with all bodies working for the organisation of world peace in China, Sweden, the United States, the British Dominions and elsewhere,

The Exploring Committee

Recommends that, for the duration of the war, the Union should undertake such of the work of maintaining contacts with bodies abroad as has hitherto been discharged by the British National Committee of the I.P.C., and, to that end,

Recommends the Executive to appoint an advisory International Committee.

Proposals for action made by the International Committee will be submitted to the Executive for approval, and, in cases involving expenditure of money, also to the Finance Committee.

It was then

RESOLVED: "That the following be invited to serve on the International Committee:

The Master of Balliol, Lord Cecil,  
Miss Courtney, Mrs. Bugdale, Dr.  
Maxwell Garnett, Lady Hall, Dame  
Adelaide Livingstone, Lord Lytton,  
Dr. Gilbert Murray, Mrs. Noel-Baker,  
and Mr. Syrett; and

That it be left to the International Committee, as and when it so desire, to recommend to the Executive for their consideration the names of other persons (including those of foreign nationality) who might be invited to serve."

165. **YOUTH GROUPS.** The Chairman reported that he had received a report from an informal conference of "Youth" representatives held in accordance with minute 128 of the Executive. The report, in his opinion, sought to re-establish the position as it had been before the suspension of the National Constitution for Youth Groups by the Executive in April.

After considerable discussion, during which suggestions were put forward by several members of the Executive, it was agreed to ask the Chairman to prepare a draft of certain fundamental principles which, in the Executive's opinion, should be embodied in any Constitution for Youth Groups, and that, when such a draft had been approved by the Executive, it should be discussed with representatives of Youth.

166. **KNEBWORTH SUMMER SCHOOL.** At the request of the Chairman Mr. Judd reported on the Summer School which had been held at Knebworth during the previous week-end and which, in spite of difficulties of travel etc., had been well attended. An interesting feature had been provided by a round-table conference in which a Frenchman, a German, a Pole and two Czechs had taken part. All the members attending the conference had expressed a warm debt of gratitude to Lord Lytton for the cordial welcome he had given to the School and for his address, and to Miss Courtney, Dr. Murray and other speakers who had addressed the conference, often at great inconvenience to themselves. This was warmly endorsed by the Executive.

Dr. Murray and Miss Courtney expressed appreciation of the arrangements made for the conference and thanked Mr. Judd and Miss Davies for all their efforts.

167. **JOINT ALLIED COUNCIL.** The following resolution submitted by Mr. Mander was considered:-

"That this meeting of the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union is of the opinion that the time has come for the formation of a Joint Allied Council consisting of representatives of the British Empire and the countries actively associated with it in the conduct of the war, for the consideration of military and political problems of mutual interest, and as a symbol of the international character of this struggle for the preservation of civilisation."



"That this resolution be issued to the Members and conveyed to the Government."

Mr. Mander stated that Mr. Noel-Baker had raised the matter both at the Foreign Office and in the House of Commons and was most anxious that the Executive should, if it saw fit, adopt a resolution on some such lines as the above. Mr. Mander further stated that he was endeavouring to get a resolution in similar terms and signed by Members of all Parties on the Order Paper for the House of Commons.

Lord Cecil was doubtful whether it was desirable for the Executive to make such a proposal at the present time in view of the effect which might be produced on Russia if such a body, with Poland as an active member, were brought into being.

After discussion it was agreed to postpone further consideration of Mr. Mander's resolution until Mr. Noel-Baker could be present.

168. FINANCE COMMITTEE. In the absence of Mr. Syrett the Secretary reported on a meeting of the Working Committee of the Finance Committee held on September 17th.

Financial Statement. Expenditure had been less than receipts during the past eight months, whereas in the corresponding periods of 1938 and 1939 expenditure had exceeded receipts. During the last four months they had been a little more than holding their own.

General Council. It had been decided to ask the Executive not to propose a formal budget for 1941 but to recommend the General Council to authorise the Executive to continue expenditure at the present rate of some £11,500 a year for so long as the Executive finds desirable and possible, and to authorise the Executive to make such alterations in the rate of expenditure as it may deem necessary.

East of Scotland. Requests had been considered from Edinburgh and the East of Scotland to be allowed to retain the whole of their subscriptions in order to enable the Edinburgh office to be continued. It had been decided not to accede to that request. In view, however, of the necessity of maintaining the Union's organisation in the Scottish Capital, it had been decided, on condition that the Branch and the District Council discharge to the full their liabilities to H.Q. and so long as H.Q. continues to work to its present budget, to advance money to the Edinburgh Branch and the East of Scotland District Council jointly at a rate not exceeding £225 a year to enable them to continue on

their present reduced scale. The Branch and the District would not be expected to refund the money advanced until their financial position should permit of it.

RESOLVED: "That the above report be approved."

169. **PEACE AIMS.** A draft statement of Peace Aims (S.783) prepared by Lord Cecil in accordance with minute 186 was placed on the table. It was agreed that copies of the paper should be circulated to all members for consideration at the next meeting of the Executive on October 3rd.

The Chairman suggested the desirability of including in the introduction to the draft statement a reference to previous statements of policy already adopted by the Executive.

It was agreed that when the document had been approved by the Executive it should be discussed with representative Foreigners now in London, and that subsequently it should be submitted to H.M. Government. The question of further use to be made of the statement would be decided at a later date, but the Chairman hoped that when the paper was before the Committee they would consider it from the point of view of submission to the General Council as well as of general publication.

It was also agreed that copies of Lord Cecil's draft should be communicated for information to League of Nations Societies in the Dominions and the U.S.A.

*Lyell*  
CHAIRMAN

October 30, 1940

CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION HELD AT NO. 60, ST. MARTIN'S LANE, LONDON, W.C.2, ON THURSDAY, OCTOBER 3rd, 1940, AT 11 a.m.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Lord Cecil, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss P. Fawcett, Dr. Garnett, Lady Hall, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Dr. Murray, Nowell Smith, Miss Rathbone, H.S. Syrett, Wallis Jones and Major Freshwater.

170. MINUTES. The Minutes of the meeting held on September 19th, 1940, were confirmed as circulated.
171. PUBLIC MEETINGS. Lord Cecil reported that on September 19th he had discussed the question of public meetings with Mr. Harold Nicolson, who had promised to send a definite reply in writing. This had not yet been received but Lord Cecil felt that the Union ought to be taking some action in regard to public meetings and suggested that, so soon as the Executive had drawn up its statement of Peace Aims, such a statement should form the basis for meetings all over the country. The Chairman endorsed Lord Cecil's suggestion and the Secretary was asked to consider what action could be taken by the Union in this matter.
172. ECONOMIC MEASURES. Dr. Garnett, in the absence of Miss Courtney, moved the adoption of the resolution standing on the agenda in her name. After Lady Hall had suggested that in any study of economic questions consideration should also be given to their effect on industry, it was
- RESOLVED: (1) "That the League of Nations Union suggests that H.M. Government request the Economic Section of the League of Nations, now at Princeton, in collaboration with the I.L.O., to study and report on the Economic measures required
- (a) for the transition period from war to peace in the period immediately after the war,
- (b) for general economic reconstruction in the post-war world."
- (2) "That the above resolution be communicated to H.M. Government and to the press."
173. CZECHOSLOVAKIA. The Chairman reported that DR. SIEVIR (Czechoslovakian Minister of the Interior, formerly Czech Ambassador to Poland, Vice-President

of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies, and formerly Vice-President of the Czech League of Nations Union), Mr. Ripka (Czechoslovakian Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs and President of the Czech League of Nations Union), and Mr. Kunosi (Secretary of the Czech League of Nations Society) were at present in London and had asked to be given an opportunity of paying their respects to the President, Chairman and Secretary of the Union. The Executive gratefully accepted an offer by the Chairman and Dr. Murray to give a lunch for this purpose at the Athenaeum on October 17th at 1.30 p.m.

The Executive were informed that Dr. Slavik had recently been honoured by the Polish President with one of the highest Polish decorations as a token of the Polish Government's appreciation of Dr. Slavik's work in Poland. The Chairman was asked to convey orally to Dr. Slavik the cordial congratulations of the Executive on his decoration.

174. BURMA ROAD. A communication was reported from the CFRPA Campaign Committee, inviting the Union to join in obtaining signatures to a manifesto asking for the immediate re-opening of the Burma Road. The Chairman felt, and the Committee agreed, that it was preferable for the Executive to make its own representations to H.M. Government, and it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union,

Strongly urges upon H.M. Government the desirability of re-opening the Road on October 18th on which date the Anglo-Japanese agreement respecting the Road terminates.

(2) "That the above resolution be communicated to H.M. Government and to the press."

175. GLASGOW EMPIRE EXHIBITION: PEACE PAVILION. An appeal for funds to pay off outstanding accounts and creditors in connection with the Peace Pavilion was reported. The Executive decided, with regret, that it could not respond to the appeal.
176. LIAISON COMMITTEE OF FEDERALIST ASSOCIATIONS. A communication was reported from the Committee of Federalist Associations, inviting the Union to accept membership of the Committee and to send an observer to a meeting on Saturday, 5th October. On the motion of the Chairman it was decided not to accept the invitation.
177. CO-OPTATIONS. A letter was reported from Sir Norman Angell, suggesting that, during his absence in America, Mr. Leonard Behrens might be invited to represent him on the Executive. Sir Norman had



written to Mr. Behrens who, while expressing gratitude for Sir Norman's suggestion, regretted that his present duties prevented him from accepting membership of the Executive.

Lord Cecil and Dr. Garnett proposed the name of Mr. Leonard Woolf, and it was agreed that inquiries should be made concerning the possibility of his being able and willing to attend meetings of the Committee.

178. OFFICE ACCOMMODATION. Mr. Syrett drew the attention of the Executive to the desirability of some alternative office accommodation being made available, either in or out of London, from which the Union's administration could be carried on in the event of 80, St. Martin's Lane being rendered uninhabitable as a result of air raids. The Committee were of opinion that the Headquarters of the Union should continue to be in London, and the Chairman undertook to enquire of the present landlords whether they would be able to offer alternative office accommodation for the Union in the event of its being required.
179. PEACE AIMS. There was a "Second Reading" & discussion of the draft of Peace Aims (S.783) prepared by Lord Cecil, and consideration was given to amendments by Mr. Harold Nicolson, Professor Brodetsky and Mr. Arnold Forster. After considerable discussion, during which amendments were proposed and accepted in the first ten paragraphs of the memorandum, it was agreed to adjourn consideration of the remainder of the paper, beginning with paragraph 11 on page 4, to a special meeting of the Executive to be held on Thursday, October 10th.
180. MRS. BEALE. The Committee learned with deep regret of the death of Mrs. Beale's son on active service, and it was

RESOLVED: "That a message of condolence, on behalf of the Executive, be sent to Mrs. Beale."

*Lytton*  
CHAIRMAN  
October 17th 1940

MINUTES OF A SPECIAL MEETING OF THE  
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 60,  
ST. MARTIN'S LANE, LONDON, W.C.2, ON  
THURSDAY, OCTOBER 10TH, 1940, AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Professor  
Brodetsky, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Lord  
Cecil, Miss K.D. Courtney, Mrs. Corbett Ashby,  
Mrs. Dugdale, Miss P. Fawcett, Lady Hall,  
Dame Adelaide Livingstone, H.S. Syrett and  
Major Freshwater.

181. PEACE AIMS. The Executive resumed their "Second Reading" DISCUSSION on Lord Cecil's draft of PEACE AIMS. Amendments to paragraphs 1 to 10 which had been suggested at the previous meeting were placed before the Committee, and these paragraphs were approved and adopted in the following form:

PRINCIPLES OF WAR SETTLEMENT  
PRELIMINARY

1. At the end of the war a conference of the belligerents must be held to deal with the special issues raised by the war; such as - the restoration of occupied territories, financial measures concerned with war damage, provisional measures to prevent the renewal of a policy of aggression by Germany, Italy and their allies.
2. As soon as an agreement on these points has been reached invitations should be issued for an international Congress, consisting of the belligerents and some at least of the neutral States, to decide on the terms of a world settlement including such financial and territorial arrangements as may be desirable for the establishment of good relations between all nations.
3. 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.
4. These problems are closely related. Peace is essential to Reconstruction; Reconstruction is vital to Peace. Both depend on the Supremacy of Law.
5. The Supremacy of Law in this connection does not mean so much obedience to particular rules governing international intercourse as the recognition that the sovereignty of nations should be limited by certain fundamental principles such as good faith and justice and the rejection of force as the sole arbiter of international rights.

PEACE-KEEPING

6. If international good faith and justice are to be observed some authority must be brought into existence which can declare in any particular case what good faith and justice require. Similarly, if mere force is not to be allowed to determine international

controversy, in other words, if aggression is to be prevented, some authority must be entrusted with the duty and given the power to prevent it.

7. It is on the question of what is to be that authority that the fundamental international controversy arises. The Germans hold that there can be no limit to the sovereignty of a State except its power to enforce its will. They think, therefore, that as they claim to have the supreme military power in Europe, they have a right to do whatever they think desirable on that Continent.
8. We, on the contrary, hold that no nation can be trusted to be judge in its own cause, and we point to the events in the Far East, in Abyssinia, in Austria, in Albania, in Czechoslovakia, in Poland before the war, and in other cases since the war began, to show what horrible injustice and cruelty are produced by the German theory.
9. It seems clear that if we reject the selfish domination of a single Power we must look to a combination of Powers which will both have the moral authority to declare what justice and good faith require and will be sufficiently strong to prevent aggression.
10. That was the main idea underlying the League of Nations. It failed because its members were not prepared to run the risks inevitable if powerful aggressors were to be coerced into abandoning aggression.

In other words, the League Powers did not take their Covenant obligations seriously. A change of attitude on this point is essential if peace is to be preserved by international co-operation.

- (a) If the British and French Governments with the other Members of the League had been prepared forcibly to prevent the Italian invasion of Abyssinia in 1935, we should probably not have witnessed the renewed attack on China and the attacks on Austria, Czechoslovakia and Albania, nor should we have been driven in circumstances of much greater difficulty to take up arms on behalf of Poland in 1939.
- (b) That seems obvious to us now and indeed the danger was clear enough to many people at the time. Why, then, did we and others act as we did five years ago?
- (c) The answer is, in the first place, because we were still thinking in terms of British interests, that is the British Government believed that the chief if not the only object of British Foreign Policy should be the protection of British commercial and territorial rights and the personal safety of British subjects from direct attack. It was said, for instance, that we were not interested in Abyssinia, forgetting that we were deeply interested in the maintenance of peace and in the support of the machinery which had been constructed to maintain it.
- (d) Secondly, it was said that other Members of the League would not back us up. The allegation was in the main unfounded; but whether true or false, it created an atmosphere of hesitation.

- (e) Thirdly, there was the view that if, in defiance of our obligations under the Covenant, we allowed Italy to conquer Abyssinia she would be more likely to help us against Germany.
- (f) Further, difficulties were caused by the wide extent and consequent vagueness of the League obligations. Each of the fifty odd Members of the League was in form bound to carry out against an aggressor in any part of the globe the onerous duties imposed by Article 15. And it was not quite certain what those duties were.
- (g) It was partly due to this vagueness of League obligations that the members of the League were looking in esprit de corps and were inclined more and more to look at aggression from a rightly national standpoint - an inclination very much increased by the world-wide nationalist movement exemplified by Fascism and Nazism.
- (h) There was in consequence a tendency to minimize by explanation the meaning of Article 15, and to fall back on condemnation of the aggressor and appeals against him to the public opinion of the world. Many people indeed contended that this was a better way to keep the peace than by imposing sanctions. The experience of the Manchurian and Abyssinian cases ought to have convinced all impartial people that this was a mistaken view.

The Committee then proceeded to discuss paragraphs 11 to 14 of Lord Cecil's draft, and consideration was given to comments and suggested amendments by Mr. Arnold Forster, Mr. Harold Nicolson, Dr. Garnett, Miss Courtney and Mr. Syrett, as well as by other members who were present. After discussion paragraphs 11 to 14 (Reconstruction) were approved and adopted in the following form:

#### RECONSTRUCTION

11. It is impossible to say what will be the economic condition of the world at the end of the war. But all are agreed that it is likely to be extremely serious and may be catastrophic. To meet these conditions there will have to be emergency provisions designed to mitigate starvation and set going again the machinery of credit and exchange.
12. But temporary measures will not be enough. A determined attempt to break down economic nations can only be made. Tariffs must be lowered and other devices which have hampered trade must be abolished.
13. The work done in the last 20 years by the League and the I.L.O. must be speeded up and expanded with a much increased budget. This is true of the economic and industrial and also of the social and humanitarian work. 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.\*

14. Two other subjects will require courageous action; the racial, religious and linguistic minorities, and the administration of Colonial territories.

It was agreed that, before the memorandum was issued, further consideration should be given, in paragraph 14, to the principle of equality in regard to the supervision of conditions of minorities, citizenship of racial, religious and linguistic minorities, opportunity for trade and development in colonial territories, as well as to the principle that all colonies should be administered in the interests of the native inhabitants. Professor Brodetsky and Mrs. Corbett Ashby were asked to prepare a draft of a suitable paragraph to cover these points.

The section dealing with "Machinery" was then discussed and the Executive had before them alternative proposals by Lord Lytton (S.789). A detailed discussion followed during which arguments were put forward for and against the use of the words "an international authority" and "a reconstituted League of Nations and International Labour Organisation", as well as in regard to the creation within the League (or international authority) of a number of Regional Groups of States. After considerable discussion on the Chairman and Lord Cecil were asked jointly to prepare an alternative draft to take the place of existing paragraphs 15 to 19 for consideration, together with the remainder of Lord Cecil's original paper (including the title and preamble) at the next meeting of the Committee.

\* A more detailed report on Social Reconstruction is under consideration.

Lytton  
CHAIRMAN  
October 17th 1940

CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION HELD AT NO. 60, ST. MARTIN'S LANE, LONDON, W.C.2, ON THURSDAY, OCTOBER 17TH, 1940 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Lord Cecil, Miss K.D. Courtney, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss F. Fawcett, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Dr. Gilbert Murray, Rowell Smith, and Major Freshwater.

182. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on October 3rd and of the special meeting held on October 10th, were confirmed.

183. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 173 - Czechoslovakia, it was reported that Dr. Slavik, Mr. Ripka and Mr. Kuncosi had accepted with thanks the invitation to meet the Union's Presidents, Chairman and Secretary at lunch at the Athenaeum on October 17th.

On Minute 177 - Co-optations, a letter was read from Mr. Leonard Woolf, stating that, in view of his other commitments, it was very doubtful whether he would be able to attend meetings of the Executive with any regularity. After discussion, and at the Chairman's suggestion, Dr. Murray expressed his willingness to speak or write to Mr. Woolf with a view to persuading him to join the Executive and give the Committee the benefit of his counsel and advice even though it might not be possible for him to attend the meetings regularly.

On Minute 178 - Office Accommodation, the Chairman reported that the Union's present landlords had a number of vacant premises in London (e.g. in Maiden Lane and Grosvenor Place) where alternative office accommodation would be available for the Union in the event of 60, St. Martin's Lane being rendered uninhabitable as a result of air raids.

184. DECEMBER MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL: GENERAL POLICY MOTION. The Executive had before them suggestions (S.789) which, in response to their invitation, had been sent in by Branches and Co-opted Members for consideration by the Committee when preparing their general policy motion for the General Council.

It was agreed to give further consideration to the suggestions regarding "Peace Aims" and Colonial Administration when the Executive had completed their

discussion of Lord Cecil's memorandum. It was further agreed that the general policy motion should, among other matters, deal with refugees and internees, the Far East (assistance for China and facilities for Naval Bases in the Far East), and the society called "Federal Union" and questions arising therefrom. It was also decided that, for the reasons already given by the President at previous Council Meetings, matters relating to India and Russia should not be discussed at the December meeting.

The Executive noted that the Edinburgh Branch desired to table two motions for the General Council, one dealing with refugees and internees and another with Federal Union. The Secretary was asked to write to the Branch, informing them that, in view of the terms of Branch Letter No. 173, other Branches had refrained from submitting motions but had instead sent in suggestions for the Executive's consideration in framing an omnibus resolution, asking whether the Edinburgh motions might be treated in the same way, and pointing out that, if Edinburgh insisted on bringing motions before the Council, then other Branches would expect to be afforded the same facility.

185. PEACE AIMS. The Executive resumed their "Second Reading" discussion on Lord Cecil's draft of PEACE AIMS (S.783) beginning with paragraph 15. Consideration was given to amendments suggested by the Chairman, Lord Cecil, Mr. Syrett, Professor Brodetsky and Mr. Arnold Forster, as well as by other members who were present. After discussion paragraphs 15 to 24 were adopted in the following form:

#### Machinery

15. To carry out the policy advocated in this Memorandum, the existence of an International Authority as nearly representative of the civilised world as possible is essential.
16. In the opinion of the L.N.U. the most appropriate International Authority would be the League of Nations, though some modification of the Covenant will have to be made to make it conform with the experience gained in the last 20 years.
17. Whether the International Authority, the first bulwark for the prevention of war, be the League of Nations reconstituted and modified, or some new organisation with a different name, the business of the Authority should be the maintenance of peace and justice and the improvement of the economic and social life of the world, through international co-operation.

18. The I.L.O. and the P.C.I.J. must also be continued.
19. If any member submits to the International Authority that the provisions of any treaty or other international conditions have become dangerous or inapplicable, the Authority should examine the matter and recommend such steps as may be desirable. If this recommendation is adopted unanimously except for the votes of States immediately interested, it should be binding on all States Members of the Authority. If it is adopted by a majority it should be binding on those who voted in the majority.
20. The provisions for dealing with international disputes contained in Articles 10 - 17 of the Covenant should apply to the new organisation except that they should be redrafted so as to make it clear that while all members should agree that aggression is an international crime and that it is part of the duty of every member of the organisation to do all it can to put a stop to it, and in no case to assist the aggressor, the extent of the coercive action, political, economic or military, to be taken by each member should be decided by that member.
21. In addition to and as part of the larger body, there should be one or more Regional Groups consisting of members who are prepared to utilise their whole strength in preventing aggression in particular regions, such as Europe. They should expressly agree that they not only regard aggression as an international crime but also that they are prepared to use all means, military as well as economic or diplomatic, to restrain the aggressor in that region.
22. Machinery in the nature of a Confederation of the Governments represented in each Regional Group should be established which should include at least a Regional General Staff.
23. Apart from special measures to prevent Germany and Italy from again plunging the world into war, a general reduction and limitation of armaments should be carried out by international agreement as soon as possible after peace has been made. It should be part of that scheme to abolish all national armaments specially suitable for aggression including particularly national air forces. Such reductions should be carried out under the strictest supervision of the International Authority, which should extend to civil aircraft. As part of this disarmament, an international air force should be created to assist in keeping the peace. This force should also be available for Regional Groups.

It was agreed to hold a special meeting of the Committee on Thursday, October 24th, to complete the discussion of Lord Cecil's draft.

186. **DEATH OF ALDERMAN THOMPSON.** The Executive were grieved to learn of the death, in a recent air raid, of Alderman Thompson (Mayor of Chelmsford), his wife, children and grandchildren. Alderman Thompson had, for many years, served the Union



as Chairman of the Essex Executive. Arrangements had been made for the Executive Committee to be represented at the funeral and a wreath had been sent in their name. It was

RESOLVED: "That a message of condolence on behalf of the Executive be sent to the nearest relative of Alderman and Mrs. Thompson."

167. CLOSING OF OFFICE ON SATURDAYS. It was

RESOLVED: "That, while the present difficulties and delays in travel continue, the office be closed on Saturdays."

*L. J. Linton*

CHAIRMAN

November 7th, 1940.

CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF A SPECIAL MEETING OF THE  
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF  
NATIONS UNION HELD AT NO. 60, ST.  
MARTIN'S LANE, LONDON, W.C.2, ON THURSDAY,  
OCTOBER 24TH, 1940 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Lady Violet  
Bonham Carter, Lord Cecil, Miss K.D. Courtney,  
Mrs. Dugdale, Miss P. Pawcett, Nowell  
Smith and Major Freshwater.

188. PLACE AIDE. The Executive continued their "Second Reading" discussion on Lord Cecil's draft of PLACE AIDE (S.783) beginning with paragraph 25. Consideration was given to comments and suggested amendments by Mr. Arnold Forster, Professor Brodetsky and Dr. Gilbert Murray, as well as by other members who were present. After discussion, paragraphs 25 and 26 of the memorandum were approved and adopted in the following form:

25. (Renumbered 24)

Where possible, any economic and social questions specially affecting particular regions might be transferred to the Regional Groups, as also similar questions dealing with Minorities or Refugees.

26. (Renumbered 25)

In conclusion, we desire to insist that neither the system for keeping the peace which we have suggested here, nor any other, can succeed unless the nations genuinely accept the view that Peace is the greatest of national interests and are consequently ready to co-operate with all their strength in the maintenance of a Peace founded on Freedom, Truth and Justice.

The Committee then gave further consideration to the title of the memorandum and the Introductory paragraph. After discussion it was agreed

- (a) that the TITLE of the memorandum be amended to read 'WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR,
- (b) that the Introductory paragraph be approved and adopted in the following form:

INTRODUCTORY.

The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union has already issued two Statements of policy on the subject of an international Settlement after the War and the policy outlined in them has been endorsed by the General Council. Recent events, however, especially the collapse of France, have rendered necessary a review of the situation and a re-statement of the policy of the L.N.U., though the main principles on which previous statements were based are still applicable.

We entered the War to check the attempt of Nazi Germany to dominate Europe and impose on other countries the tyranny by which her own people have been enslaved. We seek no enlargements of our territory or economic privilege. As the Prime Minister has said "We do not covet anything from any nation except their respect". We desire that international relations should be governed not by force but by Freedom, Truth and Justice, in the benefits of which all nations should equally share. To attain these objects we believe that the settlement after the War should be on the following lines.

The Executive had before them a revised draft of paragraph 14, submitted by Professor Brodetsky and Mrs. Corbett Ashby in accordance with the Committee's request (minute 181). This paragraph was, after discussion, approved and adopted in the following form:

14. Two other subjects will require courageous action: the racial, religious and linguistic minorities, and the administration of colonial territories. A great deal of experience has been gained in both subjects by the work of the League. It is not possible to go into detail at present, but we would say that the following principles should be kept in view:
1. No legal discrimination against any person on the ground that he is a member of a racial, religious or linguistic minority; and
  2. Colonial Administration as a trust in the interests of all the inhabitants, and affording to all nations equal opportunity for their trade and commerce.

Lord Cecil read a letter from Dr. Murray suggesting the addition of some words in paragraph 13 referring to

possible domestic changes (social, economic and political) which were likely to take place in all countries at the end of the war. The Executive, after considering paragraph 13 in its amended form, felt that no further amendment was necessary.

Reference was made to the fact that the amended draft of Lord Cecil's original paragraphs 15 and 16, as adopted at the previous meeting, omitted any reference to a "closer organisation such as Federal Union", and it was agreed to insert the following sentence at the end of (amended) paragraph 22:-

"We do not think that any closer organisation such as Federal Union is immediately practicable".

At the suggestion of Mr. Nowell Smith it was agreed to insert the following sentence after sub-paragraph (e) of paragraph 10:

"The folly of this condonation of evil is now evident enough".

(Note. The complete text of the Memorandum in its amended form is annexed to these minutes (S.792)

It was agreed that the Statement should be published in the November HEADWAY, with a note to the effect that the General Council will be asked, at its December meeting, to consider and endorse the document.

It was further agreed that representative League-minded foreigners now in London should be invited to meet members of the Executive at 11 a.m. on Thursday, November 14th for an exchange of views on the Statement. Lord Lytton kindly promised to arrange for the meeting to be held in the Board Room of the Central London Electricity Company at 25, Eccleston Place, S.W.1.

A letter dated October 7th from Mr. Inch, Secretary of the Canadian Society, was read, stating that copies of Lord Cecil's preliminary draft of PEACE AIMS had been circulated to members of the Canadian National Executive and Branch Presidents, and that, when the document had been finally approved, publicity would be given to it in the CANADIAN NEWS LETTER.

189. **MRS. CORBETT ASHEY.** The Chairman reported a letter from Mrs. Corbett Ashby who felt she ought to resign her membership of the Executive since she found it increasingly difficult to attend the meetings. It was agreed to ask Mrs. Corbett Ashby to continue to serve on the Committee and to attend its meetings whenever she found it possible to do so.

*Lytton*  
CHAIRMAN.

November 7th 1940



S.792.  
29.10.40.WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR(Statement of Policy adopted by Executive Committee of  
League of Nations Union, 24th October, 1940)INTRODUCTORY

The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union has already issued two Statements of policy on the subject of an International Settlement after the War and the policy outlined in them has been endorsed by the General Council. Recent events, however, especially the collapse of France, have rendered necessary a review of the situation and a re-statement of the policy of the L.N.U., though the main principles on which previous statements were based are still applicable.

We entered the War to check the attempt of Nazi Germany to dominate Europe and impose on other countries the tyranny by which her own people have been enslaved. We seek no enlargements of our territory or economic privilege. As the Prime Minister has said "we do not covet anything from any nation except their respect". We desire that international relations should be governed not by force but by Freedom, Truth and Justice, in the benefits of which all nations should equally share. To attain these objects we believe that the settlement after the War should be on the following lines.

PRINCIPLES OF WAR SETTLEMENTPRELIMINARY

1. At the end of the war a conference of the belligerents must be held to deal with the special issues raised by the war: such as - the restoration of occupied territories, financial measures concurred with war damage, provisional measures to prevent the renewal of a policy of aggression by Germany, Italy and their allies.
2. As soon as an agreement on these points has been reached invitations should be issued for an International Congress, consisting of the belligerents and some at least of the neutral States, to decide on the terms of a world settlement including such financial and territorial arrangements as may be desirable for the establishment of good relations between all nations.
3. 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.
4. These problems are closely related. Peace is essential to Reconstruction; Reconstruction is vital to Peace. Both depend on the Supremacy of Law.
5. The Supremacy of Law in this connection does not mean so much obedience to particular rules governing international intercourse as the recognition that the sovereignty of nations should be limited by certain fundamental principles such as good faith and justice and the rejection of force as the sole arbiter of international rights.

PEACE-KEEPING

6. If international good faith and justice are to be observed some authority must be brought into existence which can declare in any particular case what good faith and justice require. Similarly, if mere force is not to be allowed to determine international controversy, in other words, if aggression is to be prevented, some authority must be entrusted with the duty and given the power to prevent it.
7. It is on the question of what is to be that authority that the fundamental international controversy arises. The Germans hold that there can be no limit to the sovereignty of a State except its power to enforce its will. They think, therefore, that as they claim to have the supreme military power in Europe, they have a right to do whatever they think desirable on that Continent.
8. We, on the contrary, hold that no nation can be trusted to be judge in its own cause, and we point to the events in the Far East, in Abyssinia, in Austria, in Albania, in Czechoslovakia, in Poland before the war, and in other cases since the war began, to show what horrible injustice and cruelty are produced by the German theory.
9. It seems clear that if we reject the selfish domination of a single Power we must look to a combination of Powers which will both have the moral authority to declare what justice and good faith require and will be sufficiently strong to prevent aggression.
10. That was the main idea underlying the League of Nations. It failed because its members were not prepared to run the risks inevitable if powerful aggressors were to be coerced into abandoning aggression.

In other words, the League Powers did not take their Covenant obligations seriously. A change of attitude on this point is essential if peace is to be preserved by international co-operation.

- (a) If the British and French Governments with the other Powers of the League had been prepared forcibly to prevent the Italian invasion of Abyssinia in 1935, we should probably not have witnessed the renewed attack on China and the attacks on Austria, Czechoslovakia and Albania, nor should we have been driven in circumstances of such greater difficulty to take up arms on behalf of Poland in 1939.
- (b) That seems obvious to us now and indeed the danger was clear enough to many people at the time. Why, then, did we and others act as we did five years ago?
- (c) The answer is, in the first place, because we were still thinking in terms of British interests, that is the British Government believed that the chief if not the only object of British Foreign Policy should be the protection of British commercial and territorial rights and the personal safety of British subjects from direct attack. It was said, for instance, that we were not interested in Abyssinia, forgetting that we were deeply interested in the maintenance of peace and in the support of the machinery which had been constructed to maintain it.

- (d) Secondly, it was said that other Members of the League would not back us up. The allegation was in the main unfounded; but whether true or false, it created an atmosphere of hesitation.
- (e) Thirdly, there was the view that if, in defiance of our obligations under the Covenant, we allowed Italy to conquer Abyssinia she would be more likely to help us against Germany. The folly of this conception of evil is now evident enough.
- (f) Further, difficulties were caused by the wide extent and consequent vagueness of the League obligations. Each of the fifty odd Members of the League was in form bound to carry out against an aggressor in any part of the globe the onerous duties imposed by Article 16. And it was not quite certain what those duties were.
- (g) It was partly due to this vagueness of League obligations that the members of the League were looking in spirit to Germany and were inclined more and more to look at aggression from a rigidly national standpoint - an inclination very much increased by the world-wide nationalist movement exemplified by Fascism and Nazi-ism.
- (h) There was in consequence a tendency to minimize by explanation the meaning of Article 16, and to fall back on condemnation of the aggressor and appeal against him to the public opinion of the world. Many people indeed contended that this was a better way to keep the peace than by imposing sanctions. The experience of the Manchurian and Abyssinian cases ought to have convinced all impartial people that this was a mistaken view.

#### RECONSTRUCTION.

11. It is impossible to say what will be the economic condition of the world at the end of the war. But all are agreed that it is likely to be extremely serious and may be catastrophic. To meet these conditions there will have to be emergency provisions designed to mitigate starvation and set going again the machinery of credit and exchange.
12. But temporary measures will not be enough. A determined attempt to break down economic nationalities must be made. Tariffs must be lowered and other devices which have hampered trade must be abolished.
13. The work done in the last 20 years by the League and the I.L.O. must be speeded up and expanded with a much increased budget. This is true of the economic and industrial and also of the social and humanitarian work. 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.
14. Two other subjects will require courageous action: the racial, religious and linguistic minorities, and the administration of colonial territories. A great deal of experience has been gained in both subjects by the work of the League. It is not possible to go into detail at

\* A more detailed report on Social Reconstruction is under consideration.

present, but we would say that the following principles should be kept in view:

- (1) No racial discrimination against any person on the ground that he is a member of a racial, religious or linguistic minority; and
- (2) Colonial Administration as a trust in the interests of all the Ambassadors, and affording to all nations equal opportunity for their trade and commerce.

MACHINERY.

15. To carry out the policy advocated in this Memorandum, the existence of an International Authority as nearly representative of the civilized world as possible is essential.
16. In the opinion of the L.N.U. the most appropriate International Authority would be the League of Nations, though some modification of the Covenant will have to be made to make it conform with the experience gained in the last 20 years.
17. Whether the International Authority, the first bulwark for the prevention of war, be the League of Nations reconstituted and modified, or some new organization with a different name, the business of the Authority should be the maintenance of peace and justice and the improvement of the economic and social life of the world, through international co-operation.
18. The I.L.O. and the P.C.I.J. must also be continued.
19. If any member submits to the International Authority that the provisions of any treaty or other international conditions have become dangerous or inapplicable, the Authority should examine the matter and recommend such steps as may be desirable. If this recommendation is adopted unanimously except for the votes of States immediately interested, it should be binding on all States Members of the Authority. If it is adopted by a majority, it should be binding on those who voted in the majority.
20. The provisions for dealing with international disputes contained in Articles 10 - 17 of the Covenant should apply to the new organization except that they should be re-drafted so as to make it clear that while all members should agree that aggression is an international crime and that it is part of the duty of every member of the organization to do all in his own power to put a stop to it, and in no case to assist the aggressor, the extent of the coercive action, political, economic or military, to be taken by each member should be decided by that member.
21. In addition to and as part of the larger body, there should be one or more Regional Groups consisting of members who are prepared to utilize their whole strength in preventing aggression in particular regions, such as Europe. They should expressly agree that they not only regard aggression as an international crime but also that they are prepared to use all means, military as well as economic or diplomatic, to restrain the aggressor in that region.



22. Machinery in the nature of a Confederation of the Governments represented in such Regional Group should be established which should include at least a Regional General Staff. We do not think that any closer organization such as Federal Union is immediately practicable.
23. Apart from special measures to prevent Germany and Italy from again plunging the world into war, a general reduction and limitation of armaments should be carried out by international agreement as soon as possible after peace has been made. It should be part of that scheme to abolish all national armaments specially suitable for aggression including particularly national air forces. Such reductions should be carried out under the strictest supervision of the International Authority, which should extend to civil aircraft. As part of this agreement, an international Air Force should be created to assist in keeping the peace. This Force should also be available for Regional Groups.
24. Where possible, any economic and social questions specially affecting particular regions might be transferred to the Regional Groups, as also similar questions dealing with minorities or refugees.
25. In conclusion, we desire to insist that neither the system for keeping the peace which we have suggested here, nor any other, can succeed unless the nations genuinely accept the view that Peace is the greatest of national interests and are consequently ready to co-operate with all their strength in the maintenance of a Peace founded on Freedom, Truth and Justice.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION HELD AT 60 ST. MARTIN'S LANE, LONDON, W.C.2., ON THURSDAY 7TH NOVEMBER, 1940 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Lady Violet Bonham-Carter, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss F. Fawcett, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, J. Macdonald, W.T. Pritchard, H.S. Syrett, E.P. Wallis-Jones.

180 APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE. The Chairman reported that Lord Cecil, Miss Courtney and Dr. Murray were unable to attend the Committee's meeting. A bomb had fallen near Lord Cecil's residence and he had to remain in Sussex in order to consult his surveyors in regard to the damage. Miss Courtney had come to London for the meeting but had not been able to stay since she had received news that her house had been bombed for the third time. Dr. Murray was, unfortunately, laid up with a severe attack of neuritis.

181 MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on October 17th, and of the special meeting held on October 24th, 1940, were confirmed as circulated.

182 MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES:

On Minute 186 - 177 - Co-optations, after a letter dated 21st October from Mr. Leonard Woolf to Dr. Murray had been read, it was

RESOLVED: "That Mr. Leonard Woolf be co-opted a member of the Executive."

183 WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR. It was reported that the following had accepted invitations to meet members of the Executive on Thursday, November 14th, for an exchange of views on the Union's Statement of Policy (WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR):-

Mr. Negorski	}	Poland
Mr. Czerwinski		
Dr. Slavik	}	Czechoslovakia
Dr. Ripka		
Dr. Kuncsi		
Prof. Rene Cassin - France		

Replies were awaited from Mr. Stronski (Poland), Mr. P. Comert (France) and Sir John Stavridi (former Greek Consul).

After several suggestions had been submitted for the Committee's consideration it was agreed that invitations should also be sent to the following:-

*Dr. Masaryk	(Czechoslovakia)
Mr. Poznanski	(Poland)
Mr. Wouters	(Belgium)
Mr. Henri Jaspars	"
*Mr. Lul Kai	(China)
*The Chinese Ambassador	
Mlle. Marchand	(France)
Mme. A. Weil	"
Mr. Caclamanos	(Greece)

and that an endeavour should be made to find a representative "League-minded" Norwegian and Swede to whom an invitation might be sent.

\*The Chairman expressed his willingness to send the invitations to the Chinese Ambassador and Dr. Masaryk. p.t.o.



After discussion, it was further agreed that the Resolutions which the Chairman expressed his willingness to draft, should include a request to H.W. Government to formulate and make public their opinion on the subjects dealt with in the Executive's Statement, and should deal with the following subjects:-

- a. Internment of aliens, refugees, etc.
- b. The Far East (urging assistance to China and close co-operation with the U.S.A.).

It was decided that the Chairman's draft Resolutions should be circulated to all members of the Executive so soon as they were ready; that they should be invited to send in writing any amendments they might wish to suggest; and that, at the conclusion of the special meeting with representative foreigners on November 14th, the draft Resolutions should be discussed.

188 **JOINT ALLIED COUNCIL.** It was agreed that the motion submitted by Mr. Hander which had been adjourned from the meeting of September 19th, and which had since appeared regularly on the Agenda in the hope that Mr. Noel Baker would be present to discuss it, should no longer appear on the Agenda, but that the Chairman should be asked to consider whether any reference to a Joint Allied Council could be included in his draft Resolutions for the General Council.

199 **GREECE.** It was unanimously agreed that a message from the Executive should be sent to the President of the Greek League of Nations Society, wishing his country success in its gallant stand against unprovoked aggression.

200 **PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT.** It was suggested that the Union might send a message of congratulation to President Roosevelt on his election for a third term of office. It was agreed that Lord Cecil should be consulted and, if his approval were obtained, that a suitable message should be sent to President Roosevelt.

*Lyles*  
CHAIRMAN  
December 8th 1940

S.801.  
27.11.40.

REPORT OF AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS BETWEEN MEMBERS OF THE  
L.N.M. EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND REPRESENTATIVE LEAGUE-  
MEMBER FOREIGNERS HELD AT 11 A.M. ON THURSDAY, NOVEMBER  
14TH, 1940 AT NO. 25 ECCLESTON PLACE, S.W.1.

PRESENT: RT. HON THE EARL OF LYTTON (in the Chair)

CHINA: H.E. The Chinese Ambassador and Mr. Lai Ming.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA: Dr. Slavik (Minister of Home Affairs, Czech National Committee; Vice-President International Federation of League of Nations Societies); Mr. Ripka (State Secretary in Ministry of Foreign Affairs Czech National Committee); Mr. Kuncel (former General Secretary Czech League of Nations Society); and Mr. Peierabend, (Minister of State, Czech National Committee).

FRANCE: Professor René Cassin (Member of General de Gaulle's Council; former member of French League of Nations Society and I.P.C.); Mr. Pierre Comert (Editor of FRANCE; formerly Director of Information Section of League of Nations; and Chief of Press and Information Service, French Ministry of Foreign Affairs).

HOLLAND: Dr. J. G. de Beua (former President Netherlands Universities League of Nations Society; now working with Netherlands Government in London).

GREECE: H.E. Mr. P. Caculanos (former Minister for Greece in London).

POLAND: Mr. Z. Negorski, (formerly Chairman, Executive Committee Polish League of Nations Society); Mr. Czerwinaki (Minister of Polish Ministry of Information; formerly General Secretary, Polish League of Nations Society); Mr. Pomanski (formerly Diplomatic Editor, JOURNAL DES NATIONS, Geneva);

BELGIUM: Mr. Arthur Wauters (former Minister of Labour).

Members of L.N.M. Executive: Mrs. Corbett Ashby (who acted as interpreter), Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Lord Cecil, Dean of Chichester, Miss K. D. Courtney, Mrs. Dagdale, Miss P. Fawcett, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Lady Hall, Sir Arthur Hsworth, G. Le M. Mander K.F., W. T. Fritchard, Rowell Smith.

P.T.P



LORD LYTON opened the proceedings by extending a cordial welcome to the visitors from allied and friendly nations who had honoured the Executive by attending the conference, and said that the Executive's statement, WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR, had been communicated to those present in order that they might know what had been in the minds of the Executive regarding general ideas for world settlement and in order that the statement might form the basis of discussion at the present meeting. It was not intended to discuss the document as such to make it into an agreed statement and he hoped therefore that, if the visitors referred to the Executive's paper, they would do so only in general terms and not in detail.

Lord Lyton then referred to one of the main features of the statement, i.e. that when the armed forces of the enemy had been defeated and such terms had been imposed on them as would prevent any further resistance (that being a subject which concerned the belligerents only) there should be summoned a general conference of States which had been affected by the war, or were concerned to prevent its recurrence, in order that they might consider how far it was possible for them to combine. It might perhaps be said that it was unrealistic to discuss what we should do when we had won the war before victory was actually in sight. But in the Union's view peace aims were an essential feature of war strategy, and to tell the world in general, and one's enemies in particular, what you intended to do with victory if you achieved it, was one of the ways of getting the victory itself. Our enemies were busy telling the world what was the "new order" which they were going to establish, and they were engaged in buying new friends with territory which was not yet theirs to distribute; they believed that would help them to achieve victory.

The Executive Committee had discussed the question of world settlement after the war with representatives of the French Society some months ago, before the armistice of France had been defeated and at a time when the French military power was the dominant factor facing the enemy. Much had happened since that time and France was no longer in that position. There was now a straight issue between Great Britain and Germany, and whichever of those two won the war would be the dominant power in Europe, and perhaps in the world. It was therefore surely desirable that everyone should know as soon as possible, and as clearly as possible, what each of them would do if and when they were in that position. It was to discuss that matter in its broad general aspects that the present conference had been called, and the Union's Executive would be most grateful for any assistance the visitors might be able to give them.

LORD CECIL was strongly of opinion that it would greatly encourage the British people to know that, in fighting the present war, they were not only out to destroy Hitler and Mussolini, but also to establish a better organisation in the world which was the thing they cared most about. A fundamental fact of the present situation was that the war was not between two Powers or groups of Powers, but between two ideas — the idea of justice and freedom and respect for treaties and general international morality, and the idea of mere force at the disposal of any country that was strong enough to have it and which recognised no kind of control or restraint. The Executive's statement of policy was based on that fundamental principle. Lord Cecil then went on to outline the main features of the Executive's statement and said that, whether those present were all agreed or whether differences of opinion developed, the discussion ought to be of great value since it would show, broadly speaking, what was the kind of hope for the future that could be held out to the people of the British Empire, to the people of the world, and to the people of our enemies — something which would secure justice for all and peace on a stable basis.

