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IN WAR-TIME

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SAN FRANCISCO AND AFTER

"I am anxious that all parties should be united in this new instrument, so that in these supreme affairs we shall be, in Mr. Gladstone's words, 'high and dry above the ebb and flow of party politics.' . . .

"It is to this strong body that we look to prevent wars of aggression, or the preparation of such wars, and to enable disputes between States, both great and small, to be adjusted by peaceful and lawful means, by persuasion, by the pressure of public opinion, by legal method, and eventually by another category of method which constitutes the principle of this new organisation. . . .

"All the work that was done in the past, all the experience that has been gathered by the working of the League of Nations, will not be cast away; but the new body will differ from it in the essential point that it will not shrink from establishing its will against the evil doer or evil planner in good time and by force of arms."

THE PRIME MINISTER

(Reporting to Parliament on the Crimea Conference and the new United Nations Organisation to be set up at San Francisco.)

EDITORIAL**ALL SET FOR SAN FRANCISCO**

The great moment is drawing near. At last the stronger and more efficient League of Nations, for which our Union has been striving throughout these long and difficult years of war, seems about to be born. April 25 is the date fixed for the United Nations Conference at San Francisco, called for the purpose of preparing the Charter of the new "general international organisation." The invitations have gone out. Forty-six nations have been asked, in addition to the United States, Great Britain, Russia and China, who are sponsoring the Conference. What these fifty nations do at San Francisco may well, in the words of Mr. Attlee, "determine the whole future of mankind for centuries."

Milestones

Moscow, Dumbarton Oaks and Yalta stand out as the milestones on the road to San Francisco. At Moscow, towards the end of 1943, Mr. Eden, Mr. Cordell Hull and M. Molotov, with the Chinese Ambassador, agreed on the necessity of establishing a general international organisation at the earliest possible date. At Dumbarton Oaks, last summer and autumn, high officials of the Four Great Powers drafted a tentative scheme for such an organisation. At their Yalta meeting a few weeks back, Mr. Churchill, President Roosevelt and Marshal Stalin agreed to put forward the Dumbarton Oaks proposals as a basis for discussion at a full-dress conference with their Allies.

Thus, on the eve of the San Francisco Conference, no Government is definitely committed to any hard-and-fast scheme. The "Big Four" believe that useful spadework was done at Dumbarton Oaks and commend to the other nations something along these lines. Most of the smaller Powers are likely to approve of the general framework of the proposed organisation, but some of them will certainly press for modifications here and there in its structure and procedure. Holland, we know, has a number of ideas for giving the rank and file of members a more important part in the working of

the organisation. France, too, who in this matter seems to be associating herself with the smaller nations, will probably come to the Conference in a critically constructive frame of mind. The final "Charter", therefore, may differ in certain of its details from the Dumbarton Oaks draft.

Can the Union Help?

At this climax of our hopes, for which we have been watching and working, the role of an interested spectator and nothing more would ill befit the Union. It is our special responsibility to see that, so far as this country at least can influence the outcome at San Francisco, the League's successor and inheritor gets the best possible chance from the start.

Of prime importance is to get an international organisation going as speedily as possible. To achieve that result, many of us would have been willing to accept something less satisfactory than the Dumbarton Oaks plan. In fact, these proposals promise better than most of us would have dared predict a year ago. All the chief features of the International Authority, which the Union's experience suggested would be wise and effectual, appear with slight alterations in the Four Power scheme. So the Union, through its General Council, has already welcomed Dumbarton Oaks as a move broadly in the right direction.

Not the Last Word

A new "League" along the lines of Dumbarton Oaks, is, then, our goal and we are going "all out" to back it. But that does not imply that the admittedly "tentative" proposals are the last word on the subject. It was in no "take it or leave it" spirit that the "Big Four" published them to the world and invited public discussion. The Union's view is that, reasonably good though the Dumbarton Oaks plan may be, it is yet capable of improvement.