MR. SLAVIK (CZECHOSLOVAKIA) thought one of the great difficulties at the present moment was the complete uncertainty of the evolution of Europe, and any plans had therefore to be based on possible great changes. In his opinion the future of Europe lay not with the small States but with federations of independent nations. He thanked the Executive Committee for their statement of policy and suggested that a further conference should be held at which it would be possible for him, after consultation with his members, to circulate a statement of their views on world settlement to the Executive.

MR. NAGORSKI (POLAND) regarded the Executive's statement as of great importance and referred to a Study Bureau which had been set up within the Polish Government in order to discuss the problem. He suggested that any plan hereafter made must be based on accepted facts, and he stressed two of them: (1) the armed resistance to Germany that had been made by Poland and (2) the continued resistance which Poland was now making against Great Britain's allies. He maintained that there had been, and could be, no treaty and no peace until the evil had been defeated. Another factor of real importance was the political and economic declaration that had been made by the Czech and Polish Governments — a union of two free and independent peoples — which, he was confident, responded to public opinion in the two countries. Mr. Nagorski was of opinion that there should be formed an agglomeration of States in Central Europe, stronger than any outside unit. Any new organization should not be based on theory but should be built from the ground up and should be based on the declaration of the Czech and Polish Governments. New methods against aggression were really the key problem. Mr. Nagorski added that he could not make any detailed pronouncement for the Polish League of Nations Society, but they were fortunate in having twelve members of their Executive in Great Britain. He would like them to examine, and to submit their views upon, the Union's statement with a view to a further conference being held with members of the L.N.U. Executive.

PROFESSOR CASSIN (FRANCE) thanked the Executive for calling the conference and recalled the Anglo-French meeting of last March. He agreed that victory was the first condition necessary for any world settlement, but thought that it was in line with civilization to work for international peace even during the struggle of war. When victory had been won, the form the war had taken would make peace organization more difficult than it was in 1918. The new order in Europe announced by Hitler might be a complete lie, but it was true in a certain deep sense. We should be playing Hitler's game if we attempted any division of the world into compartments and continents, and he stressed the desirability of caution in this matter, since division into compartments might sow the seeds of future wars between continents themselves. Hitler hated the British Empire because it existed in different parts of the world and united different races. Care had to be taken not to form a European union so narrow as to be an easy ground for future inter-continental wars. Professor Cassin also expressed the opinion that State sovereignty, which had been a great difficulty in 1918, would become a still greater difficulty because of the exaggerated importance attached to it in Russia and Germany and Italy. A further difficulty lay in the fact that victory would depend on the immense concentration of force under British control, and he wondered if such force could be willingly dissolved unless there were something equally stable to take its place. The forces of a great State must be opposed by insistence on the rights of man.

MR. LUI NING (CHINA) said that, while the League had failed in the crisis in the Far East, it had been put to a very severe test at a time when the principles of the League were not sufficiently understood and when public opinion in various countries was not ready to make sacrifices to back up those principles. But even through the present struggle there was no loss of faith in the principles of the League generally in China. The present war in Europe was the culmination of what had happened in the Far East. While many economic interpretations and theories might be put forward, the fact remained that both Japan and Germany had not resorted to the various measures provided by the machinery of the League to settle their grievances. The Chinese felt that they were fighting for a cause and for certain principles which would bring back to the world that confidence which was so necessary if peace was to be secured on a permanent basis. Mr. Wang compared the present situation in Europe with the conditions which had prevailed in China many years ago when, under the rule of Ch'in Shih Huang Ti (the man who had built the Great Wall) there had been the same type of struggle as was prevailing both in Japan and in Germany today. But, in spite of that dark period, Chinese civilization had survived; and, looking at Europe today, he was confident that the principles on which the League was based would survive, but under changed conditions. Any new programme should not be drawn up entirely from the point of view of Europe. Efforts to prevent the conflict in the Far East had failed because people had felt that although certain principles might be applied to problems in Europe the same principles could not be applied to problems in the Far East. There were certain fundamental principles which were universal.

MR. CACLIANAKIS (GREECE) spoke in his personal capacity as one of the first delegates to the Council of the League, where he had represented Greece. The early years were heroic times for the League. Everyone was full of hope and enthusiasm and very sure that, by the system established under the Treaty of Peace, the future peace of Europe would be secured. But it was unfortunate for the League when a spirit of sectionalism developed in it. A statesman of one of the States now under the heel of Hitlerism had said not long ago that it was ridiculous to think that a Northern country could fight for a country in the South of Europe. Greece, attacked in a brutal way by Mussolini without any pretext or justification, was now fighting, and she was fighting not only for herself but for Norway, Holland and Belgium. A Greek victory would not, of course, mean the definite victory of the Allies; but if Mussolini was beaten with the aid of Great Britain in Greece, it would be a very powerful factor in the development of the situation in Europe.

MR. WAUTERS (BELGIUM) thanked the League of Nations Union and the people of Great Britain. He agreed that it was irresponsible for victory to present to the populations of the countries that was some other object than victory alone. War was being waged on the psychological side, and it was extremely important to strengthen the resistance of the oppressed peoples. If success was to be achieved, it was necessary to seek the causes of the war and among them our own faults and responsibilities. Governments had failed where public opinion was too weak and the League itself was also weak. Both organic and tactical mistakes were made at Geneva. Mr. Wauters agreed with Professor Cassin's statement of the problem, and suggested that the fundamental problem was whether the State existed for the individual or whether the individual was made for the State. Consideration should be given to the question whether federation or confederation was the best solution of the present problems. The renunciation of State sovereignty was much more difficult for small States, and he compared it with the state of public opinion within the British Commonwealth of Nations. He personally felt that Belgium should



enter into a larger group with the necessary renunciation of part of her sovereign rights. The fact that small States had become less loyal to the League was partly due to facts on the part of larger States. Neutrality today had cost Belgium her life, but not her honour. He believed that one of the most urgent matters was to seek out the economic basis on which the new construction for peace should arise, and instanced particularly questions of exchange, raw materials and transport. Mr. Wauters added that the fate of the I.L.O. and of the League had been quite different because they were created in a different spirit. The International Labour Organisation had been successful because it had been based on large popular organisations within each country, whereas the League had never had that advantage.

MR. G. LE M. MANDER (EXECUTIVE) referred to the suggestion made by Mr. Negorski for a further conference and spoke of the analogous proposal which had been made for an official Joint Allied Council of all those taking part in the war. That, however, was a matter for Governments and might or might not arise. But it was within the power of those present to make the present meeting, not merely one gathering or one of a series of gatherings, but the beginning of a permanent unofficial organisation for the purpose of working out together the kind of programme all would like to see put into operation in the world after the war.

MR. KUNOSI (CZECHOSLOVAKIA) proposed that the members of League of Nations Societies represented at the present meeting should, among themselves and with their friends, consider the Executive's statement of policy and submit written suggestions and comments upon it, and that when the Executive had received and examined those views, a further conference should be held.

MR. MAXWELL GARNETT (EXECUTIVE) drew attention to the fact that the Executive's statement made no mention of the need for education in world citizenship. In his opinion any plan for world settlement after the war should be concerned not only with politics and economics but also with education. If a better world was to be built it was necessary to have better citizens and to train them to feel a common citizenship. Professor Cassin had mentioned the advantage which the British Empire derived from the fact that it extended all over the world. Dr. Garnett suggested that another great advantage lay in the common loyalty and common ideals within the Empire.

MR. HOWELL SMITH (EXECUTIVE) reported that the Council for Education, set up by the League of Nations Union, proposed to hold a conference in Oxford during the second week of January in which representatives of allied and friendly nations, and particularly teachers, would be invited to take part for the purpose of discussing ways and means of improving the teaching of international loyalty and international understanding.

THE DEAN OF CHICHESTER (EXECUTIVE) hoped there would be a detailed discussion of the Executive's statement with the foreign visitors. Such a discussion would be of great value to those who, like himself, would later on have to discuss the statement with Union Branches in different parts of the country.

LORD LYTON, replying to suggestions made by the visitors from Czechoslovakia and Poland, said that the L.N.U. Executive would welcome comments and suggestions on the statement of policy from representatives of foreign League of Nations Societies. Mr. Wauters had reminded the meeting that it was essential that consideration should be given to the economic basis of the new world order, and if those present would not only criticise the Executive's statement but would submit suggestions on the lines of possible directions which had not been sufficiently explored, it would be extremely useful to the Executive. When such criticisms and suggestions had been received the Executive would give them careful consideration and would also consider how practical effect might be given to the suggestion for future collaboration and co-operation between the Union and the members of foreign League of Nations Societies now in London.



CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTE'S OF A SPECIAL MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION HELD AT NO. 25 HOELSTON PLACE, LONDON, S.W.1. ON THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 14TH, 1940.

(This meeting took place at the close of the discussion between members of the Executive and representative League-minded foreigners on the subject of world settlement after the war.)

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Lord Cecil, Dean of Chichester, Miss K.D. Courtney, Mrs. Duggale, Miss P. Fawcett, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Lady Hall, Sir Arthur Haworth, G. le M. Mander M.P., W.T. Pritchard, Nowell Smith and Major Freshwater.

201. GENERAL POLICY RESOLUTIONS. The Executive considered draft Resolutions (S.738) prepared by the Chairman in accordance with minute 197, for submission to the December meeting of the General Council. These draft resolutions had already been circulated to the members of the Committee, together with an explanatory note by the Chairman. Amendments by Lord Cecil, Mr. Nowell Smith and Dr. Garnett were considered, and, after discussion, the resolutions were approved and adopted for submission to the Council in the following form:

I. POST-WAR SETTLEMENT.

The General Council approves the Statement entitled 'WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR' submitted by the Executive Committee, and calls upon all Councils, Branches, Youth Groups and other local organisations of the Union to do everything possible to obtain support for the policy set out in the Statement.

It further resolves that the Statement be sent for study to the League of Nations Societies in the U.S.A. and the Dominions, and to other organisations likely to be interested.

The General Council further expresses the hope that H.M. Government will take steps to secure a close departmental study of the subjects dealt with in the Statement, and will as soon as possible make a public declaration of its own attitude to those subjects.

II. REFUGEES AND INTERNEES.

The General Council urges H.M. Government to include among the Categories of eligibility for the release of interned aliens those who can

- 2 -

satisfy a Tribunal that they are so friendly towards this country and so sympathetic towards the Allied cause that they can safely be released without prejudice to the national interest."

### III. THE FAR EAST.

The General Council welcomes the decision of H.M. Government to re-open the Burma Road. It urges that all practicable assistance should be given to China in her heroic struggle against Japanese aggression and that, in doing this, H.M. Government should maintain the closest co-operation with the U.S.A.

### IV. JOINT ALLIED COUNCIL.

The General Council invites H.M. Government to consider whether the time has not come for the formation of a Joint Allied Council, consisting of representatives of the British Empire and the countries actively associated with it in the conduct of the war, as a symbol of the international character of this struggle for the preservation of civilisation.

It was further agreed that the following should be asked to move the resolutions on behalf of the Executive at the Council Meeting:

- I. Post-war Settlement: Dr. Gilbert Murray
- II. Refugees and Internees: Lord Lytton
- III. The Far East: Miss Courtney
- IV. Joint Allied Council: Mr. G. le H. Mander (or Mr. Noel Baker)

Dr. Garnett asked leave to table the following amendment to the Statement of Policy, WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR:

"To insert after paragraph 14 the following:

#### Education for World Citizenship.

Psychological planning is no less essential than political and economic planning for world settlement after the war. Common ideals and a common loyalty must be implanted and fostered in the minds of the people if international solidarity is to increase and international authority is to be maintained."

The Chairman said that this amendment would be circulated, along with any others that might be received, to those

present at the meeting of the Council on December 6th.

It was decided to send to representatives of foreign League of Nations Societies now in England an invitation to attend the December meeting of the General Council.

202. DATE OF NEXT MEETING. It was agreed that the next meeting of the Committee should be held on Thursday, December 5th, the day preceding the Council meeting.

*Lyster*

CHAIRMAN

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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 5TH, 1940, AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the chair), Lady Violet Benham Carter, Lord Cecil, Miss M.D. Courtney, Miss E. Pawcett, Lady Layton, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, J. Macdonald, Dr. Gilbert Murray, W.T. Fitchard, Nowell Smith, and Major Freshwater.

202. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on 7th November and of the special meeting held on 14th November, as well as the report of the meeting with representative League-minded foreigners held on November 14th (S.801), were approved and signed by the Chairman.

203. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 198 - H.Q. Office Premises, the Chairman stated that, for the present, the need for the Union to take alternative office accommodation at Maiden Lane did not arise.

On Minute 200 - President Roosevelt, it was reported that Lord Cecil had not considered it desirable for the Union, as such, to send a message of congratulation to President Roosevelt. Lord Cecil had, however, sent a message in his personal capacity.

204. GENERAL COUNCIL

- (a) Procedure Committee It was agreed that, if a Procedure Committee were needed at the Council Meeting, Lady Hall and Mr. Bezzens should be invited to serve on it.
- (b) Agenda. Amendments submitted by Branches, etc. (E.S.2535) were considered, and the line to be taken by the Executive in regard to each of them was agreed upon.

Lord Cecil stated that, in view of the necessity of the Council concluding its business in one day, he proposed to enforce a strict time limit on the speeches.

It was reported that Professor Rene Cassin and Mr. Geniaux (French L. of N. Society) and Dr. Kuncos (Czech L. of N. Society) had accepted the Executive's invitation to be present at the Council Meeting.

(During the discussion on the above item Lord Lytton had to leave the meeting and the Chair was taken by Miss Courtney.)

205. CLOSING OF OFFICE FOR CHRISTMAS. It was agreed that the office should be closed on Christmas Day and Boxing Day.

*Lytton*  
CHAIRMAN. 19/12/40



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, DECEMBER 10TH, 1940 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Lord Cecil, Miss K.D. Courtney, Miss P. Fawcett, W. Arnold Forster, Dr. A.D. Lindsay, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Brig. Gen. L.C.P. Hilman, P. Fitchard, Nowell Smith and Major Freshwater.

206. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on December 5th, 1940 were confirmed as circulated.

207. GENERAL COUNCIL.

(a) Resolutions. The Executive had before them the text of resolutions adopted by the General Council at its meeting on December 6th (copy filed with these minutes). (end of)

(b) Financial Statement. In regard to the Budget for 1941, regret was expressed that, owing to lack of time, it had not been possible for the Treasurer to make any detailed financial report to the Council when moving the adoption of the Executive's motion. It was agreed that a Financial Statement should be circulated to the Executive for consideration at the next meeting.

(c) WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR. It was reported that, while provisionally approving the Statement of Policy, WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR, the General Council had asked the Executive to reconsider the drafting of certain passages in the light of amendments submitted to, and discussed by, the General Council.

The Executive had before them the text of the amendments submitted by the Council for the Committee's consideration (S.806), together with suggested Revisions by Lord Lytton (S.806), by Dr. Murray (S.804) and by Mr. Syrett (S.811). A letter from Mr. Yui Ming expressing the views of the Chinese Ambassador on the Statement, and comments by Professor René Cassin on the French League of Nations Society, had also been circulated to the Executive, as well as a letter written by Mr. Leonard Behrens of Manchester (who had seconded the Executive's motion on POST-WAR SETTLEMENT at the Council). Reference was also made to amendments suggested in a cable received from Mr. Warwick Chipman, the Chairman of the Canadian League of Nations Society.

P.T.O.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL  
COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS  
UNION AT ITS MEETING IN LONDON  
ON FRIDAY, DECEMBER 6th, 1940.

1. POST-WAR SETTLEMENT.

The General Council provisionally approves the Statement entitled WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR submitted by the Executive Committee, and calls upon all Councils, Branches, Youth Groups and other local organisations of the Union to give the statement their careful consideration and, as far as possible, support its proposals.

It further resolves that the Statement be sent for study to the League of Nations Societies in the U.S.A. and the Dominions, and to other organisations likely to be interested.

The General Council welcomes the fact that the Cabinet is making a study of the subject of Peace Aims, and hopes that the Government will, as soon as possible, make a public declaration of its ~~own attitude~~ <sup>attitude</sup> to the Peace Aims. It is prepared to advocate as the foundation of a new World Order.

*Lush*

2. REFUGEES AND INTERNEES.

The General Council gratefully acknowledges the sympathetic spirit of Mr. Morrison's recent speeches in the House of Commons on the subject of interned aliens, and urges H.M. Government to give effect to this spirit, by speeding up the procedure for the release of interned aliens who can satisfy a Tribunal that "they are so friendly towards this country and so sympathetic towards the Allied cause that they can safely be released without prejudice to the national interest."

3. THE FAR EAST.

The General Council welcomes the decision of H.M. Government to re-open the Burma Road. It urges that all practicable assistance should be given to China in her heroic struggle against Japanese aggression and that, in doing this, H.M. Government should maintain the closest co-operation with the U.S.A.

4. JOINT ALLIED COUNCIL.

The General Council invites H.M. Government to consider whether the time has not come for the formation of a Joint Allied Council, consisting of representatives of the British Empire and the countries actively associated with it in the conduct of the war as a symbol of the international character of this struggle for the preservation of civilisation.

5. BUDGET FOR 1941.

The General Council authorises the Executive Committee to continue expenditure at the present rate of some £11,500 a year for so long as it finds it desirable, and possible, and to make such alterations in the rate of expenditure as it may deem necessary.

Detailed consideration was then given to the proposed amendments. After considerable discussion, during which further amendments were suggested by Mr. Arnold Forster and the Master of Balliol, and a letter from Dr. Murray was read, the Statement of Policy, up to and including Clause 19, was approved and adopted in the attached amended form (S.812)

The desirability of publishing the complete Statement in its amended form in the January number of HEADWAY having been stressed, Lord Cecil was asked to redraft the remaining Clauses (20 to 25 inclusive). It was agreed that Lord Cecil's amended draft should be circulated to the other Officers of the Union and, if they approved, should be accepted as the Executive's revised draft for publication in the January HEADWAY, but that, in the event of the Officers not being in agreement, Lord Cecil's amended draft should be submitted for discussion at the next meeting of the Executive.

Reference was made to the amendment to the Executive's motion proposed by Dr. Garnett and seconded by Mr. Nowell Smith at the Council Meeting in regard to the need for Education in World Citizenship. Lord Cecil said that he had informed the Council that, in his opinion, the inclusion of a few sentences on this subject in the Statement of Policy would not produce any good effect and that substantial argument would be needed. He therefore suggested that Dr. Garnett should be asked to prepare a paper on the subject for detailed consideration by the Executive and that, when such a paper had been approved, it should be issued as part of the Union's general policy. Mr. Nowell Smith welcomed this suggestion, which was agreed to.

Reference was also made to the desire expressed by the Council for a shorter statement of policy. Lord Cecil suggested, and the Committee agreed, that, when the longer statement had been finally settled, Mr. Arnold Forster should prepare an abbreviated version for consideration by the Executive and subsequent publication in leaflet form.

28. NEXT MEETING. It was agreed that the next meeting of the Committee should be held on Thursday, January 2nd, 1941.

*Lush*  
CHAIRMAN

2/1/41

### WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR.

(The present Statement contains various alterations, chiefly of a drafting character and never contrary to the sense of the original statement, which have been made by the Executive in order to meet wishes expressed by the General Council at its meeting on December 6th, 1940. Since it was not possible to lay the document in its present form before the Council for its definite approval, only a "provisional approval" has been asked for and granted.)

#### INTRODUCTORY.

The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union has already issued two statements of policy on the subject of an international settlement after the war and the policy outlined in them has been endorsed by the General Council. Recent events, however, especially the collapse of France, have rendered necessary a review of the situation and a restatement of the policy of the L.N.U., though the main principles on which previous statements were based are still applicable.

Britain entered the war not to obtain any territorial or other national gains, but to check the attempt of Nazi Germany to dominate Europe and impose on other countries the tyranny by which her own people have been enslaved. As the Prime Minister said: "We do not covet anything from any nation except their respect". The British people desire that international relations should be governed not by force but by freedom, truth and justice, in the benefits of which all nations should equally share. To attain these objects, the League of Nations Union believes that the settlement after the war should be on the following lines.

#### PRINCIPLES OF WAR SETTLEMENT

##### Preliminary

1. Hostilities will actually be brought to an end by an armistice, the terms of which will necessarily be decided between the Military authorities of the belligerent Powers.
2. As soon as possible after the Armistice, a Treaty of Peace should be negotiated by the belligerents, dealing with the special issues raised by the war, such as financial measures concerned with war damage and provisional measures to prevent the renewal of hostilities by Germany, Italy and their allies. This Treaty should provide for the restoration of the territories over-run by the enemy, but the final boundaries of these States should, wherever controversial issues are involved, be reserved for the larger international Congress to follow.
3. After sufficient time has been given for the provisions of the Peace Treaty to be carried out, invitations should be issued to an International Congress, consisting not only of the late belligerents but also of neutral States. This International Congress will determine the boundaries of the States that have been affected by the late war, and decide on the terms of a world settlement, including such financial and territorial arrangements as may be desirable for the establishment of good relations between nations.



4. Whatever territorial or financial arrangements are made, 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.
5. In insisting that nations should respect the Supremacy of Law, we mean not only that they must obey certain rules but that they will recognize certain underlying moral obligations towards each other. Their right of action must be limited by certain fundamental principles such as good faith and justice and the rejection of force as the arbiter of international rights.

#### Peace-Keeping.

6. If international good faith and justice are to be observed some authority must be brought into existence which can declare in any particular case what good faith and justice require. Similarly, if mere force is not to be allowed to determine international controversy, in other words, if aggression is to be prevented, some international authority must be entrusted with the duty and given the power to prevent it.
7. It is on the question of what is to be that authority that the fundamental international controversy arises. The German thesis is that there can be no limit to the sovereignty of a State except its power to enforce its will. The Nazis, therefore, claim that as they have the supreme military power in Europe, they have the right to do whatever the interests of Germany require on that Continent.
8. The contrary thesis for which Britain now stands is that no nation can be trusted to be judge in its own cause. Recent events in the Far East, in Abyssinia, in Austria, in Czechoslovakia, in Poland before the war and in other cases since the war began, show what injustice and cruelty are produced by the German theory.
9. It seems clear that 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.
10. That was the main idea underlying the League of Nations. It failed because its members were not prepared to run the risks inevitable if powerful aggressors were to be coerced into abandoning aggression.

In other words, the League Powers did not take their Government obligations seriously. A change of attitude on this point is essential if peace is to be preserved by international co-operation.

- (a) If, for instance, the British and French Governments with the other Members of the League had been prepared forcibly to prevent the Italian invasion of Abyssinia in 1936 we should probably not have witnessed the renewed attack on China and the attacks on Austria, Czechoslovakia and Albania, nor would Britain have been driven in circumstances of much greater difficulty to take up arms on behalf of Poland in 1939.
- (b) That seems obvious now and, indeed, the danger was clear enough to many people at the time. Why, then, did

Britain and others act as they did five years ago?

- (c) The answer is, in the first place, because we were still thinking in terms of British interests - that is, the British Government believed that the chief, if not the only, object of British Foreign Policy should be the protection of British commercial and territorial rights and the personal safety of British subjects from direct attack. It was said, for instance, that we were not interested in Abyssinia, forgetting that we were deeply interested in the maintenance of peace and in the support of the machinery which had been constructed to maintain it.
- (d) Secondly, it was said that other members of the League would not back us up. The allegation was in the main unfounded; but whether true or false, it created an atmosphere of hesitation.
- (e) Thirdly, there was the view that if, in defiance of our obligations under the Covenant, we allowed Italy to conquer Abyssinia, she would be more likely to help us against Germany. The folly of this condonation of evil is now evident enough.
- (f) Further, difficulties were caused by the wide extent and consequent vagueness of the League obligations. Each of the fifty-odd members of the League was in form bound to carry out against an aggressor in any part of the globe the onerous duties imposed by Article 16. And it was not quite certain what those duties were.
- (g) It was partly due to this vagueness of League obligations that the members of the League were lacking in esprit de corps and were inclined more and more to look at aggression from a rigidly national standpoint - an inclination very much increased by the worldwide nationalist movement exemplified by Fascism and Naziism.
- (h) There was in consequence a tendency by explanation the meaning of Article 16, and to fall back on condemnation of the aggressor and appeals against him to the public opinion of the world. Many people, indeed, contended that this was a better way to keep the peace than by imposing sanctions. The experience of the Manchurian and Abyssinian cases ought to have convinced all impartial people that this was a mistaken view.
11. It is impossible to say what will be the economic condition of the world at the end of the war. But all are agreed that it is likely to be extremely serious and may be catastrophic. To meet these conditions there will have to be emergency provisions designed 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.
12. But temporary measures will not be enough. The economic needs and interests of human communities do not coincide with the artificial political frontiers in which they happen to be confined. 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.



13. The work done in the last twenty years by the I.L.O. and the non-political sections of the League must be speeded up and expanded with a much increased budget. This is true of the economic and industrial and also of the social, humanitarian and intellectual work. 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.\*
14. Two other subjects will require courageous action: the racial, religious and linguistic minorities, and the administration of colonial territories. A great deal of experience has been gained in both subjects by the work of the League. It is not possible to go into details at present, but we would say that the following principles should be kept in view:-
- (1) No legal discrimination against any person on the ground that he is a member of a racial, religious or linguistic minority; and
  - (2) Colonial administration as a trust in the interests of all the inhabitants, and affording to all nations equal opportunity for their trade and commerce.

#### Machinery.

15. To carry out the policy advocated in this Memorandum, the existence of an International Authority as nearly representative of the civilised world as possible is essential.
16. In the opinion of the L.N.U. the most appropriate International Authority would be the League of Nations, though some modification of the Covenant will have to be made to make it conform with the experience gained in the last 20 years.
17. Whether, therefore, the International Authority, the first bulwark for the prevention of war, be the League of Nations reconstituted and modified, or some new organisation with a different name, its two main functions of maintaining peace and improving the economic and social life of the world should be kept distinct with separate procedures.

All its humanitarian activities and its arbitral or judicial functions, should be performed by the whole League, but responsibility for the exercise of force in preventing aggression or suppressing war should be entrusted by the whole League to a selected group of powers willing and able to discharge it.

18. Let us consider first the operation of the League as a whole. The relevant sections of the Covenant should be retained, and the administrative machinery of the League, the International Labour Organisation and the Permanent Court of International Justice continued. But the procedure for securing peaceful change must be improved.

\* A more detailed report on Social Reconstruction is under consideration.

19. Until such time as the Nations of the world are prepared to accept changes which are recommended by a majority of other States, it is at least necessary that grievances should be examined and that changes should be accepted by those who vote for them.\*

\* The crucial problem of securing that such changes as are found desirable in the general interest shall be carried into effect in due time and without violence, is still under consideration by the Executive Committee of the L.N.U. A further statement will be issued on this subject.

Revised January, 1941.

## WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR

### INTRODUCTORY

The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union has already issued two statements of policy on the subject of an international settlement after the war and the policy outlined in them has been endorsed by the General Council. Recent events, however, especially the collapse of France, have rendered necessary a review of the situation and a re-statement of policy of the L.N.U., though the main principles on which previous statements were based are still applicable.

Britain entered the war not to obtain any territorial or other national gains, but to check the attempt of Nazi Germany to dominate Europe, and impose on other countries the tyranny by which her own people have been enslaved. As the Prime Minister said: "We do not covet anything from any nation except their respect". The British people desire that international relations should be governed not by force but by Freedom, Truth and Justice, in the benefits of which all nations should equally share. To attain these objects, the League of Nations Union believes that the settlement after the war should be on the following lines:

### PRINCIPLES OF WAR SETTLEMENT

#### Preliminary

1. Hostilities will actually be brought to an end by an Armistice, the terms of which will necessarily be decided between the Military authorities of the belligerent Powers.

2. As soon as possible after the Armistice, a Treaty of Peace should be negotiated by the belligerents, dealing with the

special issues raised by the war, such as financial measures concerned with war damage and provisional measures to prevent the renewal of hostilities by Germany, Italy, and their Allies. This Treaty should provide for the restoration of the territories overrun by the enemy, but the final boundaries of these States should, wherever controversial issues are involved, be reserved for the larger International Congress to follow.

3. After sufficient time has been given for the provisions of the Peace Treaty to be carried out, invitations should be issued to an International Congress, consisting not only of the late belligerents, but also of neutral States. This International Congress will determine the boundaries of the States that have been affected by the late war, and decide on the terms of a world settlement, including such financial and territorial arrangements as may be desirable for the establishment of good relations between nations.

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.

5. In insisting that nations should respect the Supremacy of Law, we mean not only that they must obey certain rules, but that they will recognize certain underlying moral obligations towards each other. Their right of action must be limited by certain fundamental principles such as good faith and justice, and the

### 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, JANUARY  
2ND, 1941 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Lord Cecil,  
Miss K.D. Courtney, Miss P. Fawcett,  
W. Arnold Forster, Lady Hall, Dr. Gilbert  
Murray, W.T. Pritchard, Novell Smith and  
Major Freshwater.

1. **MINUTES.** The minutes of the meeting held on December 19th, 1940 were confirmed as circulated.
2. **DR. GILBERT MURRAY, C.M.** The Executive signified by acclamation their deep sense of pleasure and satisfaction at the high honour which Dr. Murray had lately received, and conveyed to him their warm greetings and good wishes on the anniversary of his birthday.
3. **MR. EDEN AND LORD CRANBORNE.** Letters of thanks were read from Mr. Eden and Lord Cranborne, replying to messages of congratulation from the Secretary, to the former on his appointment as Foreign Secretary and to the latter on his passage and on again being concerned with foreign affairs.
4. **WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR.** The Chairman reported that, owing to postal delays particularly during the Christmas period, copies of the amended draft of Clauses 20 to 25, prepared by Lord Cecil, had not reached all the members. Lord Cecil's amendments (S.814), together with an additional revision which he had suggested in Clause 19, were therefore placed before the Executive.

After considerable discussion, during which a letter from the Master of Balliol was read, Clauses 19 to 25 were approved and adopted in the following form:

19. If any member submits to the International Authority that the provisions of any treaty or other international conditions have become dangerous or inapplicable, the Authority should examine the matter and recommend such steps as may be desirable. The crucial problem of securing that such changes as are found desirable in the general interest shall be carried into effect in due time and without violence, is still under consideration by the Executive Committee of the L.N.U. A further statement will be issued on this subject.
20. As part of the whole International Authority, one or more Groups should be formed consisting of States accepting special obligations in particular regions, whether situated in such regions or not. Europe should constitute one such region. Machinery in the

rejection of force as the arbiter of international rights.

#### Peace-Keeping

4. If international good faith and justice are to be observed, some authority must be brought into existence which can declare in any particular case what good faith and justice require. Similarly, if mere force is not to be allowed to determine international controversy, in other words, if aggression is to be prevented, some international authority must be entrusted with the duty and given the power to prevent it.

7. It is on the question of what is to be that authority that the fundamental international controversy arises. The German thesis is that there can be no limit to the sovereignty of a State except its power to enforce its will. The Nazis, therefore, claim that, as they have the supreme military power in Europe, they have the right to do whatever the interests of Germany require on that Continent.

8. The contrary thesis for which Britain now stands is that no nation can be trusted to be judge in its own cause. Recent events in the Far East, in Abyssinia, in Austria, in Albania, in Czechoslovakia, in Poland before the war, and in other cases since the war began, show what injustice and cruelty are produced by the German theory.

9. It seems clear that 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.

10. That was the main idea underlying the League of Nations. It failed because its members were not prepared to run the risks inevitable if powerful aggressors were to be coerced into abandoning aggression.

In other words, the League Powers did not take their Covenant obligations

seriously. A change of attitude on this point is essential if peace is to be preserved by international co-operation.

(a) If, for instance, the British and French Governments with the other Members of the League had been prepared finally to prevent the Italian invasion of Abyssinia in 1935 we should probably not have witnessed the renewed attack on China and the attacks of Austria, Czechoslovakia and Albania, nor would Britain have been driven in circumstances of much greater difficulty to take up arms on behalf of Poland in 1939.

(b) That seems obvious now, and indeed, the danger was clear enough to many people at the time. Why, then, did Britain and others act as they did five years ago?

(c) The answer is, in the first place, because we were still thinking in terms of "British interests"—that is, the British Government believed that the chief, if not the only, object of British Foreign Policy should be the protection of British commercial and territorial rights and the personal safety of British subjects from direct attack. It was said, for instance, that we were not interested in Abyssinia, forgetting that we were deeply interested in the maintenance of peace and in the support of the machinery which had been constructed to maintain it.

(d) Secondly, it was said that other members of the League would not back us up. The allegation was in the main unfounded; but whether true or false, it created an atmosphere of hesitation.

(e) Thirdly, there was the view that if in defence of our obligations under the Covenant, we allowed Italy to conquer Abyssinia she would be more likely to be urged against Germany. The folly of this combination of self-interest and expediency is obvious.

(f) Further, difficulties were caused by the wide extent and consequent vagueness of the League obligations. Each of the hundred members of the League was in form bound to carry out such an aggressor in any part of the globe the interests duties imposed by Article 18 (and 19) did not quite clarify what those duties were.

(g) It was partly due to this vagueness of League obligations that the members of the League were lacking in esprit de corps and were inclined more and more to look at aggression from a rigidly national stand-

nature of a Confederation of the States belonging to each Group should be formed and should include at least a Regional General Staff. There would thus be an Outer, and one or more Inner, Rings of the International Authority.

21. All the members of the International Authority belonging both to the Outer and Inner Rings should agree that aggression is an international crime and that they ought to take all reasonable steps to prevent or stop it and to assist centrally. But a State forming part of the Outer Ring should only be bound to take such coercive action, political, economic or military, as in all the circumstances of the case and after consultation with the other members of the International Authority it should think desirable.
22. The States forming a Regional Confederation, in addition to the obligations assumed under the previous article, should be bound to use their whole strength, political, economic and military, to suppress any aggression taking place in the Region covered by the Confederation. Subject to the provisions of this and the preceding article, Articles 10 to 17 of the Covenant should apply to all the States Members of the International Authority.
23. Apart from special measures to prevent Germany and Italy from renewing the war, there should be, as part of the permanent organisation of peace, a general reduction and limitation of armaments carried out by international agreement and providing for the strictest supervision by the International Authority. In view of the urgent importance of putting a stop to air warfare, and in order to give to the Regional Confederations adequate power to prevent aggression, all national armaments special suitable for aggression, including particularly national air forces, should be abolished. There should also be created, as part of the permanent world settlement, an International Air Force under the control of the International Authority and available for the defence of any State which the International Authority may recognise as the victim of aggression. Civil aviation should be put under international control.
24. Where possible, any economic and social questions specially affecting particular regions might be transferred to the Regional Confederations, as also similar questions dealing with minorities or Refugees.
25. In conclusion, we desire to insist that neither the system for keeping the peace which we have suggested here, nor any other, can succeed unless the nations genuinely accept the view that Peace is the greatest of national interests and are consequently ready to co-operate with all their strength in the maintenance of a peace founded on freedom, truth and justice.

Mr. Hall referred to the special Committee which had been appointed by the Executive on December 7th, 1939 to prepare a report on what should be the place of the I.L.O. in world settlement after the war, and stated that, owing to



point—an inclination very much increased by the world-wide nationalist movement exemplified by Fascism and Nazism.

(b) There was in consequence a tendency to minimise by explanation the meaning of Article 16, and to fall back on condemnation of the aggressor and appeals against him to the public opinion of the world. Many people, indeed, contended that this was a better way to keep peace than by imposing sanctions. The experience of the Manchurian and Abyssinian cases ought to have convinced all impartial people that this was a mistaken view.

11. It is impossible to say what will be the economic condition of the world at the end of the war. But all are agreed that it is likely to be extremely serious, and may be catastrophic. To meet these conditions there will have to be emergency provisions designed 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.

12. But temporary measures will not be enough. The economic needs and interests of human communities do not coincide with the artificial political frontiers in which they happen to be confined. 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.

13. The work done in the last twenty years by the I.L.O. and the non-political sections of the League must be speeded up and expanded with a much increased budget. This is true of the economic and industrial, and also of the social, humanitarian and intellectual work. It may well be that far-reaching changes will have to be made in the conception of State co-operation, its control, 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.\*

14. Two other subjects will require courageous action: the racial, religious and linguistic minorities, and the administration of colonial territories. A great deal of experience has been gained in both subjects by the work of the League. It is not possible to go into details at present, but we would say that the following principles should be kept in view:—

- (1) No legal discrimination against any person on the ground that he is a member of a racial, religious or linguistic minority; and
- (2) Colonial Administration as a trust in the interests of all the inhabitants, and affording to all nations equal opportunity for their trade and commerce.

#### Machinery

15. To carry out the policy advocated in this Memorandum, the existence of an International Authority as nearly representative of the civilized world as possible is essential.

16. In the opinion of the I.L.O. the most appropriate International Authority would be the League of Nations, though some modification of the Covenant will have to be made to make it conform with the experience gained in the last 20 years.

17. Whether, therefore, the International Authority, the first bulwark for the prevention of war, be the League of Nations reconstituted and modified, or some new organisation with a different name, its two main functions of maintaining peace and improving the economic and social life of the world should be kept distinct with separate procedures.

All its humanitarian activities and its arbitral or judicial functions, should be performed by the whole League, but responsibility for the exercise of force in preventing aggression or suppressing war should be entrusted by the whole League

\*A more detailed report on Social Reconstruction is under consideration.

various difficulties which she described, the Committee had not been able to meet since July. In reply to a question from Mr. Arnold Forster, Lady Hall said that the Special Committee proposed to deal not only with the I.L.O. but with the whole field of social and economic reconstruction, and that economic experts would be invited to assist in the preparation of the report. It was hoped that the Committee would meet during the next month and would then appoint a number of sub-committees to consider the various aspects of the subject.

5. **TREASURER'S REPORT.** The Executive had before them the Treasurer's Report (S.813). The Secretary stated that Mr. Syrett had hoped to supplement the report with an oral statement but that he was unable to attend a meeting owing to the fact that he had to be present at an urgently summoned meeting of the City Court of Common Council and also that his London office had been damaged in an air raid on the previous night. It was agreed to ask Mr. Syrett to make a supplementary oral report at the next meeting.

6. **MEMOR. OF H.H. FORCES AND I.H.H. MEETING.** A report was made to the Executive concerning the circumstances in which a member of the Union, who was at present serving as a Major at a Training Centre in the Western Command and who had assisted in the organisation of a public meeting to stimulate interest in the proposals of Federal Union, had been informed by letter from Command H.C. that the meeting had assumed a "political" flavour; and that he had therefore contravened King's Regulations by helping to organise it, warning him against taking any further "active part" in the affairs of "political bodies" and threatening him with the loss of his Commission if he persisted. He had also been advised by the Commandant not even to attend any further "political" meetings and had been ordered not to distribute notices of such meetings in future to Officers and men under his command, or to invite them to act as stewards. The Commanding Officer had stated that, in his own opinion, attendance at meetings constituted "an active part", and that the League of Nations Union was also a "political" organisation within the meaning of the act.

Paragraph 541(a) of King's Regulations was read; and the Executive recalled how, at a meeting of the General Council, Major Cazalet had attended in uniform and seconded a motion from the platform.

The Secretary was asked to place the facts of the present case before Major Cazalet, to inform him how greatly concerned the Executive were by the thought that, at the present time when practically every man of



to a selected group of Powers willing and able to discharge it.

18. Let us consider first the operation of the League as a whole. The relevant sections of the Covenant should be retained, and the administrative machinery of the League, the International Labour Organisation and the Permanent Court of International Justice, continued. But the procedure for securing peaceful change must be improved.

19. If any member submits to the International Authority that the provisions of any treaty or other international conditions have become dangerous or inapplicable, the Authority should examine the matter and recommend such steps as may be desirable. The crucial problem of securing that such changes as are found desirable in the general interest shall be carried into effect in due time and without violence, is still under consideration by the Executive Committee of the I.N.U. A further statement will be issued on this subject.

20. As part of the whole International Authority, one or more groups should be formed consisting of States accepting special obligations in particular regions, whether situated in such regions or not. Europe should constitute one such region. Machinery in the nature of a Confederation of the States belonging to each Group should be formed and should include at least a Regional General Staff. There would thus be an Outer, and one or more Inner, Rings of the International Authority.

21. All the members of the International Authority belonging both to the Outer and Inner Rings should agree that aggression is an international crime, and that they ought to take all reasonable steps to prevent or stop it, and in no case to do anything to assist the aggressor, or to assert neutrality. But a State forming part of the Outer Ring should only be bound to take such coercive action, political economic or military, as in all the circumstances of the case, and after consultation with the other members of the International Authority, it should think desirable.

22. The States forming a Regional Confederation, in addition to the obligations assumed under the previous article, should be bound to use their whole strength, political, economic and military, to suppress any aggression taking place in the Region covered by the Confederation. Subject to the provisions of this and the preceding article, Articles 10 to 17 of the Covenant should apply to all the States Members of the International Authority.

23. Apart from special measures to prevent Germany and Italy from renewing the war, there should be, as part of the permanent organisation of peace, a general reduction and limitation of armaments carried out by International agreement, and providing for the strictest supervision by the International Authority. In view of the urgent importance of putting a stop to air warfare, and in order to give to the Regional Confederations adequate power to prevent aggression, all national armaments specially suitable for aggression, including particularly national air forces, should be abolished. There should also be created, as part of the permanent world settlement, an International Air Force under the control of the International Authority and available for the defence of any State which the International Authority may recognise as the victim of aggression. Civil aviation should be put under international control.

24. Where possible, any economic and social questions specially affecting particular regions might be transferred to the Regional Confederations, as also similar questions dealing with Minorities or Refugees.

25. In conclusion, we desire to insist that neither the system for keeping the peace which we have suggested here, nor any other, can succeed unless the nations genuinely accept the view that Peace is the greatest of national interests, and are consequently ready to co-operate with all their strength in the maintenance of a Peace founded on Freedom, Truth and Justice.

military age was in uniform, they should be debarred by individual interpretations of King's regulations from taking any part in the affairs of the I.N.U., and asking for his advice as to the action the Union should take in the matter.

7. DATES OF FUTURE MEETINGS. It was agreed that, during 1941, the Executive should meet on the first, third and (when there is one) fifth Thursdays of each month, except during the summer vacation. The Secretary was asked to send a complete list of dates to all members with a request that they would enter them in their diaries.
8. LETTER FROM CHURCH LEADERS. Lord Cecil drew the Committee's attention to a letter on 'The Foundations of Peace' appearing in THE TIMES of December 21st over the signatures of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, Cardinal Hinsley and the Moderator of the Free Churches. Lord Cecil stated that it was largely due to the initiative of Miss Edith Ellis that the letter had been published; and, from an ecclesiastical point of view, it was a unique document in that a Roman Catholic and other Christian leaders had, for the first time, joined in making a semi-religious appeal. He suggested, and it was agreed, that the Christian Organisations Committee should be asked to consider what further use could be made of the document. The Secretary stated that he had already written to the Dean of Winchester on the subject.

On the motion of the Chairman it was agreed that a letter should be written to Miss Ellis, informing her that the joint manifesto had been brought to the Executive's notice, expressing the Committee's warm approval of the document and their congratulations on the success of her efforts.

*H. D. Courtney*  
CHAIRMAN

16th January 1941

S. 813  
30.12.40

TREASURER'S REPORT TO EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE 2.1.41.

At the end of May our Bank Overdraft and Outstandings together amounted to more than £30,000; on November 30th the amount was, in round figures, £18,000, i.e. we were £2,000 better off. This is a most unusual position for us to be in for, I think, with one solitary exception, we have always been worse off at the end of November than at the end of May. The summer months have hitherto been our lean period, during which we have paid out more than we received.

A year ago we were authorised to spend in 1940 some £10,500, roughly a quarter of what we were authorised to spend in 1939. We have kept as near to that amount as possible, but as the price of paper and printing has increased considerably and postage has gone up, the amounts allocated for these particular items in the Budget will inevitably be exceeded by the end of the year in spite of our sending letters with the edges of the paper crimped together instead of using envelopes, and of making use of printed postcards based on the old Field Service postcards that we used during the last war. Sometimes two letters or packets from the office reach the same person on the same day, this, I know, causes annoyance, but we have got to the stage when to work a foolproof system would cost more than the amount of postage that would be saved. Another reason for our allowances for postage and stationery being exceeded is that H.C. is helping Branches by writing letters and sending notices direct to their members.

We are solvent, but that £18,000 is serious. The Bank Overdraft and money received from individuals and Branches on loan, plus some Branch balances being held pending reconstruction, amounts roughly to £14,000. The other £4,000 consists of, approximately, Purchases £250, Staff Fund £200, Pocus £170, I. N. H. Pioneers £240, Dilapidations £1,840, Provision for liabilities provided for in the Budget £1,000, Miscellaneous £300. HEADWAY is now properly our own again, and the debt on it is practically cleared off.

There have been disappointments and defections. Some Branches have closed down entirely, others are struggling to keep themselves in being, and H.C. is trying to keep their membership together. The difficulties in the way of collecting subscriptions are not getting less, a large number are in arrear.

In the first eleven months of 1939, the total number of subscriptions collected just fell short of 200,000; during the same period of last year, the number was just over 155,000; but in the first eleven months of this year, the number was just under 81,000. That is to say, in 1940 subscriptions were collected

- 2 -

from rather more than half of those who paid in 1939, but only from little more than 40% of those who paid in the previous year.