A number of suggestions for improvement emerged at the last General Council meeting. Since then the Executive and a special Committee which it set up have

been thoroughly examining the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. That work has now been completed and the Executive will report to a Special Meeting of the General Council at the Livingstone Hall, London, on April 5 and 6. Here the whole Union, through its supreme governing body, will be able to decide what recommendations it wishes to submit to H.M. Government for the improvement of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, before the British delegates leave for San Francisco.

This is the Union's opportunity to help in shaping the new international organisation before it is launched upon its career. The sterner responsibility of fostering its full development and use will remain long after the delegates have packed their bags and departed from San Francisco. British people must be made to understand the new "League," and realise the need for it. Only such understanding can create the widespread public determination to see that this time all the obligations of membership are fully carried out.

A New Era

Once more, as in 1918, the League of Nations Union is at the outset of a great and adventurous campaign. By meetings and publicity of every description, it must do for the new "League" what it tried to do for the old. This time, however, it has certain advantages which were lacking 27 years ago. To begin with, we in the Union shall not have to start from scratch. On the first Armistice Day, the Union could count on no more than 3,000 supporters. Our present membership, though sadly depleted by the war, gives us a far bigger nucleus for future activity. We are immeasurably richer in experience, and know the pitfalls which will lie ahead. Under a new name we shall be able to extend our appeal far and wide throughout the land. San Francisco, we hope, will see the League reborn in a new form. Surely the Union, too, is entering upon a new era. With so much at stake, every willing helper must be enlisted; and none in our ranks must stand idle.

OUR CAMPAIGN

Some Branches are taking part in a new development of our campaign of meetings throughout the country on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. They are organising *All-Party Conferences*, to which they are inviting the sitting Member of Parliament, the parliamentary candidates already appointed, and a representative of the Union, each to give their views on the new international authority. We hope, in our next issue, to give a report on the All-Party Conferences which have by that time been held. In the meantime, detailed suggestions for the organisation of meetings of this kind may be obtained on application to Head Office.

FRESHWATER MEMORIAL FUND

The following recent donations to the Freshwater Memorial Fund have been received:—

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
Cape Province, S.A.	2	2	0	Leamington	7	1	0
Edinburgh	21	10	0	Lewisham		5	0
Hampstead	10	0	0	Rugby	1	12	0
				St. Albans	9	12	9
				Unattached	1	1	0

The latest remittance from Leamington brings the Branch's total to £50: The Fund has now reached a grand total of £1,772 16s. 7d.

SPECIAL MEETING OF L.N.U. GENERAL COUNCIL

LIVINGSTONE HALL, APRIL 5 and 6

FULL REPORT IN OUR NEXT ISSUE

THINGS SAID ON THE NEW "LEAGUE"

MR. CORDELL HULL

"We are fully aware that no institution—especially when it is of as great an importance as the one now in our thoughts—will endure unless there is behind it considered and complete popular support. The will to peace must spring from the hearts and minds of men and women everywhere, if it is to achieve enduring peace."

(At the opening of the Dumbarton Oaks Conversations)

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

"World peace is not a party question any more than is military victory. . . . The same consecration to the cause of peace will be expected by every patriotic American and by every human soul oversea. The structure of the world peace cannot be the work of one man or one party or one nation. It cannot be an American peace, or a British, a Russian, a French or a Chinese peace. It cannot be a peace of large nations or of small nations. It must be a peace which rests on the co-operative effort of the whole world."

(Reporting to Congress on the Crimea Conference)

MR. ATTLEE

"I would like to regard the acceptance by the House of this motion as a step in the achievement of unity of policy in foreign affairs and defence and a unity of purpose common to all the major political parties: the policy of a world organisation for peace and co-operation in the activities of peace, and a resolve by all not to give lip service only but to accept wholeheartedly the obligation which the policy entails."

"In the immediate future, it may be that people will flag, that there will be a tendency to relax and to say that we have accepted heavy burdens. But they are nothing like as heavy as the burdens we have had to accept because we would not take up the obligations in support of the principles of collective security embodied in the League of Nations and now, I hope, to be embodied in the international law of the civilised world."