All classes of subscriptions are affected, but the trouble is greater with the "shilling" subscribers than with those who pay higher amounts, many of whom send their subscriptions through the post, or can well understand "shilling" subscribers not purchasing postal orders and spending 2s. on postage. The trouble is not that people have lost interest and will not pay, but the difficulty in getting the actual collecting done. But that collecting can be and is being done, is shown by a letter recently received from the Secretary of a Branch in one of the outer suburbs of London. This Secretary has recently been visiting a neighbouring Branch, and collected 40 renewal subscriptions. To use her actual words, "Renewals are not difficult to get in if one lived on the spot. Workers are impossible to get just now, even the keen L.N.U. supporters are fully occupied as wardens or in some kind of war work; if you can suggest anything to be done I will try to see to it, but time and daylight are both limited, and I have a great deal of our own Branch collecting to do now; several of our Collectors are evacuated."

This is more or less symptomatic of the country as a whole, and not with our Society alone. How is the difficulty to be overcome? Lord Lytton wrote a heartening letter to Collectors some months ago, and a little leaflet entitled "The League Carries On" has just recently been produced; specimens of it have been sent out to Branches, it would be a very good thing for Collectors to use, showing as it does what the League is still doing and how the League - or something very much like it - is necessary to ensure the peace and well-being of the world, and it contains a message from Lord Cecil which concludes with the following words: "Nothing is more important than that the organisation of the Union should be kept in full and effective working order."

It is essential that we should maintain our membership. H. C. helps by writing and sending out letters to members of Branches which are in difficulties, but to an overwhelming extent it depends upon the Branches whether the subscriptions are collected or not. If they have no other way of doing this, then it might be better to engage whole or part-time paid collectors than to let the collecting go by default. It would mean that Branches would have less money to use for their general work, but that would be a smaller evil than allowing their membership to waste away.

There have been encouragements as well as disappointments. Few of those who are giving donations under deed or promises to pay so much a year for three years, have defaulted. Some old supporters have even increased their donations. Deeds given some years ago,

- 3 -

however, are running out, as are the three-years' promises given in response to an appeal by Lord Lytton in 1937. A good number are continuing; some new deeds are coming in, though one can well understand anybody's reluctance to undertake a fresh legal liability at times like these. But that objection does not apply in the case of promises to pay so much a quarter or so much a year for a period of three years or more. Promises of this sort, in the obtaining of which I will be glad of the assistance of members of the Executive, enable us, without being legally binding on those who give, to make an estimate of what we may reasonably expect to receive during a coming year and arrange accordingly. So far as deeds and three-years' promises go, we can look forward to receiving in 1941 some £5,000, so it will be realised how important it is both to secure more deeds and promises and to see to it that ordinary subscriptions are kept up to date and not let get into arrear.

The Council has authorised £11,500 in 1941 and empowered the Executive to vary that amount as may be found necessary or practicable. Were it possible it might be good to increase the staff, and to appoint or re-appoint one or more Travelling Organisers. Also, if it were possible I would like to do something for the staff at St. Martin's Lane, who try hard to ensure that the most essential part of what H.Q. used to do before the war continues to be done.



CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE  
COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION  
HELD AT NO. 25 NOTTINGHAM PLACE, LONDON,  
S.W.1. ON THURSDAY, JANUARY 16TH, 1941  
AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Miss Courtney (in the Chair for minute 9 and part of minute 10), Lord Lytton (in the Chair for part of minute 10 and minutes 11 to 15), the Master of Balliol, Lord Cecil, Mrs. Dagdale, Miss F. Bancett, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Lady Hall, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, J. Macdonald, Dr. Gilbert Murray, Howell Smith, H.S. Syrett and Major Freshwater.

9. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on January 2nd, 1941, were confirmed as circulated.

10. PROCESSES ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

Minute 4 - POINTS SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR, in reply to a suggestion by Dr. Garnett, it was reported that a copy of the revised statement of policy had been sent to the New Commonwealth and that the Union would continue to keep in close touch with Lord Davies' society.

Minute 6 - MEMBERS OF R.N. FORCES AND A.I.V. MEETINGS, a telephone message was reported from Major Czeleski, stating that he had placed the facts which the Secretary had supplied to him before the Minister of War who was making inquiries in the matter.

Minute 8 - Letter from Church Leaders, Dr. Garnett reported that a Catholic organisation known as 'The Sword of the Spirit' was making wide use of the letter which appeared in THE TIMES over the signatures of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, Cardinal Hinsley and the Moderator of the Free Churches, and he suggested that much of the document's value would be lost if joint use were not made of it by Protestants and Catholics. The Secretary reminded the Executive that the Christian Organisations Committee would meet in the near future to discuss what use could be made of the Church Leaders' letter, and stated that Bishop Methew and Father O'Hea would be specially invited to attend.

It was agreed that the letter from the Church Leaders should be printed in the February issue of HEADWAY.

(During the discussion of the above item, Lord Lytton took the Chair.)

11. LORD LYSTON. The Chairman read a letter from Lord Lytton regretting that, owing to a breakdown in health and medical advice considerably to reduce his activities,

he was unable to accept the invitation to join the Executive.

12. WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR: ABBREVIATED VERSION.  
The Executive had before them a draft of an abbreviated version of the statement of policy (S.816 and 816a) prepared at their request by Mr. Arnold Forster.

Much appreciation was shown of Mr. Arnold Forster's paper, but the general opinion was that it was too detailed for the purpose for which it was intended. It was therefore decided to ask Mr. Arnold Forster to be good enough to prepare a further draft, to go on the two sides of a single sheet of paper, summarising the statement of policy somewhat on the lines of the leaflet, A REAL PEACE, issued in December, 1939.

The Master of Balliol criticised Clause 23 of the statement, the first two sentences only of which he was able to accept.

The Chairman stated that he had also received a letter of criticism from Mr. Keyser who had been unable to attend the Executive's meetings, and that, in reply, he had pointed out that the document represented the greatest measure of agreement which the Executive had been able to reach after many discussions between people holding rather divergent views. Lord Lytton went on to recall that before the next meeting of the General Council in June, the Executive would have to consider and issue reports on three subjects: (1) the administration of colonial territories, (2) social and economic reconstruction and (3) the problem of how machinery for peaceful change could be modified so as to ensure that the decision of the majority would have some force. He suggested that, before the meeting of the Council, the Committee should also review the latter part of the statement of policy which was the most important part of the document and, in that connection, have a detailed discussion with the Master of Balliol, particularly in regard to Clause 23.

The Master then stated that he did not agree with the setting up of an International Air Force under the control of the International Authority. The Chairman pointed out that the second sentence which the Master had accepted provided for the abolition of national air forces and that it would not be the International Authority which would send the Air Force to bomb this or that objective. It would be for the Authority to decide if a country was a victim of aggression and, if so, to make the Force available for the defence of that country. And as Clause 22 bound a Regional Confederation to suppress any aggression in its Region, the International Air Force would be controlled and used by the Confederacy. This, the Master said, went a long

way to meet his objection and he would wish to think the proposals out afresh. He would gladly put his conclusions in writing for consideration by the Executive at a special meeting to be held on Wednesday, February 12th at 11 a.m.

13. ITALY. Lord Cecil referred to a point of view which appeared to be held in certain Government quarters that Great Britain ought not to insist on the independence of Albania and that, if the British Government could make peace with Italy, it would be reasonable to allow her to resume control of Albania. In reply to Mrs. Dugdale, Lord Cecil expressed the opinion that Albania was substantially an independent country and had a strong desire for independence.

Mr. Nowell Smith thought that the question was closely bound up with the Fascist regime in Italy.

After discussion, it was agreed to ask Lord Cecil and the Chairman to see Mr. Eden, to remind him of the danger of buying Italy out of the war at the expense of other countries and to express the earnest hope that H.M. Government were not contemplating anything of that nature.

Dr. Garnett suggested that a letter might be written to THE TIMES on the subject. But Lord Cecil deprecated saying anything in public until the position of the Government was known.

14. TEASHERS'S INCOME. Mr. Syrett made an oral report to the Committee and stated that the financial position with regard to donations etc. was quite good and that the overdraft at the Bank was gradually being reduced. But the position with regard to membership subscriptions was not so satisfactory and was causing him concern. The collection of renewal subscriptions in various parts of the country was falling off, not so much because people were unwilling to pay when asked, but because (mainly owing to the demands of the A.R.P. and other civil defence services) sufficient collectors were not available. Everything possible was being done by circular and otherwise from H.Q. to stimulate the Branches, and any suggestions members of the Executive might be able to make would be of assistance to the Finance Committee in their consideration of the problem. It had been suggested that Branches which could not secure sufficient voluntary help might be encouraged to employ a collector either on a salaried or commission basis. Miss Courtney strongly deprecated the employment of paid collectors.

Mr. Syrett also stated that, in view of the rise in the cost of living and the fact that Government offices

and large commercial undertakings were at present paying a war bonus to certain members of their staffs, the Finance Committee would be reviewing the position as it affected the Union's staff and he would then consult the Chairman about action to be taken.

He further reported that the offices at 19, Devereux Court had been ruined by enemy action and steps were being taken to disclaim all further liability on the part of the Union under the lease.

The Executive thanked Mr. Synett for his statement.

15. EDUCATION AND WORLD OFFICE. Dr. Garnett stated that the paper which the Executive Committee on December 19th had asked him to prepare was now ready. The Chairman said that consideration of Dr. Garnett's paper would be the main item on the agenda for the next meeting.

*L. J. M.*  
CHAIRMAN

30th January, 1941.



CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION HELD AT NO. 26, ECCELESTON PLACE, LONDON, S.W.1. ON THURSDAY, JANUARY 30th, 1941, AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Lord Cecil, Miss E.D. Courtney, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss F. Fawcett, W. Arnold Forster, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, G. de M. Bender, M.P., Dr. Gilbert Murray, Howell Smith, Miss E. Rathbone M.P., Leonard Wolf, and Major Freshwater.

16. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on January 15th, 1941, were confirmed as circulated.
17. MR. LEONARD WOLF. Dr. Murray and the Chairman welcomed MR. WOLF, who was attending the Committee for the first time.
18. MATTER ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 13 - Italy, Lord Cecil reported on his conversation with Mr. Eden on the subject of Albania and Abyssinia. In regard to the former the Foreign Secretary had said that the Government were agreed that Italy must be got out of Albania, but they did not want to take any action which the Greeks would regard as unfriendly or as insufficiently supporting them. Mr. Eden had added that General Metaxas had pledged himself absolutely to the liberation of Albania. Lord Cecil suggested that a more definite statement was needed, and Mr. Eden had replied that he himself was quite clear that there ought to be, and must be, an independent Albania. But he did not think it would be right for the Government to tie its hands at the present moment in regard to the exact boundaries that had existed before the war, and it might be that the Greeks would ask for some modification of the Southern boundary. In regard to Abyssinia, the Foreign Secretary had stated that the Government were prepared to recognize Haile Selassie as the Emperor of Abyssinia and were doing everything they could to get him back. There was no question of any compromise in that matter. The Foreign Secretary hoped to make a public statement on both Albania and Abyssinia shortly.

19. EDUCATION AND WORLD ORDER. The Committee had before them a memorandum on "Education and World Order" (S.617) prepared by Dr. Garnett in accordance with minute 207. Dr. Garnett said that while he would not ask the Executive to adopt the paper and distribute it as their considered opinion, he hoped they would (1) recommend the paper to the serious and favourable consideration of the Branches and (2) communicate it to the Council for Education in World Citizenship, to the Christian Organisations Committee and the Women's Advisory Council for their observations. The Executive might then, in the light of such observations, consider the document with

2.

a view to making some recommendation on the subject to the General Council at its summer meeting. Dr. Garnett added that before any action was taken on the memorandum he would welcome comments from members of the Executive, in the light of which he might wish to amend his paper.

Lord Cecil and Mr. Arnold Forster then made observations on various passages in the paper.

The Committee thanked Dr. Garnett for his memorandum and, after discussion, it was agreed that the paper should be referred to the Education Council for their observations. It was understood that in any use made of the memorandum it would be made clear that it represented the personal views of Dr. Garnett and not those of the Executive Committee. It was further agreed that the memorandum should not be communicated to the Christian Organizations Committee or the Women's Advisory Council until after it had been considered by the Education Council.

The Executive expressed the hope that Dr. Garnett would be invited to attend the meeting of the Council for Education when his memorandum was under discussion.

It was reported that, following the discussion at the General Council meeting, enquiries had been received from certain Branches on this subject. The Secretary was asked to inform such Branches that a memorandum had already been prepared by Dr. Garnett and of the action taken by the Executive in regard to it. A copy of the paper might be supplied to any Branch which, after receiving this information, asked to see the document.

20. WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR: ABBREVIATED VERSION.

The Executive had before them a second draft of an abbreviated version of the Statement of Policy by Mr. Arnold Forster (S.821), together with a draft prepared by Dr. Garnett (S.823).

Mr. Arnold Forster suggested that, since the Executive had agreed to have a further discussion with the Master of Balliol on the latter part of the Statement, it might be better to defer any decision in regard to the abbreviated version until that discussion had taken place.

The Chairman considered that Mr. Arnold Forster's second draft was still too detailed for the purpose for which it was intended. What was needed, in his view, was an epitome of the essentials in the Statement. Dr. Garnett's draft more nearly represented what he had in mind. Lord Lytton did not think it necessary to defer the preparation of an abbreviated version but suggested that it should not deal with the issues still under consideration by the Executive.

Lord Cecil thought that, in addition to the original long Statement and an abbreviated version on the lines under discussion, there was also need for an intermediate version of a detailed character but written in popular language, somewhat on the lines of Mr. Arnold Forster's first draft.

Mr. Leonard Woolf suggested that the abbreviated version should be mainly concerned with emphasizing in what respects the proposed new International Authority would

would differ from the present League of Nations. The Chairman and Miss Courtney endorsed this suggestion.

After discussion it was, on the motion of Dr. Garnett, agreed to ask the Chairman to prepare a further draft, summarising in his own words the essential elements in the Statement, for consideration by the Executive at its next Meeting.

The Secretary reported that several thousand copies of the Statement were being circulated by Branches to their members and others, and that, in response to their request, Rotary International, Federal Union, the New Commonwealth, the Labour Party, the General Federation of Trade Unions and other national bodies, had been supplied with copies.

In response to the Chairman's invitation to Mr. Woolf (who had not been present at the Executive's deliberations on the Statement of Policy) to state his views on the subject, he suggested that the chief point that needed to be stressed was the limitation of national sovereignty. This was only dealt with by implication in the Executive's document.

21. **INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE.** The Chairman read the minutes of the first meeting of the advisory International Committee held on January 16th, which were approved and adopted.

In regard to the informal conference between the International Committee and foreign representatives to be held on February 12th, it was reported that comments and observations on the Statement of Policy had already been received from some of those invited to attend. It was agreed that such observations should be communicated to the Chairman who should be invited to report on them to the conference. Miss Courtney hoped that it would be found possible also to circulate a summary of the observations to members of the Committee before the conference took place.

22. **INTERNATIONAL CENTRE.** Mrs. Dargals reported a letter from the Dean of Chichester suggesting that, since there was at the present moment the germ of a League of Nations in England, opportunity should be taken to promote contact and social intercourse between Government and other representatives of allied countries, and that, to this end, the Union should urge the formation of an international institute or centre.

It was reported that contact had already been made with the New Europe Group with a view to the Union co-operating in the luncheons organised by the Group. Reference was also made to a social club for foreigners which Mrs. Spiller was endeavouring to organise.

After further discussion, it was agreed to refer the Dean of Chichester's suggestion to the International Committee for their consideration.

23. **SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION.** Mr. Arnold Forster reported on a meeting of the special Committee (appointed by the Executive on December 7th, 1939) held in Oxford

4.

on the previous day. The Committee had reviewed its task and decided that it could not formulate useful proposals on what an International Authority could do for economic stability, economic peace and social justice without first considering what would be needed to deal with such problems in the home field. The Committee recognized that the Union was not primarily concerned with domestic policy but with the international aspect. It had therefore been decided to set up two sub-Committees to deal (1) with the requirements within our own national economy to secure (a) economic stability and social justice and (b) a better distribution of the national income and (2) with the whole subject of the standard of human rights, personal liberty, etc.

Reference was made to the work being done by the League and the I.L.O. in regard to the study of the urgent problems that would arise during the transition period after the war. Lord Cecil suggested that the Economic, Social and Humanitarian Sections of the League should be asked by the Government to prepare detailed proposals on the subject. After discussion it was agreed to ask Lord Cecil to write to Sir Alexander Cadogan.

Miss Courtney expressed the hope that the Canadian League of Nations Society would keep in close touch with the I.L.O. now at McGill University.

G.M.

CHAIRMAN

February 6th 1921



CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION HELD AT NO. 25 ECCELESTON PLACE, LONDON, S.W.1, ON THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 6TH, 1941 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Lord Cecil, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss P. Fawcett, Lady Hall, Lady Layton, J. Macdonald, Dr. Gilbert Murray, J.T. Fritchard, H.S. Syrett, and Major Freshwater.

24. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on January 30th, 1941 were approved, subject, in minute 23, to the substitution of the words "Industrial Advisory Committee in accordance with the Executive's resolution of December 7th, 1939" for the words "Executive on December 7th, 1939".

25. MATTER ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 23 - Social and Economic Reconstruction, Lord Cecil reported that he had not yet written to Sir Alexander Cadogan but would do so before the next meeting.

26. MR. MENDALL WILLIAMS AND MR. H. HOPKINS. The Chairman reported that he had written to Mr. Willkie, inviting him to meet members of the Executive during his visit to this country. A letter from Mr. Thomas Brand was read, thanking Lord Lytton for his invitation but stating that, since Mr. Willkie had to curtail his visit in order to return to the U.S.A. to testify before the Senate on the Lend-and-Lease Bill, it was doubtful if he would have the time available to meet the Executive.

Lord Cecil reported that he was endeavouring to see Mr. Harry Hopkins.

27. FINANCE COMMITTEE. The Treasurer presented an oral report on the Finance Committee's meeting of January 28th, 1941. The Bank Overdraft and Outstandings on December 31st, 1940, had amounted to £17,410; on January 25th, 1941 the amount was £15,792. Receipts and payments during the past three years had been:-

	1938	1939	1940
Receipts	588,317	546,788	529,824
Payments	67,519	50,866	18,801

P.T.O.

S. 828.  
5.2.41.

## For Executive Committee 6.2.41.

MEMBERSHIP

	1938	1939	1940
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Total</u>
Jan.	14,943	10,279	5,267
Feb.	20,824	19,668	8,941
March	33,220	30,263	13,553
April	21,432	21,622	11,980
May	21,332	13,492	12,218
June	19,774	13,787	7,216
July	13,714	12,642	5,306
Aug.	10,161	11,780	4,420
Sept. &			
Oct.	24,841	12,329	7,503
Nov.	16,091	9,298	4,173
Dec.	64,868	35,246	19,544
	<u>264,180</u>	<u>193,366</u>	<u>100,421</u>

In accordance with minute 14 of January 18th, the Finance Committee had reviewed the salaries and wages of the staff and had recommended that small increases and adjustments be made in five instances (details filed with these minutes), and that a war bonus of 5s.0d. per week should be given, as from 1st February, to all receiving not more than £260 a year. The total additional expenditure involved by these recommendations would amount to £285.10s.0d. per year.

The Report and recommendations were approved.

28. MEMBERSHIP. A memorandum (S.828, copy filed with these minutes) was received, showing that 100,068 membership subscriptions were paid in 1940, as compared with 193,366 in 1939 and 264,180 in 1938.
29. HEADQUARTERS OFFICE. Following upon the report made in minute 195 of November 7th, 1940, it was stated that Central London Electricity had now asked the Union to take alternative accommodation at No. 11, Maiden Lane, and that arrangements for the removal were being made. The cost to the Union of lighting and heating in the new premises would be no more than at present.
30. LORD CECIL'S BOOK -- A GREAT EXPERIMENT. It was reported that, by arrangement with the publishers, the Union had purchased 250 copies of Lord Cecil's book, A GREAT EXPERIMENT, for sale at a reduced price of 10s.6d. to members of the Union.

Mr. Syrett suggested that the Executive might consider the desirability of presenting a copy of the book to certain Branch Secretaries and other voluntary workers who had given long and valuable service to the Union. The Treasurer and Secretary were asked to prepare a list for consideration by the Chairman.

Miss Fawcett suggested that copies of Lord Cecil's book should be made available at Headquarters for issue on loan.

31. WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR. The Executive had before them a draft of an abbreviated version of the Statement of Policy prepared by the Chairman in accordance with minute 20 (S.824). The draft was considered paragraph by paragraph and, after discussion, was approved and adopted in the following form:

## WINNING THE PEACE

*Abbreviated version of the Statement of Policy provisionally approved by the General Council of the League of Nations Union in December, 1940*

1. The British people entered this war, not for any national gains, but to resist Nazi Germany's policy of conquest and enslavement, and their aim now is to secure such a peace as will have the best chance of lasting—a peace that all peoples will prefer to maintain rather than to destroy.

2. Such a peace is impossible without some international organisation, united by loyalty to a common pacific purpose, and with effective power both to redress grievances and to prevent breaches of the peace.

3. The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union have been considering ever since war broke out the reasons which led to the failure of the League of Nations to prevent war, and the best means of avoiding such failure in the future. They have issued two Statements on the subject of Post-War Settlement, the second one being necessitated to meet the situation created by the collapse of France.

4. A League or organisation of as many nations as possible with a permanent administrative staff and a regular system of conference is in their opinion essential for international co-operation in the economic field, in welfare work, in the ventilation of grievances, in the process of conciliation and in effecting political changes by peaceful means. But experience has shown that such an international organisation cannot be relied on for effective security measures. The Executive Committee have therefore tried to discover an alternative or additional means of security.

5. Their first plan was to suggest an Anglo-French partnership as the nucleus of a future system of collective defence, but this being no longer practicable they are forced to look for some other starting-point.

6. In their latest proposals a plan is suggested by which there would be a universal International Authority, the States Members of which would accept limited but precise obligations, whilst inner rings or groups of nations would

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6. In their latest proposals a plan is suggested by which there would be a universal International Authority, the States Members of which would accept limited but precise obligations, whilst inner rings or groups of nations would undertake an unconditional obligation to keep the peace in particular areas and to have a common military organisation to secure the fulfilment of this obligation. It is suggested that the regional groups should consist of such nations as may be willing to undertake such an obligation in a specified area whether they are themselves situated in such areas or not.

7. In this plan all the States Members of the International Authority—the outer ring—would undertake not to assist any state which, having gone to war or threatened war with another state, has been declared an aggressor by the duly constituted organ of the International Authority. Acceptance and fulfilment of this



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7. In this plan all the States Members of the International Authority—the outer ring—would undertake not to assist any state which, having gone to war or threatened war with another state, has been declared an aggressor by the duly constituted organ of the International Authority. Acceptance and fulfilment of this obligation would be a condition of membership. A state committing an aggression or assisting an aggressor would cease to be a member. But though the obligation would be thus limited, any state would be free to take such additional measures, either to defend itself or to assist the victim of aggression, as it may decide.

8. The States Members of a regional group—the inner ring—would be bound to use all their resources, diplomatic, political, economic or military, to prevent an aggression or to assist a victim of aggression in the area to which their obligation is limited.

9. The plan also provides for a general reduction and limitation of armaments by international agreement, the abolition of national armaments specially suited for aggression (particularly national air forces), and the creation of an International Air Force available for the instant defence of any state attacked. Civil flying should be placed under international control.

10. In order to improve the economic and social life of the world, the International Authority, in collaboration with the International Labour Organisation, would aim at replacing economic nationalism by a system of planned economy on a world-wide scale so as to render available to human needs the whole productive capacity of the globe. The welfare of the individuals in whatever state they may be living should be equally the care of the International Authority.

*For the details of this plan see the fuller statement entitled "World Settlement after the War" (revised January, 1941).*

Published by the League of Nations Union, 11 Maiden Lane, W.C.2, and printed at the Stratford Press Ltd., Rochester.

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(italic note)

For the details of this plan see the fuller statement entitled "World Settlement after the War" (revised Jan. 1941)



1. Miss Stephens' bonus to be done away with and her salary increased by £10 p.a. from 1.1.41.
2. Mr. Sparks' loan of £25 to be reckoned as a bonus for 1940 and his salary increased by £25 p.a. from 1.1.41.
3. Mrs. Gerrard's and Mr. Beagley's wages to be increased by 5s.0d. and 2s.6d. a week respectively from 1.2.41.
4. Mr. Price and Mr. Wilshire to continue to have their earnings made up to an average of £5.10s.0d. a week.
5. All members of the staff (including Mr. Wiltshire and Mr. Price) whose wages or salaries do not exceed £20 p.a. to receive a war bonus of 5s.0d. a week from 1.2.41.

It was agreed that no action should be taken on the abbreviated version until after the discussion with the Master of Balliol at the special meeting of the Committee on February 12th.

Mrs. Stevens, of the London Regional Federation, had prepared a more popular version of the Statement in the form of a dialogue which it was hoped the Union would publish. The Chairman stated that he had suggested certain alterations. It was agreed that copies of the dialogue should be made, embodying such of the Chairman's suggestions as were adopted by the Federation, and circulated to members of the Executive for their consideration.

52. HISTORY OF THE LEAGUE. The Chairman reported a suggestion from Mrs. Stevens that a clear, frank history of the League of Nations should be prepared in a dramatic form for use by Branches and others. The Chairman had asked Mrs. Stevens for further details of the proposal, and, when these were forthcoming, would bring the matter again before the Executive. The general opinion was that the usefulness of such a publication depended to a large extent upon a good author being found to write it.

G.H.  
CHAIRMAN  
February 20th, 1941

## CONFIDENTIAL.

MINUTES OF A SPECIAL MEETING OF THE LEAGUE  
OF NATIONS UNION EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT  
NO. 26, ECLIPSON PLACE, LONDON, S.W.1 ON  
WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 12th, 1941 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Miss K. D. Courtney (in the Chair), Master  
of Balliol, Lady Violet Bonham Carter,  
Lord Cecil, Dean of Chichester, Mrs. Pascale,  
Miss P. Fawcett, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Lady  
Hall, Dame Adelaide Livingstone,  
Dr. Gilbert Murray, W. T. Fritchard, and  
Major Freshwater.

53. **WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR.** The Executive had  
before them "Considerations on the Statement of  
Policy" (S.623) submitted by the Master of Balliol  
in accordance with minute 12, together with a  
memorandum (S.625) by Dr. Arnold Forster (copies  
filed with these minutes).

The Master of Balliol, in support of his  
memorandum, expressed the opinion that the Executive's  
statement assumed at the end of the war a condition  
of affairs roughly corresponding to that which existed  
at the end of the last war. That assumption might  
turn out to be correct, but it ought to be stated  
because it might be delusive. The world was now  
divided into two ideological blocs and that ought to  
be recognised. After the present war a situation was  
likely in which there were a number of Powers who  
seemed potentially strong but who could not be trusted  
not to commit aggression, and in which there were  
three strong Powers - the British Commonwealth, the  
U.S.A. and China - and a number of small States, e.g.  
the Scandinavian democracies, who really willed the  
peace of the world. In his opinion it would be  
necessary to underpin any arrangements for collective  
defence among the people who were known to be prepared  
to will it. The Master agreed that it was important  
to retain an organisation as wide as possible  
for economic and I.L. purposes.

Lord Cecil asked what test the Master would  
suggest applying for the selection of the Powers  
who should underpin collective defence arrangements.  
Dr. Lindsay thought a beginning could be made by  
stating that certain Powers were known to be peace-  
loving, and at some later stage consideration could  
be given to the question of admitting other nations.  
Lord Cecil suggested that the crucial test for  
admission to the inner body should be a nation's  
genuine preparedness to fight for the preservation  
of peace.

After further discussion Lord Cecil reminded  
the Master that he had always contemplated that  
there would be a period after the war during which  
there was an armistice but no final peace settlement.  
The Peace Treaty should include a definite scheme  
which it would be possible to elaborate as time went  
on, which would be complete as far as the non-  
contentious part of it was concerned, and which would  
include in broad outline a sketch of the proposed

"inner ring" and the way in which it should work. He agreed with the Master that it, during this period, was a serious question, and that, during this period, the nations were to feel a sense of security, arrangements for underpinning their defence were necessary. The Master thought that such arrangements should be included in any statement on the subject with an indication of their power of growth and development.

Dr. Lindsay agreed with the observations in Mr. Arnold Forster's memorandum in regard to the difficulties in the way of the creation and operation of an International Air Force. He thought something could be done by way of a strong limitation of air armaments, but not by having an International Air Force to an international authority.

Lord Cecil considered limitation as applied to the air arm a useless measure. He reminded the Executive that at the Disarmament Conference in 1932 there had been almost complete unanimity on the proposition that national air forces ought to be abolished (except a small section of fighters), and that that had been based on the possibility of an International Air Force. He did not see any insuperable difficulty in creating an International Air Force which would be drawn not from the whole of Europe but from those sections of Europe and America who were prepared to collaborate for peace. Lord Cecil did not think it reasonably probable that, at the end of the war, the United States would take an active part or accept definite obligations to defend any European country against attack. He thought the proposals in regard to the "inner ring" were workable with a monopoly of the air in the shape of an International Air Force, but not otherwise.

In reply to a summing up by the Chairman, the Master of Balliol said he would like to see a Statement, setting forth the two assumptions in regard to the possible situation at the end of the war and then making proposals for world settlement based on the first and second assumption.

After further discussion in which many members of the Committee took part, it was agreed that the Master of Balliol and Dr. Murray should be asked, in the light of the discussion, to prepare a short statement containing definite propositions which might meet the views of both Lord Cecil and the Master. These propositions should, after submission to and approval by Lord Cecil, Lord Lytton and Miss Courtney, be circulated to the Committee for discussion at the meeting on Thursday, March 20th. It was further agreed that this matter should form the main item on the agenda for that meeting and that, in order to preserve the continuity of the discussion, those members attending the present meeting should be asked to make a special effort to attend on March 20th.

34. *See minutes*  
37  
35. **ABBREVIATED VERSION OF STATEMENT OF POLICY** It was agreed that no action should be taken on the abbreviated version of **WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR**, approved by the Executive at its last meeting, until after the further discussion with the Master of Balliol on March 20th.

**ABYSSINIA.** Attention was drawn to the recent statement in the House of Commons by Mr. Eden on the subject of H.M. Government's policy in regard to Abyssinia. It was agreed that a letter should be sent to Mr. Eden, expressing the Executive's gratitude for, and warm approval of, his statement.



Considerations on the L.N.U. Statement of Policy.

My main difficulties about the Statement concern its presuppositions. They are not stated but they are nevertheless there. The Statement seems to assume at the end of the war a condition of affairs roughly corresponding to that which existed at the end of the last war — a world of nations thoroughly disgusted with war, resolved to prevent its recurrence and co-operate wholeheartedly in any necessary organisation.

That assumption may turn out to be correct, but I think it ought to be stated, because the assumption may be delusive: we shall be completely in the dark about how Germany and Italy are going to start again; we are not likely to trust Japan, and Russia will probably remain an enigma. But it is just possible that there may be such a revulsion of feeling in Germany and Italy that we shall be able to feel that Europe is being given a new start; it is even possible that the same sort of revulsion may occur in Japan and that a World League might become a reality.

I don't therefore rule out these assumptions, which seem to underlie most of this Statement, but I think they ought to be stated.

Because there is another possible assumption, which I think is on the whole at least as probable, that at the end of the war the fundamental fact about the world will be that there are three strong powers who really will the peace of the world and the maintenance of law — the British Commonwealth, the U.S.A. and China — a considerable number of small states who have the same will but have had a terrifying experience of the failure of the League and also of their attempt to make neutrality do instead of the League, and that the other powers which will be at least potentially strong are not to be trusted.

Now on that assumption the League should not "be as nearly representative of the civilised world as possible" (para. 15). It should quite definitely consist of the powers who will world peace and world law, and confine itself in the first instance to their common defence. It should concern itself with the relations between these three great powers, the British Commonwealth, the U.S.A. and China, and with the defence of the smaller powers which will peace but cannot really stand alone. It should not attempt to set up any Federal Union between these powers but model itself on the British Commonwealth, which has less a constitutional federation than had the League of Nations but has elaborate arrangements for common defence.

On this assumption a nation would only be guaranteed against aggression if it gave proofs, by undertaking obligations, that it had a will for world peace and was prepared to defend it.



I think that any statement in which these two alternative possibilities are not frankly set down, with the very different alternative policies which they involve, is bound to be ambiguous, as I think the existing Statement is.

It will be obvious that my disagreement with the existing Statement is of such a general kind that there is not much use in arguing about details when my quarrel is with underlying assumptions; but it may help if I state the ambiguities I find in the Statement, especially in the crucial paragraphs 15 - 23.

(a) Does the distinction between the outer and the inner ring mean that all states in the world, if they will, shall share in humanitarian activities and in arbitral or judicial functions, and that the inner ring should defend and be defended against aggression, the outer ring not sharing in the benefits of common defence?

Or does it mean as the words suggest that the inner ring should do all the dangerous work, the resistance to aggression, and the members of the outer ring enjoy all the benefits without any obligations?

The first alternative is, I think, possible; but if it is intended, it would have to be stated very differently.

The second alternative seems to me to have very great difficulties. It would encourage the neutral behaviour of the small states which has already been so disastrous. It would ask too much of the inner ring. I see that the regional part of the proposal is an attempt to make these obligations less onerous. But I don't think that would work. The Dominions might be told that we and not they were responsible for the policing of Europe, but they would know that if as a result we got involved in a vital war they would have to do something about it, and they would incline to do that beforehand by insisting that if we did undertake such indefinite responsibilities they would leave the Commonwealth.

I think it asks too much of some states and too little of others. Why should we, e.g. take all these risks for people who will take no risks for themselves?

(b) The provisions of 23 seem to me specially ambiguous. What kind of international Authority is supposed which can have control of an international Air Force? One as nearly representative as possible of the civilised world, i.e. including e.g. Russia and Japan? That seems to me quite impossible.

This paragraph seems more than the preceding to imply a world in which all states earnestly and seriously intend to organise peace. The disarmament proposals assume that; the Air Force plan, which is under any circumstances very difficult, seems to assume it too. If anyone asks himself what these proposals would actually amount to, even if only Russia remained outside the League, he would find it very difficult to answer.

A.D. LINDSAY  
1 February, 1941

NOTE ON REVISED STATEMENT ON WORLD SETTLEMENT

by W. Arnold Forster.

As I cannot, to my great regret, be present on 24th February 1941, may I make some comments in writing on the main subject which the Executive will discuss.

The revised Statement of Policy is I think a substantial improvement on the earlier text, (especially Clause 19); but I still think it very unsatisfactory as regards clarity and argument. The Executive must be alert of discussing the text (though our discussions are too often brief and inadequate); but if it is intended to make this statement serve as a basis either for a popular campaign, or for closely argued recommendations to the Government, I beg the Executive not to discuss too summarily such questionings as these which follow. For I am unshakably convinced that if we represent this Government as the Union's major contribution at this stage of the peace-making, before having tried again to remove certain confusions and defects, the repute of the Union as a contributor to the working out of a new League system will be seriously impaired.

Security and Disarmament.

If the "Commonwealth" - the rebuilt League - is to achieve its primary purpose, it must evolve an organisation which fulfils all three of these conditions:-

- (1) it must control preponderant power, available at the required time and place;
- (2) it (or its component parts) must have the will to use that power loyally for the Commonwealth's pacific purpose. (See Clause 22);
- (3) it must have the moral authority derived from being widely representative.

I submit that the Statement does not sufficiently recognise this triple need; and so lays the Union open, needlessly, to such criticism as that which the New Commonwealth has lately published.

- A. For instance, Clause 16 insists that what is needed is "an International Authority as nearly representative of the civilized world as possible". That is too unqualified. It meets condition (3) but not condition (2) about loyalty, or condition (1) about preponderant power. The L.R.U. often pointed out, e.g. in the Abyssinian crisis, that the old League needed more loyalty even more than it needed more universality. And a new League will assuredly fail to achieve security against aggression unless its members do sincerely share in the common resolve to achieve this.
- B. Clause 23 affords other examples. It calls for a general reduction of armaments by agreement, and says that this should be "part of the permanent organisation of peace"; but it does not bring out the crucial point that this disarmament (which is to involve abolition of various weapons) should be so timed and co-ordinated as to allow

always for the retention of preponderant power in the control of trustees of the Commonwealth.

- C. Again, Clause 23 says that an International Air Force should be created, all national air forces being abolished apparently the intention is that this force should be the only one, all competitors being eliminated by agreement; and this force is to be controlled by the International Authority. But there seems to be no recognition of the need for making such an International Authority (and its Executive organs) truly representative of all the powerful States if it is to be in a position to wield, without competition, the tremendous monopoly of aerial killing power.

Is the Executive really so sanguine as to believe that, within say five years after this war, all the seven great Powers will be willing to abolish their national air forces; to remain without national defences against the International Air Force, and to participate in the direction of this force? If so, I wish I could share its optimism. I cannot. When the world gets so far as the establishment of a supranational Executive, so powerful, so loyal to the principles of commonwealth, and so representative, that it can wield without serious challenge the most dreaded and instant coercive weapon in existence, then the central problem of organizing world government on a representative, a "democratic" basis, will have been mastered. But that objective, surely, is likely to prove a long-range one, not a near one.

We must make up our minds which hypothesis we are working on. Either a virtually all-inclusive League, with an all-round, voluntary, abandonment of national air power, and all-round acceptance of the League's role as sole master of the weapon that can paralyse armies and navies and munition works;

Or else a League which will probably not include for awhile such Powers as Japan or Russia, or perhaps Germany - a League whose air force may have to be built up without the full participation of the United States - a disarmament which has to allow always for the recalcitrance or disloyalty of A+B+C.

The first hypothesis is too optimistic; the second is not adequately covered by our text (Clause 23, etc.)

x x x x x

One other point. The policy of Optional Sanctions, as defined in Clause 21, seems to me to require reconsideration, or at least rewording. Isn't it a farce to propose an obligatory option; to "bind" States to do what they think "desirable"? The policy of Optional Sanctions, as indicated in the Cressborn Report of 1936, always did seem to me an unhappy compromise; our present text exposes the policy in words which make it peculiarly vulnerable to criticism.

x x x x x

In conclusion, may I suggest that if the Executive cannot reach agreement on these underlying questions of policy on February 6th, it should not be disheartened or surprised but should arrange if possible to meet for a longer discussion - e.g. for a weekend outside London.

W. ARNOLD FORSTER.  
3.2.41.

CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION HELD AT NO. 25, BEDFORD SQUARE, LONDON, S.W.1, ON THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 20th, 1941 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Professor Brodetsky, Lord Cecil, Miss K. P. Courtney, Mrs. Dagdale, Miss P. Fawcett, Lady Hall, Sir Arthur Haworth, Esme Adelaide Livingstone, Mr. Gilbert Murray, Howell Smith, W. T. Fritchard, Miss E. Methbone, K.P. and Major Freshwater.

36. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on rebruary 6th and of the special meeting held on rebruary 12th, were confirmed.

37. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 25 - 23 - Social and Economic Reconstruction, Lord Cecil reported that he had written to Sir Alexander Cadogan, but had not yet received his reply.

On Minute 26 - Mr. H. Hopkins, Lord Cecil stated that he had written to Mr. Henry Hopkins who had, however, been unable to see him when in London owing to the heavy pressure of his other engagements.

On Minute 27 - Finance Committee, at the request of Mr. Syrett, a letter which he had received from members of the staff, thanking the Committee for the war bonus, was read.

On Minute 34 - Abbreviated Version of Statement of Policy, the Executive having been reminded that it would not be possible for any amendments to be made in the statement of Policy until the Annual Meeting of the General Council, it was agreed that the decision contained in minute 34 should be rescinded, and that the abbreviated version of the Statement (WINNING THE PEACE), approved in minute 31, should be published forthwith with the following prefatory note: "Abbreviated version of the Statement of Policy provisionally approved by the General Council of the League of Nations Union in December, 1940".

38. POPULAR (DIALOGUE) VERSION OF STATEMENT OF POLICY. The Executive had before them a popular version of the Statement of Policy in dialogue form prepared by Mrs. Stevens of the London Regional Federation. Mr. Fritchard stressed the desirability of the Statement being made available in a form which was likely to be read by the ordinary man-in-the-street.

After considerable discussion, Mr. Fritchard and Miss Fawcett were asked to inform the London Regional Federation that, while the Executive liked the idea of presenting the Statement of Policy in dialogue form, they were not sufficiently satisfied with the present draft to adopt it as a Union publication. It was suggested that if the author desired to re-draft the paper, Mr. Fanshawe or Mr. Aldous would be glad to assist, if invited to do so.



39. ARTICLES IN HEADWAY. Dr. Murray suggested, and it was agreed, that a series of articles should be included in HEADWAY in which various members of the Executive should be invited to state their individual views on the Statement of Policy.

40. GENERAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS. It was reported that the following resolution had been adopted by the management Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions in regard to the Statement of Policy:

"That in the light of present circumstances, the Management Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions agrees with the policy outlined by the League of Nations Union".

41. PREPARATION OF SUPPLEMENTARY REPORTS DEALING WITH (A) COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION; (B) PROTECTION OF MINORITIES, AND (C) PROCEEDS FOR PEACEFUL CHANGE.

(a) Colonial Administration (para. 14 of Statement of Policy). Lady Hall stated that the sub-Committee which was concerned with the question of Social and Economic Reconstruction would also have to consider many questions arising out of colonial administration. She suggested, therefore, that the sub-Committee might be asked to deal in its Report also with mandate questions and native labour in general.

Dr. Murray reminded the Executive of reports on the colonial question prepared by a sub-committee of the Executive in the past, and which he suggested would be useful in the preparation of any future material.

After discussion it was agreed that the sub-Committee on Social Reconstruction should be asked to deal in its report also with questions of colonial administration as they affected social reconstruction.

Lady Hall thought that, for this purpose, it would be desirable to appoint further members to the sub-Committee who possessed special knowledge of colonies and mandates. The names of Miss Audrey Richards, Mr. Charles Roberts and Mr. Travers Buxton were suggested. Members of the Executive who had further suggestions to make were asked to send them to Lady Hall.

(b) Protection of Minorities (para. 14 of Statement of Policy). It was agreed that a sub-Committee should be appointed to consider and prepare a report for submission to the Executive, dealing with the protection of racial, religious and linguistic minorities; and that the following should be invited to serve on the Committee: Professor Brodetsky, Miss Courtney, Mrs. Dugdale and Dr. Gilbert Murray.

The hope was expressed that Sir Walter Reppier and Lord Dickinson would also be consulted, and Lord Cecil suggested that the opinion of Lord Cranborne should be sought.

The Chairman suggested that the sub-Committee, in considering this matter, should not necessarily assume

that existing minorities would remain minorities, and the transference or exchange of populations on a large scale should be considered.

- (c) Procedure for Securing Peaceful Change (paras. 18 and 19 of Statement of Policy). It was agreed that a sub-Committee should be appointed to consider and prepare a report for submission to the Executive on the procedure for securing peaceful change; and that the following should be invited to serve on the Committee: Lord Cecil, Mr. Arnold Forster, Mr. Howell Smith and Mr. Leonard Woolf. It was suggested that Mr. Noel-Baker should also be invited to join the Committee and Lord Cecil promised to communicate with Mr. Noel-Baker with a view to securing his help.

42. CONFERENCE BETWEEN INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE AND REPRESENTATIVES OF FOREIGN LEAGUE OF NATIONS SOCIETIES.

Miss Courtney reported on the conference held on February 12th. (4th Feb 1922)

In regard to the proposal for a European Centre in London, the International Committee had been asked to prepare draft proposals for organisation to be submitted for discussion at the next Conference on March 20th.

The question of the Union co-operating in the Luncheons at present being held under the auspices of the New Europe Circle had been discussed with the Secretary and Committee of the Circle, who had expressed their willingness for Luncheons to be held alternately, at intervals of a fortnight, one by the New Europe Circle and one by the Circle in co-operation with the International Committee of the Union. Negotiations on this subject between the Union and the New Europe Circle were still proceeding.

An interesting and useful discussion on WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR had taken place at the Conference; a copy of the report would be sent to any member of the Executive who desired to have one.

It had been decided to hold a further conference on March 20th when problems arising out of the transition period, as they affected the various European nations, would be discussed.

Dr. Murray and other members of the Executive spoke of certain views alleged to be held by one or two members who had attended, or had been invited to, the Conference. It was agreed that, if the International Committee had reasons for believing that any nationality was not adequately represented at the Conference, they should consider adding to the number of those invited to attend, but that, before further invitations were issued, careful consideration should be given to any suggested names.

43. WOMEN'S ADVISORY COUNCIL. Miss Courtney reported on a meeting of the Women's Advisory Council held on January 29th, and said that, for various reasons, it had not been found possible to prepare a study syllabus on the United States and on France, but that it was hoped to do something on these lines in the near future.

Lord Lytton's speech to the meeting on the Statement of Policy had been greatly appreciated, and an interesting and helpful discussion had followed. It was hoped to hold a further meeting when the various representatives on the Council had had time to consider the Union's Statement in detail.

44. **ANNUAL MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL.** It was agreed that the Annual Meeting of the General Council should be held in London on Thursday and Friday, June 26th and 27th, and, if necessary, Saturday, June 28th.
45. **HEADQUARTERS OFFICE.** It was reported that on March 10th the Headquarters Office would be transferred to No. 11, Maiden Lane, and that, beginning on March 20th, meetings of the Executive Committee would be held at that address.
46. **SIR ROBERT VANSLITTART.** Miss Fawcett stated that Mr. Howe, a Brother of the Chairman of the London Regional Federation and a Director of Hamish Hamilton, was much concerned about Sir Robert Vanslittart's recent PENGUIN pamphlet and, in view of Lord Cranborne's statement in the House of Lords that the best way of dealing with it was to provide a written answer, had suggested that the League of Nations Union might assist in providing one which his firm would be glad to publish. Dr. Murray had been invited to write such a pamphlet, but for various reasons did not consider he was a suitable person to do it.

Miss Rathbone drew the Committee's attention to a book published on the previous day in the Searchlight Series, entitled OFFENSIVE AGAINST GERMANY by Sebastian Haffner. This, she suggested, provided the best answer to Sir Robert Vanslittart.

The Chairman expressed the hope that members of the Executive would read the book in order that a discussion of it might take place at some future meeting.

*Lytton*  
CHAIRMAN

6th March 1941.





NEW EUROPE CIRCLE LUNCHEONS. At the request of the Chairman, Mr. Judd reported that he had discussed the question of the Union co-operating in the luncheons now being held under the auspices of the New Europe Circle with Dr. Kuznetz, the Secretary of the Circle, and his Committee. They had expressed their willingness for luncheons to be held alternately, one by the New Europe Circle and one by the Circle in co-operation with the International Committee of the L.N.U. At present the luncheons were held at monthly intervals, but if the suggested scheme of co-operation became effective, it might be possible to hold the luncheons at intervals of a fortnight. It was suggested that the Secretary should agree with the Secretary of the New Europe Circle on the choice of a speaker for the alternate luncheons; the Circle and the Union would each notify their own members. Dr. Kuznetz had promised to discuss the question of expense with his Czech colleagues who had in the past supported the luncheons, and some of whom thought the joint luncheons might involve the Union in an expenditure of \$5 or £10 a month. But nothing definite had been settled on this point and, in any case, Dr. Kuznetz was anxious that expense should not be an obstacle to co-operation with the International Committee.

The Committee welcomed the opportunity of co-operating in the manner suggested with the New Europe Circle luncheons.

WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR. Comments on the Union's revised Statement of Policy had been received prior to the meeting from Mr. Yui Ming, Mr. Federabend, Mr. Goussiaux and Mr. de Beus, and had been circulated to those attending the Conference (Copy filed with these minutes.)

Several members of the Conference expressed the opinion that the Statement in its present form was an improvement on the earlier draft discussed at the 1st Conference.

Mr. Federabend said that the comments he had submitted were based on the earlier draft. On behalf of the Czech Society he congratulated the L.N.U. on their present Statement with which his Society found itself almost completely in agreement. He thought it desirable, however, that there should be a precise formulation of the rights and commitments which individual members of the future League of Nations would have in their mutual relations. The ambiguity of the obligations imposed under Article 16 was one of the reasons for the failure of the old system. Further, he would like to see in any future League an International Economic Office which would be entrusted both with world planning and with its application.

Mr. de Beus urged that care should be taken not to build a future organization on too idealistic a basis. The main principles which he would like to see kept in view were (1) that self-interest must necessarily remain a guiding factor in the international conduct of any State; (2) that an effective method of peaceful change must be found; emphasis ought not to be placed on the role of justice in opposition to international politics; (3) that a strong force behind the international authority was absolutely necessary. He doubted whether, in practice, military sanctions could be applied within the present Confederations; an International Air Force would therefore be necessary. Mr. de Beus further suggested that since, in many countries, the present League had become almost an object of derision, it might be desirable to give the proposed international authority a new form and a new name in order to secure the utmost support of public opinion in all countries. He also urged the desirability of creating an International Press Tribunal to supervise and, if necessary, enforce the application of the right of any State Member to have replies or corrections inserted in a newspaper or periodical of another State Member which had published unfair or incorrect news.

On the subject of peaceful change, Lord Cecil pointed out the difficulty of constituting a tribunal that would have sufficient authority for its decisions to be immediately accepted by the main parties concerned. He doubted, for example, if a tribunal could be created with such authority that if it directed the cession of Gibraltar to some other Power, it would be immediately accepted in Great Britain. A body such as the existing Hague Court might give preliminary advice, but a decision must come from some political body representing the countries involved and the general welfare of the world.

Mr. de Broeckere agreed with Lord Cecil. If an international tribunal like the Hague Court argued that there was a good case, according to international law, for the Congo to cease to belong to Belgium, the decision, while it might be considered very hard, might well be accepted by the majority of the Belgian people. If the decision were given unanimously by the Council of the League, the attitude of the Belgians might be the same, but it might create such a bad international situation that war might easily be provoked. The Dutch people would probably feel the same about the Dutch East Indies. Such an award by an international tribunal could only be envisaged if the country in question were in a weak state, and it would assuredly wait until it was stronger to take its revenge. Mr. de Broeckere agreed with the desirability of keeping the F.B.I., in being at the Hague, and the League or some similar body at Geneva; but he strongly deprecated the setting up of any intermediary, such as an equity tribunal which would result and none of the virtues of the other two organizations.

Mr. Rozanski supported Mr. de Broeckere. He deprecated Mr. de Beus' suggestion for an International Press Bureau. The present war was a struggle for freedom in which the freedom of the press was an essential part.

The Chairman raised the question of the transition period which would arise at the close of hostilities, and particularly the arrangements which would have to be made to underpin the security of various nations.

Professor Gassin did not think it possible at present to formulate any definite proposals in regard to the transition period which would affect particularly the belligerents but the repercussions of which might affect other nations also. He expressed himself as being in complete agreement with Mr. de Beus.

Mr. Goussiaux asked whether, at the end of the war, all national armaments ought to be abolished, or whether it would be preferable during the period of transition that, while disarmament was imposed on the vanquished nations, the victorious nations themselves should not disarm. This point of view was held by many Frenchmen.

Mr. Luray feared that, at the end of the war, there might arise a strong movement in England to get away from Europe, and that he believed would be fatal. It was also utterly necessary that the British Government should permanently assert its interest in Europe and take the necessary responsibilities in that Continent. But if that happened, was it clear how Europe was going to give the necessary support to produce a society of nations which would be really strong enough to maintain peace?

Mr. Goussiaux hoped that the nucleus of such an alliance would be an Anglo-French partnership.

Lord Cecil thought this matter should be very carefully considered. If, at the end of the war, the situation was such that neither Germany, nor Italy, nor Russia could be relied on as trustworthy peace-keeping countries, there would be grave difficulty in trying to organise the other countries of Europe as the sole guardians of peace. That was one of the reasons why he held that nothing short of an International Air Force would really meet the case. There must, of course, be a period of transition, in which preliminary measures for preserving peace and order and for dealing with the large number of economic and other problems would deal with, before a final system could be drafted. But he was anxious that the ultimate system should never be lost sight of and that every step that was taken should be consistent with the final solution which would be no much in accordance with justice that it would have a chance of permanence.

NEXT MEETING. It was agreed to hold a further conference at 2.30 p.m. on Thursday, March 20th, at which problems arising out of the transition period as they affected the various European nations, should be discussed. Those present were asked to send in their views beforehand.

CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO.26 ECCLESTON PLACE, LONDON, S.W.1, ON THURSDAY, MARCH 6th, 1941, AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Lady Violet Bonhag-Carter, F.J. Burris, Miss K.D. Courtney, Miss F. Rawcett, Lady Hall, Sir Arthur Hewart, Lady Layton, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Dr. Gilbert Murray, Miss Eleanor Atabone I.R.P., Howell Smith, and Major Freshwater.

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

48. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES

On Minute 37-25 - Social and Economic Reconstruction, a letter from Lord Cecil to Sir Alexander Cadogan dated February 18th and his (confidential) reply of February 22nd were read. The Committee expressed their gratitude for the information given in Sir Alexander Cadogan's letter regarding the present position of various sections of the League and of the I.L.O.

It having been reported that certain information had already appeared in various numbers of HEADWAY, the Editor was asked to prepare a further statement, embodying what was new in Sir Alexander Cadogan's letter and perhaps re-ascertaining what had already been said in HEADWAY for publication, after the permission of Sir Alexander Cadogan had been obtained, in the April number.

Lady Hall said she had been given to understand that Mr. Phelan and Mr. Lester had been refused visas to travel via Spain to the United States and, in December last, were still in Geneva. Mr. Phelan had since been appointed to succeed Mr. Winant as Director of the International Labour Office. The Committee asked that inquiries on this subject should be made of the London office of the I.L.O. and a report presented to the next meeting.

On Minute 42 - International Committee, it was reported that provisional arrangements had been made for the first of the Joint Luncheons of the International Committee of the Union and the New Europe Circle to be held on Thursday, April 6th, at the Criterion Restaurant, when it was hoped Lord Cecil would be the speaker. The Executive expressed approval of these arrangements.

Dame Adelaide Livingstone stated that the American Outpost Committee in London, of which she was a member, would welcome the opportunity of co-operating with the Union and the New Europe Circle in a joint luncheon at which Mr. Winant should be invited to speak. After this suggestion had been warmly supported by Miss Courtney, it was agreed to accept with thanks the offer of the American Committee's co-operation in such a luncheon, and to inform the New Europe Circle accordingly.

It was further suggested that the advisory International Committee should be asked to consider the desirability of inviting a representative of the American Outpost Committee to serve on the International Committee.

S.833.  
5.3.41.

For Executive Committee 6.3.41.

	<u>MEMBERSHIP</u>		
	<u>1939</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1941</u>
Jan.	10,279	5,267	3,584
Feb.	19,668	8,941	5,267
March	30,253	13,583	
April	21,622	11,920	
May	13,492	12,218	
June	13,787	7,216	
July	12,642	5,306	
AUG.	11,760	4,420	
Sept. &			
Oct.	12,329	7,503	
Nov.	9,298	4,173	
Dec.	36,246	19,511	
	<u>193,366</u>	<u>100,088</u>	

49. MEMBERSHIP. A report (S.833, copy filed with these Minutes) was received, showing that of the 14,208 subscriptions paid in January and February 1940, 8,861 had renewed during the corresponding months of 1941.

A discussion took place, during which various reasons for the decline in membership were suggested. The Secretary reported that where, for any reason, a Branch notified the Head Office that it was unable to continue to collect subscriptions, notices were sent to the individual members from Headquarters when their renewal subscriptions became due.

Mr. Murray suggested that one difficulty lay in the fact that at the present time there was no definite piece of work which Branches could do for the League. In places, for example, where Branches had taken charge of refugees, local interest in the Union had been maintained and stimulated.

Miss Courtney suggested that consideration might be given to the desirability of appointing at least one Regional Organizer during the summer months when the longer hours of daylight would make travelling less difficult. The Committee were reminded that the County Organisations in Northamptonshire and Essex still employed paid organisers. The Secretary was asked to report at the next meeting how the membership in those counties compared with other counties which did not possess paid organisers. After further discussion, it was agreed that inquiry should be made concerning the possibility of Mr. Walton Starkey resuming his duties as Regional Organizer for the North-west area.

50. MR. WALLIS-JONES. A letter dated 28th January from Mr. Wallis-Jones was read, offering to resign his membership of the Executive now that he was on active service, but expressing the hope that he might still be kept in touch with the work of the Committee. It having been recalled that the present Executive would cease to hold office after the annual meeting of the General Council in June, it was agreed to accord leave of absence to Mr. Wallis-Jones during the remainder of the Committee's term of office.
51. LIAISON COMMITTEE FOR WORLD GOVERNMENT. A communication was read from the Secretary of the Liaison Committee of Organisations in favour of World Government (previously known as the Liaison Committee of Federalist associations), renewing the invitation extended to the Union in September last to be represented on the Committee and, or, to send an observer to its future meetings. The next meeting would be held on Saturday, 6th March, to discuss (1) the immediate institution of a Federal Council for a free Europe and (2) Anglo-American Union. The Committee decided to adhere to its decision of October 3rd, 1940, "not to accept the invitation".
52. NATIONAL PEACE COUNCIL. It was reported that the National Peace Council had made arrangements to hold a Conference on Peace Aims at the Carlton Hall on March 15th. It was not in accordance with practice for the Union to appoint representatives, but members of the Executive who wished to attend the Conference in their individual capacities would be welcome.

Reference was also made to a series of six "Peace Aims" pamphlets recently published by the National Peace Council and to which the Union had been asked to give



publicity, e.g. by sending a prospectus to branches. It was agreed not to circulate notices of the pamphlets to Union Branches, but to suggest to the National Peace Council that a cheaper and more satisfactory method of bringing the pamphlets to the notice of Union members was afforded by an advertisement in HEADWAY.

53. **FEDERAL UNION.** An invitation was reported from Mr. Kimber, the Secretary of Federal Union, for the I. P. U. to co-operate in a committee or group to undertake research work on post-war reconstruction. After consulting the Chairman, the Secretary had informed Mr. Kimber that the Union would be willing, in principle, to co-operate in research on certain specific subjects in so far as was possible with its present reduced staff. The Executive expressed their approval.

At the Chairman's request, inquiries were being made concerning possible research work on this subject by the Royal Institute of International Affairs, and, pending the result of such inquiries, no action would be taken with the Federal Union committee.

54. **LORD COCILL'S BOOK: A GREAT EXPERIMENT.** Sir Arthur Heworth thought that much useful work could be done by Branches in organising groups to study Lord Cecil's book, and suggested that a fund, to which he would gladly subscribe, might be raised to provide copies of the book for such purposes.

After discussion it was agreed that a note should be included in HEADWAY, drawing attention to the usefulness of Lord Cecil's book as a basis for Study Groups and stating that it was hoped to raise a fund by which copies could be supplied for study purposes at a reduced rate in cases where the cost of the book was an obstacle to the organisation of such groups.

55. **MEMBERS OF H.R. FORCES AND L.L.U. MEETINGS.** In reply to a question from Miss Courtney, it was reported that no further communication had been received from Major Cazalet since the report contained in minute 10(6) of January 16th. It was agreed to ask the Chairman to see Captain Margeason, to remind him of the facts which Major Cazalet had brought to his notice, and to enquire what, if any, action had been taken.

56. **CANADIAN AND AUSTRALIAN L. OF N. SOCIETIES.** A letter dated 27th January was read from Mr. Warwick Chipman, Chairman of the Canadian League of Nations Society, concerning the revised statement of policy, **WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR.** Mr. Chipman thought Section 21 as now re-drafted was an improvement on the earlier version, but felt that the net result of the second sentence of 21 would simply be the refusal by a number of States to join any inner circle and therefore to escape all real obligation. Nor could he see how a continental federation would be enough to preserve order. The Chairman and other members of the Committee considered that the wording of Section 21 was still not as clear as it might be and had been misunderstood by Mr. Chipman. The Secretary was asked to send to Mr. Chipman a copy of the abbreviated version, **WINNING THE PEACE**, which in the Executive's opinion set out the position more clearly.

A letter dated December 16th from Miss Duncan, the Secretary of the Melbourne Branch of the Australian L. of N. Society was also read, stating that Lord Cecil's original



- 4 -

draft of WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR had been circulated to all members. A Committee had been called to discuss it in detail after which comments, representing Australian opinion, would be communicated to the Union.

57. OFFENSIVE AGAINST GERMANY. A detailed discussion took place on Mr. Sebastian Ruffner's book, OFFENSIVE AGAINST GERMANY. It was agreed to ask Miss Rathbone to review the book for the April number of HEADWAY, and the Chairman expressed the hope that it might be possible for Mr. Ruffner to meet members of the Executive in the near future.

*Layford*  
CHAIRMAN

March 20, 1941.

Foreign Office,  
S.W.1.  
22nd February, 1941.

Confidential.

Dear Lord Cecil,

Many thanks for your letter of the 12th February about the Secretariat of the League and the International Labour Office.

The position is as follows:

In the summer of last year, we were anxious that the League should take advantage of an invitation from the Institute of Advanced Studies at Princeton University to transfer to the United States as much of the non-political activity of the League as possible. Unfortunately, owing to Avenol's attitude this project was not carried out before the frontiers closed. Avenol did, however, agree to the transfer of a delegation of the economic and financial section under Loveday to the United States. This delegation, which has since been strengthened, has settled down at Princeton. Loveday is, of course, responsible to the Acting Secretary-General and reports to him, but we have been in touch with him also and have been consulted in regard to his work. We are concentrating mostly on post war economic problems, while giving such attention to current economic and financial questions as may be necessary for this purpose. I understand that he is well satisfied with his position and with the work which he is able to do.

When Lester became Acting Secretary-General he at once accepted the policy of further transfers to the United States, but by that time the conditions of travel had become much more difficult. It has, however, been found possible to transfer to the United States the Secretary of the Permanent Central Opium Board and the Secretary of the Supervisory Body. The Permanent Central Opium Board has now opened a branch office in Washington, and the work of the board and the collection of statistics will for the present in practice be conducted from there. The staff of the League Pensions Fund is in London and the Fund is being administered from here.

The Treasurer, after dealing with the more immediate tasks which confronted him, has also left Geneva and is at present in the United States. I understand that he will devote himself to collecting subscriptions from those Members of the League who may be in a position to pay.

The headquarters of the League remains at Geneva in accordance with the provisions of the covenant. The staff is small, but it is still possible for some work to be carried on, though it is mainly of a statistical character. It is not practicable for League Committees to meet in present conditions.

The position as regards the International Labour Office is somewhat similar, except that Winant declined

to move the great majority of the (much reduced) staff while it was still comparatively easy to do so. The Office is established at McGill University and is carrying on as much of its normal work as it can. A very small staff remains at Geneva which continues technically to be the headquarters.

Authority for all these activities was given at a meeting of the Supervisory Commission, which is invested with very wide powers by the Assembly for the duration of the war. This meeting was arranged with a great deal of difficulty, and was finally held in Lisbon in September. Some drastic pruning was necessary, particularly in the Budget of the Permanent Court, but we hope that the money available will enable such activity as can usefully be carried on in war time to be continued.

I hope this information will be of assistance to your Executive Committee.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) ALEC CADOGAN.

CONFIDENTIAL.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 11, MALDEN LANE, LONDON, W.C. 2, on THURSDAY, MARCH 20th, 1941, at 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair) Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Professor Brodetaky, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Lord Cecil, Dean of Chichester, Miss K. D. Courtney, Mrs. Duggals, Miss F. Fawcett, W. Arnold Forster, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Lady Layton, Dr. A. D. Lindsay, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, J. Macdonald, F. J. Noel-Baker, M.P., Nowell Smith, H. S. Syrett, and Major Freshwater.

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

59. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 48 - 37 - Social and Economic Reconstruction. The Secretary reported that, as a result of inquiries at the London office of the I.L.C., it was learned that Mr. Phelan had left Geneva before the frontiers were closed and, after staying in Lisbon for some little while on I.L.C. business, had left for Canada where he had been since last November.

On Minute 49 - Membership. a report giving the comparative membership in counties with, and without, paid organisers was presented to the Committee. The report showed that the existence or otherwise of a paid organiser did not materially affect the membership.

Mr. Syrett expressed the opinion that the re-appointment of one or more Regional Representatives would not contribute much towards increasing membership. What was essential was to keep the Union's organisation alive at Headquarters and to let the people know through HEADWAY and other means that it was still in active being.

The Secretary reported that he had written to Mr. Sterkey, the late Regional Organiser for the North-West, but had not yet received any reply. Mr. Macdonald promised to make inquiries of the Union's local organisations in the North-West concerning the desirability of having an Organiser in that area.

On Minute 55 - Members of H.M. Forces and L.N.U. Meetings. the Chairman reported that he had written to Captain Mergesson and had received from him a

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letter he had sent on the subject to Major Cazlet (copy filed with these minutes). After Captain Margesson's letter had been read, concern was expressed that at the present time when practically every man of military age, and many women also, were serving with the Forces, they should be debarred from taking any active part in the affairs of the L.N.U. The Chairman was asked to discuss the matter further with Captain Margesson.

60. **MRS. GERRARD.** The Executive learned with deep regret that Mrs. Gerrard, one of the Union's shorthand-typists, had been injured in a recent air raid and was in hospital. Her son had been killed, and her husband and daughter were also in hospital. It was agreed that a message of sympathy from the Executive should be sent to Mrs. Gerrard, and the Secretary was authorised, in consultation with the Treasurer, to give her any necessary financial assistance.
61. **CO-OPTATIONS.** On the motion of Dr. Gernett it was agreed to invite Captain Alon Thomas (Editor of the LISTENER) to join the Executive.
62. **TIME OF EXECUTIVE MEETINGS.** It was reported that, since Parliament was at present in session on Thursday mornings, those members of the Committee who were also Members of Parliament found it difficult to attend morning meetings of the Executive, and it was suggested that an afternoon meeting might perhaps be more suitable. After discussion it was agreed to write to all members of the Executive with a view to ascertaining if meetings of the Committee on the same days of the month but at 2.30 p.m. instead of 11 a.m. would suit the majority.
63. **MR. PAUL HYMANS AND MR. TITULESCO.** The Executive expressed their regret at the recent death of Mr. Hymans and of Mr. Titulesco, both of whom had served as Presidents of the League Assembly. It was agreed that a message of condolence on the death of Mr. Hymans should be sent to the Provisional Belgian Government in London; and Mr. Byrett was asked to represent the Union at the Memorial service for Mr. Titulesco.
64. **WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR.** The Executive had before them a memorandum prepared by the Master of Bellioli in accordance with minute 33 of February 12th (S.835, copy filed with these minutes.) Notes on the memorandum by Mr. Noel Becker (S.836) were also before the meeting.

A letter from Dr. Murray, who was prevented by influenza from being present, was read, commenting on the two documents. The Master of Bellioli stated that, although he had discussed his memorandum with Dr. Murray



before it was finally drafted, he (the Master) wished to take sole responsibility for it.

Lord Cecil explained the circumstances in which Mr. Noel-Baker's notes (which had been prepared as a personal memorandum for Lord Cecil) had been circulated to the Executive, and both Lord Cecil and Mr. Noel-Baker expressed their apologies to the Master for any offence which he had been caused on that account. Mr. Noel-Baker stated that he had prepared a further paper which he would ask the Secretary to circulate to the Committee. In his opinion the most important of all the functions of the Union at the present time was to draw from the history of the last 20 years the fundamental lessons to be learned from the experience of Geneva, and to put those lessons across to the general public.

The Master of Balliol, in support of his memorandum, urged the Executive to face the possible situations which might arise at the end of the war, and asked that the first eleven paragraphs only of his paper, which dealt with this matter, should be considered at the present meeting. His memorandum had been written on the assumption that the most important thing at the end of the war was to restore the League of Nations as an authoritative international authority.

A detailed discussion followed, concerning various possibilities of the world situation at the end of the war, in which many members of the Committee took part.

The Chairman, summing up the discussion, said that the Executive were grateful to the Master for having submitted his memorandum. They were impressed by his arguments that the Statement of Policy, by itself, did not carry conviction to many people it was desired to convince and that it would be strengthened if it included a discussion of the conditions in which the policy could be put into effect. The Chairman suggested that it would be helpful if, in the light of the discussion, the Master of Balliol would prepare for consideration at the next meeting on April 3rd, a draft introduction for inclusion in the Statement. The Master expressed his willingness to do this, and the Chairman said that he also would prepare a draft.

Dr. Garnett suggested that paragraph 4 of the Master's memorandum seemed to imply that the acceptance of some sort of provisional policy of peace aims should be part of the armistice terms, and that in paragraph 8 a better division might be between those who believed in the collective enforcement of the rule of law and those who did not. The Master said he would bear these observations in mind when drafting his further document.

65. **INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE.** Miss Courtney reported on a meeting of the advisory International Committee held on March 12th. The proposal for a European Centre had been considered, but the Committee felt that, in view of financial difficulties, it would not be practicable to establish and run a Club for foreigners in London. The Committee was, however, examining the possibility of creating an International Association in London for purposes of study and research, somewhat on the lines of the discussion groups organised by Chatham House. Such an Association would not advocate policy, nor adopt resolutions. The proposal was being discussed with certain foreigners now in London and a further report would be made as soon as possible.

The Dean of Chichester said that such an Association would entirely meet the purpose he had in mind when making his proposal for a European Centre.

Lord Cecil expressed the hope that the New Europe Circle would be invited to co-operate in the proposed Association.

Miss Courtney also reported that the first of the joint luncheons between the Union and the New Europe Circle would be held on Thursday, April 3rd at the Criterion Restaurant, when Lord Cecil would speak and Mr. Harold Butler had been invited to preside.

Arrangements were also being made for a joint luncheon between the Union, the New Europe Circle and the American Outpost Committee at which it was hoped Mr. Winant would speak and Dr. Masaryk would preside.

*K. D. Courtney*  
CHAIRMAN  
April 3rd, 1941

STATEMENT OF PROPOSITIONS ON "WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR" PREPARED BY THE MASTER OF BALLIOL AND DR. MURRAY IN ACCORDANCE WITH MINUTE 33 OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE DATED 12TH FEBRUARY, 1941.

1. The nature and efficacy of any collective organisation to ensure world peace to be established after the war must depend upon the world situation then obtaining. The shape given to the League after the last war partly depended upon what nations were then prepared to do, and the same will be true after this war.
2. While it is important therefore to look forward to what may be achieved in the future, it is hopeless to regard as two quite separate problems the world organisation you hope to see at some unspecified time in the future and what you must do immediately after the war. The problems are distinct but connected. What is done after the war will largely shape and determine what happens later.
3. It is therefore important to begin by stating your assumptions as to the probable conditions or alternative sets of conditions in which the securing of the peace and the organisation of world powers will be attempted after the war. Any other approach will seem hopelessly in the air.
4. But it is equally important to see that immediate and temporary arrangements which have to be made after the war to underpin the peace are not such as to preclude their growing into something different when conditions become more favourable.
5. After the last war the assumption could be made that all nations wished to prevent a recurrence of war: that nations need not be distinguished in that regard and that therefore the League should be as all-inclusive as possible.
6. It is just conceivable that the war may end with such an all-complete victory and such a conversion of the now aggressor nations that the situation of 1918 may be repeated, except that all nations will be prepared to learn from those mistakes.
7. Many people regard such an assumption and any plans built on it as quite unrealistic.
8. The post-war world gradually came to divide itself between nations who believed in aggression and those who did not. This distinction is obvious in the present war. Failure to recognise it clearly and act on the recognition has had something to do with the failure of the League.

9. It is possible that the way the war will end will be such that this distinction will have to be maintained and that the first thought of the peace loving nations will be how they are to defend themselves against a renewed attack by Germany and possibly Italy. We might have a situation where in Europe we had Britain, the present allied governments, the other Scandinavian powers and France on one side, Germany and Italy on the other, and other countries, especially Russia, doubtful. Such a situation would need entirely different treatment from that demanded by the situation after the last war.
10. No statement of policy can escape ambiguity unless these broadly contrasted assumptions and the alternative policies are clearly stated.
11. But the "statement of world policy etc." either assumes the first alternative assumption without stating it or is a statement of an organisation which it is hoped may be brought into being at some future date and is therefore inconsistent with 10.
12. If we make the assumption described in 9, we must separate quite sharply the problem of common defence and any attempt at a widely inclusive world organisation.
13. Keeping the peace in the meantime will be the necessary concern of the British Commonwealth, its allies, and - let us hope - the U.S.A. and China.
14. The other problem will be: Can the British Commonwealth plus these others get the other powers in the world to agree to such a development of the other functions of the League: I.L.O.; common health services; common economic organisation, etc., that both sides will learn to practise international organisation while continuing to mistrust one another's politics - for continue to mistrust they will.
15. This implies that the future League as envisaged in "World Settlement" will grow out of 14 and not out of 13.
16. For to form a military alliance on the lines of 13 and to say to e.g. Germany, you can come into this some time when we think you good enough is hopeless: but to say to Germany, while trusting in God and keeping your powder dry: let us get on in the meantime without prejudice with the world economic organisations we all need, is not insulting anybody.
17. So long as we keep these problems quite separate and don't put them in a common organisation, we can be realistic about each of them.
18. Disarmament questions will have to be tackled as between rival groups of powers and will therefore probably be confined to attempts to abolish heavy tanks



- 3 -

and bombing aeroplanes. On this basis no concentration of an air force on the international authority will be possible.

19. But on the other hand there will be abundant scope for useful world organisation of services, economic and otherwise, a business in which Germany may play a predominant and useful part. So long as the other organisation of the commonwealth is strong enough to prevent aggression.
20. We might with reasonable luck build up this non-political league in such a way as to make it worth while to belong to, annoying to be kicked out of, and endow it with more or less automatic sanctions - so long as in the meanwhile political business was kept in other hands.
21. We could hope that in time this widely inclusive league might take on both jobs and tackle collective security.
22. Meantime the Commonwealth to resist aggression should confine itself to the military problem, carrying further the method suggested by the British Commonwealth, agreeing to a necessary armament programme and working out necessary staff arrangements.

S.836  
14.3.41.  
(S.835)

NOTES ON THE MEMORANDUM BY THE MASTER OF BALLIOL (S.835)

Lord Cecil has asked that the following notes, in criticism of the pink paper, which Mr. Noel-Baker drew up at Lord Cecil's request and with which he is substantially in agreement, should be circulated to members of the Executive.

Notes by Mr. Noel-Baker.

1. I disagree with every paragraph of this pink paper. It rests on the following principal assumptions:-
  - (a) That the war may result either in a world in which all nations will be converted against aggression, or that only Germany and Italy will remain potential aggressors.
  - (b) That public thinking on this subject is much less advanced than it was twenty years ago.
  - (c) That a non-political League can be made to work while Great Britain and the United States look after political questions, i.e. armaments, war, etc.
  - (d) That the United States and Great Britain will do this together.

To my mind, these assumptions only have to be stated for their futility and even absurdity to be seen.

2. There is no chance of a world in which all nations can be trusted not to commit aggression. Of course any international system must be built on what the paper calls mistrust, i.e. it must have real guarantees against aggressive war. No other system would be looked at for a moment and it is not sense to discuss it.

It is no more sensible to assume that only Italy and Germany will be potential aggressors. Over the crucial, formative years of the last League, the aggressiveness of nations might have been classified as follows:

- (1) Poland
- (2) France
- (3) Yugo-Slavia
- (4) Greece.

3. Any intelligent examination of the history of the last twenty years shows that public thought was being educated very fast up to 1938; and it would be against every teaching of history to doubt that the education will have been pushed very rapidly and very much further by the present conflict.
4. The idea of making a non-political League work while important political questions are dealt with elsewhere was tried in the old League. It was an utter failure. Armaments now depend on the total economic effort of each nation and there is no prospect of any technical co-operation of any significance so long as nations are competing in armaments production.
5. Academically, the pink paper is an absurdity. It neglects the plain political fact that transportation and communication have made the world one community which needs government. That truth is the beginning of all intelligible thinking on international affairs.

I agree with Sections 8 and 9 of the Master's paper and with most of the preceding sections. I am surprised that Mr. Baker does not distinguish between (a) a general tendency to cheat for the sake of profit which is endemic in all nations, and (b) a deliberate and concerted policy of changing the world order by war and revolution, such as is now avowed by the Axis Powers.

I have, however, two reservations to make to the rest of the Master's paper:

1. I cannot accept Sections 12 and 14. I do not believe in a Society of Nations co-operating for the common good whose members have the right and indeed the intention of making war on one another.
2. Though the facts stated in Section 9 are very important, no one can now foretell what the general situation is likely to be at the end of the war. There are many possibilities, and each would involve some modification in the policy of organising peace. I have tried in an article in *Newsday* to suggest a suitable way of meeting this problem.

GILBERT MURRAY

18th March, 1941.

CONFIDENTIAL.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION HELD AT NO. 11, MAILEY LANE, LONDON, W.C.2. ON THURSDAY, APRIL 25th 1941 AT 11 a.m.

PRESENT: Miss K. D. Courtney, (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams, M.P., Professor Broderick, F. V. Burris, Lord Cecil, Dean of Chichester, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss E. Sawcutt, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Lady Hall, Sir Arthur Eworth, Lady Lytton, Dr. A. P. Lindsay, Mrs. Adelaide Livingstone, Professor Eason, W. T. Pritchard, Councillor H. F. Shaw, Maxwell Smith, H. S. Spret, A.E.W. Thomas and Major Franchester.

66. LORD LYTON. The Chairman reported that Lord Lyton was in a nursing home where he had undergone an operation, but that he hoped to be about again in the near future. The Committee expressed their sympathy with Lord Lyton and their hope for his speedy and complete recovery.

67. MINUTES. Subject to the last sentence of minute 64 being amended to read as follows:

"The Master said he agreed with the latter observation and would bear the former in mind when drafting his further document."

the minutes of the meeting held on March 20th were confirmed as circulated.

68. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 59 - 42 - Membership. The Secretary reported a letter from Mr. Wilson Clarke, J., who, although greatly attracted by the prospect of securing his appointment with the Union as Regional Organiser for the North-west, had expressed the opinion that under present conditions little useful work could be done by Regional Organisers. This point of view had already been expressed by Sir Arthur Eworth.

Lord Cecil considered that there was a great work for the Union to do at the present time in encouraging and stimulating discussion of war aims. It would be a disaster if this country were suddenly plunged into negotiations for peace without any real knowledge on the part of a considerable number of people of the issues involved.

It was reported that meetings were being held by Branches all over the country on the subject of WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR, and it was suggested that, instead of appointing a Regional Organiser, consideration should be given to the desirability of appointing a paid lecturer. The Secretary was asked to present a report on this question to a future meeting of the Executive.

On Minute 61 - Co-optations, the Chairman welcomed Mr. Alan Thomas, who was attending the Committee for the first time.

On Minute 68 - Time of Executive Meetings. It was reported that, of the 35 members who had replied to the inquiry, 9 preferred 11 a.m. for meetings of the Committee, 14 preferred 2.30 p.m., and 9 had no preference. It was agreed to consult Lord Lytton in regard to the desirability or otherwise of making any alteration in the time of the meetings, and to include this item on the agenda for the next meeting.

69. WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR. The Executive continued their discussion on the Statement of Policy, and had before them a Draft Preamble and suggested Amendments to the Statement prepared by the Director of Bulliall (S.840); a Note and Draft Commentary by Lord Lytton (S.841); and Notes by Mr. Arnold Forster (S.844) and by Lord Cecil (S.843) (Copies filed with these minutes).

A discussion followed, during which the Executive were reminded that the printed Statement could not now be altered till the annual meeting of the General Council in June, and that there was therefore time for the Committee to decide on the action it wished to take.

The Dean of Chichester suggested that, instead of amending the document or adding a commentary (as Lord Lytton had proposed), an alternative statement should be produced. For purposes of "propaganda" he considered the present document of little use.

The Committee agreed to take Lord Cecil's Note (S.843) as the basis of discussion, and, in the light of the decision arrived at, to consider later what amendments they would wish to make in the Statement of Policy.

Lord Cecil's paper was then considered paragraph by paragraph, and the first six paragraphs were approved and adopted in the following form:

By "Peace aims" is meant a world settlement such as we should agree is satisfactory. Its attainment depends on our victory.

1. Our chief peace aim must be the establishment of lasting world peace.
2. That must be eventually the work of international co-operation, freely accepted.
3. The immediate objects of this international co-operation must be:-
  - (a) The provision of pacific remedies for the causes of war;
  - (b) The forcible prevention of military aggression. Each of these propositions is equally essential.
4. Causes of war can be remedied:-
  - (a) By the promotion of social, political, economic and other reforms of an internationally non-contentious character.
  - (b) By the provision of pacific means for the settlement of international disputes.



5. For the purposes of paragraph 4, there must be an international authority representative of as many states capable of international co-operation as possible. Such an authority should also strive by negotiation and by pressure short of military action to prevent aggression. If, notwithstanding these efforts, aggression should take place, there must be available sufficient military force to stop it.\*

In regard to paragraph 7 of Lord Cecil's draft, the Master of Balliol suggested the deletion of the words "in particular regions - as for instance Europe", and of the last sentence.

Mr. Garnett thought that, by the time the Council met in June, America would be well on the way to becoming one of the "victorious nations". He would like to regard the international authority referred to in paragraphs 5 and 6 as an outer ring, interested in social and economic welfare but not prepared to undertake to use military force. Within this outer ring there would be a confederation or commonwealth, prepared in the last resort to use military as well as economic and diplomatic means to resist aggression, and inner rings for particular regions which would form the first line of defence in their respective areas. Such an inner ring might be provided for the whole of Europe.

Lady Layton thought that the experience of the last war and the present war showed that there was not enough trustworthy power in Europe to do what was asked of it: we were tending outwards and not inwards.

Professor Brodetzky supported Lady Layton and thought the remedy, and not only the danger, would come from outside. He considered that a beginning should be made with the world point of view and that, whatever was done in a regional way should be the application of the general principle rather than the beginning of it.

Lord Cecil suggested that, in the light of the expression of views at the present meeting, a small sub-Committee, consisting of the Officers and a few other members, should be asked to continue the discussion and present definite proposals to the Executive.

It was then agreed that the Officers should be invited to make suggestions for the composition of such a Committee, together with general terms of reference, and that these should be circulated to all members of the Executive for their approval. If general approval were obtained, the small Committee could set to work immediately.

0. NATIONAL PEACE COUNCIL. Communications (dated March 24th and April 1st) were reported from the National Peace Council, inviting the Union to join in an informal conference with R.C. representatives of a number of other societies to consider the possibilities of establishing some joint responsibility for projected conferences in provisional centres so as to arrive at the greatest common measure of agreement on the subject of peace aims. It was decided not to accept the invitation. *G.M.*

\* The final wording of the last sentence was left to Lord Cecil who settled it as above after the meeting. In the redrafted form, paragraph 5 takes the place of the original paragraphs 5 and 6.

83  
S. 840  
28.3.41.

NOTE BY THE MASTER OF BALLIOL

I have tried to do as I was asked by the Executive at its last meeting, but I found it impossible to write any preamble which left 17 to 24 untouched. Some of those paragraphs, notably 23, do not seem to me to make sense on any assumption. I have therefore written the preamble on the assumption that for those detailed arrangements we must substitute general considerations relevant to any situation likely to exist after the war. I have therefore followed the draft preamble with amendments, including a proposed addition to 10.

The Executive will understand that the proposed amendments from Para. 17 onwards are meant to show the lines I think the Statement should follow. They probably need amendment in detail.

I have adopted this procedure in the hope of thereby doing more to bring the questions between us to a definite issue.

A. D. LINDSAY.

DRAFT PREAMBLE TO STATEMENT

The difficulty of laying down at the present time any elaborate details about World Settlement after the war is obvious. The general principles behind the League of Nations stand. The necessity for world organisation for the maintenance of peace and for economic and social reconstruction is caused by the conditions of this age and is not dependent upon the possible conditions of mind or material circumstances in which the nations of the world will find themselves at the end of the war. It is therefore eminently worth while that the L.N.O. should restate the principles which have always inspired it and lay down the essential preliminaries to a world settlement after the war. The following statement does this in Paras. 1 - 8.

But the proper machinery for such world organisation must partly depend on what we judge the nations of the world will be prepared to do. The League of Nations at its foundation was based on the assumption that however much the nations of the world might be prepared to abandon some of their national isolation to organise a world organisation, they were not prepared to form a Federal and World State. The L.N.O. believes that in this respect at least the position after the war will be broadly the same: and that it is therefore no use to try to substitute a world organisation on the lines of a Federal State for one on the lines of the League of Nations. It is important therefore to restate the principles involved in the organisation of a world authority as a League of Nations and show that it failed not because of any inherent weakness but because it was not rightly used. This is the subject of Paras. 6 - 10 of the statement.

But when we go further than this and consider the steps to be taken at the end of the war to set up the world organisation we desire, our concrete proposals are bound to depend on what we think the position will be after the war. There has always been in the history of the League a certain conflict between the importance of having an all-inclusive League and the importance of having in the League only those nations who really believe in it and are prepared actively to take on

obligations in regard to it. The rise of Fascism and Nazi-ism made that conflict more acute. No one knows whether it will be resolved at the end of the war. If it be still the case after the war that there are powerful nations in the world who are openly opposed to the world organization of peace, nothing would be gained by bringing them into the international organization to prevent war. Such a situation would also clearly affect proposals about disarmament, for example.

The Statement suggests that the League's two main functions - that of maintaining peace and of improving the Economic and Social life of the world - should be kept distinct with separate procedures.

There are certain measures of immediate economic and social reconstruction which will be needed by all nations in Europe who have suffered from the war, and by China. This economic and social function should be done by an international authority as inclusive as possible, and this work of the League is described in Paras. 11 - 14.

But the exact relation between the procedure for improving the economic and social life of the world and the procedure for maintaining peace cannot profitably be discussed till the end of the war, but certain general principles which should govern this part of the settlement are stated in Para. 15 to the end.

239

Suggested Amendments to the Statement

- (i) Amendment to 10. Add
- (2) The League was slow to face the situation created by the rise of Fascism and Nazi-ism, in that it did not early enough insist that nations who openly repudiated the principles of the League could have no part in it.
- (ii) 16. Add at end of paragraph, "and to the situation prevailing at the end of the war".
- (iii) 17. Second part: omit in line 6, "by the whole League".
- (iv) For 20 - 24 substitute
20. Whatever the relations eventually established between the groups of powers who are to discharge the responsibility for the exercise of force in preventing aggression or suppressing war, we must bear in mind that temporary arrangements to be made after the war to prevent Germany and Italy from renewing the war are bound to have an important effect on the future of the League. We must see that these temporary arrangements are not such as to prejudice the growth of a defence of world peace really representative of international authority.
21. We have learnt by bitter experience that the defence of world peace depends upon its defenders being adequately armed. The group of powers who are to defend peace must consult together about the armaments necessary for their task in the light of the international situation.
22. This need not prevent a determined attempt to secure the general reduction and limitation of armaments, and the abolition of armaments specially suitable for aggression.
23. The conception of neutrality needs revision. It should not be possible in the future for a power which is to be defended from aggression to imperil by its excessive neutrality the defence against aggression.

For Executive Committee, 3.4.41. Item 3 on Agenda. 3-841  
1.4.41.

NOTE BY THE CHAIRMAN.

At the last meeting of the Executive I was asked to draft a Preamble to the Statement to be considered at the same time as the draft prepared by the Master of Balliol.

On thinking it over I have come to the conclusion that it would be wiser not to add anything to the statement itself, either as a preamble or in any other form, but rather to keep a running commentary in a separate document which can be added to, amended and modified from time to time as the public discussion of the Statement itself proceeds. To use a banking simile I suggest that we should regard the "Statement Account" as closed for the time being and that we open a new "Commentary Account" into which we can pay all the new contributions which we may receive from various sources.

As an example of such a document I submit a draft which starts with the point raised by Dr. Lindsay and continues with an elucidation of paragraphs which have not been fully understood but which we do not want to alter, and then deals with such paragraphs as we may agree to amend.

I do not expect that my draft will satisfy the Master of Balliol, but it can be considered at the same time as his, and, if his is preferred, it can be substituted for mine but I hope that at any rate the form I have suggested will be accepted.

As regards the amendments suggested by the Master of Balliol:

10. I have no objection to this but I do not think it is quite well worded. It was not the rise of Fascism which caused Italy to go wrong. She continued to play the game as well as any other State for some years after she became a Fascist State. She was a Fascist State when her representative sat on the Commission of Enquiry in the Far East. I agree however that it was quite wrong to allow her to resign instead of declaring her to be no longer a member when she did go wrong. As a matter of fact, Germany is the only country which left the League for a good reason, namely, because the League was not carrying out its promises. Japan and Italy both left because they had broken the Covenant and they ought not to have been allowed to.

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16. I accept.

17. I don't accept this. I think the humanitarian activities ought to be performed by the whole League. Indeed they would not be effective otherwise. Of course arbitral or judicial functions may require to be performed in the first instance by some smaller body but I think they should be exercised by the whole League. I would not mind the addition of some such words as "or by any smaller body to which it may delegate its powers" after "the whole League".

20 - 24. I accept these as an addition to our Statement. As the Committee knows I never liked our paragraph 23 and prefer Dr. Lindsay's version, but I could not agree to omit our paragraphs 20 - 24 altogether, if this is what he wants.

I have only put my views in writing as I shall not be able to attend the meeting on April 3rd.

LYTTON.



CHAIRMAN'S DRAFT COMMENTARY

The discussion of the Statement by the Council and criticisms which have been made since its publication have shown that some of the paragraphs require further elucidation, and the Executive Committee have therefore prepared the explanatory note which follows:-

I. Conditions assumed to exist at the end of the war.

Some critics have described the Statement as "unrealistic" because it omitted to state the conditions assumed to be probable at the end of the war in which the securing of future peace and the organisation of world powers would be attempted. Let us begin therefore by making clear what our assumptions are in this respect.

We assume, of course, that by one means or another Germany has been brought to a position in which she either cannot continue the struggle or at least desires to know on what terms we should be prepared to discontinue it. Her armies may, or may not, have been finally defeated by then. That we cannot foresee. All that we can say is that, until our military force has been destroyed or our nation's existence so imperilled that we cannot go on, we should not wish Britain to lay down her arms until all the countries which have been forcibly occupied by Germany have been restored to their own people, such restoration to include all property looted from such countries or its equivalent value. We also wish to see such guarantees enforced as our military authorities may consider effective to prevent either the continuation of the present struggle or its renewal hereafter. If and when those conditions have been carried out, we wish our country to enter an international Congress together with our late enemies to discuss measures for the maintenance of future peace and the social and economic reconstruction of a world that has been devastated by war.

Such are the assumptions which underlie paragraphs 1 to 14.