(In Debate on Crimea Conference)

SIR ARTHUR SALTER

"I have searched my memory for any international conference during the last 25 years which, within so few days, has yielded so rich a harvest as we see in the report of the Crimea Conference. The harvest is not yet reaped. I believe our representatives will prove good reapers."

(In Debate on Crimea Conference)

VISCOUNT CECIL

"The Crimea declaration is excellent and in some respects a considerable improvement on the Covenant of the League of Nations. . . . The necessity of popular support is borne out by the history of the League. To get that popular support there must be, in addition to proper organisation, a great deal of propaganda and teaching. We have to create a world patriotism among the nations."

(In the House of Lords)

MR. HERBERT MORRISON

"Nor is this a task for Governments alone. An international organisation can only do its job if it has behind it an alert, lively, courageous public opinion in deadly earnest about the task. The men and women in the international assemblies will reflect the mood of the peoples. It is for the peoples to keep their purpose clear and their will firm."

(Speaking at Manchester)

FIELD-MARSHAL SMUTS

"I believe that this may be the last world war. Knowing the methods of destruction in operation, as well as the far greater methods in preparation and for which scientists have already discovered secrets, I feel convinced that this opportunity at San Francisco is of vital moment in the history of the whole human race. San Francisco will be required to complete and put into shape the work of Dumbarton Oaks and Yalta. . . . Unless some way out is found which will render war obsolete, which will eliminate it from the course of human progress, the future is dark beyond measure."

(Addressing South African House of Assembly)

SIR WALTER NAPIER, 1857-1945

By the death on February 14 of Sir Walter Napier the League of Nations Union has lost one of its earliest and most steadfast supporters. Born in 1857 and trained as a lawyer, Sir Walter spent his early manhood in the East, becoming in 1907 Attorney-General of the Straits Settlements. Two years later he retired, and the rest of his life he devoted to public service. His connection with the Union began in 1922; from that time onwards till about 1935 he worked untiringly in its cause; it was his main interest.

The problem to which he gave most study and which he made peculiarly his own was that of minorities. A familiar figure at meetings of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies, he and the late Lord Dickinson soon came to be regarded not only as—what indeed they were—masters of their subject, but also as the chief unofficial architects of a system for the settlement of minority problems which, but for the collapse of the whole international fabric, might have produced order out of chaos in a troubled sphere. Sir Walter's proposals for the constitution of a Minorities Commission and for the generalisation of minority obligations throughout Europe, as well as his memoranda on Stateless Persons and on particular minority questions in southern and south-eastern Europe, were contributions of a high order to the solution of one of the thorniest problems that Europe had to face between the wars.

At an age when many men would have sought the ease and comfort of retirement Sir Walter never shrank from making long and arduous journeys over Europe to attend committees of the Federation, where he would sit for days (often far into the nights) patiently listening, patiently contributing to prolonged discussions that sometimes became as heated as the atmosphere of the rooms in which they were held. In the end it was as often as not to his good sense, most persuasively conveyed,

that brought agreement. On more general issues he took a lively interest in the Union's work, particularly on any questions relating to international law.

Tolerant, discerning, courteous, a lover of humanity as well as of his own country, Sir Walter Napier gave of his best to the service of his fellows. With his passing many both in this country and abroad who are working for international peace and justice will feel that they have lost a champion and a friend.

ALAN THOMAS.