Beyond that we make no assumptions. Paragraphs 15-25 are not drafted in any other sense than as the contribution which we who have studied closely the day to day functioning of the League of Nations throughout the twenty years of its existence are prepared to make to the discussion of a post-war settlement. Whether, when the war is over, our own people will be prepared to accept the heavy responsibility which is indicated in our proposals, or whether all or any other nations will be prepared to co-operate with

Britain on these lines we cannot say. We can but indicate the kind of settlement we should ourselves work for if we were responsible. The L.N.U. exists primarily for the education of public opinion. We have tried in this Statement to put before our Branches and Members a sketch - it can be no more - of the kind of war settlement which we think would be consistent with the principles of international co-operation for peace and human welfare which we have advocated and they have accepted for the last twenty years. We desire that it shall be fully discussed at branch meetings and in the columns of LEADWAY. We are also discussing it with the representatives of friendly and allied governments now in London. In detail it will no doubt be modified as the result of the criticisms and advice which we shall receive, and we shall endeavour to keep it up to date as the war proceeds.

II. Elucidation of certain paragraphs.

Para.21 seems to have puzzled some of our members who have read it as leaving entirely to the decision of each member of the Outer Ring what share, if any, it shall take in a collective resistance to aggression. That of course is not the meaning of this paragraph. The paragraph begins by defining the obligations of a state member. They are

- (1) not to be neutral;
- (2) not to assist an aggressor by supplying him with any war materials;
- (3) to assist the victim of aggression and the members of the Inner Ring who are defending him with all that they may need for such defence.

These conditions of membership are not voluntary, they are obligatory, but they are limited to the kind of benevolent non-belligerency which the U.S.A. has adopted in the present war. But, says the paragraph in conclusion, any member of this Outer Ring may do more - not less, but more - and actually take belligerent action in concert with the other parties resisting the aggression.

Other paragraphs requiring elucidation may then be dealt with.

III. Paragraphs that have been amended

Dr. Lindsay's amendments and others may be dealt with here if they are accepted.

NOTE BY MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER  
on  
THE MASTER OF BALLIOL'S REDRAFT

Preamble

- (a) Paragraph 2, line 9, after "broadly the same", add:-  
" (though we hope for a much closer relationship than hitherto between the British Commonwealth and the United States)".
- (b) Paragraph 2, last line but one, amend to read:-  
"it failed rather because it was not rightly used than because of any irremediable defect in the original Covenant."
- (c) Paragraph 3 seems to me valuable. (Delete "openly" in last line but four). But I suggest that it should be supplemented by a sentence (such as Mr. Noel-Baker indicated) recognising that collective defence against aggression will be necessary in any case. The Master recognises that after the war there may be powerful goats about as well as sheep: but even if all were in sheep's clothing, it would still be necessary to provide against outbursts of goatish behaviour!
- (d) Paragraph 4 may be in accord with the implications of our Statement: but I think the policy of keeping prevention of war and promotion of economic and social welfare "distinct, with separate procedure", is utterly unsound. Autarky, for instance, is not simply an economic disease: it is a result of the war system. Reform of colonial government is not simply a social problem but is conditioned by the war system. "Equal access to raw materials", is a principle that can only be applied on the basis of certain assumptions about peace-keeping. I hope we shall say nothing to encourage the idea, once popular amongst American quasi-isolationists, that States can pull their weight effectively in promoting economic commonwealth whilst leaving to others all share of responsibility for protecting the commonwealth against aggression.
- I do not understand the Master's intention in deleting the words "by the whole League", in Clause 17.
- (e) The Master's redraft of Clauses 20 - 24 says much less than the text, and will probably be regarded as inadequate. But it does at least sweep away some unhappy text, e.g. the policy of obligatory optional sanctions in Clause 21: and Clause 23, which is built on a compromise.

P.T.O.

- 2 -

May I once more beg the Executive to consider (as it has not yet done) the point I have submitted about the assumptions on which Clause 23 is based.

Is Clause 23 a short-range policy, or a long-range one? We must be clear about this. Apparently (from the context) the proposal for abolition of all national air forces and the creation of a single supranational air force in the hands of a (world wide) international authority is here put forward as a short-range objective. If so, I think the assumptions are over-optimistic. If not, I think the text must be revised.

S. 843  
2.4.41.

NOTE BY LORD CECIL

ON

POSSIBLE AGREEMENT ON PEACE AIMS.

By "peace aims" is meant a world settlement such as we should agree is satisfactory. Its attainment depends on our victory.

1. Our chief peace aim must be the establishment of lasting peace.
2. That must be ultimately the work of free international co-operation.
3. The immediate objects of international co-operation must be:-
  - (a) The provision of pacific remedies for the causes of war;
  - (b) The forcible prevention of military aggression.
4. Causes of war can be remedied:-
  - (a) By the promotion of social, political, economic and other reforms of an internationally non-contentious character.
  - (b) By the provision of pacific means for the settlement of international disputes.
5. For the purposes of paragraph 4, there must be an international authority representative of as many civilised nations as possible. Such an authority should also strive by negotiation and by pressure short of military action to prevent aggression.

2.

6. In the event of failure to stop aggression by the means indicated in paragraph 5., there must be available sufficient military strength to secure its forcible prevention.
7. The military strength for dealing with aggression should be provided in particular regions - as for instance Europe - by a combination of Powers who shall have pledged themselves to use their whole military forces against an aggressor. The combination should take the form of a Confederation of States with a common General Staff and such other organs as might turn out to be necessary. It should consist in the first place of the victorious Powers in the present war. But it should be open to other trustworthy Powers, including the vanquished, if and so soon as they show themselves genuinely willing to collaborate for a peace founded on freedom, truth and justice. The Confederation should have a monopoly of air force, and, where practicable, should promote the reduction and limitation of national armaments by general agreement. It should work in close collaboration with the general international authority. *Mutatis mutandis*, other confederations should be formed for other regions.
8. In any final world settlement, the assistance of the United States is of the first importance.



MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION HELD AT NO. 11, HAIDEN LANE, W.C.2, ON THURSDAY, APRIL 17TH, 1941, AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Dr. Gilbert Murray (in the Chair for the business recorded in minutes 71 to 78), Lord Lytton (in the Chair for the business recorded in minutes 78 to 79), Professor Brodetsky, F.M. Burris, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Miss P. Fawcett, Professor Paton, Nowell Smith, W.T. Pritchard, and Major Freshwater.

71. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on April 3RD, 1941, were confirmed as circulated.
72. TIME OF EXECUTIVE MEETINGS. It having been reported that there was a possibility of an alteration being made in the time of Parliamentary sittings, it was agreed to leave it to Lord Lytton to decide, in the light of Parliamentary meetings and of the expression of views of members of the Executive, what, if any, alteration should be made in the time of Executive meetings.
73. WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR. After suggestions from the Officers had been reported, it was agreed that a small sub-Committee should be appointed, consisting of the Officers and the Master of Balliol with power to consult any other member of the Executive they might think right, to consider and report on whether any amendments to the Statement of Policy provisionally agreed to at the last meeting of the General Council are desirable.
- It was reported that all members of the Executive had been invited to submit comments or proposals on the Statement of Policy for consideration by the small sub-Committee.
74. REPORT ON CONFERENCE BETWEEN ADVISORY INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE AND REPRESENTATIVES OF FOREIGN LEAGUE OF NATIONS SOCIETIES AND CLUBS. In the absence of the Master of Balliol, Dr. Murray presented a report on the Conference held on March 20th (copy filed with these minutes).

The Conference had expressed general approval of the proposal for an International Association in London for purposes of study and research, and of the arrangements for joint luncheons between the New Europe Circle and the International Committee. Problems arising out of the transition period after the war had also been discussed.

75. MINORITIES SUB-COMMITTEE. In the absence of Miss Courtney, Dr. Murray reported on the meeting of the



Minorities sub-Committee held on April 1st, 1941.  
The recommendations of the sub-Committee

- (1) to send copies of Professor Brodetsky's memorandum to Lord Dickinson, Dr. Lauterbach, Mr. C.A. Macartney, Sir Walter Raper and Professor Caspard, and to invite them to submit in writing their comments and criticisms, and
- (2) to invite Miss Sheila Grant Bull and Miss Lucy Fair to join the Committee

were approved. The Executive also asked that copies of Professor Brodetsky's memorandum should be sent to Professor J.A. Abbott and the Professor Paton for their comments and criticisms.

#### 76. GENERAL COUNCIL

- (a) Co-opted members. Mr. Pritchard drew the Committee's attention to the present position in regard to Co-opted members of the General Council, of which there were some 250, but few of whom attended meetings of the Council and some of whom had not paid subscriptions to the Union. Notices and other papers in connection with the Council meetings were circulated to Co-opted members four or five times a year, and Mr. Pritchard suggested that, with the Union's present depleted staff, the Executive should consider the advisability of reducing the number of Co-opted members.

The Executive were reminded of the provisions laid down in the Royal Charter for Co-opted members, and, after discussion, it was, on the Chairman's suggestion,

RESOLVED: (1) That, for the future, the Executive should recommend for co-optation to the General Council only such persons as have expressed their willingness to become members of the Union and to attend the meetings of the Council.

It was further

RESOLVED: (2) That, in the light of the above, the Secretary be asked, in consultation with the Chairman of the various advisory Committees, to prepare a list of suggested names which, after approval by the Executive, should be recommended to the General Council for co-optation at the forthcoming Annual Meeting.

(During the discussion on the above item, Lord Lytton took the Chair)

- 3 -

- (b) Hon. Presidents and Vice-Presidents. The Executive also considered the question of nominations for Honorary Presidents and Vice-presidents for election by the General Council at its Annual Meeting. The Chairman suggested that the present practice of appointing several Honorary Presidents should be modified, and that the Prime Minister of the day, provided he was sympathetic to the Union's cause and was willing to accept the office, should be the only Honorary President.

Several members urged that a decision on this matter ought not to be taken at the present small meeting of the Committee, and after discussion it was agreed to leave it to the Chairman to make a definite proposal in regard to the Honorary Presidents and Vice-Presidents for consideration by the Executive at its next meeting.

77. RESOLUTION FROM NEW ZEALAND L.N.U. A letter dated 4th February from the New Zealand L.N.U. was read, expressing sympathy with the British L.N.U. in the suffering they are now enduring so heroically and admiration of the spirit exhibited by the British people which has aroused the wonder of all nations, and commending the Union on the way its activities were being maintained in difficult circumstances. The Chairman was asked to convey to the New Zealand Society an expression of the Executive's cordial thanks for their kind message.
78. GENERAL SMETS' STATEMENT ON THE LEAGUE The Executive had before them the text of General Smets' recent statement on the League (as published in THE TIMES of March 28th). The Reverend William Davies had suggested that it would be a great encouragement to the Union if the Executive could persuade Mr. Churchill or Mr. Eden to make a statement on similar lines.

Dr. Murray reported that messages were being written by Lord Cranborne and Mr. Harries for the Education Council's EMPIRE DAY LEAFLET, and it was suggested that General Smets' statement might also be included in the Leaflet.

After further discussion it was agreed to send to Lord Cecil a copy of the messages from Lord Cranborne and Mr. Harries, and of the statement by General Smets, to inform him of the Committee's desire to publish also a message from the Foreign Secretary, and to ask Lord Cecil if he would be good enough to approach Mr. Eden on the subject.

*H.D. Courtney*  
CHAIRMAN  
1st May 1941.

EXTRACT FROM 'THE TIMES' OF FRIDAY, MARCH 28th, 1941:-

KEEPING THE LEAGUE IDEA ALIVE

GENERAL SMUTS'S PLEA.

Capetown, March 27th.

General Smuts, Prime Minister of South Africa, replying to criticisms by Nationalist members of the House of Assembly against a vote of £25,000 for the League of Nations, made an impressive plea for maintaining the League idea.

"It is my opinion (he said) - I may be wrong - that it would be stupid in the present difficult times if the only instrument for binding the peoples of the world together should be left in the lurch by South Africa. What would happen to the world if there existed no means of co-operation among nations? Only the ideal of the League of Nations remained. Even the building was no longer available; but was not the ideal the soul of the whole matter? Many people who thought deeply were convinced that the only hope for the salvation of the world lay along the road of the League. The League system was difficult to work in abnormal times, but in the first 10 years of its life it did outstanding work in helping people over one obstacle after another.

Strong supporters of the League like Scandinavia and the Low Countries had been forced to fall out, and in these circumstances there was a strong obligation on the Union to maintain this instrument which may yet provide a way through difficult times." General Smuts undertook to maintain the Union's subscription to the League this year and perhaps the next.

193  
13.5.41.

REPORT OF A CONFERENCE BETWEEN THE ADVISORY INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION AND REPRESENTATIVES OF FOREIGN LEAGUE OF NATIONS SOCIETIES AND OTHERS, HELD AT NO. 11 MAIDEN LANE, LONDON, W.C.2, ON THURSDAY, MARCH 20TH, 1941 AT 2.30 p.m.

PRESENT: The Master of Balliol, Chairman of the International Advisory Committee, in the Chair.

Mrs. Bosanquet (U.S.A.); Prof. René Cassin (France);  
M. W. Czerwikowski (Poland); M. de Beus (Holland);  
M. de Broeckere (Belgium); Dr. Feiersbend (Czechoslovakia);  
M. Filipowicz (Poland); M. Gollissieux (France);  
M. Komoni (Czechoslovakia); Mrs. Miller (U.S.A.);  
M. Nagorski (Poland); M. Poznanski (Poland);  
Dr. Slavik (Czechoslovakia); Mr. Yui Ling (China).

League of Nations Union; Prof. S. Brodetsky; Lord  
Dunill; the Dean of Chichester; Mrs. Corbett Ashby;  
Miss K.D. Courtney; Mrs. Dagdale; Dame Adelaide  
Livingstone; Lord Lytton; Mrs. Noel Baker and  
Major Freshwater.

REPORT OF CONFERENCE OF FEBRUARY 12TH. After it had been reported that the name of M. de Broeckere should be substituted for that of Mr. de Beus in the fifth paragraph on page 3, the report of the Conference held on February 12th was confirmed as circulated.

PROPOSED EUROPEAN CENTRE IN LONDON. Miss Courtney reported that the advisory International Committee had considered the proposal for a European centre but felt that, in view of the financial difficulties, it would not be practicable to establish and run a Club for foreigners in London. The Committee was, however, examining the possibility of creating an International Association in London for purposes of study and research, somewhat on the lines of the discussion groups organised by Chatham House and in which it was hoped the Royal Institute might be willing to co-operate. Such an Association would not advocate policy nor adopt resolutions. The proposal was being discussed with representatives of the Allied Governments now in London, and others, and a further report would be made at the next Conference.

The Conference expressed general approval of this proposal which they hoped would be carried into practical effect.

JOINT LUNCHEONS WITH NEW EUROPE CIRCLE. It was reported that the negotiations in regard to joint luncheons between the New Europe Circle and the International Committee had now been satisfactorily concluded, and that the first of the joint luncheons would be held on Thursday, April 3rd when Lord Cecil had kindly consented to speak.

It was also proposed to hold a joint luncheon between the New Europe Circle, the International Committee, and the American Outpost Committee, at which Mr. Winant would be invited to speak.

The Conference expressed their approval.

WELCOME. The Chairman welcomed to the Conference Mrs. Miller and Mrs. Bosanquet, members of the American Outpost Committee in London. Professor Arthur Newell (Chairman of the American Outpost Committee) had hoped to be able to attend but was prevented by a broadcasting engagement.

P.T.O.



**TRANSITION PERIOD.** In accordance with the decision taken at the last meeting, the Conference considered proposals arising out of the transition period, and had before them memoranda on the subject by Mr. de Brouckere and Dr. Peterabend which had already been circulated (copies filed with these minutes).

Mr. de Brouckere (Belgium), speaking in support of his memorandum, thought that it would be very difficult to conclude a real peace until some time after the armistice. It would probably be necessary to maintain some kind of international police force to maintain order in Europe, without which the discontent which followed the last war would certainly arise again. Frontiers should be defined, not as they were before the present war but with due regard to economic factors and particularly access to raw materials. Also, measures should be taken against a possible economic crisis, for, in his opinion, it was an economic crisis which had broken the League. Mr. de Brouckere suggested that a remedy might be provided by setting up an international treasury, funds for which might be found, in addition to contributions from States members, by taxation. He suggested a levy on, say, tobacco.

The Chairman pointed out that, whereas Mr. de Brouckere had in his memorandum, suggested that any long delay in regard to settling frontiers would arouse all kinds of difficulties, Jealousies and doubts, Dr. Peterabend, in his paper, considered that a sound basis for settling frontiers would be the territorial adjustments made. The Chairman suggested that the problem which would concern the coming peace in regard to settling of frontiers would not be comparable to that of Versailles. Whereas in 1919 healthy discussion had been devoted to frontier questions and little consideration given to general economic arrangements for Europe, the coming peace conference would no doubt take the 1918 frontiers as a basis and consider and discuss any difficulties arising out of them, but would mainly direct its attention to general economic arrangements.

Dr. Peterabend (Czechoslovakia) said that it was not only the problem of frontiers but also exchange of population which ought to be settled before peace negotiations took place, and that might take a considerable time.

Mr. Filipowicz (Poland) agreed with the remarks made by Mr. de Brouckere, and reminded the Conference of the situation in Poland after the last war, arising out of the frontier question, when three revolutions had taken place and there had been no opportunity to deal with economic matters. It should be a condition of any armistice that German troops should be withdrawn from all the occupied countries, starting with Austria, and the Governments now in London restored. If that were done the frontier questions could no doubt be settled quickly.

Professor Brodetsky agreed about the withdrawal of German armies from occupied territory, but did not consider that the transfer of populations was a matter which could safely be left to individual Governments.

The Chairman thought that the transfer of populations was closely linked with the question of the economic situation at the end of the war, when the transfer from a war footing to a peaceful economic footing would be taking place, and suggested that that was a problem in which the Rockefeller Foundation, with their great experience, might provide useful help by undertaking investigations at the present time.

Mr. Poznanski (Poland) considered that both the problem of compensation for damage and of exchange of populations ought to be considered at the earliest possible opportunity.

Lord Cecil thought the discussion which had taken place had been immensely interesting and valuable. But he recalled the great difficulties which would have to be faced. All were agreed that a condition of the armistice must be the withdrawal of German armies from the occupied countries, but it must not be forgotten that merely taking away the German armies was only part of the solution. Some force would be needed to keep order in the various countries after that withdrawal had taken place, and that was a problem which ought to be, and was being, studied at the present time. Secondly, reparations would have to be taken to prevent a renewal of the war. Final reparations might well be a matter for very careful consideration later on, but there ought to be some form of provisional disbursement as part of the armistice terms. In regard to frontiers, Lord Cecil agreed with the Chairman that provisionally they should be those of 1918, whatever might ultimately be done about their adjustment. Compensation was probably the most difficult of all the problems and could not be provided until new Governments had been appointed in the occupied countries. But the experience of the last war showed that tremendous difficulties compensation involved; more harm than good might well result to the compensated country.

Lord Cecil welcomed the Chairman's suggestion in regard to possible help from the Rockefeller Foundation and expressed the hope that the existing League organizations would also study this problem in order that the mistakes of the last peace conference might be avoided. He was interested in Mr. de Brouckere's suggestion in regard to the tariff question, but thought that was a matter not for the armistice but for the subsequent peace conference. It was a question which ought to be impartially considered by the League and the I.L.O., perhaps with the assistance of the Rockefeller Foundation. The same applied to transport, but that was a matter for Lord Cecil's entirely difficult question. He agreed with Mr. de Brouckere that the sooner some international machinery could be brought into being, the better, and it ought to be part of what was ultimately the permanent peace system. One of the great mistakes made after 1918 was to have several different international organs; the Conference of Ambassadors, the continual meetings of various Prime Ministers, the League of Nations, etc.

Professor René Cassin (France) said that the French Society had not submitted any memorandum partly because they were satisfied with the views put forward by Mr. de Brouckere and Dr. Peterabend as a basis for discussion. He agreed with Mr. de Brouckere's proposal for an international treasury, financed by funds from government monopolies but thought that need not necessarily mean new forms of taxation which would weigh heavily on the peoples of the States Members; a small percentage might be set aside from existing monopolies. Professor Cassin considered the question of the rights of man an important one; in England this had been solved by Magna Charter, but France had no such legislation.

The Dean of Winchester asked (1) whether, after the withdrawal of German troops from the occupied territories, there would not be a time of chaos in those countries before there was any recognition of a particular Government; (2) whether that particular problem might not be complicated by the danger of outbreak of war between countries which were imperfectly organized politically and economically and, say, Russia; (3) whether the machinery which would be created after the war for the restoration of Europe would not, in effect, be politically the beginnings of a new League of Nations?

- 4 -

Mr. Nagorski (Poland) did not think the restoration of Governments to their own territories would present any difficult problems. Arrangements had already been made in Poland to that end. The Polish people knew that their armed forces were continuing the fight, and that there were forces ready to establish order so soon as the Germans had been defeated. But there would be a critical period after the Germans had retired from the countries they at present occupied and that was one of the reasons why the restoration of national governments on their own soil would be insisted upon.

He agreed that Russia presented a difficult problem, but that was not a subject for discussion at the present time.

Lord Lytton recalled that the purpose of the Conference was not to discuss what particular national interests would have to be studied at any particular stage - those were matters for discussion between Governments. The L.N.U. was anxious to know whether, in the main, the scheme of peace settlement which they had drawn up was one which the various foreign representatives could support. Was the procedure the right one, had the right things been dealt with in the right stages, and had the moral principles which ought to govern all three stages (the armistice, the peace and the final world settlement) been kept in mind throughout? He hoped the members of the Conference would bear this in mind in any future communications they might be good enough to make.

The Chairman thanked the Conference for the various points which they had raised, and it was agreed to hold a further conference on Thursday, May 1st.

CONFIDENTIAL

## LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 11 LAUREL LANE, LONDON, W.C.2, ON THURSDAY, 1ST MAY, 1941 AT 11 A.M.

**PRESENT:** Miss K.D. Courtney (in the Chair), Lord Cecil, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Miss P. Fawcett, Lady Hall, Dr. Gilbert Murray, W.P. Pritonard, Nowell Smith, A.E.W. Thomas, Leonard Woolf, Major Lawrence Wright and Major Freshwater.

79. **MINUTES.** The minutes of the meeting held on April 17th, 1941, were confirmed as circulated.

80. **MATTER ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES**

78 - General Smuts' Statement on the League, Lord Cecil reported that, in view of the Foreign Secretary's pre-occupation at the present time with events in the Near East, he had been advised to postpone for a few days any approach to Mr. Eden about a statement on the lines of that of General Smuts.

81. **TIME OF EXECUTIVE MEETINGS.** A message from Mr. Mander was reported, to the effect that no alteration was to be made in the time of Parliamentary sittings. It was therefore left to Lord Lytton to decide, in the light of this information and of the views expressed by members of the Executive, whether or not any alteration should be made in the time of Executive meetings.
82. **WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR.** The Chairman reported that the sub-Committee, consisting of the Officers and the Master of Balliol, had met on the previous day and had had before them comments on the Statement of Policy from many members of the Executive. A useful discussion had taken place and it had been left to Lord Lytton, in the light of the discussion, to prepare an explanatory statement which, after consideration by the sub-Committee on May 22nd would, it was hoped, be submitted to the Executive when it met on May 29th.
83. **GENERAL COUNCIL, HONORARY PRESIDENTS AND VICE-PRESIDENTS.** The Chairman stated that proposals by Lord Lytton on this subject would be submitted to the Executive at its next meeting.
84. **CANADIAN LEAGUE OF NATIONS SOCIETY.** A cable was reported from the Canadian League of Nations Society asking if the Executive would be good enough to send a message to the Annual Meeting of their Society on May 23rd. At the invitation of the Committee, Dr. Gilbert Murray agreed to draft a message for this purpose.
85. **EDUCATION COUNCIL, ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING AND ADVISORY CONFERENCE.** Mr. Nowell Smith reported on the Annual General Meeting and Advisory Conference of the Education Council held at Oxford from April 18th to 21st, 1941. About 100 people had attended the Conference, including some distinguished foreigners, and addresses had been delivered by Dr. Gilbert Murray, Mr. de Brouckere, Mr. Zilliacus, etc. A report on the meetings was in course of preparation.
- Dr. Murray spoke of Mr. Judd's admirable organisation of the Conference, and of the keenness and enthusiasm which had been displayed by those attending the meetings.

- 2 -

Mr. Nowell Smith further reported that Dr. Maxwell Garnett, who had recently undergone an operation and was in a Nursing Home, was very anxious that the report of the Education Council on the subject of his memorandum on EDUCATION AND WORLD ORDER should not be formally presented to the Executive until he could be present. The Committee agreed to defer consideration of this matter until Dr. Garnett could attend, and to have copies of his memorandum in its final form available when the subject was brought before them.

Mr. Nowell Smith also spoke of the desirability of additional secretarial assistance being provided for Mr. Judd as soon as possible.

86. ALBANIA. The Executive had before them the following Resolution adopted by the Tyne District Council on April 21st, 1941:

"The Executive Committee of the Tyne District Council of the League of Nations Union views with alarm the continued silence of H.M. Government with regard to Albania, in spite of the declaration of the Greek Government:

It therefore calls upon the National Executive of the League of Nations Union to press for an official statement that we are fighting for the restoration of Albanian independence within the framework of the League system."

It was agreed to thank the District Council for their resolution but to inform them that, in the Executive's opinion, it would not be desirable in the light of all the circumstances at the present time to press for a declaration by H.M. Government in regard to Albania.

87. JOINT STATEMENT ON PEACE AIMS BY ALLIED NATIONS AND AMERICA. The Executive had before them the following motion submitted by the Tyne District Council for the Annual Meeting of the General Council:

"This meeting of the General Council of the League of Nations Union, while appreciating that it would be inexpedient for H.M. Government to make a detailed statement of Peace Aims without the certainty of general support, and especially the support of our Allies and America,

is nevertheless of the opinion that a fuller statement by H.M. Government is urgently desirable and that its withholding constitutes a serious gap in the Allies' moral and political armoury;

Calls therefore on the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union, after the final adoption of the Union's Statement on World Settlement, to turn all its energies to the task of entering into discussions with representative groups and personalities of Allied nations, and with the League of Nations Society and kindred bodies in the United States of America, with a view to reaching a general understanding as to Peace Aims and an agreed joint statement thereon; and



Suggests the calling of a Conference in London, representative of all peoples sympathetic to the allied cause, to appoint a strong Committee charged with the task of preparing a joint statement on Peace aims to be submitted for approval to a series of conferences in this country and America.

Lord Cecil reported a conversation he had had on the previous day with Mr. Zilliacus who was working with the 1941 Committee to try and secure an Anglo-American statement on the subject of the Peace Settlement. He had suggested that an Anglo-American Committee might be formed in this country with an opposite number in America. Mr. Zilliacus had given Lord Cecil a document which had been prepared on the subject and which he was anxious the Union should endorse. Lord Cecil had expressed himself as being in favour of the general idea, but before committing himself would like to have an opinion on the subject from prominent Americans in this country. Mr. Zilliacus had stated his intention of writing formally to Lord Cecil, asking him to bring the matter before the Executive of the Union.

Miss Courtney said that she also had received from the 1941 Committee a copy of the statement which she did not consider was written in a style calculated to impress American opinion. Mr. Leonard Woolf also criticised the wording of the document, a copy of which he had received from the Union of Democratic Control.

In regard to the motion of the Tyne District Council, it was agreed to write to the Council stating that the Executive recognises the desirability of consulting our Allies and America on these important matters, but that, in its opinion, anything in the nature of a conference would only be useful if some definite proposition were put before the conference. A gathering merely to discuss general terms of peace would, in the Executive's view, serve no useful purpose. It was also agreed to inform the Tyne District Council of the periodic meetings which the Executive is having with representatives of Foreign L. of N. Societies and others.

88. **COMMUNICATION FROM MR. LEONARD BEHRENS.** A letter dated April 20th was reported from Mr. Leonard Behrens, referring to the resolution on the subject of a Joint Allied Council adopted at the last meeting of the General Council, and stating that he had been invited by the Chairman and Secretary of the Czechoslovak Centre in Manchester to take the initiative in forming a Council in Manchester of representatives of various allied nations in that locality. It was agreed to inform Mr. Behrens of the periodic meetings which the Executive has been having with representatives of Foreign L. of N. Societies and others at which problems arising out of **WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR** have been discussed but at which resolutions have not been adopted; and to suggest to Mr. Behrens that his proposed Council in Manchester should follow the same procedure.
89. **REPORT ON COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION.** Lady Hall reported that the sub-committee which was considering Colonial Administration and Native Labour Problems would have a draft report ready by the beginning of the next week. It was proposed to send the report to a number of people interested in the subject but who were not members of the sub-committee. It was agreed that the draft report should not be submitted to the Executive until that had been done.



Following upon the request contained in minute 41(a), Lady Hall expressed the hope that members of the Executive who had suggestions to make regarding persons to whom the draft report might be sent, would send such names to her as soon as possible.

Lady Hall further stated that the second draft report on Social Reconstruction was not yet completed, but it was hoped to have it ready by the time the General Council met.

90. **PEACEFUL CHANGE.** Mr. Nowell Smith, who had been invited by the sub-Committee (appointed by the Executive on Feb. 20th) to prepare a draft report on the Procedure for Securing Peaceful Change, stated that he hoped to have a draft ready within a few days for consideration by the other members of the sub-Committee.
91. **S. AFRICAN L. OF N. SOCIETY.** A letter dated 20th March from the Secretary of the S. African L. of N. Society was read, expressing admiration of the Union's efforts to carry on in spite of all the physical and mental difficulties of the present time, and thanking the Executive for the Statement of Policy which was being studied and brought to the notice of many societies and individuals in S. Africa.
92. **SWISS L. OF N. UNION.** A letter dated 2nd February from Mr. SPANLER, Secretary of the Swiss L. of N. Union to Mr. Piqueres was read, reporting on the present situation in Switzerland and stating that, in spite of all difficulties, the work of the Swiss Society was being continued.
93. **MEMORANDUM BY MR. NOEL BAKER.** A memorandum prepared by Mr. Noel Baker (S. BCE) in reply to the Master of Balliol's criticism of WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR was laid before the Committee and was read with much interest and appreciation.

*Lyle*  
CHAIRMAN

15 May 1941

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, MAY 15th, 1941, AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Professor Brodetsky, Lord Cecil, Miss K.D. Courtney, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss P. Fawcett, Lady Hall, E. Wallis Jones, J. MacDonald, Brig. General Milman, W.T.Pritchard, Howell Smith, M.S. Syrett, A.E.W. Thomas, Major Lawrence Wright, and Major Freshwater.

94. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on May 1st, 1941 were confirmed as circulated.
95. MR. EDEN. Lord Cecil reported that he had written to Mr. EDEN about the possibility of his making a statement concerning the importance of keeping alive the League idea, on the lines of that recently made by General Smuts. The Foreign Secretary, in thanking Lord Cecil for his letter, had stated that he would think over the suggestion and write again in the near future.
96. TIME OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETINGS. It was reported that no alteration was to be made in the time of Parliamentary sittings, and the Committee were reminded of the views expressed by members in reply to the inquiry concerning the hour of future meetings of the Executive. After discussion it was agreed that, in order to give all members an opportunity of attending some meetings of the Executive, the meetings on the first Thursday in the month should be held at 11 a.m., and the meetings on the third and fifth Thursdays should be held at 3 p.m. as from May 29th.
97. GENERAL COUNCIL. (a) Honorary Presidents and Vice-Presidents. The Committee had before them proposals in regard to nominations for the office of Hon. President and Vice-Presidents, prepared by the Chairman in accordance with minute 76(b), (copy filed with these minutes). The list of those elected by the General Council at its last annual meeting was read to the Committee, and, after discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) That the following nominations be submitted to the General Council for election as Hon. President, Joint Presidents and Vice-Presidents for 1941:-

Hon. President:

Rt.Hon. Winston Churchill, C.H., M.P.

Joint Presidents:

Rt. Hon. the Viscount Cecil  
Gilbert Murray, C.B., D.C.L., LL.D., D.Litt.

P.T.O.

## Vice-Presidents:

Rt. Hon. A.V. Alexander, M.P.  
 Rt. Hon. C.R. Attlee, M.P.  
 Sir Thomas Barlow, Bt., K.C.V.O., F.R.S.  
 Rt. Hon. J.R. Clynes, M.P.  
 Rt. Hon. the Viscount Cranborne  
 Rt. Hon. the Lord Davies  
 Rt. Hon. the Lord Dickinson, K.B.E.,  
 Rt. Hon. Anthony Eden, M.C., M.P.  
 Miss Philippa Fawcett  
 Rt. Hon. E. Lloyd George, O.M., M.P.  
 The Viscountess Gladstone  
 Sir Arthur Haworth, Bt.  
 Rt. Hon. the Lord Horder, K.C.V.O.  
 Rt. Hon. the Earl of Lytton, K.G., G.C.S.I.,  
 G.C.I.E.,  
 Rt. Hon. Sir Archibald Sinclair, Bt., C.M.G.,  
 M.P.  
 Lt.-General the Rt. Hon. J.C. Smuts, K.C.  
 Sir Daniel Stevenson, Bt., D.L.  
 His Grace the Archbishop of York

- (2) That letters be sent to the following, enclosing the abbreviated version of the Statement of Policy as an indication of the work to which the Union is devoting itself at the present time, and inquiring whether or not they are willing to continue as Vice-Presidents of the Union:-

Archbishop of Canterbury  
 Moderator of the Church of Scotland  
 Marquess of Crewe  
 President of the Free Church Council  
 Dr. R.C. Gillie  
 The High Commissioners for  
 Australia, Canada, India, Eire,  
 New Zealand, S. Africa and  
 Southern Rhodesia  
 Lord Parmoor  
 The Chief Rabbi  
 Viscount Samuel  
 Marquess of Salisbury

and that the names of those replying in the affirmative be included, along with those contained in (1) above, for election by the General Council as Vice-Presidents.

Lord Cecil expressed his willingness to write in a similar sense to Cardinal Hinsley.

- (b) Co-opted Members. The Secretary reported that, in accordance with the decision contained in minute 76(2) and after consultation with the Chairmen of the various advisory Committees, letters had been written to most of the members co-opted to serve on the General Council at the last Annual Meeting. p. 70

Replies had already been received from some fifty members, all of whom had paid a subscription to the Union, offering themselves for co-optation to the Council at the forthcoming meeting.

On the suggestion of the Chairman, it was agreed to propose to the Council that all members of the Executive for the time being should be co-opted members of the Council.

38. MEMBERSHIP. It was reported that the number of membership subscriptions collected during April, 1941 was considerably lower than in the corresponding period of 1940.

The Secretary reported that in certain parts of the country where the local Branch had gone into abeyance, reminders were sent from Headquarters when the subscriptions of members of those Branches became due for renewal.

39. ADVISORY INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE. Miss Courtney reported on a meeting of the Advisory International Committee held on May 7th, 1941.

(a) Far Eastern Service and Joint Luncheons with New Europe Circle. The International Committee had agreed that outstanding accounts in connection with the Far Eastern Service, amounting to some £10, should be settled out of the Bank Balance of £28 standing to the credit of the International I.P.C. It had also been decided that the cost to the Union of holding joint Luncheons with the New Europe Circle, amounting to some £10 in respect of each Luncheon, should be borne out of the above mentioned credit balance.

(b) Proposed International Association in London. Miss Courtney reported on the proposals of the International Committee for creating a London International Assembly, and a memorandum (S.861) was placed before the Executive, outlining these proposals and including a summary of conversations which Mr. Judd had had on the subject with Mr. de Brouckere, Mr. Cozart, Dr. Benes, Mr. Zaleski, Mr. Macadam (of the R.I.I.A.) and Miss Parkinson (of the British Council). The memorandum also contained proposals for financing the London International Assembly and a draft Constitution (S.860). (S.P. 442)

The International Committee had agreed that, although preparations should be made immediately, the proposed International Assembly should not be brought into being until the autumn. The Committee had further recommended that Mr. Judd should be appointed Secretary of the Assembly.



Miss Courtney added that it was purposed to discuss these proposals at the next Conference between the advisory International Committee and representatives of foreign I. of N. Societies and others.

The Executive gave general approval to the proposals for a London International Assembly and the action taken by the advisory International Committee to bring it into existence. Mr. Judd was warmly thanked for all that he had done in this connection.

Professor Brodetsky stressed the importance of the proposed International Assembly being based upon the fundamental ideas of international order and within the framework of the conception of the League.

It was also suggested that, on the Council of the Assembly, the British and American representation should be wider than that of other nationalities.

Miss Courtney thought that the draft Constitution required slight redrafting in certain particulars, and said that this would be done by the International Committee.

100. ANNUAL REPORT. Proof copies of the ANNUAL REPORT for 1940 had been circulated to the Executive, and the Chairman asked that members who had any comments to make, or amendments to suggest, should send them to the Secretary within forty-eight hours.

*L. J. M.*  
CHAIRMAN  
May 29, 1941

S.856  
S.S.41.HONORARY PRESIDENTS AND VICE-PRESIDENTSProposals by Lord Lytton

Ever since 1935 when the Government began to quarrel with the Union for demanding that it should fulfil its election pledges, we have been criticised by some of our members for retaining among our Honorary Presidents and Vice-Presidents men who have in fact been the enemies rather than the friends of our cause. For reasons, which the Council has annually accepted under protest, we have refrained hitherto from removing from our list of distinguished supporters men like Lord Baldwin and Sir John Simon who have long ceased to be supporters of anything for which we stand. We wished to avoid unpleasantness just as the League itself did when it refused to eject Japan and Italy after their flagrant violations of the Covenant.

In my opinion a golden opportunity is now offered of putting ourselves right with our real friends without hurting the feelings of our false ones. In war time it is necessary to save paper and to reduce printing to a minimum. On this ground I urge the Executive most strongly to reduce our ornamental list and include in it only those who are known undoubted supporters of the Union to-day. The list which I now submit has been compiled with that object.

Hon. President:

Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill, C.W., M.P.

Joint Presidents:Rt. Hon. the Viscount Cecil  
Gilbert Murray, C.B., D.C.L., LL.D., B.Litt.Vice-Presidents:

Rt. Hon. A.V. Alexander, M.P.  
Rt. Hon. C.R. Attlee, M.P.  
Sir Thomas Barlow, Bt., K.C.V.O., F.R.S.  
Rt. Hon. J.R. Clynes, F.R.  
Rt. Hon. the Viscount Cranborne  
Rt. Hon. the Lord Davies  
Rt. Hon. the Lord Dickinson, K.B.E.  
Rt. Hon. Anthony Eden, M.C., M.P.  
Vice Phillips Pascott  
Rt. Hon. D. Lloyd George, C.M., M.P.  
The Viscountess Gladstone  
Sir Arthur Haworth, Bt.  
Rt. Hon. the Earl of Lytton, K.C., G.C.S.I.,  
G.C.I.E.  
Rt. Hon. Sir Archibald Sinclair, Bt., C.B.E.,  
M.P.  
Lt.-General the Rt. Hon. J.C. Smuts, K.C.  
Sir Daniel Stevenson, LL.D., B.L.  
His Grace the Archbishop of York.

PROPOSALS FOR FORMING AN INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION  
IN LONDON

1. Preliminary Discussions

The International Committee has carefully considered how best to give effect to a proposal by the Dean of Chichester that some organization should be formed in London to bring together British people and members of the various allied communities. In the course of its discussions the Committee was good enough to examine some recommendations that I ventured to submit, to the effect that the primary purpose of such an organization should be to enable leading people representing different interests and professions in each of the allied communities to meet together about once a month, and more frequently in study groups or commissions, to consider among themselves and with similar British representative some of the problems of post-war reconstruction. I was instructed to see certain people and to ask them if they would, in general, approve such a plan or see any grave objections to it. The following is a summary of my report:-

Senateur de Brouckere (Belgium) very warmly welcomed the scheme and particularly saw opportunities it might offer for serious study or research. He thought it would be useful to include, as well as men experienced in public and international affairs, a number of younger men anxious to study such matters and well qualified to do so. He would favour a European rather than an International Association as being more likely to promote serious study of concrete problems rather than vague discussion of abstract principles, but he thought non-Europeans - and particularly citizens of the United States - might be included as Associate Members.

M. de Brouckere thought that, by adopting the reports of the Study Groups and resolutions on subjects about which general agreement could be reached, the association might gradually reach something like a common mind on the main issues of post-war policy.

M. Cornet (France) was equally encouraging. He suggested that it would be wise to avoid too many rules in advance and that an Organising Committee should retain a large measure of control and solve difficulties as they arose. To start with, the association could be European or Inter-Allied but, if suitable Americans could be found, they might be brought in at a later stage. He would avoid taking any preliminary decision about people of enemy nationality, but sooner or later the future of Austria would enter into the discussions and some Austrians might be brought in at that stage without causing discussion in the association. The Organising Committee might decide that on some subjects it would be useful to pass a resolution whilst it might advise that on others (e.g. territorial settlements) resolutions should be avoided.

Mr. Noel Baker who was present suggested that the association should exclude altogether resolutions on territorial settlements, and concern itself solely with international organization, social, political and economic. He thought that procedure by way of debates on definite resolutions would help to ensure that difficulties were not blurred over and that the members were better able to understand each other's minds.

P.T.O.

Dr. Beneš (President of Czechoslovakia) said that he, personally, would welcome the formation of such an association and that his Government would no doubt regard it favourably, but he thought it would need very careful preparation which might well be started now. He advised most strongly that the association should not start its meetings before the autumn: during the great crises that he expected this summer it would, he thought, be almost impossible for the members to discuss freely and realistically the territorial and state settlement of Europe after the war. It would be no less difficult to discuss general principles because we do not yet see clearly the great social and economic changes that are bound to come in Europe.

Dr. Beneš hoped that if the German armies could be definitely held by the autumn then, during the winter, the German people would begin to realize that they had reached the limits of their territorial expansion and still did not have peace but only the prospect of more violent war against them. Thus the way might be prepared for a final allied victory in the spring of next year, but it would be a long time before conditions in Europe were ripe for any general settlement. The Association we proposed to form would therefore have ample time to study all the problems involved in that settlement even if it did not start its discussions before the autumn.

M. Balinski (Poland) through whom I arranged my appointment with M. Zaleski took the same view that the association would be well advised not to start work before the autumn. He thought that representatives of some, at least, of the allied countries would not yet feel able to discuss the future with any great sense of responsibility or, perhaps, to speak quite openly in each other's presence.

M. Zaleski (Foreign Minister of Poland) thought that nothing but good could come of such a scheme and he would have complete confidence in it if Lord Cautley would take the lead in its formation and work. He assured the members would be carefully chosen and could usefully include critics and even opponents of the Governments but that some procedure would be established by which anyone who was not serious or well-disposed would be excluded. He was completely satisfied when I told him that it had been suggested that a carefully selected Organising Committee should elect the members and that such a Committee would naturally give serious consideration to the views of the existing members of each nationality when electing further members of the same nationality.

Mr. Iverson S. Macadam (Royal Institute of International Affairs) was perhaps the least enthusiastic of the people consulted but was no doubt anxious that no new scheme should overlap or in any way complicate certain arrangements Chatham House is making to provide greater facilities for the experts in international affairs in the various allied groups to study the problems of post-war reconstruction. When I had more fully explained our proposals, he agreed that it would be useful, after the summer, to arrange regular meetings between leading people of the various allied communities who are not necessarily experts in foreign affairs and that this might help to create a better European understanding. He thought such meetings might be of very real value in helping to maintain morale and faith in the future during a possible stalemate in the war next winter.



Miss Nancy Parkinson (British Council) told me that the business of her particular committee of the British Council is to do anything which may promote the happiness and welfare of refugees from allied countries and give them a good opinion of Great Britain and, when they return home, pleasurable recollections of the hospitality they have received here. She, personally, interpreted these aims as widely as possible and was very glad to know of the plans we are discussing. The Council had recently been approached with a suggestion that it should provide an office and other facilities to enable groups of technical people (e.g. engineers and teachers, to meet together and discuss problems of post-war reconstruction, and Miss Parkinson suggested that the two schemes might be combined in some way or, at least, that the technical groups could sometimes be asked to provide reports and memoranda for discussion by the international association.

Without committing the Council in any way Miss Parkinson expressed her warm interest in our scheme and asked me to keep her fully informed so that she could prepare the way if at any time we should wish to ask the Council for support. She also advised me that, before asking for any grant, it would be particularly useful to secure the blessing of the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. R.A. Butler, who normally scrutinises personally any applications from the Council to the Treasury to authorise new expenditure.

### II. Definite Proposals

I was asked to prepare, in the light of the advice secured from the various people consulted, some detailed proposals for setting up in London an inter-allied or international association, and these proposals were considered by the International Committee at its last meeting. It was the purpose of these proposals to provide the means whereby it would be possible to bring together some of the most experienced, actively-minded and vigorous of the men and women who have come to Great Britain to continue the struggle by our side and who may be expected to play some part in shaping the destinies of their own countries after the war. It was suggested that, through a London International Assembly, they might get to know this country and each other better and, so far as possible, reach a large measure of understanding among themselves and with us concerning the principles that should govern the new Europe and the application of those principles to the technical problems of national and international reconstruction. It was further suggested that such an organisation might help to promote in Great Britain a better understanding of the countries now associated with us.

The Committee decided to recommend that a London International Assembly might be formed and to submit the draft constitution in the amended form attached hereto.

### III. Finance

Such an organisation would seem to require

- (a) Either a whole-time Secretary to plan and carry out the necessary arrangements for the discussions and for the work of the study groups or commissions, to prepare reports and memoranda, circulate minutes and agendas, etc.  
The work would be correspondingly heavier if the Assembly extended its activities beyond its debates and study circles and attempted in any systematic way to promote among a wide

public better understanding among the allied communities and the country e.g. by providing speakers for the Union and other organisations.

Or a Secretary who could devote a large part of his or her time to this work and an Assistant Secretary who would undertake the preparation of minutes and distribution of papers, etc.

- (b) A competent stenographer, preferably with a good knowledge of both French and English.  
(c) An office  
(d) Rooms for meetings of the full Assembly and of study groups.  
(e) A sum of, say, £100 a year to cover the costs of paper, postages, telephones and incidental expenses.

The Committee recommends, with regard to

- (a) That I should be asked to be Secretary of the Assembly and that the Executive should appoint an Assistant Education Officer, at a salary of, say, £300 a year, to relieve me of some of my work for the Council for Education in World Citizenship. This might make it possible for me to devote about half my time to the Assembly and to other work as Assistant Secretary of the Union (e.g. at present in connection with the preparation of papers on social and economic reconstruction) whilst continuing to direct the work of the educational council and, particularly, the work that the Council has been asked by our friends from other countries to undertake in preparation for educational reconstruction in Europe after the war. It is also possible that the Assistant Officer might be able to undertake some work in the Universities and Colleges about which the Council for Education is gravely concerned and will shortly be making representations to the Executive.

(c) That accommodation should be provided in the Union's offices.  
On this basis the budget for the London International Assembly might be:-

Half my salary and superannuation contribution	£330
Assistant Secretary	£200
Stenographer	£200
Rent, heating and lighting	£70
Paper, postages, telephones, etc.	£150
Services from the Union, use of machines and office services, say,	£50
Hire of rooms for meetings	£50
	<hr/>
	£1,100

towards which not more than from £60 to £100 could be expected from the subscriptions of members, leaving a sum of about £1,000 to be met as the full cost of running the Assembly.

It is suggested:

- (1) That the Union should not charge the Assembly for its full share of my services but should endeavour to recover up to the cost of appointing an Assistant Education Officer, when the Assembly's funds permit: say £300.



- (2) That to begin with, instead of appointing a full time Assistant Secretary the Assembly should pay an honorarium to some member of one of the other national groups to act as part-time Assistant Secretary: say £150.
- (3) That until the Assembly can pay for rent and office services the Union should make no charge for these.
- (4) That the R.I.I.A. should be asked to allow the Assembly to meet, rent free, at Clitham House. If it, in any case, assumed that it will be possible to borrow rooms in the Czechoslovak Institute and elsewhere for meetings of study groups.

There are, then, three possibilities.

- (a) To run the Assembly at no cost to the Union: budget as set out above £1,100.
- (b) Minimum Budget

Secretary provided by Union	-
Honorarium for Assistant Secretary	£150
Stenographer	£200
Paper, postages, telephones, etc.	£150
Rent, lighting, heating and office services provided by the Union	-
Hire of rooms for meetings, provided by R.I.I.A.	-
	<hr/>
	£500

under which the actual cost to the Union would be

Assistant Education Officer	£300
Share of office rent, heating, lighting, services, etc.	£120
	<hr/>
	£420

- (c) Some sort of compromise, e.g.

Towards salary of Secretary (actual cost to Union of appointing an Assistant Education Officer)	£300
Honorarium for Assistant Secretary	£150
Stenographer	£200
Paper, postages, telephones, etc.	£150
Rent, heating, lighting and office services to be provided by the Union)	-
Hire of rooms for meetings	-
	<hr/>
	£800

under which the actual cost to the Union would be

Share of office services, use of typewriters, etc., say	£50
of rent, heating, lighting, etc., say	£70
	<hr/>
	£120

The Assembly would not be a permanent organisation but would only exist until the allied communities return home after the war. The Committee hope therefore that it might be possible to cover the greater part of the costs by means of one or two big donations, or grants from some philanthropic body. It is also possible that the British Council and, perhaps, the Allied Governments could be asked to contribute.

C.W.J.  
9.5.41

£860  
9.5.41

Draft Constitution as amended by the  
International Committee 7.5.41

LONDON INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY

The London International Assembly is a free association formed by the International Committee of the League of Nations Union to serve the common cause of all those countries that are resisting aggression.

Objects

The objects of the London International Assembly shall be

To provide greater opportunities for the peoples of Great Britain and of each of the Allied nations to understand each other's history, economic development, institutions, way of life and national aspirations and to consider their bearing on world settlement after the war.

Membership

Membership of the Assembly shall be open to not more than twenty members of each allied nation or associated national group and admission shall be by means of election by an Organising Committee. In electing members the Organising Committee shall, so far as may be possible, seek to ensure that the main aspects of the national life of each country are represented, e.g.

Parliament  
The Services  
Religious Bodies  
Universities  
Law  
Education  
The Arts  
Science  
Commerce and Industries  
Agriculture  
Trade Unions  
Journalism,  
etc.

Subscription

The minimum membership subscription shall be ten shillings a year.

P.T.O.

- 2 -  
Council

The members of each nationality in the Assembly shall elect not more than one of their number to serve on the Council which shall be responsible for the business of the Assembly and shall function through an Organising Committee. The members of the Organising Committee and Officers of the Assembly shall be ex-officio members of the Council.

Organising Committee

1. The Organising Committee shall eventually be elected by the Council. For the purpose of setting up the Assembly and transacting the necessary business until the Council is elected there shall be a Provisional Organising Committee whose members shall be:

Chairman: Rt. Hon. the Viscount Cecil  
Vice-Chairman: Miss K.D. Courtney.

[Here would follow the names of a Treasurer and of 3 to 5 members, to be appointed by the Union and to include representatives of Britain, France and the United States/

with powers to co-opt not more than two additional members.

2. The Organising Committee shall elect the members and Officers of the Assembly, including one or more Treasurers, of whom one shall be nominated by the League of Nations Union. It shall have power also to elect Patrons and Honorary Officers. It shall generally exercise the rights of a Governing Body in accordance with any general directions the Council may give.

Meetings

The Assembly shall normally meet once a month for purposes of discussion. The Organising Committee shall determine the rules of procedure, the subjects for discussion and the opening speakers. It may invite the Assembly to appoint one or more study groups or commissions to prepare memoranda which might form the bases of discussion at the meetings of the Assembly.

CONFIDENTIAL

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT  
NO. 25 ECCLESTON PLACE, LONDON, S.W.1, ON THURSDAY, MAY 29TH,  
1941, AT 3 P.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Mrs. Beale, Professor Brodetsky, F.M. Burris, Lord Cecil, Dean of Chichester, Miss K.D. Courtney, Miss P. Fawcett, W. Arnold Forster, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Lady Hall, D.L. Lipson, M.P., J. Macdonald, Brig-General Milman, Dr. Gilbert Murray, W.E. Pritchard, A.E.W. Thomas, Major Lawrence Wright and Major Freshwater.

101. MINUTES. Subject to the substitution of "May 29th" for "June 29th" in the last line of minute 96, the minutes of the meeting held on May 15th, 1941, were confirmed as circulated.

102. MR. EDEN. Lord Cecil read to the Committee a further letter which he had received from Mr. Eden. The Foreign Secretary had stated that such information as he had about opinion in the United States, the Dominions and among the Allied Governments in this country showed that, while sentiment for some form of international organization was still strong, there was little enthusiasm for the reconstitution of the League of Nations just as it was. He personally felt that public opinion was not especially receptive on the subject of the League at the present time. He would, however, be prepared to consider making a general statement on the lines of General Smuts' remarks should the opportunity arise.

Lord Cecil was asked to thank Mr. Eden for his letter and to say that, while the Executive realised that he could not go into detail, any statement on the lines of that of General Smuts which he might see his way to make, would be very greatly appreciated. Lord Cecil was further asked to say that, if Mr. Eden so wished, the Executive would be glad to invite one of its members to ask a question in the House of Commons to which the Foreign Secretary could reply.

103. FIELD-MARSHAL SMUTS. It was agreed to send a message to FIELD-MARSHAL SMUTS, conveying the warm congratulations of the Executive on his new appointment and the Committee's pleasure at H.M. Government's recognition of his splendid services.

104. GENERAL COUNCIL. (a) Honorary Presidents and Vice-Presidents. It was reported that, in reply to letters sent to them, the following had expressed their willingness to serve as Vice-Presidents of the Union:

Rt. Hon. A.V. Alexander, M.P.  
Rt. Hon. C.R. Attlee, M.P.  
Sir Thomas Barlow, Bt., K.C.V.O., F.R.S.  
His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury  
Rt. Hon. J.R. Clynes, M.P.  
Rt. Hon. the Viscount Cranborne  
Most Hon. the Marquess of Crewe,  
K.G., G.C.V.O.  
Rt. Hon. the Lord Davies  
Rt. Hon. the Lord Dickinson, K.B.E.

Rt. Hon. Anthony Eden, M.C., M.P.  
 Miss Philippa Fawcett  
 The Moderator of the Free Church Federal  
 Council

Rt. Hon. D. Lloyd George, O.M., M.P.  
 Rev. R.C. Gillie, D.C.L.  
 The Viscountess Gladstone  
 Sir Arthur Eworth, Bt.

The High Commissioner for Australia  
 The High Commissioner for Canada  
 The High Commissioner for Elre  
 The High Commissioner for New Zealand  
 The High Commissioner for South Africa

Rt. Hon. the Lord Horder, K.C.V.O.  
 Rt. Hon. the Earl of Lytton, K.G., G.C.S.I.,  
 G.C.I.E.

Very Rev. the Chief Rabbi  
 Rt. Hon. the Viscount Samuel, G.C.B., G.B.E.  
 Rt. Hon. Sir Archibald Sinclair, Bt., C.M.G.,  
 K.P.

Field Marshal the Rt. Hon. J.C. Smuts, K.C.  
 Sir Daniel Stevenson, LL.D., D.L.  
 His Grace the Archbishop of York.

Replies were still awaited from a number of others; and, in order that the list printed in the Agenda for the Council might be as complete as possible, the Secretary was asked (through their private secretaries) to send them a reminder.

The Dean of Chichester reported that he was in correspondence with the newly appointed Moderator of the Church of Scotland, and Lord Cecil stated that, in regard to Cardinal Hinsley, he had written to Bishop Mathew.

(c) Co-opted Members. It was reported that, in response to the Inquiry made of them, 70 persons, all of whom had paid a membership subscription to the Union, had expressed their willingness to accept Co-option to the General Council.

(c) Hour of Meeting of General Council. It was agreed that the meeting of the General Council should begin at 11 a.m. on Thursday, June 26th.

(d) Religious Services. It was reported that it would not be possible for the Union to hold a Service in St. John's Church, Red Lion Square, as in the past, owing to damage by enemy action. It was agreed that inquiries should be made with a view to holding a Service in Holy Trinity, Kingsway, at 10.30 a.m. on Thursday, June 26th.

#### 106. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

(a) Minorities. Miss Courtney reported on a meeting of the Committee held on May 18th, 1941. The Committee had invited Professor Mabbot, Mr. Peter Matthews, Miss Freda White and Dr. Hilda Clarke to join them. Miss Lucy Blair, Miss Grant Duff and Professor Lauterbach had also been invited but were unable to serve. Sir Walter Repler and Lord Dickinson, although unable to attend meetings of the Committee, had expressed their willingness to send comments on any memorandum the Committee might prepare.

A series of seven questions had been prepared and had been sent to all members of the Committee for their comments. A memorandum by Mr. Courtney would also be circulated.



Lord Cecil suggested that, in view of Lord Creaborne's keen interest in minorities, the questions and memorandum should be sent also to him for his comments.

The report of the Committee was approved.

- (b) Women's Advisory Council. Miss Courtney reported on a meeting of the W.A.C. held on May 23rd, 1941. The representatives of various organisations on the Council had stated that there was a great demand for speakers and meetings on the subject of the United States. A syllabus and Study Outline had accordingly been prepared and were being sent to the organisations, together with suggestions for their use.

It had further been suggested that a more simple syllabus might be drawn up on the lines of B.B.C. talks on foreign countries, comparing the life of women in the United States and in Great Britain.

The report of the W.A.C. was approved.

- (c) Advisory International Committee. Miss Courtney reported on a meeting of the Advisory International Committee held on May 23rd. The Committee had recommended that, as a first step towards the creation of the proposed London International Assembly, a Preparatory Committee should be set up to prepare an annotated Agenda and plans for the organisation of the Assembly. It was suggested that the Preparatory Committee should be constituted as follows:

President: Lord Cecil.

Vice-Presidents: Dr. Benes (or Mr. Masaryk)  
Professor Gansin  
Mr. Zaleski  
Mr. Simopolous.

Committee: Professor Arthur Newell ) Chairman  
Miss K.E. Courtney )  
Mr. de Brouckere  
Mr. Comert  
Mr. Kinnel  
Dr. Sommerfelt (or another Norwegian)  
Dr. Gilbert Murray  
Dean of Chester  
Mrs. Noel-Baker  
with power to co-opt.

The Executive expressed their approval.

The International Committee had further recommended that, in order to allow Mr. Judd to act as Secretary of the Preparatory Committee, the Executive should authorise an expenditure by the Union of approximately £350 a year, to cover the appointment, as a member of the Union's staff, of an assistant to Mr. Judd for the work of the Education Council, and incidental expenses for postages, telephones, stationery, etc.

- (d) Finance Committee. Mr. Pritchard reported that the Finance Committee, at its meeting on May 23rd, had approved the above recommendation of the International Committee. The Executive also expressed their approval.



and a Selection Committee consisting of Miss Courtney, Mr. Howell Smith, Major Freshwater and Mr. Judi was authorized to make the appointment.

Mr. Pritchard further reported that the Finance Committee had recommended that a copy of Lord Cecil's new pamphlet A REAL PEACE should be sent to all Branches and Foundation Members. The cost to the Union would be about \$140. This was approved.

106. EDUCATION AND WORLD ORDER. Dr. Garnett reported that, in accordance with the resolution contained in minute 19 copies of his memorandum on EDUCATION AND WORLD ORDER had been circulated to members of the Education Council. Several members had submitted comments and observations on the paper which had been communicated to Dr. Garnett and in the light of which he had revised the paper. The revised version (copies of which were before the Executive) had subsequently been circulated to, and considered by, the Education Council. The Council had, however, decided not to take any action on the paper. In these circumstances Dr. Garnett asked if the Executive would table a motion for the General Council on some such lines as follows:

"The Executive Committee, without expressing any opinion upon the proposals made in Dr. Garnett's paper, commends it to the members and Branches of the Union as a valuable contribution to the study of a most important aspect of the problem of world reconstruction."

He further asked if the Executive would, in course of time, invite the new London International Assembly to consider the memorandum.

Dr. Murray explained the circumstances in which the Education Council had decided not to take any action on Dr. Garnett's memorandum. In his opinion it introduced a number of delicate and difficult questions that were in dispute about British education, and some of which were already being discussed with the Board of Education. Moreover, the paper was largely concerned with the purely British problem rather than with the international one.

An extract from a letter written by Mr. Howell Smith on the subject was read. A discussion followed during which Mr. Lipson expressed the opinion that if the Executive recommended Dr. Garnett's memorandum for study it would be accepting a measure of responsibility for it, and in his view the matter needed a great deal more thought and investigation.

The Executive were reminded that at the last meeting of the General Council they had undertaken to prepare a statement on Education and World Citizenship.

It was then agreed that, at the forthcoming meeting of the Council, Dr. Murray should be asked to state that a memorandum had been prepared by Dr. Garnett and considered by the Education Council, but that neither the Education Council nor the Executive were able to accept it. Copies of the memorandum were, however, available for study by Branches and others who desired to have it. It was decided to ask the Education Council to prepare a Report on the subject for presentation to the General Council at its next meeting.

107. **WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR.** The Chairman presented to the Executive the report of the sub-Committee (appointed in minute 73 of 17.4.41) [S.868] on which agreement of all the members had been obtained.

A letter from Mr. Rowell Smith, suggesting certain amendments in the document was read.

Mr. Arnold Forster, while welcoming the commentary as a clarification of the Statement, pointed out that whereas in the original Statement it was stated that all members of the International Authority belonging both to the Outer and Inner Rings should agree that aggression was an international crime and ought to take all reasonable steps to prevent or stop it, the formula used in the commentary was a drastic curtailment of this obligation. He suggested that the words "whatever the consequences may be" should be added at the end of the sentence at the top of page 4.

The Dean of Chichester urged that for "propaganda" purposes a much shorter and simpler statement was required than any of the documents yet issued by the Executive. The Committee were reminded that a motion on this subject was being submitted to the General Council by the Birmingham District Committee. The Chairman then stated that, if the Dean would send him a list of the points he would like to see included in such a short statement, he would be willing to prepare a draft.

A memorandum by Mr. F.J. Keen was laid before the Executive. It was agreed to inform Mr. Keen that the Executive was unable to accept his resolution, but that, as a Co-opted Member of the Council, he was entitled to submit his motion to the Council if he so desired.

After further discussion, during which small amendments were suggested in the draft commentary, it was left to the Chairman to amend the document in the light of the discussion. It was agreed that the commentary, as amended, should be submitted by the Executive for discussion at the forthcoming meeting of the General Council. (Attache)

108. **DATE OF NEXT MEETING.** The Executive decided not to meet again until Thursday, June 13th, unless in the opinion of the Chairman it was desirable to summon an earlier meeting.

*K. D. Cooney*  
CHAIRMAN

19th June, 1941

## APPENDIX D

## WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR

*Further Statement*

The Statement of Policy entitled World Settlement After the War, since its revision by the Executive Committee in January and its issue to the Branches, has been much discussed and freely criticized. Some members of the Executive Committee have expressed disagreement with particular clauses either publicly in the columns of *HEADWAY* or privately in letters and memoranda. Some Branches have sent in amendments to certain passages, and one Branch has proposed to rewrite the entire Statement in its own words. All these comments and criticisms have been considered by the Executive Committee and referred by them to a Sub-Committee to collate.

The Sub-Committee after examining all these comments arrived at the following conclusions:

1. That none of the criticisms received showed complete disagreement with the fundamental policy embodied in the statement but all of them sought rather to improve the wording or to change the emphasis of certain features of the policy.
2. That it was unpreferable to amend the Statement from month to month in an attempt to keep pace with the ever-changing fortunes of the war.
3. That it was desirable to restate the fundamental principles on which the policy of the Statement rests, and which the League of Nations Union would advocate and work for however the international situation might change.

The Executive having approved these conclusions, submits the following commentary on the Statement.

## COMMENTARY

The Statement aims at defining as fully as is now possible the kind of policy which the League of Nations Union would wish to see carried out when the defeat of the Totalitarian States has been accomplished.

It is impossible to predict with certainty what the situation may be at the end of the war. No one can foresee what would then be the state of public opinion about post-war problems either in this country or in any other, if no attempt were made to form it beforehand.

But as it is the function of the League of Nations Union to influence the public opinion of our own people, we should be clear in our own minds now what is the opinion we want to create, and begin to create it before the war is over. Moreover, since the greatest need of all countries in peace, and Hitler has promised that in his New Order peace will be secured by the armed forces of Germany, it is necessary that Britain should make it clear to other nations by what alternative

means we would secure peace to them if we were victorious. Our ability to do this quickly and effectively may have a decisive effect on the course and duration of the war itself.

The first principle therefore of our policy is that peace when it comes must be durable. To secure that object we are also agreed:

- (1) that the best guarantee of peace is an effective collective system of defence;
- (2) that any such collective system must be real and not illusory. The obligations therefore of any State joining a collective system must be more clearly defined than was the case under the Covenant, and their enforcement must be organised in advance and not left to the decisions of individual Governments at a time of crisis.
- (3) that a distinction must be made between measures which will be necessary immediately on the termination of hostilities and for some time thereafter, and those required for the organisation of peace on a permanent basis. The first stage must of necessity be concerned primarily with the restoration of national Governments in the territories occupied by Germany during the war, the withdrawal of German troops, the reorganisation of the economic life of Europe, and above all, the measures necessary to prevent a renewal of the war. These measures should be of a temporary character, recognised as such and completely superseded by the permanent settlement as soon as this can be reached. The second stage which cannot possibly be inaugurated until the normal political and economic life of the occupied countries has been re-established, should nevertheless be envisaged, planned and prepared for in advance, and everything should be avoided in the first stage which might make the permanent organisation of peace on a collective basis more difficult in the second stage. The problems which will have to be considered in each of these stages may now be enumerated.

## STAGE I.

## IMMEDIATE POST-WAR SETTLEMENT

1. *Restoration of occupied territories*

We are all agreed that Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Albania and Abyssinia must be restored as independent States with their own Governments, and that German and Italian troops must be withdrawn from the other occupied territories. During this stage the pre-war frontiers should be restored temporarily wherever it is possible to do this by treaties with Germany and Italy. Where frontiers have been altered by States with which we are not at war they cannot be re-created in the peace treaties with Germany and Italy. The permanent settlement of frontiers should be reserved for the second stage, in which other than belligerents will take part.

### 2. Reorganization of the economic life of Europe

The economic conditions of the whole of Europe when hostilities cease are bound to be chaotic, perhaps even catastrophic. Concurrently with the movements of population which the restoration of the occupied territories will involve, every effort must be made as soon as possible to restore the supply of necessary foodstuffs and the raw materials of industry, and to readjust international courtesies. The complexity of this urgent necessity is one of the reasons why a considerable interval must elapse before the second stage of permanent world settlement can be reached. It would be useless to attempt any permanent settlement until the economic life of the various States of Europe has been at least partially restored.

### 3. Security

The most important and most difficult problem of this stage will be that of security. In so far as the victory has not been brought about by collective force the security measures during this first stage will be lacking in collective authority. It is obvious already that the only European State that could effectively co-operate with the troops of the British Empire in the defeat of the German army in Russia. It is also clear already that Britain can only bring the war to a victorious conclusion with the help of the U.S.A. Whether the United States will have become an active belligerent before the end of the war and whether the U.S.S.R. will have become an ally or an enemy cannot at the moment be foreseen. But it is already clear that the force by which victory will have been achieved is the only force by which security can be maintained during this first stage. The disarmament of the Aggressor States and the occupation of such points as may be necessary to prevent a recurrence of the war are inevitable features of this first stage, and our people should be prepared for the responsibility which their victory will place upon them.

## STAGE II PERMANENT WORLD SETTLEMENT

It is in this second stage—the stage of world settlement and the re-establishment of an international authority—that the Statement mainly refers, and the machinery there suggested will perhaps be better understood if it is realized that this stage is not intended to be brought into operation immediately the war is over. It cannot now be stated how long the first stage will last. The only thing that can be said is that that stage must be a preparatory one and that the second stage should be introduced as soon as the conditions have become favourable to its success but not before.

In this second stage we have suggested the kind of machinery that we would like to see adopted and would work to bring about. Our proposals cannot be more than that, since admittedly this machinery can only be brought about by general agreement after

free general discussion. Our reason for suggesting the re-establishment of an International Authority is that in our opinion peace in the modern world can only be maintained by international co-operation, and the experience of the last twenty years has only confirmed this opinion. We are convinced, however, that the International Authority of the future must have greater powers than the League of Nations ever had, and that greater limitations of national sovereignty must be accepted by all its Member States in the interests of international peace.

Our reason for suggesting in division into inner and outer rings is that in our opinion a practically world-wide co-operation of States is necessary both to promote human welfare in peace time and to prevent the recurrence of war by acts of aggression. But experience has proved that few States, if any, are willing to accept the status of a belligerent in every war that may occur in any part of the world, however remote. As however peace can only be maintained if in every part of the world some powerful combination of States is prepared to resist aggression whenever it threatens or takes place, we were forced to consider the establishment of what we have called inner rings of States with unlimited obligations to resist aggression in limited areas. Whether or not States will be found willing to undertake such obligations, and what States they will be, experience alone can decide. In any case we recognize that a special responsibility for the maintenance of world peace rests on those usually called the Great Powers. It is of the utmost importance that this truth should never be forgotten.

On the assumption that such machinery is found to be practicable, it would perhaps be well to define the obligations which we propose to assign to each group. Every State member of the International Authority would be required to accept the obligations of the Outer Ring. In the event of a war being threatened or initiated in any part of the world by a State which has been declared an Aggressor by the International Authority, it would be an obligation of every member to withhold the supply of all war materials to the aggressor State and to supply them to the victim of aggression. The obligations of the members of the Outer Group would be limited to this attitude of non-belligerent impartiality. Neutrality would be permissible to none. Any State which, by reason of its fulfilment of this obligation, is attacked by another, would, as a victim of aggression, become entitled to the full assistance of the Inner Group. The States members of the Inner Group in the area where the aggression took place would from the outset adopt the status of full belligerency against the Aggressor State. It is more than probable that these obligations would be strictly fulfilled by the members of both Groups, the possibility of aggression would be reduced to a minimum, as hardly any State in the world contains within its own territory all the materials necessary for war under modern conditions.

It only remains necessary to say a word about the subjects of the international limitation of armaments and the International Air Force which have proved difficult to some of our members.



Obviously no State can be expected to accept the obligation of full belligerency as the member of a policing group without the armed armaments not only create the greatest danger of war but the financial burden which they entail is also the greatest obstacle to prosperity in peace. Is there any way of reconciling these two apparently conflicting requirements? We think there is, namely, by an International Agreement to abolish aggressive weapons and supervision by an international commission to prevent their construction in secret. If there had been no submarines, tanks, heavy guns, or military aviation, none of Hitler's or Mussolini's aggressions would have been successful.

We believe that when this war is over there will be a popular demand in all countries for the abolition of bombing aircraft which have wrought such havoc upon the civilian population everywhere, and if this demand should lead to the abolition of military air forces and to international control of civil aviation, it would be possible for the first time to arm the International Authority with a weapon possessed by no national State, and thus give to the policing powers of the Inner Groups that margin of superiority over any aggressor which would enable them to prevent a breach of the peace. Whether international public opinion will be ready, by the time the second stage in the policy we have outlined is reached, to give the International Authority of the future such additional power as is involved in the possession of an international air force, we cannot tell. But we can at least say that it is desirable, and begins to prepare our own people for such a possibility.

To sum up: the essentials of the policy we advocate are:—

- (1) That the maintenance of world peace is the greatest interest of every State;
- (2) That aggression is an international crime which every State should combine to prevent;
- (3) That international co-operation is necessary for the maintenance of peace;
- (4) That freedom and justice can only be secured by the substitution of the processes of law for the brutality of war;
- (5) That if the law is to prevail there must be force behind it;
- (6) That if war is to fall into disuse, there must be machinery for settling disputes peacefully which commands general acceptance.

Such a system of international co-operation involves the readiness of each State—

- (1) to submit to the collective judgment of other States in its disputes, grievances or claims;
- (2) to support the forces of law wherever they are used to prevent breaches of the peace.

It is to prepare the public opinion of our own country for such a conception of international duty that our Statement was prepared, but any proposals which would achieve as well or better than our own the objects we have in view would be equally acceptable to us.

## CONFIDENTIAL

## LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 25 ECCELESTON PLACE, LONDON, S.W.1, ON THURSDAY, JUNE 19TH, 1941, AT 3 P.M.

PRESENT: Miss K.D. Courtney (in the Chair), Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Professor Brodetsky, F.M. Barris, Lord Cecil, Dean of Chichester, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss P. Pascott, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Lady Hall, Dr. Lipson, M.P., Dame Adelaide Livingstone, J. Macdonald, Dr. Gilbert Murray, Miss E. Rathbone, M.P., Howell Smith, H.S. Syrett, A.E.W. Thomas and Major Freshwater. Miss Freda White was also present by invitation.

109. LORD LYTON. Miss Courtney explained that Lord Lyton had not yet completely recovered from his recent operation, but that he hoped to be able to attend the meeting of the General Council in the following week. The Executive expressed their sympathy with Lord Lyton and their hope for his speedy recovery.

110. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on May 29th were confirmed as circulated, subject to the insertion of the words "he considered that" after the word "Moreover" in the second paragraph of minute 106.

## 111. MATTER ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 102 - Mr. Eden. Lord Cecil reported that he had written to Mr. Eden on the lines suggested by the Executive, but that he had not yet received any reply.

112. SPEECHES BY MEMBERS OF H.M. GOVERNMENT. Reference was made to recent speeches by the Prime Minister, Mr. Eden and Mr. Attlee. It was suggested that quotations from these speeches should be published in HEADWAY, and perhaps also in leaflet form.

113. CONFERENCE WITH DOMINION AND ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES. Reference was made to the recent conference held at St. James' Palace between members of H.M. Government and Dominion and Allied Representatives. It was agreed that an "urgency" motion should be submitted to the General Council, welcoming the fact that the Conference had taken place, expressing pleasure at the resolutions that were passed and the hope that further meetings of a similar kind would be held in future. It was also agreed that, in proposing the motion, the hope should be expressed that such gatherings would be the forerunner of the international body which would be responsible for keeping the peace after victory had been won.

114. FINANCE COMMITTEE. Mr. Syrett reported that at the meeting on May 29th the Finance Committee had received the audited accounts for 1940, which showed an excess of Income over Expenditure and a reduction of the Balance at Debt of Account at December 31st, 1940, of £21,539 to £9,339 on December 31st, 1940.

Mr. Syrett regarded the present position as good, but he was disturbed by the fact that during the first five months of this year, only half as many subscriptions had been collected as had been during the corresponding period of last year; his disturbance was not lessened.

by the knowledge that the main cause of the non-payment of subscriptions was that Collectors had less leisure owing to more and more calls being made on them for work in connection with the war. Headquarters was helping to an increasing extent by sending out reminders through the post. Most of the debts and guarantees would be running out this year and next. He was most anxious to build up a reserve ready for contingencies and to expand and intensify our work when the time came. A donation of £2,000 had just been received from Messrs. Cadbury Bros., who for many years past had paid a like sum under deed but were not prepared to execute a fresh one. He proposed to place this £2,000 to Reserve and invest it in War Bonds.

Additional expenditure had become necessary to cover the premiums in connection with Compulsory War Damage Insurance, this would amount to about £40 and would include the Library, while payments in connection with Fire Watchers were expected to amount to about £30 a year.

The resolution of the Office Committee of 25.11.30 respecting the payment of interest on a loan of £100 to a certain member of the staff, had been formally rescinded after it had been reported that the full amount of the loan had been repaid. He asked the Executive specially to confirm this action, which had been taken at the request of the Auditors.

Mr. Syrett's report was approved.

#### 116. ANNUAL MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL.

(a) Procedure Committee. It was agreed that Mr. I.F. Behrens, Lady Hall and Mr. A.E.W. Thomas should be invited to serve on the Procedure Committee for the Annual Meeting of the Council.

#### (b) Agenda.

(i) WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR. It was agreed to ask Lord Lytton to present the Executive Committee's "further statement" under item 9(a).

(ii) Reports on Social Reconstruction, Colonial Administration, Peaceful Change, Minorities and Education in World Citizenship.

Social Reconstruction and Colonial Administration. The Executive had before them the minutes of a special meeting of the Industrial Advisory Committee held on June 10th, and draft Reports on Colonial Settlement (S.864) and Social and Economic Reconstruction in the Post-war Settlement (S.866). It was agreed that the following motions should be moved at the Council Meeting in presenting these Reports:

"The General Council

Thanks the members of the Industrial Advisory Committee and those who collaborated with them, for the time and thought they have devoted to the study of Social and Economic Reconstruction in the Post-war World;

Notes with satisfaction that the Executive will examine in detail with representatives of

the Industrial Advisory Committee and their collaborators, the paper which that Committee has prepared as a statement of the measure of agreement which it has so far been able to reach; and

Recommends Branches and members of the Union to study the document and the various issues raised in the supplementary note."

"The General Council

Thanks the members of the Industrial Advisory Committee and those who collaborated with them, for the time and thought they have devoted to the preparation of the Note on Colonial Settlement;

Notes with satisfaction that the Executive will examine the paper in detail with representatives of the Industrial Advisory Committee and their collaborators; and

Recommends Branches and members of the Union to study the document."

It was further agreed that Professor Sargant Florence should be invited to present the Report on Social and Economic Reconstruction, and that his speech should be delivered on Thursday, June 25th, immediately after item 8 on the Agenda.

Miss Freda White was asked to present the Report on Colonial Settlement.

It was also decided that, when the two Reports came before the Executive for consideration after the Council, members of the sub-Committee who had helped to prepare the documents should be invited to attend the Executive's meetings.

Peaceful Change. It was agreed to ask Mr. Howell Smith to report on the action taken by the Executive in regard to Peaceful Change, and to move the following motion in presenting the interim report:

"The General Council

Thanks the sub-Committee of the Executive for the time and thought they have devoted to the study of Peaceful Change;

Notes with satisfaction that the Executive will examine in detail the paper prepared by the sub-Committee; and

Recommends Branches and members of the Union to study the document."

Minorities. Miss Courtney was asked to report to the Council on the action taken by the Executive in regard to Minorities and on the work now being undertaken by the sub-Committee.

Education in World Citizenship. After Dr. Garnett had stated that he could be present only on the first day of the Council Meetings, it was agreed that Dr. Murray's report (on the lines laid down in minute 106 of the Executive) should be made to the Council on Thursday, June 25th.

P.T.O.

- 4 -

Blackpool Branch resolution and memorandum. The Executive had before them a resolution and memorandum adopted at the Annual Meeting of the Blackpool Branch on May 28th. After Major Freshwater had reported his correspondence with the Secretary of the Blackpool Branch, it was agreed that the resolution be regarded as an expression of views which the Blackpool delegate might wish to include in a speech at the Council Meeting, but that the memorandum be not submitted to the General Council unless put in the form of a definite amendment by Blackpool.

Clapham Branch motion and amendments. The Executive had before them a motion dealing with paragraph 19 of WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR, and amendments to other paragraphs of the Statement, submitted by the Clapham Branch. It was agreed to ask ~~Mr. Cecil~~ to deal with the first motion in presenting the Interim report on Protocol Change, and to ask Mr. Murray to support Lord Cecil in dealing with the amendments suggested in paragraphs 17, 20, 21, 22, 23 and 24 of the Statement of Policy.

~~Mr. Cecil~~ ~~was~~ ~~intimated~~ ~~her~~ ~~intention~~ ~~to~~ ~~support~~ ~~the~~ ~~Clapham~~ ~~Branch~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~debate~~ ~~at~~ ~~the~~ ~~Council.~~

Lord Cecil was asked to go through the Clapham amendments and to recommend any which might be accepted by the Executive.

Birmingham District Committee's Motion. It was agreed to suggest to the Birmingham District Committee that the first paragraph of their motion might be dealt with in a speech and the remainder amended to read as follows:-

"The General Council requests the Executive Committee to frame a short declaration upon which the mass of the Union is likely to be agreed."

Motion by Mr. F.N. Keen. At the suggestion of Lord Cecil, it was agreed that Mr. Keen's motion should be treated as a motion for rejection of the Executive's Statement.

Northamptonshire Federal Council's Motion. It was suggested that the purpose of the Northamptonshire motion might be met by including a footnote to the Statement of Policy to the following effect:

"The League of Nations Union welcomes the statement issued by the Church Leaders published in THE TIMES of December 21st, 1940, and reprinted in HEADWAY for February, 1941."

Tyne District Council's Motion on "Peace Aims". It was agreed to inform the Tyne District Council of the action being taken by the Executive in regard to periodic conferences with representatives of foreign League of Nations Societies and others now in this country, and in regard to the proposed London International Assembly, and to ask them, in the light of that information, to withdraw their motion with the exception of the second paragraph.



For Executive Committee 19.6.41.

S.889.  
19.6.41.

MEMBERSHIP

	<u>1940</u>	<u>1941</u>
Jan.	5,267	3,584
Feb.	8,941	5,267
March	13,353	4,844
April	11,980	6,239
May	12,218	6,083
	<u>51,959</u>	<u>25,837</u>

768

- 5 -

Chelsea Branch Motion on "Meetings of Executive Committee". It was agreed not to support the Motion.

Chelsea Branch Motion on "Post-War Organisation". It was agreed to support the general policy expressed in the motion, with the exception of the last paragraph, but to suggest that it would be inexpedient to take definite action on the lines suggested at the present moment.

116. RESOLUTIONS OF WALLINGTON BRANCH. Resolutions adopted at public discussion meetings organised by the Wallington Branch and dealing with (a) Guarantee of individual rights in a world peace settlement, (b) Co-operation and Economic Rights, and (c) Popular Election of the Assembly, were received with thanks.
117. MEMBERSHIP REPORT. A memorandum (S.889) was received, showing that 25,537 subscriptions had been paid during the first five months of 1941, as compared with 51,959 during the corresponding period of 1940.

*Lytle*  
CHAIRMAN

30 July, 1941.

## LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 25 ECCLESTON PLACE, LONDON, S.W.1., ON THURSDAY, JULY 3RD, 1941 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Lady Violet Bonham Carter, the Dean of Winchester, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Miss K.D. Courtney, Lady Hall, Lady Layton, Dr. Gilbert Murray, W.T. Pritchard, Howell Smith, Leonard Woolf and Major Freshwater.

118. MINUTES. Subject to the deletion of the second paragraph in the section of Minute 115 which dealt with the Clapham Branch Motion and Amendments, the minutes of the meeting held on June 19th, 1941 were confirmed as circulated.

119. DEATH OF LORD PARMOOR. The Chairman referred to the loss which the Union and the League of the League had sustained in the recent death of Lord Parmoor who had represented the British Government at meetings of the League Assembly and who had, for many years, been a Vice-President of the Union. It was

RESOLVED: "That a letter of condolence, on behalf of the Executive, be sent to Lady Parmoor".

Miss Courtney stated that a B.B.C. News Bulletin announcing the death of Lord Parmoor had spoken of him as having been a supporter of the "late" League of Nations. The Secretary reported that Miss Janet Smith, the League representative in London, had written to the Director of the B.B.C. enclosing a report issued in May dealing with the present activities of the League. The Secretary had also written to Lady Violet Bonham Carter, informing her of this action and suggesting that the B.B.C. might, at some convenient time, arrange for a talk in one of their programmes on the work of the League at the present time.

120. CO-OPTIONS. The Executive had before them a list of the co-opted members of the Committee for 1940/41, together with other suggested names. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) That the following be co-opted to serve on the Executive for the year 1941/42:-

Rt. Hon. Lord Dickinson  
Mrs. Dagdale  
Miss Fawcett  
A.J. Howe  
Miss M. Lloyd George M.P.  
Dr. A.D. Lindsay  
D.L. Lipson M.P.  
Dame Adelaide Livingstone  
J. Macdonald  
J.R. Leslie M.P.  
A.E.W. Thomas

(2) That letters be sent to the following, reminding them of the alteration in the hour of the Executive's meetings, and inviting them to be co-opted to the new Executive in the hope that they would be able to attend at least some of the Committee's meetings:-

Major Sir Derrick Gunston Bt., M.P.  
Rt. Hon. Lord Addison  
E. Wallis Jones,  
Mrs. Whitfield,  
Miss E. Waite.

- (3) That the following be invited to accept co-optation to the new Executive, even if only for the purpose of receiving the Committee's papers:-

Major V.A. Cazalet M.C., M.P.  
 Captain Arthur Henderson K.C., M.P.  
 Brig-Gen. E.L. Spears C.B.E., M.P.

121. ANNUAL MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL.

(a) Resolutions. The Executive had before them particulars of the resolutions adopted at the General Council's Meeting (S.896). Letters acknowledging with thanks the resolution on Russia were reported from Mr. Halsey and from the private secretaries to the Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary.

(b) Election of Officers. The Dean of Colchester stated that, as requested, he had written to Dr. Hutchison Cockburn, the newly-appointed Moderator of the Church of Scotland, asking if he would allow his name to go forward for election as a Vice-President of the Union, but that the Moderator's final reply, expressing his agreement, had not been received until after the Council's Meeting. It was

RESOLVED: "That, having regard to all the circumstances and particularly to the fact that the General Council had for many years elected the Moderator of the Church of Scotland as a Vice-President, Dr. Hutchison Cockburn's name be included in the list of Vice-Presidents for the current year."

(c) World Settlement after the War. The Executive were reminded that, at the Council Meeting, the Chairman had undertaken that the Executive would, in the light of the discussion at the Council, give further consideration to paragraphs 20, 21 and 22 of the Statement of Policy; and those who had suggestions to make had been asked to communicate them to the Executive as soon as possible.

Dr. Murray suggested that the main difficulty felt by the Council had been in regard to the "inner and outer rings" and that it might be useful to prepare an explanatory report on Collective Defence or Collective Security.

Miss Courtney thought it might be desirable to hold a Conference for the purpose of discussing the subject in detail, and suggested that this might perhaps be done at a special session of the Knebworth Summer School, Lady Hall supported Miss Courtney.

The hope was expressed that, at any Conference held on this subject Lord Cecil would be present, and it was agreed to postpone further consideration of the suggestion until the next meeting.

After further discussion the Chairman expressed his willingness to prepare a memorandum showing how Collective Security which was the root basis of our conception of an international authority should be attempted in the future in the light of the experience of the past. Such a paper would discuss what was meant by Collective Security, how it was misunderstood, why it did not work, and what was needed to make it work in the future.

Reference was also made to a proposal by the Dean of Chichester at a recent meeting for a short simple leaflet on **WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR** for "propaganda" purposes, and for which the Chairman had asked the Dean to submit suggestions. The Dean referred to the eight points contained in his article in the June **HEADWAY**, and said that these were the points which he wished to see embodied in the short leaflet.

(d) **Reports on Social and Economic Reconstruction, Colonial Settlement and Peaceful Change.** The Executive were informed of the Resolutions adopted by the General Council on this subject, and it was agreed that the Reports should be printed immediately for the use of Branches and members, with a prefatory note, explaining that the Union was not committed to the proposals made in the Reports which had been prepared at the request of the Executive as a contribution to the discussion of the problems. Mrs. Corbett Ashby suggested that the words "Draft Report" might be printed diagonally across the cover of the Reports. It was also suggested that there should be appended to each Report a short list of useful publications on the subject dealt with in the Report.

It was further agreed that the Report on Social and Economic Reconstruction should be discussed at a special meeting of the Executive to be held at 2.30 p.m. on Wednesday, July 23rd. It was left to Lady Hall to decide which of the members of the Industrial Advisory Committee and their collaborators should be invited to discuss the Report with the Executive.

The Executive also decided that the Report on Peaceful Change should be discussed at the earliest convenient meeting when Mr. Arnold-Forster and Mr. Noel-Baker could be present.

(e) **Chelsea Branch Motions.** The Executive decided to adjourn until a future meeting the two motions submitted to the General Council by the Chelsea Branch and referred by the Council to the Executive for their consideration.

122. **SUGGESTED SYMPOSIUM ON WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR.** The Chairman referred to a booklet, recently issued by the Carnegie Endowment, containing the Preliminary Report of the American Commission to Study the Organization of Peace and monographs on various aspects of the subject which had been presented to the Commission. It was agreed that copies of the booklet should be circulated to members of the Executive when available.

The Chairman suggested that it might be desirable to publish in one volume the Union's Statement of Policy and Commentary, the Reports on Social and Economic Reconstruction, Colonial Settlement, Peaceful Change etc. as well as the paper on Collective Defence (referred to in minute 121(c) above) and the memorandum on Hitler's New Order (referred to in minute 123 below). It was agreed that, when all the material was available, an endeavour should be made to get the volume published by Hamish Hamilton or some other publisher, and given a wide circulation.

123. **HITLER'S NEW ORDER.** The Executive had before them a memorandum entitled **HITLER'S NEW ORDER** (S.863) which had been prepared by Mr. Fanshawe at the Chairman's suggestion and which the Chairman suggested should be published as a Union leaflet.



*copy*

At Mr. Woolf's suggestion, it was agreed that a concluding sentence should be added to the memorandum, showing that what the Nazis had achieved in regard to the integration of Europe had been done in the wrong way and for the wrong purposes and contrasting it with the policy for which the Union stood; that, with this addition, the memorandum should be published immediately in leaflet form and given the widest possible distribution; and that the leaflet should not be offered for sale but that Branches etc. should be invited to send a contribution towards the printing, postage, etc.

124. LONDON INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY. The Chairman reported that Lord Cecil had informed Mr. Eden of the Union's proposals in regard to a London International Assembly, and a letter written by the Foreign Secretary in reply was read to the meeting (copy filed with these minutes). Miss Courtney thought that the Foreign Secretary had misunderstood the Union's proposals and she had therefore suggested to Lord Cecil that he might write again to Mr. Eden, making it clear exactly what action the Union proposed to take and stating that it was not likely that any meetings would be held until the autumn by which time the official Council of Allied Governments in London would probably have been brought into being.

*Lyell*

CHAIRMAN

17th July 1941

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT ANNUAL MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL HELD ON  
JUNE 28TH AND 29TH, 1941.

1. RUSSIA

"The General Council of the League of Nations Union,

Condemns the lawless and treacherous invasion of Russia by  
Germany,

Regards such action as destructive of all good faith between  
nations; and

Welcomes the assurances by the Prime Minister and the Foreign  
Secretary that we will give to Russia all assistance in our power  
in her resistance to this international crime."

2. ELECTION OF OFFICERS, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND CO-OPTED MEMBERS OF  
THE COUNCIL

The persons named in Appendix A, B and C to the Council Agenda  
(with one addition in Appendix C) were elected to serve until the  
next Annual Meeting of the Council.

3. WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR

"The General Council

Approves the Statement, WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR,  
together with the Commentary prepared by the Executive Committee  
on the understanding

(1) That further opportunity will be afforded of considering the  
subjects of Social and Economic Reconstruction, Colonial  
Policy, Peaceful Change, Minorities and Education in  
World Citizenship.

(2) That modifications of some of the details of the policy  
may be required if changes in the international situation  
render this necessary.

\*\* Note The Chairman undertook that the Executive would,  
in the light of the discussion at the General  
Council, give further consideration to paragraphs  
20, 21 and 22 of the Statement of Policy and  
those who had suggestions to make were asked to  
communicate them to the Executive as soon as  
possible.

4. REPORTS ON SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION, COLONIAL SETTLEMENT  
AND PEACEFUL CHANGE

The Council thanked those responsible for drawing up the Reports,  
noted with satisfaction that the Executive would examine them  
in detail, and recommended Branches and members of the Union to  
study the documents.

\*\* For Executive action.

5. AUDITED BALANCE SHEET AND INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR 1940.

"That the audited Balance Sheet and Income and Expenditure Account for 1940 be adopted".

6. CONFERENCE WITH DOMINION AND ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES.

"The General Council of the League of Nations Union,

Notes with pleasure that a Conference between Members of H.M. Government and Dominion and Allied Representatives was held at St. James' Palace on June 12th;

Is gratified by the resolutions adopted at the Conference; and

Expresses the earnest hope that further gatherings of a similar nature will be held in the future".

7. ETHIOPIA.

"The General Council,

Rejoices in the restoration of freedom to Ethiopia and in the return of H.M. the Emperor to his throne;

Expresses its admiration of the soldierly heroism and strategic skill which have led so rapidly to these happy results; and

Urges H.M. Government to consolidate them by the immediate re-establishment of full diplomatic relations with the Ethiopian Government".

8. POST-WAR ORGANISATION.

XXX "The General Council,

Realising that a time lag between the cessation of war and the launching of a campaign for our policy would endanger our success,

Urges the Executive Committee to give the most urgent and careful consideration to the following suggestions:-

- (i) To prepare a skeleton plan of action including:
  - (a) Districts and halls where large meetings could be held;
  - (b) A series of well-organised open-air meetings;
  - (c) A panel of speakers ready at short notice to undertake both indoor and outdoor meetings;
- (ii) To train new speakers during the coming longer evenings, giving special consideration to organising facilities for members in the Services, A.R.P. work, etc.;
- (iii) To simplify our policy into slogans suitable for posters and easily-read leaflets;
- (iv) 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".

XXX For Executive action.

9. MEETINGS OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

XX The following motion, standing in the name of the Chelsea Branch was withdrawn, after the Chairman had specified that the Executive Committee would consider what action could be taken to achieve the object of the motion.

"The General Council,

Realising that the future success of the work of the L.N.U. depends on the appeal it can make to the mass of the people and especially to the younger generation;

Recommends that in future meetings of the Executive Committee be held at such times as will enable all sections of the Union's membership to be represented".

XX For Executive action.



COPY

Foreign Office,  
S. W. 1.

June 24th, 1941.

My dear Lord Cecil,

Thank you very much for your letter enclosing a memorandum advocating the setting up of a representative body of people from the allied and friendly nations for the study and discussion of common problems.

I think the idea is a most interesting one, and I am glad to know of your plans. At the same time, we here are considering the setting up of committees representing the allied governments in London, and on the whole I think, if you agree, that the best course would be for you not to proceed with the formation of your assembly until we have had time to elaborate our plans for bringing the allied governments together and forming them into a council. But that does not of course mean that I do not think that, once the machinery for these official allied meetings has been set in motion, unofficial discussions such as those you have in mind might prove useful.

Yours ever,

(Signed)

ANTHONY EDEN.

COPY

Archbishop's House,  
Westminster, S.W.1.

20th June, 1941.

Dear Lord Cecil,

I must apologise for the delay in answering your letter which I put before Cardinal Hinsley who felt, however, that he should give a very considered reply after consultation with some of his colleagues.

The Cardinal now tells me that he does not feel able to take up again the vice-presidency of the League of Nations Union as you so kindly propose. The admission of Russia to the League of Nations without any renunciation of the methods of persecution against Christians then in force had a profound effect upon the outlook of Roman Catholic prelates in this country.

Throughout the period of my association with the League of Nations Union this factor had a marked influence upon both the Cardinal and the Archbishop of Liverpool, perhaps the two members of our episcopate who were most prominent in public life.

For myself the only thing that I can say is this. When the war is won and the League of Nations reconstituted we may be able to see our way clearer in regard to that new body. I should like to say how conscious both Fr. O'Hear and myself are of the kindness which we have received from the officers of the League of Nations Union and of the consideration which has always been given to our point of view.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) DAVID MATHES.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT  
NO. 25 ECCLESTON PLACE, LONDON, S.W.1, ON THURSDAY,  
JULY 17TH, 1941 AT 3 P.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Professor Brodetsky, Lord Cecil, Miss K.D. Courtney, Miss P. Fawcett, Dr. Garnett, Sir Arthur Haworth, A.J. Howe, Dame Adelside Livingstone, J.R. Leslie M.P., J. Macdonald, Howell C. Smith, Miss Ethel Waite and Major Freshwater.

123. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on July 3rd, 1941, were confirmed as circulated.

126. MATTER ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES

On Minute 120 - Co-optations, the Chairman welcomed Miss Waite, Mr. Howe and Mr. Leslie.

It was reported that replies to the Secretary's letters were still awaited from the Master of Balliol, Mrs. Bagdale, Captain Henderson, Mr. A.E.W. Thomas, Mr. Wallis-Jones and Mrs. Whitfield.

127. CARDINAL HINSLEY. Lord Cecil read to the Executive a letter which he had received from Bishop Mathes regarding the inability of Cardinal Hinsley to accept office as Vice-President of the Union (copy filed with these minutes).
128. WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR (see opposite page)

(a) Memorandum on Collective Security. The Executive had before them a draft memorandum on Collective Security (S.899) prepared by the Chairman in accordance with minute 121(c) of the last meeting. After several small amendments had been suggested, it was agreed to leave it to the Chairman, in the light of the suggestions made and to any others that members of the Executive might send him, to make such drafting changes in the paper as he considered desirable, and then to circulate the paper for study by Branches and members along with the draft Reports on Social Reconstruction, Colonial Settlement, Peaceful Change, etc.

Sir Arthur Haworth expressed cordial thanks to the Chairman for the memorandum, which he thought was immensely valuable and would be welcomed by Branches and members all over the country.

(b) Short Statement for "Propaganda". The Executive also had before them the draft (S.898) of a short statement on World Settlement after the War, prepared by the Chairman in accordance with minute 121(c) of the last meeting. The Dean of Chichester, at whose suggestion the paper had been prepared, had written expressing his warm approval.

Drafting amendments were suggested by Mr. Arnold Forster (S.900), and by Dr. Murray (in a letter to the Chairman), as well as by Mr. Howell Smith and Professor Brodetsky. After discussion it was agreed that it be left to the Chairman to make such drafting changes in the paper as he considered desirable in the light of the suggestions, and

P.T.O.



131. **MINORITIES COMMITTEE.** Miss Courtney reported that, at its meeting on July 7th, the Minorities Committee had continued its discussion and had made further progress in the preparation of its Report.
132. **COLONIAL SETTLEMENT AND PEACEFUL CHANGE.** It was agreed that the draft Reports on Colonial Settlement and Peaceful Change should be discussed by the Executive at the next ordinary meeting on July 31st, and that those who had collaborated in the preparation of the Report on Colonial Settlement should be invited to attend the meeting.

In regard to the Report on Peaceful Change, the hope was expressed that Mr. Arnold Forster would be able to be present on July 31st.

It was also agreed that, if other business had to be considered by the Executive on that date, the Committee should meet for that purpose at 2.30 p.m.

133. **POST-WAR ORGANISATION.** The Executive had before them the following resolution adopted by the General Council at its Annual Meeting:

"The General Council,

Realising that a time lag between the cessation of war and the launching of a campaign for our policy would endanger our success,

Urges the Executive Committee to give the most urgent and careful consideration to the following suggestions:-

- (i) To prepare a skeleton plan of action including:
  - (a) Districts and halls where large meetings could be held;
  - (b) A series of well-organised open-air meetings;
  - (c) A panel of speakers ready at short notice to undertake both indoor and outdoor meetings;
- (ii) To train new speakers during the coming longer evenings, giving special consideration to organising facilities for members in the Services, A.R.P. work, etc.;
- (iii) To simplify our policy into slogans suitable for posters and easily-read leaflets;
- (iv) 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."

A letter from Mr. Pritchard was read, suggesting that the whole question of Branch re-organisation was involved, and that a special committee, on the lines of the Administration Committee but smaller in number, should be appointed with a majority of members who had a close knowledge of Branch work. Mr. Pritchard's suggestions were thought to go beyond what was necessary and were not adopted by the Committee. On the suggestion of Lord Cecil, the Secretary was asked to draft a scheme dealing with the Chelsea proposals for consideration, in the first instance, by the Officers.



S. 901  
17.7.41.For Executive Committee 17.7.41.

	MEMBERSHIP	
	1940	1941
Jan.	5,267	3,584
Feb.	8,941	5,267
March	13,563	4,844
April	11,980	6,259
May	12,218	6,083
June	7,216 (new 145)	4,088 (new 90)
	<u>59,178</u>	<u>29,925</u>

- 4 -

134. MEETINGS OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. The Committee had before them the following motion submitted by the Chelsea Branch to the General Council and withdrawn on the understanding that the Executive would consider what action could be taken to achieve the object of the motion:

"The General Council,

Realising that the future success of the work of the L.N.U. depends on the appeal it can make to the Mass of the people and especially to the younger generation;

Recommends that in future meetings of the Executive Committee be held at such times as will enable all sections of the Union's membership to be represented."

Lord Cecil emphasised the desirability of securing the active help and collaboration of Youth.

Miss Pawcett stated that a Committee of which she had experience was meeting at 1.30 p.m. on a week-day, and that this experiment had not proved unsuccessful in bringing to the meeting those engaged in other occupations during working days.

The Chairman reminded the Executive that, although many attempts had been made, it had not yet been found possible to arrange a time for the meeting the Executive had asked him to have with the Youth representatives.

The Secretary was asked to make enquiries of Miss Waite and Mrs. Whitfield in order to ascertain if it was likely that, in the first place, a representative meeting could be held with Youth representatives on a Saturday afternoon, Sunday, week-day evening or during a lunch hour.

135. MEMBERSHIP. A report (S. 901) was received, showing that 27,222 subscriptions had been paid during the first six months of 1941, as compared with 29,178 during the corresponding period of 1940. During June 1941, 90 new members had been enrolled as compared with 145 in June 1940.

*Lyle*  
CHAIRMAN  
31st July, 1941.

## COLLECTIVE SECURITY

by THE EARL OF LYTTON

**T**HE PROBLEM OF SECURITY is the most difficult feature of any international system. In the internal organisation of a State it is provided by police under Government control and maintained out of public funds. But the police are only able to discharge their functions effectively if two other conditions are also fulfilled—

1. The existence of a judiciary to adjudicate between the police and those whom they may arrest, it being an essential feature of the police force that its duty is not to decide the disputes between citizens, but merely to prevent them from settling such disputes by force.
2. The complete disarmament of the individual citizen. So long as the police and the military forces of the State alone are armed, they can be relied on to restrain the violence or crime of individuals, but if within the State some wealthy and powerful citizens were also to possess private arms the police would not be so effective.

Can the relations between States be controlled in the same way as the relations between individual citizens in any one State? The League of Nations was the first organised attempt to do so. It failed because the conditions essential to the success of a police force did not exist. There was no Executive Government, there was no police force, there was no judiciary. The members of such International Governments as existed all possessed national armies of their own capable of being used against the League or against each other. Also obligations to resist aggression being made uniformly incumbent on all Members of the League had to be vaguely expressed and proved easy to evade. What was the duty of all became too little the duty of anyone.

These obvious defects led Lord Davies and his New Commonwealth to advocate the establishment of an international police force. The L.N.U. has hitherto refrained from supporting this advocacy because they differed from Lord Davies, not about the desirability of such a police force but about its practicability. It seemed to them not possible to arm the League of Nations as constituted by the Covenant with

an Army, Navy and Air Force that would have been stronger than any combination of national forces, or even than the Army or Navy of any one of its most powerful members.

The Covenant system did work, however, so long as the Great Powers were united in wishing it to work, and it would have continued to work if, when in 1931 the first Great Power broke away, the others had remained united in the support of the Covenant. They were quite strong enough to do so, had they taken their obligations seriously. It is pointless now to discuss the reasons for the failure of the Great Powers to work the Covenant system; the fact of their failure is a matter of history. And because of that failure it is necessary to find an adaptation of the system which will be less dependent upon the will of individual State Governments.

One suggestion for such adaptation is that within the Covenant system, and as part of it, a number of States with common political ideals should unite in a federation with a single Executive Government and with common Federal forces for the defence of the federated States. The attitude of the L.N.U. to this proposal is the same as its attitude to the proposals of the New Commonwealth. They would welcome as a step towards the establishment of international peace any such federal union as may prove possible, but they are not convinced that it is a practical proposal in the existing conditions of the world. They have therefore put forward an alternative suggestion as a contribution to the problem which has got to be solved if the world is to have peace. We must begin with the actual facts of the moment. The war which is now raging is a war between two incompatible ideals—the national ideal, embodied in the Nazi creed, that a nation is entitled to use force, fraud and deception for the attainment of its own ends, and the international ideal represented by those who wish to establish a world order in which every member State will be equally subject to a law made for the common good and enforceable by an authority stronger than any State which may seek to break it for national ends. There can be no compromise between these two ideals. They cannot both exist in the same world. Which is to survive will be determined by the present war.

But our victory will be but the beginning of the constructive work which must follow. The New World Order cannot come into being ready-made. It must be built up by patient effort, and cannot begin until the minds of the principal civilised peoples are united in desiring it.

The period immediately following the cessation of fighting will be a period of chaos and economic distress. Liberty and independence must be restored to the States that have been occupied and enslaved.



## WHAT KIND OF NEW WORLD ORDER?

In the present war as in that of 1914-18 all the peoples of the world have been injured, whether they have been involved in the fighting or not.

There is therefore a strong desire more widespread now than ever before, not merely for peace in the sense of keeping one's country out of war, but for some agency strong enough to keep war out of the world.

What is this agency to be?

Japan offers to keep the peace in the Far East provided she is allowed to dominate the whole of China. Germany offers to keep the peace in Europe on condition that she is allowed to dominate that Continent. They both call such domination a "New Order," and profess surprise that it is not accepted with gratitude.

The New Order established after the last war, in which every State belonging to the League of Nations was to combine to keep the peace everywhere, proved illusory since what was the duty of all proved too little the duty of any one.

The only New Order, therefore, which will satisfy the needs of the world to-day is one in which there is greater security than the League of Nations afforded, and greater freedom than the subjects of Hitler will ever enjoy.

Such a New Order cannot well be brought about immediately the war is over. It can, however, be reached by stages.

The first stage will have to deal with the restoration of the occupied territories and the economic reconstruction of Europe. During that stage security must be provided by the armed forces of the countries that have won the war.

The second stage should begin with a conference of States which are free and which sincerely desire to establish by co-operation a new World Order in which every member State will be equally subject to laws of peaceful behaviour, made for the common good, and enforceable by an authority stronger than any political peace-breaker.

It will be the object of that Conference to evolve a new International Authority, the members of which must undertake to uphold the rule of law among themselves, and to resist any aggression if it should be attempted.

The International Authority should ascertain which of its members are willing and able to act as guarantors of peace, and the areas within which such guarantee can be relied on. These States should receive a mandate from the whole body of members to employ such military force as may be necessary to prevent or resist any aggression; but every member of the International Authority should undertake as a condition of membership to support the policing Powers to which its mandate has been given to the extent of providing them with any supplies which may be needed for the discharge of their duties and withholding such supplies from any aggressor State.

The International Authority should also provide judicial organs to deal with international grievances and disputes.

For a post-war settlement on these lines the League of Nations Union is pledged to work.



## LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT No. 25 BUCKLETON PLACE, LONDON, S.W.1. ON WEDNESDAY, 24TH JULY, 1941, AT 2.30 P.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the chair), Lady Violet Bonham-Carter, Lord Cecil, Miss K.D. Courtney, Miss P. Pascott, Lady Hall, Dr. Macdonald, W. Fritchard, Howell C. Smith and R. P. Shaw; Dr. T. Balogh, Professor Sargent Florence and H. Tamer (representing the Industrial Advisory Committee and its collaborators); Major Freshwater and Mr. Judd.

136. **LETTER FROM LADY PARMOOR.** Lord Lytton read a letter (copy filed with these minutes) which he had received from Lady Parmoor conveying to the Executive Committee her thanks for their letter of sympathy.
137. **SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION IN THE POST-WAR SETTLEMENT.** Lord Lytton said that the special meeting had been convened to study the draft report on Social and Economic Reconstruction in the Post-War Settlement prepared by the Industrial Advisory Committee with the aid of a number of expert advisers, and the Supplementary Note which that Committee had invited Dr. Balogh to write. He would like a general discussion of the paper rather than a detailed discussion of particular points. In the first place he would like the Committee to consider whether the report did not go beyond the strict functions of the League of Nations Union. In the main it appeared to be a statement of the views of the Sub-Committee on the kind of social and economic system they would like to see in this country. It referred to the necessity for international action but he felt that the greater part of the reports dealt with national matters. Remembering how firm the Committee had found it necessary to be with the Youth Groups when they wished the Union to concern itself with such questions as India and the attitude of the French Government towards the Communists, he felt that it would be unwise for the Union to make any pronouncement on other matters which were not strictly international and within its competence.

Lady Hall said that the Committee had based its work on two statements made on behalf of the Government concerning the provision of greater security of employment and a wider distribution of the nation's income as part of its policy for reconstruction. The view of the Sub-Committee had been that its most practical course would be to consider first how those objects might be achieved in our own country and then to examine what system of international co-operation and controls would be necessary to make such a policy effective. In this way they hoped to avoid party controversy by not going beyond the stated objects of the Government.

Lord Cecil suggested that a good policy might be for the Union to restrict itself to those matters which it might be possible to include in the treaty of peace. In such a treaty he thought it would probably not be possible in this matter to do more than state some general objectives such as those already outlined by Mr. Eden and to set up the necessary machinery to go further. He would like the Executive Committee to submit to the General Council for its next meeting a resolution endorsing what the Government had said on this subject and perhaps elaborating a little the general aim of

social and economic reconstruction and recommending for further study the papers now before the Committee. He doubted very much if the majority of the Union's members would feel themselves competent to decide upon the various economic issues raised by the paper and Dr. Balogh's commentary upon it.

In the course of further discussion Lord Lytton suggested that the Sub-Committee might use its way to review the papers so that they would not advocate any particular social system in this country but would show in greater detail the kind of international machinery which it would be necessary to create if it were assumed that the electorates and governments after the war decided to adopt some particular social and economic policy based, for example, upon the general statement already made on behalf of the Government. Professor Sargent Florence said that he in part agreed but that in his opinion the work of the Union would be sterile if it concentrated upon forms of international machinery without first showing for what purposes such machinery was required. It should be possible to show the people of this country what objects you hoped to achieve and then, if they agreed with you, they would support you in setting up the necessary machinery to achieve those objects. Lady Hall said that the last two annual reports prepared by Mr. Butler, as Director of the International Labour Office had dealt almost exclusively with the need for national planning and she did not think that there was anything in the papers before the Committee which went outside the scope of the International Labour Organisation as defined by Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles or as interpreted in the official reports of that organisation by Mr. Butler.

Mr. Tanner, Chairman of the Industrial Advisory Committee, explained that it had not yet been possible for the Committee to meet to consider the Commentary which it had invited Dr. Balogh to write or to approve the final wording of the main report after Professor Sargent Florence had, at the request of the Committee, made one or two minor changes to meet certain views put forward when the report was considered. He thought that in one or two places (e.g. in the reference to the Co-operative Movement) Professor Sargent Florence had not quite correctly interpreted the views which the Committee would have wished to express.

A more detailed examination of the main paper was then undertaken and a letter from Dr. Murray was read. Professor Sargent Florence undertook to incorporate amendments in the sections referring to the Co-operative Movement and the Distribution of Income.

Lord Lytton once more drew attention to the fact that any detailed examination of the paper appeared to lead immediately to a discussion of domestic issues which were outside the scope of the Union's work. In reply Dr. Balogh suggested that no sharp distinction could be drawn between internal and international policies. The rise of Hitler had been regarded as a matter that concerned only Germany's internal affairs but had led to the most disastrous international results. The action of Great Britain in going off the Gold Standard had also been regarded as a purely national matter but had led to lamentable consequences in the Balkans. The effects of the Ottawa agreements had been equally far-reaching on other states, yet as Second Secretary of the Social and Economic Section of the League of Nations, he remembered they were told that these questions were not within the scope of the League of Nations. He submitted that it might not be wise for the Union to maintain these artificial divisions of internal and international policy.

Hitler's New Order with all its abominations and cruelties had brought certain economic advantages to some sections in Europe and won some support in Europe for that reason. He hoped the Union would have a social and economic policy to offer as a more attractive alternative.

Lady Violet Bonham-Carter warmly supported this point of view and Lord Lytton reminded the Committee that the General Council had in fact already commended the papers to the study of all the Branches of the Union; they appeared to have aroused greater interest in the Union than any of the statements on other issues. Between now and the next meeting of the Council in December the Executive would have to decide if it could ask the Council to endorse the papers in their existing form or in some new version or to pass a resolution or series of resolutions on the subject and would need to take into consideration observations sent in by Branches.

Lady Hall suggested that in a letter to the Branches the Secretary might remind them that they should wherever possible call in experts (e.g. members of the Departments of Economics in neighbouring universities) to assist them in studying the documents. And Miss Courtney suggested that the Editor of *HEMERY* might be asked to draw attention to the importance of such studies and to report that the Executive Committee itself had already begun its own study of this subject with the aid of some of the experts who had drafted the papers.

Lord Lytton warmly thanked Mr. Tanner, Professor Sargent Florence and Dr. Balogh for meeting the Executive Committee and, after some further discussion between Lord Ceil and Dr. Balogh concerning the nature of the new international authority to be established after the war, the meeting adjourned.

*Lytton*

CHAIRMAN

August 21st, 1941



## LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 25 ECCLESTON PLACE, LONDON, S.W.1. ON THURSDAY, JULY 31st, 1941, AT 2.30 P.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Lord Cecil, Dean of Chichester, Miss K.D. Courtney, Miss P. Fawcett, W. Arnold Forster, Lady Hall, A.L. Howe, J.R. Leslie M.P., Dr. Gilbert Murray, P.C. Noel-Baker, M.P., W.T. Pritchard, Howell Smith, H.S. Syrett, A.E.W. Thomas, Miss E. Waite and Major Freshwater.

138. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on July 17th, 1941 were confirmed as circulated.

139. WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR. The Chairman reported that, following upon the General Council's approval of the Statement of Policy and the Commentary, he had prepared a pamphlet in which the two documents were dovetailed together but, for purposes of distinction, were printed in different types. He had circulated proofs to the other Officers, some of whom, however, were not in favour of publishing the two documents in that form. After considerable discussion it was agreed that the Statement of Policy should for the time being continue to be used in its present form; that the Commentary should be printed as a separate document to be supplied with the Statement; and that the short statement (approved in minute 123B) should be used for general "propaganda" purposes.

It was also agreed that, in accordance with the promise made by the Chairman at the Annual Meeting of the General Council, further consideration should be given by the Executive to the Statement of Policy when definite suggestions had been received from Branches.

140. DRAFT REPORT ON PEACEFUL CHANGE. The Executive had before them proof copies of the Draft Report on Pacific Remedies for International Grievances. Mr. Howell Smith explained that the sub-Committee had been able to hold only one meeting and the draft Report had therefore been prepared by a series of correspondence with various members of the Committee to whom the draft had been submitted at different stages.

Dr. Murray referred to a point raised by Professor McWair in his "Oxford pamphlet" that one of the great drawbacks of using the Permanent Court lay in the fact that it was a body of lawyers; in the Draft Report he seemed to be asking them to do something which was not the business of a Law Court. Dr. Murray suggested that when circumstances had so changed that a treaty was no longer suitable, the Court could properly be asked to give advice; it would be for the political bodies (i.e. the Council or Assembly) to settle what action was to be taken.

Mr. Arnold Forster said that Dr. Lauterpacht had taken up the same point as Dr. McWair and had suggested that if the Court should find that a judgment given on the basis of existing law would not correspond to the changed circumstances, then it might recommend suspension of judgment, referring the issue to the League Council under Article 19.

Mr. Noel-Baker referred to the proposed "Court of Equity" in paragraph 5(b) on page 8. There was no obligation under the Covenant to set up such a body, and it would not be a body which could give verdicts. It would advise the Council.



or the Assembly on the dispute in question. In his view it was desirable that it should be a permanent body. But it must not be assumed that by calling for a Court an obligation would be put on anybody to accept its verdicts. Mr. Alan Thomas supported Mr. Noel-Baker.

After discussion it was agreed that the second sentence of paragraph 5(b) should be amended to read: "This panel would, in effect, constitute a permanent advisory body and would be the appropriate tribunal for hearing and making recommendations to the Council or Assembly on any matter of dispute, whether mooted under Article 13 or any other Article which was not referable to the P.C.I.J." It was also agreed that all subsequent references to the "Court of Equity" should be amended to read "advisory tribunal".

Lord Cecil suggested inserting, in paragraph 6, a sentence to the effect that if the Court should be of opinion that a decision according to the strict law was not one which met the demands of justice, they would no doubt take an opportunity of expressing that view in the course of their judgment. The Committee agreed and Mr. Howell Smith was asked to insert a sentence on these lines.

It was also agreed that "recommendations" should be substituted for "judgment" in the relevant places on page 9.

Mr. Arnold Forster suggested that in paragraph (e) of Clause 3 the distinction between arbitration and judicial decision was not sufficiently clearly explained for the layman; and, in paragraph (f), the layman would not appreciate the distinction between justiciable and non-justiciable disputes.

On page 10 he did not think the document, as it stood, fully met the expectations raised by the reference in the general Statement of Policy where it was emphasized that the crucial problem was how to secure enforceability of the world's judgments. Reference ought, he suggested, to be made to some of the proposals that had been made on this difficult question, e.g. the resolution adopted by the International Federation at Bratislava concerning the enforcement of recommendations for peaceful change.

Lord Cecil agreed with the substance of Mr. Arnold Forster's remarks but considered that paragraph 11 dealt with the subject to some extent and that it would not be possible to go into every suggestion that had been made. After further discussion, Mr. Howell Smith was asked to include some reference to the many suggestions that had been made on the subject.

At the suggestion of Lord Cecil it was agreed, in paragraph 11, to amend the first sentence to read: "It has been suggested that the obligation imposed by Article 13(4) in respect of decisions of the P.C.I.J. should be extended to the decisions of the Council or the Assembly after hearing recommendations of the advisory tribunal, whether unanimous or rendered by a majority".

Mr. Arnold Forster suggested that in paragraph 11 it should be stated that if the recommendation was that a certain change was desirable, then it should have the full effect of an arbitral judgment under Article 13(4). Mr. Syrett did not agree with this: it would open the way to war to enforce so-called "peaceful change". In the subsequent discussion reference was made to the likely position of Gibraltar. The Chairman did not think the Draft Report could do more than

say where the world was unanimous the Council should decide what action should be taken.

Mr. Noel-Baker was of Mr. Syrett's opinion, and went on to suggest that the last sentence of paragraph 11 should be developed. He was sure that an advisory opinion, given no doubt by a majority, would more and more regularly be accepted by the Assembly. By customary law it would, in fact, become another Court giving a decision.

Referring to the last sentence of the first paragraph on page 1, Mr. Noel-Baker thought it very dangerous to give any kind of justification to the argument that it was resistance to demands for peaceful change that had resulted in the present war. Mr. Nowell Smith agreed to re-write the sentence.

Mr. Arnold Forster suggested that it might be well to stress the tie-up between the promotion of peaceful change and the prevention of violent change. It could not be expected that States would commit themselves to the acceptance of weakening changes of their existing rights unless they had full confidence that an international authority would maintain the will and the power to protect them from consequent victimisation.

In reply to a question from Lady Hall, the Chairman said that the draft Report would be treated in the same way as the Report on Social and Economic Reconstruction; both had been circulated to Branches and members for study. When Mr. Nowell Smith's revised draft was available, the Executive would consider it, and any suggestions received from Branches, and decide what alterations, if any, were necessary in paragraph 19 of the Statement of Policy, and what resolutions on the subject of Peaceful Change it would desire to submit to the General Council at its December meeting.

141. **COLONIAL SETTLEMENT.** The Chairman read to the Executive a letter from Miss Freda White (copy filed with these minutes). It was agreed that the Report on Colonial Settlement should be considered at the next meeting of the Committee on 21st August.

Lady Hall asked if it was the Executive's wish that the sub-Committee should continue in being, and said that Miss Freda White would be glad to continue to act as Secretary. It was

RESOLVED: "That the sub-Committee on Colonial Settlement be kept in being and be asked to meet again in the autumn".

142. **SPEECH BY MR. SUMNER WELLES.** Mr. Arnold Forster said that he had suggested to Lord Cecil that he might write a letter for publication in the TIMES dealing with the recent speech of Mr. Sumner Welles.

Mr. Noel-Baker suggested that the Executive should consider publishing in leaflet form recent speeches of Mr. Sumner Welles, Mr. Eden, Lord Halifax, as well as President Roosevelt's speech of last year dealing with the "four freedoms". The Secretary reported that extracts from several speeches had already been printed in HEADWAY, and that the greater part of Mr. Sumner Welles' speech was being included in the August number. Mr. Noel-Baker was asked to send to the Secretary reports of the speeches he wished to see printed, in order that further consideration might be given to his suggestion.

143. LONDON INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY. Miss Courtney reported on a recent meeting of the Preparatory Committee for the London International Assembly when the Committee had unanimously agreed to invite Russian representatives to join the Assembly.

After full discussion in the Preparatory Committee it had been decided that the British delegation should not be larger than that of other countries. Each nationality would have ten delegates and, in addition, an unqualified number of auxiliary delegates, technical experts, etc. for specific purposes. This, in practice, would enable all those whose names had been approved by the Executive at its last meeting to be invited to join the British delegation either as delegates or auxiliary delegates. The Preparatory Committee had also suggested that Miss Betty Shields-Collins should be invited to join the British delegation as a "youth" member. The Executive expressed their approval.

Miss Courtney further reported that lists of delegates to the Assembly had now been submitted by the Belgian and French representatives.

The Preparatory Committee had suggested that a leaflet should be printed describing the aims and functions of the London International Assembly. After Mr. Pritchard had reminded the Executive that the Finance Committee had already approved certain expenditure by the Preparatory Committee, it was agreed that such a leaflet should be printed.

Miss Courtney reminded the Executive that, in the draft Constitution for the Assembly, it had been suggested that a membership subscription should be charged. The foreign members of the Committee were, however, for various reasons opposed to such a course. Professor Newell had suggested that, since the L.N.U. was providing a large part of the money in this country, an attempt should be made to raise money in America for the Assembly through the American League of Nations Association. It was suggested that Lord Cecil might write to Mr. Sweetser on the subject.

144. NEXT MEETING. It was agreed that the next meeting should take place, as already arranged, on Thursday, August 21st at 3 p.m.

*Lyell*

CHAIRMAN.

August 21st, 1941.



Will you thank Lord Lytton very much for asking me to attend the Executive on the 31st? I am however in Scotland till 30th August and so must regretfully decline.

The Executive, I feel, will be interested to notice that a good deal of the colonial memorandum's plan was already found fulfilment in Lord Moyne's speech. That is:-

- (1) Study of the problem to be begun under a committee headed by Lord Hailey, with a special view to post-war planning.
- (2) Adoption of the principle that colonial export markets must be subject to control.
- (3) Mention of an international authority.

In my view, we should take advantage of the observation in Lord Moyne's speech that Lord Hailey's committee would consult with outside bodies. We are the people who know most of the mandatory system (except of course the members of the P.M.C. and League officials) and who are likely to have ideas about its development. I think we should continue the colonial sub-committee of the Industrial Committee in the winter, and work out a detailed scheme for the international authority, which we could submit to Lord Hailey's committee. I believe that the Executive Committee could be merged in a much more important piece of international organisation, which would fulfil the functions of the mandatory system, without raising difficulties regarding "sovereignty", etc. And there are elements in such a system, especially those of publicity and "disinterest", which are likely to be better realised by the Union than by an official Colonial Office committee.

The ideas for the post-war colonial settlement should come, I feel sure, from Britain, France, Belgium and the Netherlands. These are the empires whose colonial systems have promising and successful features, and who have experience. The United States should perhaps offer the main lines of international policy - Mr. Sumner Welles' last speech seems to me most important in this respect; but they will not have much to offer in the colonial field. Also there is a strong American current of plain old-fashioned imperialism, about half-a-century out of date, full of high moral purpose and the most mischievous administrative ideas.

Clarence Streit's last book buzzes with it. We must forestall them, or they will first annex us and then govern all the non-self-governing empires very badly.

I was delighted as well as surprised that the Moyne policy resembled our memorandum in so many particulars. This was not the result of collusion, since I had no idea of official policy when I drafted it. In fact, I suppose our proposals to some degree embodied the obvious, given the guiding principle of "trusteeship", but it is cheering to see that the sensation which adheres to that principle is now in command at the Colonial Office.

Perhaps you would show this letter to Lord Lytton. It contains what I should have liked to say at the Executive.

(signed) FREDA WHITE.



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, AUGUST 21st, 1941 AT 3 P.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Lord Cecil, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Miss K.E. Courtney, Miss P. Pawcett, Major Sir Derrier Gunston M.P., Lady Hall, Sir Arthur Hamerlynk, A.J. Howe, Dame Adelaide Livingston, G. Le M. Bander M.P., W.T. Pritchard, Miss Eleanor Rathbone M.P., A.E.W. Thomas, Miss E. Waite, Leonard Woolf and Major Freshwater.

145. MINUTES. Subject to the deletion of the word "national" before "Planning" in the fourth paragraph of minute 137, the minutes of the Special Meeting held on July 23rd and of the Meeting held on July 31st were confirmed as circulated.

146. CO-OPERATIONS. It was

RESOLVED: "To invite Mr. Harold Nicolson to rejoin the Executive Committee".

147. ANGLO-AMERICAN DECLARATION ON POST-WAR SETTLEMENT.

The Executive had before them the text of the Joint Declaration by President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill of 14th August, 1941 (copy filed with these minutes).

The Chairman felt that the real significance of the document lay in the fact that President Roosevelt should have agreed to issue it, because Lord Lytton had always been assured that, unlike his predecessors, President Roosevelt had never committed himself to anything in which he was not sure the American people would follow him.

Miss Courtney referred to a meeting of the 1941 Committee which she had attended on the previous day, and stated that that Committee were planning all kinds of negotiations with America on the subject of the Declaration. Mr. Clark Elshelberger was expected to visit this country very shortly, and it was hoped to form a permanent Anglo-American Committee. She urged that the Executive should get in touch with Mr. Elshelberger at the earliest possible opportunity.

After further discussion it was, on the motion of Mr. Alon Thomas, seconded by Mrs. Corbett Ashby, agreed to ask the Chairman to send a message to the Prime Minister, expressing the Executive's gratification at the Declaration and the encouragement which they had felt by a joint statement of Anglo-American co-operation not only in war but in peace, and expressing the earnest hope that H.M. Government is now working out machinery by which the principles contained in the Declaration may be put into operation.

It was further agreed to ask Lord Cecil to write a short statement, for publication in the September HEAVEN, dealing with the valuable starting-point provided by the statement of principles contained in the Declaration, and pointing out how important it was that immediate steps should be taken to provide machinery by which the principles may be carried out so that a perfectly clear and definite scheme may be available before the Peace Conference meets.

It was also agreed to send a message to the American League of Nations Association, welcoming the Declaration and expressing the hope that, when Mr. Elshelberger visits London, the Executive Committee may have an opportunity of discussing with him how the two societies may work together to implement the principles contained in the Declaration.

## FOR EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE 21.8.41.

	1940			1941		
	NEW	REN.	TOTAL	NEW	REN.	TOTAL
Jan.	102	5,165	5,267	31	3,553	3,584
Feb.	144	8,797	8,941	94	5,632	5,726
March	347	13,206	13,553	69	4,577	4,646
April	298	11,682	11,980	33	6,226	6,259
May	287	11,321	12,218	97	5,986	6,083
June	145	7,071	7,216	90	3,998	4,088
July	71	5,235	5,306	123	4,306	4,429
Aug.	85	4,335	4,420			
Sept.	52	2,658	2,710			
Oct.	34	4,699	4,733			
Nov.	31	4,082	4,113			
Dec.	145	20,394	20,499			
TOTAL	<u>1,861</u>	<u>99,215</u>	<u>101,076</u>			

S.906.  
21.8.41.

- 2 -

Lord Cecil further suggested that the Executive, or some of its members, should endeavour to see Mr. Mackenzie King while he was in this country.

148. **MEMBERSHIP.** A report (S.906) was received, showing that 4,429 subscriptions (123 new) had been paid in July, 1941 as compared with 5,306 (71 new) in the corresponding period of 1940.

The Executive then considered the following motion proposed by Mr. Pritchard and seconded by Mr. Howe:

"That in consideration of the substantial and continual decrease in the membership of the Union, the consequent loss of income and effectiveness, and the necessity of preparing for the campaign that will be required immediately after the War, it is essential that an Administration Committee, on the lines of the pre-war Committee, be now appointed."

Mr. Pritchard had made inquiries of members of the old Administration Committee who were actively connected with local Branches, as well as of the Union's existing regional or district officers, and said that many of them would be willing to join a committee such as he had suggested if one were formed. He thought the Committee need not meet more frequently than once in six weeks or two months.

The Chairman felt that the main value of the Administration Committee in the past was derived from the fact that the Regional Representatives were able to attend and report to the Committee. The R.R.'s had now left the Union's service, and moreover travelling was increasingly difficult. But he agreed that it would be very helpful if some means could be found whereby discussions could be held with representatives of local Branches about the activities and needs of their branches.

The Secretary reported that Mr. Syrett, who was unfortunately unable to attend the meeting, doubted the wisdom of setting up such a large committee and had suggested that before appointing a new committee, the Finance Committee (of which Mr. Pritchard was a member) and one or two others, might examine Mr. Pritchard's proposals and report to the Executive.

After various other suggestions had been made by Miss Courtney, the Chairman, Lady Hall and Mrs. Corbett Ashby it was agreed that an advisory sub-Committee be set up to concentrate upon the question of membership and contact with Branches etc.; that the composition of the sub-Committee be left in the hands of the Chairman; that the sub-Committee should hold quarterly meetings; and that the first meeting should take place as early in the autumn as was practicable.

149. **MINORITIES COMMITTEE.** Miss Courtney presented a report on the meeting of the Minorities Committee held on 11th August, 1941. The Committee had considered a memorandum and draft Treaty, and had asked Mr. Macartney and Mr. Mabbott to prepare a Report, containing the findings of the Committee and enumerating the points on which there had been both agreement and disagreement. When the Report had been adopted it was proposed to ask Lord Cranborne to receive a deputation to discuss the matter; it was hoped that Lord Cecil would accompany the deputation. The Report, with Lord Cranborne's comments, would subsequently be submitted to the Executive.

160. COLONIAL SETTLEMENT. The Executive had before them the Draft Report on Colonial Settlement. Miss Freda White was present, by invitation of the Chairman.

Reference was made to a recent speech by Lord Moyne in which he had stated that study of the Colonial problem was to be begun under a Government Committee headed by Lord Hailey with a special view to post-war planning. It was understood that the Committee would avail itself of the advice of outside bodies interested in the subject.

Lord Lytton having reminded the Executive that it had already been decided to ask the Colonial sub-Committee to continue in being (minute 141), it was agreed to ask the sub-Committee to prepare, on the basis of the Report, a statement of suggestions for submission to the Government Committee.

Miss White hoped that the complete Report, with the modifications suggested below, would also be sent to the Committee as a statement prepared for study by L.N.U. Branches.

Mr. Mander suggested the desirability of making some reference in the Report to the possibility of carrying out, as an experiment, something in the nature of an international administration. This might, for example, be used for such a purpose, the citizens of different countries being available and specially trained by the world authority for the purpose.

Miss White replied that many colonial administrators were opposed to international administration on the ground that it was difficult to get a homogeneous policy applied by men with different political philosophies. The difficulty might be overcome in one of two ways: a special university might be set up for international administration, or certain services, e.g. Health, Transport etc. might be opened to candidates from other races than that of the ruling power. Miss White agreed with Mr. Mander that reference ought to be made to the matter in the Report.

The Chairman, who had had experience of administering a company with an international staff, agreed with Miss White about the difficulties.

Mr. Mander then suggested that some such paragraph as the following might be included in the Report:

"Consideration should be given to the practicability of international administration in certain areas, possibly enemy colonial territories, that will be available at the end of the war. It would be necessary that the staff should be specially selected and trained and due regard paid to the capacity of various races to co-operate effectively."

Lord Cecil suggested that a distinction should be made in regard to the first 8 clauses in the Report and the remainder. Clauses 9 to 22 seem to him matters of detail and administration on which he was doubtful if the Union, as a body, ought to express an opinion. He suggested that these clauses might be preaced by some such statement as:

"The problems of development must be considered by an international authority and the following suggestions are made"

and that the proposal in regard to international administration should be included under this head.

- 4 -

In regard to Clause 22, Mr. Leonard Woolf thought there was a great deal to be said against "indirect rule" unless other things were taken into consideration. He would therefore like to see this matter included as one which deserved study.

Lady Hall thought that the first two sentences of Clause 16 should not be dealt with in the way suggested since they were a statement of the existing conditions of international agreements.

Miss White agreed with Lord Cecil's suggestion.

In regard to Clause 23, Lord Cecil suggested the phrase "even self-governing colonies might join" gave the impression that self-governing colonies were to be brought into the same organisation as the non-self-governing colonies. Miss White agreed that the sentence might be more happily phrased.

Lord Cecil promised to send to Miss White a few other suggestions for drafting amendments.

The Chairman expressed the gratitude of the Executive to Lady Hall and Miss White for the interesting and valuable report of their sub-Committee.

*Lyle*  
CHAIRMAN

18th September 1941.



28  
S. 807  
21.8.41.

ANGLO-AMERICAN DECLARATION.

The President of the United States and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing H.M. 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 aggrandisement, 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.

FOURTH, they will endeavour, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further 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.

FIFTH, 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.

SIXTH, after the final destruction of 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.

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

EIGHTH, they believe 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.

COPY

Prime Minister's  
Office,  
Pretoria.  
17.7.41.

Dear Mr. Freshwater,

Yours of 20 May. I am deeply grateful for the honour of my re-election as a Vice-President of the L.N.U. and wish you to convey my gratification to the Ex. Committee.

Needless to say I am in general agreement with the League policy of the Union as set out in the pamphlet you enclose ("Winning the Peace"). I shall however be very glad if you will send me the fuller paper "World Settlement after the war" for my guidance. In more detail I shall discuss my views with Lord Cecil or Prof. Gilbert Murray.

Your letter only reached me on 14 July, and a message to your meeting on 25 June was therefore not possible.

With all good wishes for the welfare of the Union,

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) J.C. SMITS  
F.M.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 25 ECCLESTON PLACE, LONDON, S.W.1, ON THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 16TH, 1941, AT 3 P.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Mrs. Beale, F.M. Burris, Lord Cecil, Miss Z.D. Courtney, Miss P. Fawcett, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Lady Hall, A.J. Rose, J.R. Leslie M.P., Dame Adelaide Livingstone, G. le M. Mander M.P., Dr. Gilbert Murray, Professor Paton, Miss Eleanor Rathbone M.P., Howell Smith, A.E.W. Thomas, Miss E. Waite and Major Freshwater.

161. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on August 21st, 1941, were confirmed as circulated.

162. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES

On Minute 146 — Co-optations, the Chairman reported that Mr. Harold Nicholson and Mr. Wallis-Jones had accepted the invitation to rejoin the Executive. Replies had not yet been received from General Spears, Captain Henderson or Mrs. Whitfield.

On the motion of Lord Cecil it was

RESOLVED: "to invite Sir Ralph Wedgwood to join the Executive Committee."

On Minute 148 — Membership: Sub-Committee, the Chairman stated that, in accordance with the Executive's request, a small sub-Committee had now been constituted to deal with the question of membership, contact with Branches, etc. The Committee would hold its first meeting on the afternoon of Thursday, October 2nd.

Lord Lytton also reported on a Regional Conference which he had addressed at Leeds on September 15th and at which some 75 delegates from Branches in the Yorkshire district had been present. Various suggestions made at the Conference would be communicated to the sub-Committee at its first meeting.

163. FIELD MARSHAL SMITS. The Chairman read to the Committee a letter dated 17th July, 1941, from Field Marshal Smits, thanking the Union for re-electing him as one of its Vice-Presidents (copy filed with these minutes) and expressing agreement with the Union's policy as set out in "Winning the Peace"

164. VICTORIA BRANCH, AUSTRALIAN LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION. The following telegram from the Victoria Branch of the Australian L.N.U. was read to the Executive:

"Associating ourselves with your Council resolution, please convey Miesky Victorian Branch's admiration gallant resistance Russian people and sympathy in their suffering."