DIARY OF EVENTS

- Feb.
23. *Turkey Declares War on Axis.*
24. *Assassination of Egyptian Premier.*
25. *M. Bidault, French Foreign Minister, visits England.*
- Mar.
1. *President Roosevelt reports to Congress on Crimea Conference.*
House of Lords Debate on Crimea Conference.
Crimea Decisions approved by both Houses.
Greek Agreement with U.N.R.R.A.
4. *Two Russian Armies reach Baltic.*
5. *Invitations to San Francisco Conference.*
6. *Cologne Captured.*
8. *Indian Troops reach Mandalay.*
Allied Attack Across Rhine.
Italian Agreement with U.N.R.R.A.
11. *Dr. Benes leaves for Moscow and Czechoslovakia.*
14. *White Paper on Civil Aviation Published.*
American Flag Over Iwojima.
15. *German Peace Manœuvre Reported from Stockholm.*
17. *Preparatory Committee of Proposed Arab League.*
- April.
5-6. *L.N.U. General Council, Livingstone Hall.*
25. *San Francisco Conference.*

THIS QUESTION OF POPULATIONS : EUROPE IN 1970. By L. J. Cadbury. ("News Chronicle." Price 6d.) Based on League Research Work.

WORLD AFFAIRS IN PARLIAMENT**YALTA AND POLAND**

By OWEN RATTENBURY

On former occasions I have rather avoided writing about the big occasions in Parliament, on the principle that everybody has already heard about and discussed them. But I must make an exception of the Yalta debate in the House of Commons on February 27 and 28 and March 1. Not that I can give it a full report, but that there are one or two things of vital importance to which I want to draw attention.

Mr. Churchill's Frank Statement

The most important thing in the debate was the question of the agreement on Poland. Here, Mr. Churchill, I thought, was very wise to take the bull by the horns and completely scotch the thing that was disgracefully hinted at in some quarters. One knows that divided loyalties may be responsible for the beastly suggestion, but it was made, and needed tackling. Churchill was said to have compromised and done an injustice to Poland in order that Britain might be free from Russian criticism on Greece. It had also been stated that Russia had been generous about our deeds in Greece and that we ought, therefore, out of gratitude, to be generous to her with regard to Poland. Both statements were begging the question and condemning both Britain and Russia, often using the vile technique of buttressing very doubtful statements by such assurances as "nobody of any intelligence believes" or "denies." The Archbishop of Westminster even seems to have swallowed that technique.

Mr. Churchill categorically stated his own opinion, and I will quote his words:

"I have never concealed from the House, that, personally, I think the Russian claim is just and right. If I champion this frontier for Russia, it is not because I bow to force. It is because I believe it is the fairest division of territory that can, in all the circumstances, be made between the two countries whose history has been so chequered and intermingled... The Curzon line... was drawn at a time when Russia

had few friends among the allies... One cannot feel that either the circumstances or the personalities concerned would have given undue favour to Soviet Russia. The British Government in those days approved this Line, including of course the exclusion of Lvov from Poland... I cannot conceive that we should not regard it as a well-informed and fair proposal."

That is a statement that was accepted, I think, even by the bitterest opponents of the Yalta agreement and of Soviet Russia or the firmest supporters of the contentions of the London Polish Government.

A Secret Protocol

Mr. Petherick indeed expressed his admiration for the Prime Minister, but contended that he had made a mistake—being human. He repeated the claim that Poland was being betrayed, and surprisingly quoted a secret Protocol which had come into his possession in some way. Mr. Eden differed from him on its interpretation, but admitted the existence of this Protocol—though, of course, he was not at the Foreign Office at the time. Mr. Eden defended the secrecy of this Protocol. It is somewhat disquieting that it should exist and still more disquieting that it should have been produced by somebody for Mr. Petherick to use in this debate. One would imagine (not knowing the contents of it) that the only people who have any knowledge of it are the Foreign Offices of Britain and Poland. One cannot think that the leakage is from our Foreign Office. Has it come from the Polish side? Mr. Eden is still considering whether he can publish the whole Protocol, and is consulting other Governments. But what other Governments?

Mr. Petherick went on to argue that Russia's own interest lay in assenting to the frontier of Poland just prior to the war. His general theme was that our honour was pledged to that frontier and that we entered the war in order to guarantee that. He also argued that the Atlantic Charter stabilised that frontier as well as appa-

rently every frontier that was in existence just prior to the war. It was really a very able speech.

Mr. W. J. Brown made a good speech on the other side. His main contention was that the best possible bargain was made for Poland by the Yalta decision. It might not be all that they desired, but it was the best possible, and therefore it would be wise for them to accept it.

Mr. Peter Thorneycroft made another first-rate speech. Sympathy with Poland extends far beyond those who happen to call themselves friends of Poland or even members of the Scottish Catholic Hierarchy. We recognised the Polish gallantry. He did not regard this settlement as justice to Poland, but it was the best that could be got.

Sir Percy Harris pointed out that Poland owes its liberation to Russia. The amendment was such that, if carried, there would be no alternative but for the Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary to resign. Lord Curzon, who approved of this line, could by no stretch of the imagination be considered to be pro-Russian.

Lord Willoughby de Eresby, having trained and lived with the Polish Army for five years, told the House that a more friendly, charming and co-operative body of men one could not find anywhere, nor a more courageous or determined lot.

Mr. Gallacher attributed the amendment not to any love of Poland, but to hatred of the Soviet Union.

Three Courses

Mr. Harold Nicolson demurred at that statement, but said that he regarded this Yalta agreement as the most important political agreement we have obtained in this war. It was absurd to ask, "What else could the Prime Minister have done?" He was not the weak man such words suggested. There were three courses. We might have opposed the Russian settlement and refused to budge; we might have washed our hands of it, as this amendment seemed to want, saying, "Holier than thou, I have nothing to do with you"; the third course, he thought, we had taken, accepted what was possible, though some parts of it, he thought, were unjust.

Generally the speeches were good. More than one referred to the difficulties as

essentially religious. The Polish Government, of course, in the past was Roman Catholic, while the Ukrainians whom they ruled east of the Curzon line were Greek Church. It is as well not to rake up that past too much, but it must be in the background of the thinking of all those who know anything about those years.

Mr. Eden Winds Up

Mr. Eden wound up and dealt with the main arguments by factual denials of the allegations. We had at no time guaranteed Poland's Eastern frontier. There is nothing in any agreement that guarantees Poland's frontier. Nor were we committed to the new Government that would be formed. If we did not like its composition because it was not truly representative we should not recognise it, but continue as we are—Britain and America recognising the London Government and Russia the Lublin set-up. That would be unfortunate if it happened, and he sincerely hoped that the fully representative Government would accrue from the meeting of the two Ambassadors and Mr. Molotov in Moscow. He recognised the sincerity of the movers of the amendment. Some had expressed the point of view that Mr. Churchill and he had not stood up for H.M. Government's point of view. He repudiated that. The foreign policy of this country was based for centuries on the determination that no one country should dominate Europe. Europe is too big for that to be allowed. The Bolshevik bogey was the constant theme of German propaganda. He had had it chucked at him in interviews with Hitler himself. But could anyone doubt that if we had held the unity with Russia and the U.S.A. in 1939 which we have now there would have been no war? This unity was the present supreme hope for peace.

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YALTA AND SAN FRANCISCO

By GILBERT MURRAY, O.M.

The Crimean Conference has produced a greater psychological effect than its actual decisions seem to warrant. It has confirmed previous agreements but one cannot say that it has added much to them. It is satisfactory to be told again that the three Great Powers will co-operate fully to the end of the war and continue their co-operation afterwards; satisfactory that the three great leaders should meet again and the Foreign Secretaries arrange for regular meetings to be continued until they are superseded by the New Organization; still more satisfactory that the New Organization itself is cordially approved in principle, agreement reached about the voting on the Council, and the constituent conference already fixed for April. I see that Dr. Goebbels describes the result as "a Magna Charta of misery" for Germany, which for the Goebbels Germany it may be. Another writer after an analysis of the whole range of agreement says "It is for this we fought, and it is a goal worth fighting for." Commander King-Hall on the other hand says it reminds him of "the prospectus of a fraudulent company."