LONDON INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY

Professor René Cassin, member of the Council of the Free French Forces; Monsieur Jan Masaryk, Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia; Monsieur Ch. Simopoulos, the Greek Minister in London; and Monsieur Zaleski, Chief of the Civil Chancellery of the President of the Polish Republic, have consented to be Honorary Vice-Presidents of a London International Assembly and addressed a first meeting held in London on Monday evening.

In welcoming the members of the Assembly, the President, the Rt. Hon. Viscount Cecil, said that there are in London to-day men and women distinguished in almost every walk of life in each of the allied nations and other friendly states. The Assembly had been constituted not so much to formulate opinions as to facilitate a free and frank exchange of views and information. It would not be the business of the Assembly to draw up treaties of peace and he did not know that it was particularly well qualified to undertake such a task. It could, however, be of the utmost value in providing opportunities to study the problems that would have to be settled and the attitude of each country towards them.

Speaking on behalf of the whole Assembly Professor René Cassin said that its first desire was to pay its tribute to the men in the armed forces, its second to proclaim on behalf of the enslaved peoples whose voices had been silenced, the principles of liberty, security and co-operation. In welcoming the Atlantic Charter, Professor Cassin said that some of its principles would need to be interpreted in the light of history and of diverse conditions in different parts of the world. Others would need to be amplified. All would need to be translated into juridical engagements with the necessary measures for their application; and he personally would like to see more direct attention to the protection of the rights of man.

Monsieur Masaryk welcomed the title of the new Assembly. The vulgar goose-stepping extravagance of exclusive nationalism made it essential to return at once to the conceptions of internationalism if civilisation were to be saved and some safe structure were to be erected in which even the smallest nation could be sure of its place. London to-day constitutes a glorious metropolis of Europe, said Monsieur Simopoulos. Here at the centre of the struggle, the interdependence of nations was more clearly demonstrated than ever before and only a true conception of interdependence could ensure a new order. He thought the London International Assembly could render great service by studying the actual problems and by cultivating the spirit of collaboration in preparation for the future organisation of Europe.

Monsieur Zaleski urged that in all its work the Assembly should bear in mind two overriding conditions. Its members would meet in London behind the protection of the British Fleet and the Royal Air Force and must never forget the great masses of their own people who, under great suffering and tremendous ordeals, are developing along their own lines and probably growing more detached from the smaller political controversies. Further, to serve a useful purpose the discussions must be absolutely frank and sincere and, for that reason, he was glad that they would be held in private.

155. DECEMBER MEETINGS OF GENERAL COUNCIL. It was agreed that the next meeting of the General Council should be held in the Conway Hall on Wednesday and Thursday, December 10th and 11th, beginning at 10.30 a.m. on the first day.

Lady Hall suggested that a Procedure Committee should be appointed as soon as possible in order to assist in the preparation of the Preliminary Agenda.

It was also suggested that since, owing to the difficulties of travel, etc., many delegates to the General Council were unable to be present at the outset of the meeting, the President's speech of welcome should be made at a later stage, say at noon or at the commencement of the afternoon session. It was agreed to report this suggestion to the Procedure Committee, when appointed, for their consideration.

156. TIME OF MEETINGS OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. Following upon the decision contained in Minute 154, Miss Hain reported that, in the present situation, it was not likely that representative Youth Group members would be available for meetings of the Executive Committee, and that therefore they need not be taken into consideration in deciding the hour of the Committee's meetings. But she hoped the possibility of having a conference with Youth Groups on a different occasion would be borne in mind.

After discussion, it was agreed that the present practice of meeting at 11 a.m. on the first Thursday, and at 3 p.m. on the third and fifth Thursdays in the month, should be continued until the end of 1941.

157. LONDON INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY. Miss Courtney reported on the very successful FIRST meeting of the London International Assembly held on September 15th. A report on the meeting (copy filed with these minutes) was placed before the Executive.

A communique had been issued to the press and a very full report had appeared in the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.

Lord Cecil suggested that a report on the meeting, together with a list of the people present, should be sent to the Foreign Office.

The Executive asked that an expression of their deep appreciation and thanks should be conveyed to Mr. Judd for all that he had done in connection with the Assembly.

It was reported that further meetings of the Assembly were being arranged for October 20th, November 17th and December 10th.

158. SUMMER SCHOOLS. Miss Courtney and the Chairman reported on the SUMMER School held at Knobworth from September 4th to 8th. The Committee expressed their gratitude to Lord Lytton for the inspiration and encouragement which he had given to those present. The Committee also expressed their thanks to Mr. Judd for his organisation of the School.

Dr. Murray briefly reported on the successful SUMMER School held at Lymington in August, at which some 120 teachers were present.



"In these islands and in London particularly there are present representatives not only of the exiled Governments of Europe but of very many peoples of various nations. Thus a unique opportunity is afforded of friendly intercourse leading to understanding and sympathy. Therefore the proposed COMMON INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY will serve the purpose of promoting the cause of a stable peace when the war is won. Surely nothing but good can come from the united efforts of the members of the Assembly to study the Atlantic Charter and the Four Big Points which have been accepted in principle by the free men of all nations. All access to this wise plan."

After an interval for refreshments, the Assembly began its first private meeting in which Mr. Philip Noel-Baker, M.P., Professor Arthur Newell, President of the American Outpost, and Senateur de Brouckere of Belgium opened a discussion on the various statements of war aims and peace aims that have so far been made by spokesmen of the British and American Governments.

The Assembly consists of ten full members and a number of additional members elected by the Committee from nationals of the following countries: Australia, Belgium, Canada, China, Czechoslovakia, Free France, Great Britain, Greece, Holland, India, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, South Africa, United States of America, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Yugoslavia. In choosing the members the committee has, so far as possible, sought to ensure that each of the main aspects of the national life of each country shall be represented, e.g. Parliament, the Services, Religious bodies, Law, Education, Arts, Science, Commerce and Industry, Agriculture, Trade Unions, Journalism, etc.

It is proposed that full meetings of the Assembly should be held about once a month and that those who can spare the time should form smaller commissions to prepare reports for study and discussion. The purpose of the Assembly is to serve the common cause of all those nations that are resisting aggression, by providing opportunities for people from Great Britain and each of the allied and associated nations

to understand more fully each other's history, economic development, institutions, way of life and national aspirations; and to consider the principles of post-war policy, and the application of those principles to the problems of national and international reconstruction." (See next page)

Further information is given in the enclosed leaflet. French photographs are available from Sport and General Press Agency, Ltd., 4 Raquet Court, Fleet Street, E.C.4.

5,919  
18,941.

FOR EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE 18.9.41.

	1940			1941		
	NEW	REN.	TOTAL	NEW	REN.	TOTAL
Jan.	102	5,165	5,267	31	3,553	3,584
Feb.	144	8,797	8,941	54	5,532	5,726
March	347	13,206	13,553	69	4,877	4,946
April	298	11,682	11,980	33	6,226	6,259
May	287	11,321	11,618	67	5,986	6,083
June	145	7,071	7,216	90	3,998	4,088
July	71	5,235	5,306	123	4,306	4,429
August	86	4,335	4,421	79	3,357	3,446

159. MEMBERSHIP. A report (S.119) was received, showing that 4,746 subscriptions (79 new) had been paid in August, 1941, as compared with 4,420 (65 new) in the corresponding period of 1940.

160. CONFERENCE ON COLLECTIVE SECURITY. In accordance with the Council's decision in Minute 129, the Executive gave further consideration to the proposal to hold a Conference on Collective Security. After discussion, it was suggested that, instead of holding a national conference on the subject, a more useful purpose would be served by district or regional conferences being organised in various parts of the country at which members of the Executive might be invited to speak. It was reported that Sheffield and Manchester were already making arrangements to hold a joint conference in October. Mrs. Beale and Mr. Burris expressed the hope that a similar conference would be held in Warwickshire and in the West of England.

161. WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR. The Executive had before them amendments etc. submitted by the Tyne District and Council, Bournemouth Hill Branch, Scarborough District and the Birmingham District Committee, in accordance with the request made by the President at the Annual Meeting of the General Council.

A revised statement prepared by the Queensland Branch and expressing the views of the British, Commonwealth, Allied, American and other League of Nations Societies (S.123) was also before the Committee.

After discussion it was resolved not to alter the policy enounced in the Statement but to redraft the three paragraphs 20, 21 and 22 so as to express more clearly the Executive's intention. The Secretary was asked to go through the amendments which had been submitted and draw up a statement showing which were inconsistent with the Executive's policy and therefore rejected, and which of them required consideration when redrafting the clauses. It was hoped that the Chairman might prepare a preliminary redraft of the clauses which could then be considered by a small drafting committee.

162. MR. CLARK EICHENBERG. At the invitation of the Chairman and Executive, Mr. Clark Eichenberger, Secretary of the American League of Nations Association, attended the meeting at 4.15 p.m. and was warmly welcomed by Lord Lytton.

Mr. Eichenberger spoke of the present situation in the United States and described the state of American public opinion in relation to the war. He said that the League of Nations Association was continuing its activities, and that interest in the League had greatly increased. He described the work of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, the basic secretariat of which was the staff of the L. of N. Association. Mr. Eichenberger answered a number of questions from members of the Executive.

163. INTERNATIONAL FREE WORLD ASSOCIATION. The Chairman reported on a conversation which he had lately had with Professor Arturio concerning an organisation known as the INTERNATIONAL FREE WORLD ASSOCIATION which had lately been





### Objects and Methods of Work

The purpose of such an Assembly would be to provide opportunities for the peoples of Great Britain and of each of the allied and associated nations to understand more fully each other's history, economic development, institutions, way of life and national aspirations, and to study the principles of post-war policy and the application of those principles to the problems of national and international reconstruction.

It is hoped that meetings would be held at least once a month, and that some of the members would find the time to meet more frequently in study groups or commissions to prepare reports for consideration by the full Assembly.

In order that the members of the Assembly should feel free to exchange information and to speak their minds openly upon all matters under discussion, it is proposed that the meetings should be held in private, without publicity and without seeking to pass resolutions.

### Honorary Officers and Preparatory Committee

A small Preparatory Committee has been appointed under the Presidency of the Rt. Hon. Viscount Cecil, and with Professor Arthur Newell Chairman of the American Outpost in Great Britain and Miss K. D. Courtney as Joint Chairmen.

Among those who have already agreed to become Honorary Vice-Presidents of the Assembly are:

M. Jan Masaryk	Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia
M. Charalambos Simozosko	Greek Minister in London
Professor René Cassin	Member of the Council of the Free French Forces

### Membership

The Committee is now inviting not more than ten people from each of the following countries to be, together with its own members, the first members of the Assembly and to help to organise its work:—

Australia	India
Belgium	New Zealand.
Canada	Norway
China	Poland
Czechoslovakia	South Africa.
Free France	United States of America.
Great Britain	Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.
Greece	Yugoslavia
Holland	

In choosing members the Committee will, so far as possible, seek to ensure that the main aspects of the national life of each country are represented, e.g.:

Parliament.	Science.
The Services.	Commerce and Industry.
Religious Bodies.	Agriculture.
Law.	Trade Unions.
Education.	Journalism, &c.
Arts.	

### Organisation and Finance

It is intended that the Assembly, when it is formed, should be free to draw up its own constitution and, as soon as may be practicable, the Preparatory Committee will hand over its work to a Council consisting of one or more representatives of each national group or to whatever other body the Assembly may decide to appoint to direct its activities.

The Assembly will not be committed to any policy and will not seek support for any specific proposals. It will be an entirely unofficial body and will endeavour to raise from independent and non-government sources the necessary funds to carry out its work. At present such support is being provided by the League of Nations Union which has taken the initiative in forming the Assembly.

Further particulars may be obtained from the Secretary of the Assembly at 11 Maiden Lane, London, W.C.2.

CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION HELD AT NO. 25 ECCLESION PLACE, LONDON, S.W.1. ON THURSDAY, OCTOBER 2ND AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Mrs. Beale, Lady Violet Bonham-Carter, F.M. Burris, Lord Cecil, Miss K.D. Courtney, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss P. Fawcett, W. Arnold Forster, Lady Hall, J. Macdonald, Dr. Gilbert Murray, Professor F.G. Bason, W.F. Fritchard, Howell Smith, A.E.W. Thomas, Miss E. Waite, Sir Ralph Wedgwood and Major Freshwater.

165. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on September 18th, 1941 were confirmed as circulated.

166. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 152 - Co-optations, the Chairman welcomed Sir Ralph Wedgwood who was attending the Executive for the first time.

On Minute 163 - International Free World Association, the Secretary reported that since the last meeting of the Executive he had had a talk with Mr. Eichelberger who had asked for information about the strength and activities of the Union.

Miss Courtney reported a short interview which she also had had with Mr. Eichelberger, who had expressed the hope that he might have another opportunity of meeting the Executive Committee before he returned to the United States. In response to Miss Courtney's invitation he had promised to attend the meeting at 12 noon that day (see minutes 172 and 173 below). The Committee expressed their thanks to Miss Courtney for arranging a further meeting with Mr. Eichelberger.

167. WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR. The Executive had before them a redraft of Clauses 20 to 22 of the Statement of Policy (S.921) prepared by the Chairman in accordance with the Committee's request (minute 161) as a basis for discussion by a small drafting committee.

Mr. Arnold Forster thought that the original text of Article 21 differed substantially from the Commentary, he preferred the latter. He read to the Executive an alternative draft which he hoped the drafting committee would consider along with the Chairman's suggestions.

Dr. Murray felt that the Executive's statement did not make sufficiently explicit the great importance of action being taken immediately there was a threat, or danger, of aggression as laid down in Article 11. The present draft seemed to imply that action would only be taken when aggression had actually occurred or when a nation had been declared an aggressor.

The Chairman agreed with Dr. Murray that there must be provision for immediate action to be taken in cases of flagrant aggression or where the issues were obviously clear. But it should also be made plain that any action so taken required justification: the responsibility rested with the International authority.

Miss Courtney thought that paragraph 22 of the redraft suggested that States were restricted to activities in specific regions where they themselves were situated, and hoped that the draft would be amended in this respect. She suggested also that reference should be made to the effective means which supervised disarmament provided for stopping aggression at an early stage.

Professor Paton criticised the re-wording of paragraph 22 on the ground that it suggested that a few selected Powers had certain obligations and all other Powers had other obligations.

Lord Cecil hoped that the Executive would not abandon altogether the conception of confederation.

After further discussion it was left to the Chairman to appoint a small Committee to prepare, for consideration by the Executive, a redraft of Clauses 20 to 22 of the Statement of Policy. Members of the Executive who had amendments to suggest to the Chairman's draft, or who wished to submit alternative drafts, were asked to send them to the Secretary as soon as possible for consideration by the drafting committee.

168. DECEMBER MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL

(a) Procedure Committee. It was

RESOLVED: "That Lady Hall, Mr. Alan Thomas, Mr. Barra-Davies and Mr. Leonard Behrens be invited to serve on the Procedure Committee for the December meeting of the General Council."

The Secretary was asked, when conveying the invitation to Mr. Behrens, to explain that he would not be expected to come to London before the meeting of the Council in order to take part in the preliminary work of the Procedure Committee.

(b) Resolutions for the General Council. It was agreed that discussion at the Council Meeting should be confined to (1) the Union's Budget, (2) matters connected with the war situation which had occurred since the last Council Meeting, and (3) the preparation of the Union's policy for world settlement after the war; and that Branches and other local organisations, and co-opted members, should be so informed.

169. MEMBERSHIP. A report (S.922) was received, showing that 11,382 subscriptions (286 new) had been paid during the third quarter of 1941, as compared with 12,486 (208 new) in the corresponding period of 1940.

During the first six months of 1941, 30,386 subscriptions had been paid as compared with 59,176 in the corresponding period of 1940.

170. COMMUNICATION FROM THE NATIONAL PEACE COUNCIL. A letter dated 8th September, 1941 from Mr. Gerald Enslay, Secretary of the National Peace Council, was read, inviting the Union to send delegates to a Conference to be held on November 7th and 8th in the Aeolian Hall. The subject of the Conference was "The British Empire and the United States in the New World Order", and the names of some thirteen speakers were included in the programme.

Some members of the Executive were of the opinion that a real interchange of views could not be obtained by a conference where certain speakers made formal speeches and the audience merely listened. Other members felt that, if the Union were to join in the Conference, they should be invited to send a speaker who would be given a definite place and time on the programme.

Miss Courtney suggested that Miss Freda White might be asked to attend the Conference as a private individual and to make a report to the Executive.



After further discussion, the Secretary was asked to thank Mr. Bailey for his invitation and to state that the Executive Committee did not feel disposed to participate officially in the National Peace Council's Conference.

The Chairman explained that any member of the Executive who wished to attend the Conference was, of course, entirely free to do so in his or her private capacity.

171. CONFERENCE WITH OTHER "PEACE" ORGANISATIONS. The Executive had before them the following resolution adopted by the West Kirby and Hoylake Branch:

"The Committee of the Hoylake and West Kirby Branch of the League of Nations Union urges the Executive of the Union to consider the work being done by the Executives of 'The New Commonwealth', 'Federal Union', the 'U.S.A. Commission' which is studying the organisation of peace and has just issued its first report, the '1941 Committee' and any other well founded peace organisation.

Further, with a view to presenting to the world a unitedly supported basis for European and World peace, the Branch believing that the first 'Federal Union' necessary is that of all the well founded Peace Societies of the British Commonwealth of Nations and the United States of America, urges the National Executive to convene at the earliest possible moment a conference of such organisations."

The Chairman suggested that a useful purpose might be served by an interchange of views with a number of selected people from different organisations, particularly on the question of Anglo-American partnership.

Lord Cecil thought that useful results would only be achieved by such a conference if certain definite propositions were submitted for discussion, e.g. the main propositions in the Union's statement of policy.

Miss Courtney suggested that any such conference should be confined to representatives of the L.N.U., Federal Union, the New Commonwealth and P.E.P.

After further discussion, it was agreed that a list of individuals who might be invited to join such a conference should be prepared for consideration by the Executive at a future meeting.

Mrs. Beals expressed the hope that if a conference were held, a full report would be circulated to Branches for their information.

172. MR. CLARK EICHELBERGER. Mr. Eichelberger attended the Executive's Meeting at 12.30. In reply to questions from the Chairman and other members of the Committee in regard to Anglo-American partnership and other matters, Mr. Eichelberger said that there were to be found in the United States, as in Great Britain, a number of people who were content to leave things in the hands of their two countries. In his opinion, there were two self-evident objections to that course of action. In the first place, we had accepted Russia and China as partners, and they would not be content to have an Anglo-American dictatorship of the world. Secondly, the idea of a permanent Anglo-American directorate to rule the world

would defeat itself in the economic field. The ability of Great Britain and the United States to recover quickly after the war and to be able to help the rest of the world to get on its feet again, would depend on their ability to export. Neither country would be able to sell enough to each other to be "going concerns"; markets would have to be found in Russia, China, France and restored Europe.

Mr. Eichelberger was, however, convinced that much of the work during the period of transition referred to in the Union's statement of policy, would have to be undertaken by Great Britain and the United States alone. There would have to be a considerable policing in economic matters from both countries.

In the United States his Association was working for a universal society of nations. They stood by the fundamental policy of the L.F.U. and there could be no deviation from that. But they realized that about. The American Association had not supported Clarence Streit's proposals for "Federal Union" on the ground that they were too narrow a conception on which to build an association of nations. But some degree of confederation for Central Europe would be needed, particularly for economic purposes. In regard to "federal union", he felt that since a common parliament did not exist for the British Commonwealth, it was unlikely that one could be formed for Britain and the United States.

Mr. Eichelberger could not imagine the United States entering the war (as he thought it would before long) and then being content to run away from the settlement as it did in 1919. More and more people in America were coming to the opinion that if the United States entered the war, it must be for the duration. There was a much greater chance that the United States would assume obligations. At the end of the war there would probably be four "going concerns" - Britain, the United States, China and Russia - and on those Powers the task of policing the world would fall. He hoped that, out of that, the collective system would grow. Mr. Eichelberger suggested that one of the best ways to re-establish the League might be on the basis of the International Labour Organisation, of which the United States was a member.

When asked about America's attitude in regard to the co-operation of Russia in the "policing" which would have to be undertaken at the end of the war, Mr. Eichelberger said he could not give a definite answer, but he assumed that Russia would be included. He did not think there would be any more difficulty in the United States than in Great Britain about accepting Russia as a partner.

173. INTERNATIONAL FREE WORLD ASSOCIATION. Mr. Eichelberger made further references to the International Free World Association and expressed his gratification at the Executive's decision that the Union should be the British member of the Association.

He had just heard that the magazine of the Association had had a phenomenal success in the United States. Every copy had been sold and the NEW YORK TIMES, the HERALD TRIBUNE and other leading American journals had hailed it with great enthusiasm.

Mr. Eichelberger added that in America there were likely to be various groups who would wish to interest themselves in the Free World Association. His L. of N. Society, which would be the American member of the Association, proposed to admit such interested groups into fellowship, without following the precedent of the I.F.C. and trying to create a new body.

- 5 -

He expressed the hope that, if there were other groups in Great Britain interested in the Free World Association, the Union would invite their co-operation. It might, perhaps, bring in for the purpose some prominent people from outside, e.g. the Ministry of Information. Mr. Ehrenberger promised to submit, for the Executive's consideration, the names of people who might be of use in this connection.

He hoped the Union would be able to assist the Free World Association in securing articles from prominent Englishmen for their monthly magazine; a message had already been obtained from Mr. Bevin.

CHAIRMAN

16th October, 1941.

## LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 25  
ECCLESTON PLACE, LONDON, S.W.1., ON THURSDAY, OCTOBER 16TH  
1941, AT 3 P.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Lord Cecil, Dean of  
Chichester, Miss K.D. Courtney, Miss P. Fawcett,  
Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Lady Hall, A.J. Howe, Lady  
Lytton, J.R. Iselle, M.P., Dame Adelaide Living-  
stone, Mr. Gilbert Murray, F.R.S., Noel Baker M.P.,  
W.T. Pritchard, Howell Smith, A.E.W. Thomas,  
Miss E. Waite, Sir Ralph Wedgwood and Major  
Freshwater.

174. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on October 2nd 1941,  
were confirmed as circulated.

175. WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR. The Executive had before them  
a redraft of Clauses 70 to 72 of the Statement of Policy (S.924)  
prepared by the Chairman in the light of the discussion at the  
last meeting and of suggestions and observations received from  
Sir Ralph Wedgwood, Mr. Arnold Forster, Miss Fawcett and Mr.  
Alan Thomas. The Chairman had thought it desirable, instead of  
submitting the revised paper to a drafting Committee, to present  
it to the Executive for a further discussion.

Letters from Miss Courtney and Dr. Murray commenting on the  
revised draft were read to the Committee, and further suggestions  
were made orally by other members. After discussion, the follow-  
ing amendments were agreed upon and the Chairman was asked to  
prepare a further revised draft for consideration by the Execu-  
tive at its next meeting and, when approved, for circulation to  
the Branches early in November. Members of the Executive who  
had any other suggestions to make on S.924 were asked to com-  
municate them to the Chairman as soon as possible.

Clause 21. To amend first sentence as follows:

This resistance may take one or more of three forms:

- (a) Collective representations to any State  
threatening aggression with a clear state-  
ment of the measures which will be taken  
if the aggression takes place.
- (b) Political and economic measures;
- (c) Armed intervention by military force.

Clause 23. To redraft this clause in order to make it  
clear that every State would take such measures as  
lay in its power for self-defence but that all  
States would not be able to take equally effective  
measures to resist aggression since such would depend  
on their military strength and the accessibility of  
their armed forces.

Clause 24. To amend last sentence to read:

"Our proposal is that if an aggression actually  
takes place all members should be bound to take  
certain action on behalf of the International  
Authority to stop it, and that some members, having  
the necessary strength and will, should use what-  
ever armed force may be necessary to make a fully  
effective sanction."



Lord Cecil was asked to suggest a further amendment of Clause 24 in order to make more explicit the procedure in regard to the application of economic sanctions.

176. PROPOSED CONFERENCE WITH SELECTED PEOPLE FROM OTHER ORGANISATIONS The Executive further considered the suggestion contained in minute 171 for a conference with selected people from other organisations.

Reference was made to the proposals contained in Sir Rowland Evans' recent book entitled LET IT ROLL. It was understood that these proposals were being freely discussed throughout the country, and the Chairman suggested that the views of the Executive on the subject should be communicated to Branches.

After discussion it was agreed to invite Sir Rowland Evans to meet members of the Executive in the near future in order to discuss the proposals contained in his book, and, if the invitation be accepted, to make arrangements for such a discussion at the next meeting of the Committee.

It was further agreed that, if Sir Rowland Evans expressed his willingness to meet members of the Executive, one of the Federal Union advocates of "Union with America now" be also invited to be present.

In regard to the resolution of the West Kirby and Hoylake Branch (see minute 171) it was agreed to thank the Branch for their resolution and to inform them that liaison between the Union and the New Commonwealth has existed for many years; that the Executive has had discussions with the Secretary of Federal Union; and that it is also keeping in touch with the "U.S.A. Commission".

177. INTERNATIONAL FREE WORLD ASSOCIATION. The Secretary reported that he had had further conversation with Mr. Eichelberger before he left England. Mr. Eichelberger had not then been in a position to suggest the names of people from other organisations in Great Britain (apart from Professor Jewell of the AMERICAN QUERFOP) who would be interested in the Free World Association and whose co-operation the Union might wish to invite. But after his return to America he would report the decision taken by the Executive and communicate further with the Secretary.
178. MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE. The Chairman presented an oral report on the first meeting of the Membership sub-Committee held on 2nd October, 1941.

(a) New Leaflets. Suggestions made to Lord Lytton at a Regional Conference at Leeds had been reported to and discussed by the sub-Committee, and arising out of the discussion the Committee recommended the publication by the Union of two leaflets as follows:

- (1) Leaflet on the League and the Union, quoting the reply given in Parliament on September 30th by the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs regarding the present position of the League and describing the objects, constitution and work of the Union.

- 3 -

- (ii) Leaflet dealing with the policy of the Union in recent years, designed to counter the legend at present being circulated to the effect that the I.N.U. was responsible for the trouble in which Great Britain was now involved.

(Drafts of these leaflets were placed before the Executive (copies filed with these minutes)).

The Committee also recommended that, after the I.L.O. Conference had met in Washington, a leaflet dealing with unemployment, re-housing, labour conditions etc. should be prepared.

- (b) Conference of Branch Secretaries. The Committee recommended that, in connection with the forthcoming meeting of the General Council, a Conference of Branch Secretaries and other workers should be held to consider matters affecting Union membership generally; that definite items should be included on the agenda; and that the Procedure Committee should make suggestions as to the most appropriate hour for holding the Conference.

The report of the Membership Committee was approved and adopted, and members of the Executive who had amendments or observations to suggest in regard to the draft leaflets were asked to communicate them as soon as possible to the Chairman, in whose hands the final drafting was left.

179. SPECTATOR ARTICLE ON "THE POST-WAR LEAGUE". Reference was made to an article on THE POST-WAR LEAGUE appearing in THE SPECTATOR for October 10th, which it was suggested should be made available for use by I.N.U. Branches. The Secretary was asked to make inquiries of Mr. Wilson Harris in this matter.
180. JEWISH MINORITIES. Dr. Murray reported a letter he had received from PROFESSOR BRODETSKY on the subject of Jewish minorities. He was of the opinion that this matter should not be dealt with in the general report of the Minorities sub-Committee, but should be treated as a separate problem. The Executive agreed with this view, and Dr. Murray was asked to invite Professor Brodetsky to submit a memorandum on the subject which might form the basis of discussion by a special sub-Committee to be appointed by the Executive.

It was suggested that if such a committee were formed, Mrs. Dagdale, Mr. Leonard Stein, Mr. Norman Bentwich and Mr. James Parkes might be invited to serve on it.

*Lyle*  
CHAIRMAN

October 30th, 1941.

WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR

Redraft of Clauses 20, 21 and 22, prepared by the Chairman in the light of suggestions and observations received from four members of the Executive in accordance with minute 167, of the meeting of 2.10.41.

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 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 without the use of military force where these are considered sufficient to put an end to an aggression which has taken place.
- (c) Armed intervention by military force.

It is desirable that there should be a clear understanding as to the circumstances appropriate to the application of one or other of these forms of resistance, and a precise definition of the obligations of every State Member in each case.

22. The obligations of every State Member under (a) and (b) are the same, and the collective action must be shared by all, since each is capable of contributing to it to the same degree. It is only in the case of (c), when armed intervention is involved, that the responsibility cannot be shared by all the members in the same degree, owing to the differences in their geographical position and military strength.
23. Certain States may fairly be considered exempt in all circumstances from the obligation to provide military resistance, even in the case of an act of aggression within their own geographical region, owing to the restricted character of their military equipment. Further, any State may be regarded as similarly exempt when the act of aggression occurs in an area so situated as to be impossible to its armed forces. None of these States, however, would be exempted from the obligation to provide the fullest non-belligerent support to those Powers upon whom falls the obligation to provide the necessary military resistance. Such non-belligerent support would involve the withholding of all aid from the aggressor, even if this should involve them in risks of retaliation.
24. On the other hand, there must be in every part of the world a nucleus of Powers, whether situated in the area involved or not, who accept the obligation to take the initiative, even to the extent of employing their military forces for the purpose of resisting aggression in a specified area. Some of these Powers will be concerned in more than one region of the world, but acceptance of such an obligation would not exempt such Powers from their limited non-belligerent obligation in other regions. Our proposal is that if an aggression actually takes place all members should be bound to take certain action to stop it, and that those members, having the necessary strength and will, should be authorized by the International Authority to use whatever armed force may be necessary to make a fully effective sanction.

P.T.O.

25. It is necessary that the obligations undertaken, whether of the full or of the limited character contemplated, should be clearly and precisely defined in advance 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 excuse 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.
26. 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. If in any case of flagrant and sudden aggression they have to take action without previous reference to the International Authority, they should take the earliest opportunity of securing the confirmation of their action by that Authority.
27. That 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.



DRAFT LEAFLETS. 924  
10.10.41.

## THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

is an association of States "to promote international co-operation and achieve international peace and security".

That the League is still alive and at work is shown by the following reply given in the House of Commons by the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs on September 30th, 1941. The reply was to a question concerning the present position with regard to the functioning of the League and of the I.L.O. and the extent to which work with regard to post-war reconstruction is being carried out at the request of the British and other Governments.

"As regards the first part of the question, the institutions of the League of Nations are being maintained in existence and are carrying on all those activities which the circumstances of the war and the financial situation of the League permit. The Acting Secretary-General, with a reduced staff is at Geneva, where a number of services are functioning, and he continues to control the activities of the services which are working outside Switzerland. A strong delegation from the Economic and Financial Section is at Princeton in the United States of America. Offices of the Permanent Central Opium Board and the Supervisory Body have been opened at Washington. The health activities are being carried on from Geneva and Singapore. The Treasury of the League has its office in London. The International Labour Office is established at Montreal, though a small staff remains at Geneva. A conference of the International Labour Organisation will be held at New York in October of this year. The Permanent Court of International Justice remains in being. A meeting of the supervisory Commission of the League was held in July last and in virtue of the emergency powers conferred on it by resolution of the Assembly, approved the budget for 1942. As regards the second part of the question, the delegation of the Economic and Financial Section at Princeton is, I understand, concerning itself with post-war, as well as current economic and financial problems. It works, of course, under the authority of the Acting Secretary-General."

P.T.O.

## THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

is a British voluntary organisation with the Prime Minister as its Honorary President. Its function is to educate and make effective public opinion in favour of the following Objects set forth in the Charter granted to the Union by the late King George V.:-

To advocate the full development of the League of Nations so as to bring about such a world organisation as will guarantee the freedom of nations, act as trustee and guardian of backward races and undeveloped territories, maintain international order, and finally liberate mankind from war and the effects of war.

To foster mutual understanding, goodwill, and habits of co-operation and fair dealing between the peoples of different countries.

The Union is co-operating actively with similar Societies in the Dominions and the U.S.A. and with League of Nations Societies of various Allied countries now working from Britain, to secure a just and lasting settlement after the war. The Union's proposals for this are set out in a Statement of Policy "World Settlement after the War". They show the way to achieve the Objects of the Royal Charter and are in accord with the principles of the Atlantic Charter, which has been acclaimed by Britain, the Dominions, the U.S.A. and the Inter-Allied Council.

Whether the "wider and permanent system of general security" of the Atlantic Charter - or the "international authority" of the Statement - will be the League of Nations strengthened and remodelled in the light of twenty years' experience, or some new organisation appointed and constituted in a similar or different way, must depend on conditions prevailing at the end of the war. The essential thing is that there should be a permanent system, or organisation, freely entrusted with power by free nations; the precise form of the organisation and of the machinery for exercising its power are not of the same importance.

The war must be won, and the resulting peace must be made durable. A clear idea of the kind of peace the free peoples are striving for will strengthen their determination to achieve victory at any cost.

The Union's efforts are being carried out by branches throughout the country, and they need the support of every lover of freedom. If there is not a branch in the place where you live, send to the Secretary, 11 Maiden Lane, London, W.C.2, for further information.

P.T.O.



FALSHHOODES AND FACTSI. FALSHHOODE

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 statements make the following charges:-

1. That the pacifist propaganda carried on by the Union during the last 20 years was responsible for the policy of disarmament which reduced this country to the status of a second class Power.
2. 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.
3. That this propaganda culminated in the Union's "dangerous Peace Bill" of 1935 which gave definite encouragement to Aggressor nations.
4. 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-concerning demands for sanctions, which did no good to Abyssinia, drove Italy into partnership with Germany, thereby greatly increasing the danger to ourselves and France.
5. 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.

The following is a typical expression of the arguments enumerated above:-

"They", i.e., supporters of the League of Nations Union, "successfully converted Britain to a policy which, if it could have been universal, might have saved the world from the present tragedy of war; but, as their propaganda was national only, it resulted in leaving us naked to our enemies."

II. FACTS

These arguments are completely refuted by the facts which are on record and can be verified by anyone.

1. The League of Nations Union at no time advocated unilateral 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. 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 re-armament of Germany would not have taken place, and the successive aggressions which led up to the present

war would have been impossible. The unilateral disarmament of this country alone to the point to which it was carried was certainly a dangerous policy, not demanded by the Peace treaties or by the Covenant, and the League of Nations Union has no responsibility for it.

2. 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. All they ever asked for was 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 voted, with the complete approval of the country, 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".
3. 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 in the press which supported them, more than 11½ 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 armaments 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		Doubt-ful	Abstentions	Christian Reformed	Total
	YES	NO				
1	11,090,397	355,883	10,470	132,425		11,559,168
2	10,470,488	892,778	12,002	213,839		11,559,168
3	9,533,058	1,899,768	16,978	318,845		11,559,168
4	10,417,329	775,415	15,078	351,345		11,559,168
5a	10,027,808	825,374	27,285	885,107	14,121	11,559,168
5b	6,784,368	2,351,981	40,930	2,364,441	17,482	11,559,168

The questions epitomised 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. The public by a majority of 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 courageous adherence to League of Nations principles. 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". Now far that mandate was carried out is now a matter of history.
4. Far from the League of Nations Union having forced the Government into a policy of sanctions against Italy, this policy was advocated by the Ministers and their supporters in the General Election. See in particular the election address of Mr. Neville Chamberlain. 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. If the essential sinews of war had been denied to Italy, she would not only have been unable to complete the conquest of Abyssinia, but she could not at the same time have engaged in a successful war against all the countries which were employing sanctions against her. 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. The policy actually adopted of ineffective sanctions was certainly a disastrous one, but the League of Nations Union had no responsibility for it.
5. 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 readily 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, our own Foreign Minister, were "not prepared to risk the life of a single British soldier for the sake of Abyssinia".

CONFIDENTIAL

## LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE held at No.25 Eccleston Place, London, S.W.1. on Thursday, October 30th, 1941 at 3 p.m.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), F.M.Burris, Lord Cecil, Dean of Chichester, Miss K.D. Courtney, Miss P.Fawcett, Sir Derrick Gunston, M.P., Lady Hall, Sir Arthur Haworth, A.J.Howe, D.Lipson, M.P., Dame Adelaide Livingstone, J.McDonald, Dr.Gilbert Murray, W.T.Pritchard, Nowell Smith, Sir Ralph Wedgwood and Major Freshwater.

181. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on October 18th 1941, were confirmed as circulated.

182. UNION WITH AMERICA. The Secretary reported that Sir Rowland Evans had expressed his willingness to meet the Executive Committee on November 6th in order to discuss the proposals contained in his recent pamphlet entitled LET IT ROLL. He would like to circulate a written statement to members of the Committee before the discussion took place.

On the suggestion of Miss Courtney and with the approval of the Chairman, an invitation had also been sent to Professor Keaton, the author of a recent article in the POLITICAL QUARTERLY advocating "union with America now". His reply had not yet been received.

After discussion it was agreed that Sir Rowland Evans and Professor Keaton should be invited to meet the Executive at 11.30 a.m. on Thursday, November 6th.

183. SPECTATOR Article on "The Post-War League". The Secretary reported that permission had been obtained from Mr.Wilson Harris for his article on "The Post-War League" to be reprinted, with the usual acknowledgment, as a Union leaflet.

It was agreed that the article should be reprinted forthwith in leaflet form for sale to Union Branches and others.

It was suggested that, since the article was of particular interest to business men, the Secretaries of Rotary Clubs should be invited to bring it to the notice of their members. The Secretary was asked to communicate with the Headquarters of Rotary International on this matter.

184. TIME OF EXECUTIVE MEETINGS. The Chairman stated that, during the winter months, the offices of Central London Electricity at 25 Eccleston Place would close at 4 p.m. instead of 4.30. The Executive might therefore wish

-2-

to consider meeting at an earlier hour on the third and fifth Thursdays in the month.

After discussion, during which Mr. Lipson suggested that Members of Parliament would probably find it more convenient to attend the Executive at 2 p.m. than at 11 a.m., it was agreed that, until the end of the year, the afternoon meetings of the Executive should be held at 2 p.m.

185. **WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR.** The Executive had before them a further revised draft of certain clauses of the Statement of Policy prepared by the Chairman in the light of the discussion at the last meeting of the Executive (S.930). A draft prepared independently by Lord Cecil (S.931) was also before the Executive.

After discussion, it was agreed to leave in the hands of the Chairman the final re-wording of Clauses 20 to 22 of the Statement of Policy for submission by the Executive to the December meeting of the Council and for inclusion in the Preliminary Agenda.

186. **SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION.** Lady Hall stated that it had not yet been found possible to arrange a further meeting of the Sub-Committee on Social and Economic Reconstruction, but that it was hoped the Committee would meet ~~later~~ in December and frame a motion for submission to the General Council. In the meantime she suggested, as an indication of the proposals the Executive would make to the Council, that the following should be included in the Preliminary Agenda. This was agreed to, since it would always be possible for the Executive to move an amendment to its motion.

1. The General Council of the Union:

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 only be achieved by international action and urges H.M.G. 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.

The General Council recalls the attention of the branches and members of the Union to the Brit Report on Social Reconstruction and urges them to give it their close consideration when studying the problems raised by the recommendations contained in the Atlantic Charter.



2. 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 General 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.

187. **COLONIAL SETTLEMENT.** Lady Hall reported that the SUB-COMMITTEE on Colonial Settlement hoped to have a draft motion for the Council ready in time for consideration by the Executive at its next meeting.

Lady Hall was asked to send the draft motion to the Secretary as soon as possible and, unless it contained anything of a controversial nature in which case the Chairman would be consulted, the Executive agreed that it should be included in their name in the Preliminary Agenda for the Council.

188. **MINORITIES.** Miss Courtney reported on the meeting of the Minorities Committee held on October 27th, when the draft Report had been considered but when, unfortunately, neither of the joint authors (Mr. Macartney and Mr. Mabbott) was able to be present. Substantial alterations had been suggested in the draft Report and the Committee hoped to have a further meeting in November to discuss the matter with the authors. She hoped that, after that meeting, an Interim Report, at least, would be available for consideration by the Executive on November 20th and for submission to the General Council at its December meeting.

It was agreed that the subject of the draft Report on Minorities should be included on the Preliminary Agenda for the General Council and that Mr. Macartney, Mr. Mabbott or Miss White should be asked to present the Interim report, if available, to the Council for study by Branches, etc.

189. **PEACEFUL CHANGE.** The Executive had before them the TEXT OF AGREEMENTS to the draft Report on Peaceful Change (S. 929) prepared by Mr. Nowell Smith in accordance with the decision of the Executive on July 31st, together with the following draft motion for submission to the General Council.

- 4 -

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 shall have the same effect as a decision taken under Article 13(4) of the Covenant.

The draft motion was approved.

Lord Cecil further suggested, and it was agreed, that in paragraph 11 the words "the Covenant and any Resolutions of the League can do" should be replaced by "can be done at present".

It was further agreed

- (1) That in the Preliminary Agenda for the General Council attention should be drawn to the amendments made by the Executive in the draft Report, and
- (11) That the Finance Committee should be asked to consider the question of re-printing the Report in its amended form, together with the General Council's resolution.

190. EDUCATION IN WORLD CITIZENSHIP. Mr. Nowell Smith stated that a report was in process of being drafted by the Education Council on the subject of Education in World Citizenship, but that it would not be ready in time for submission to the General Council in December. It was hoped that the ~~Management Committee~~ the Education Council, when it met at Easter, would agree upon the final draft which could then be presented to the General Council at its next Annual Meeting.

The Chairman was asked to report upon this matter in his speech to the General Council on the action taken by the Executive since the last meeting.

191. DECEMBER MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL. It was agreed that, in addition to the motions referred to in minutes 186, 187, 188 and 189, the following should be included in the name of the Executive in the Preliminary Agenda for the December Meeting of the General Council:

- 5 -

Urgency Motions. To give notice that the Executive may ask for "urgency" to propose motions on international affairs.

World Settlement after the War. To propose adoption of the Executive Committee's amendments to the Statement of Policy.

Motions dealing with:

The Atlantic Charter  
The London International Assembly  
Budget for 1942.

Lady Hall read to the Executive the Preliminary Agenda as drafted by the Procedure Committee at its meeting that morning. This was approved, subject to the above and to certain small re-arrangements in the programme.

192. LIBRARY. Mr. Nowell Smith read to the Executive EXTRACTS from a letter (copy filed with these minutes) from the Union's Librarian. The number of people at present using the Library was almost three times as great as in 1940. Many Schools, Youth Groups and Branches were regularly asking for books, and applications had also been received from Training Colleges, Education Departments of Local Government Bodies, the National Central Library and many Public Libraries.

The Executive expressed their gratification at this encouraging report, and it was agreed that a statement on the present position of the Library should be made to the General Council.

193. DANGER OF STARVATION IN OCCUPIED COUNTRIES. On the motion of Lord Cecil it was

RESOLVED: "That a small committee be appointed to consider the dangers of starvation in the occupied countries and to suggest any remedies possible, consistent with the necessities of war; and

That Lord Cecil, Miss Courtney, Dr. Murray and Sir Ralph Woodwood be invited to serve on the Committee."

Any other members of the Executive who desired to assist in the work of the Committee were asked to communicate as soon as possible with the Chairman.

*Lyleon*  
CHAIRMAN  
6th Nov. 1941

extract of letter from Miss Betty Jones, L.N.U. Librarian, dated 3rd October, 1941. 377

"The Library is being widely and extensively used. Compared with this time last year, the number of people using the books is about trebled. The peak periods, i.e. just before the beginning of school terms, and in the autumn when the Youth Groups and branches are resuming their meetings, I send out regularly 80 books in a day.

A number of schools, and even more Youth Groups and Branches are regularly writing for books and I receive a constant weekly supply of requests from individual members for books on various subjects. The most widely studied subject seems to be, quite naturally, world settlement after the war, with, in many cases, special reference to the economic questions at issue. Next in popularity comes the study of the history of countries in the forefront of the news, viz., France and the other Occupied Countries, Russia, the Balkans and the U.S.S.R. League documents (especially the Health Section) and I.L.O. documents are also in good demand. Some Branches have also asked for the loan of standard collections, which they can use as the basis of a local library for their members.

Public Libraries are among some of the most active borrowers and Cheltenham have a regular consignment of 30 books on loan.

The National Central Library borrows many books each week for various libraries and commercial firms, among whom were recently the Foreign Office Library and Rowntree's of York. I have also received requests for books direct from Training Colleges, Educational Departments of Local Government bodies, Sir Edward Crigg, etc.

I keep in touch with the Bristol L.N.U. Local Council; the Bristol Branches and the Bristol Headquarters staff are visiting the Library and borrowing books. Part of Badminton School has been taken over by the A.R.P. authorities; one of their staff is a keen L.N.U. member and has visited the Library and intends to bring several of her colleagues. These are only a few of my many visitors.

This Autumn I am hoping to do some wide circularising of schools and branches to increase the borrowing of books even more. Also I have in mind, with the help of the Bristol L.N.U. office, the production of lists of recently added books.

Taken all in all, there is plenty to keep me fully occupied, and, in addition to the fact that the nearest Post Office is 15 minutes walk away and every parcel has to be carried there, the combination of the clerical work and the library work proper, namely reading of reviews and generally keeping up-to-date with new books, and the looking out of material for answers to questions and suggested syllabuses and bibliographies for study groups, help to make my days very full.

I should like to suggest that another notice be included in 'Headway' quite soon to help the circularising of the schools and branches. The last one proved very effective".