Promise and Fulfilment

What exactly does he mean by this? I suppose he regards the agreements as a series of roseate promises, calculated to attract the unwary, which their authors never mean to fulfil. Allowing for exaggeration something of the sort might be said of all attempts at reform in this inconsistent world and all promises to turn over a new leaf. The members of the New Organization, for instance, bind themselves in Chapter II to abstain altogether from the use of force and even the threat of force in their international relations. No doubt they will try to do so, but it will be a greatly changed world if they really do so consistently. The three Great Powers, again, will inevitably, whatever treaties are made, exercise enormous influence in the post-war world. Will they use that influence fairly? No doubt they will try; but every nation's view of what is fair is apt to be coloured by its interests or ambitions, and it would need a bold man to claim for any one of the Great Three that

all its actions for the last fifty years would have been approved by an impartial Court of International Justice. All these are truisms. We live in an imperfect world, and the post-war world will, to start with at any rate, be far nearer to Hell than Heaven. It is no good brooding on that. What we have first to consider is the state of mind of these Great Powers, the ends they are seeking and the agreements to which they are ready to bind themselves.

Temptations Avoided

Consider the lines they might have taken, at the worst. There is no law above them. Each might be tempted by "power politics" to pursue its own national ambitions. Clearly they are not doing that. At every stage they are co-operating and planning to co-operate in future.

They might aim at something easier and almost as bad, a close triumvirate to dominate the world of smaller nations. Clearly they are not doing that. They have deliberately associated two other nations, France and China, with them as Permanent Members of the Security Council. There is not a single organ of the New Organization in which the Three stand alone or have any special privileges. All the normal management of the world in ordinary times is entrusted to the Assembly, in which all the nations of the world are members on terms, as far as the letter of the law goes, of sovereign equality. The Great Powers are wisely content to trust to "the imponderables" for their special influence. Much of that influence, of course, will depend simply on the size and strength of the Power concerned, but more still on the confidence it has inspired and its moral authority. The Assembly, of course, can only "recommend;" it cannot enforce its wishes. That is as it should be. Few free nations would consent to become members of an organization in which they could be compelled to obey the decisions of a foreign majority.

The Main Instrument

The Assembly's main work will be an immense development of the constructive co-operation in which the old League had

such marked success and which is so often forgotten or ignored. The main instrument of peace is not the bludgeon on the head of the criminal, though at times that may be a necessity. The main instrument is active international co-operation for the common good as in the I.L.O., the Health Section, the Humanitarian Sections, and much of the financial work of the old League. This will be vastly increased in range by the inclusion of the various inter-allied organizations which have been established during the war and are to be continued in the peace. Most, if not all of them, will be under the budgetary control of the new expert Social and Economic Council. This, I anticipate, ought to have two good results. By increasing the sphere of international co-operation it will produce a more co-operative spirit and more interest in League affairs among the nations; and further it will make membership of the new League so obviously profitable and absence from it so disastrous that members will be extremely cautious about either resigning or behaving in such a way as to risk expulsion. If only War and the fear of War can be held off for a generation or so we have here at least the opening of a practical path to a better life for mankind.

Holding Off War

And for that holding off of War and the fear of War? The more one studies the provisions proposed the more practical and sensible they seem. Force is there, ready, overwhelming and under expert guidance, as long as the Great Powers play fair. If one of them does not of course the danger is great. There is no sovereign plan for coercing a power that is too great to be coerced. But at least the Great Powers have agreed that all disputes are to be frankly discussed in the Council, and that on the judicial question of right and wrong the parties to the dispute shall have no vote. This gives, even in the worst case, a great field for reasoning and persuasion, for the influence of public opinion, and for the achievement of some settlement which does not shock the conscience of the world.

Many people cavil at the supposed concession to mere "power politics" in the voting arrangements proposed for the Security Council. I think they might well

reflect what the vote in question means. It is a vote for coercion, that is, if necessary, for War. That is a terribly serious thing; it would be madness for the Council to bind itself to declare war unless, first, it was quite sure it was in the right, and secondly, quite sure to be successful. The first point is secured by requiring the assent of at least seven members out of ten; the second by having all the Great Powers on the right side. If one or more of them should be on the wrong side the problem becomes quite different and more dangerous. The League cannot act, but the individual nations must do what they best can.

Of course nothing is safe. All the future is an adventure and the second try at the Great Experiment is almost, though not quite, as bold an adventure as the first. We have a far deeper conviction, and more wide-spread, of the intolerable misery of war. We have shown twice that, however unsuspecting and slow to move the multitude of peaceful peoples may be, they will at the last moment rise and crush the proved enemy of mankind. We have shown, almost conclusively, that militarism in modern conditions means suicide.

We know more. We have planned a better organization. We are alive to certain dangers which we ignored before. On the other hand we start with a wrecked and ruined continent, a poisoned civilisation; with a generation of younger men and women who have never known a secure peace, whose means of education and culture have in most countries been utterly destroyed; who are accustomed to a world which estimates nations by their "war potential," that is, their power of doing evil to mankind. To change this will need a great spiritual effort. It will need in the "common man" a degree of thoughtfulness and unselfishness which he will seldom learn from his political party; it will need perhaps more high sincerity in high places than one can always count upon. But there is great comfort in Mr. Churchill's impression of the Russians that "their word is their bond," and in his twice repeated insistence that the Duty of the Great Powers is "to serve the world, not to rule it." A great enterprise, in which it is a privilege to be able to help!

UP AND DOWN THE COUNTRY

The Union's campaign of meetings throughout the country on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals is now in full swing. Already, however, one difficulty is facing us—the shortage of speakers, which is more acute than ever. Do you know of anybody in your area who is a good speaker and who would be willing to talk on Dumbarton Oaks? Those who occasionally could travel to neighbouring Branches or farther afield would be especially welcome. Headquarters would be most grateful for any help of this kind in drawing up panels of speakers for different parts of the country.

Lord Lytton's visit to CAMBRIDGE to speak on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals packed the Guildhall to capacity. The meeting was arranged jointly by the Cambridge Town Branch of the Union and the University Society for International Affairs. The new organisation, said Lord Lytton, would have to work in an atmosphere of great nervousness and irritation all over the world. He made a strong appeal for putting aside ideologies and making efforts to deal with concrete issues. It was not a case of setting up a world government in the abstract, but of collective building and doing things by agreement. The Dumbarton Oaks proposals to a certain extent answered the question, "What is our price for peace?" But all the time there was the big question mark—was there the will among the nations to use the machinery set up? The Mayor, who presided, was supported on the platform by the Vice-Chancellor, the Chairman of the County Council and the Borough Member.

Miss K. D. Courtney, Vice-Chairman of the Executive, addressed meetings on Dumbarton Oaks at WORCESTER GUILD HALL and JORDANS, as well as the AUSTRIAN LEAGUE OF NATIONS SOCIETY.

Mrs. Edgar Dugdale, the biographer and niece of the late Lord Balfour and a member of the L.N.U. Executive, was the latest speaker to visit the MONTAGUE BURTON BRANCH at Leeds. The local Press, in a two-column report, commented on the sound and constructive observations made by her in the course of an interesting address. Describing the proposals for the

new "League," Mrs. Dugdale said:—"Any fool can find the faults; but we must give the scheme a chance to show that, with intelligent handling, the League of Nations under its new organisation can succeed in keeping the peace."

LAUNCESTON BRANCH has been re-formed as a result of a meeting presided over by the Mayor. Mr. H. H. Walker, Assistant Secretary of the Union, aroused a high pitch of interest by his explanation of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. He took the same subject at WALLINGTON and at a drawing-room meeting at KENSINGTON.

The Spring Council of the NATIONAL WOMEN'S CITIZENS' ASSOCIATION devoted one session to Dumbarton Oaks with Mr. Leslie Aldous, Editor of HEADWAY, as speaker. Other meetings which he addressed were at ROMFORD, OXTED, HAMPSTEAD, EALING Central Library Discussion Group, KENNINGTON Rotary Club, and the Women's Fellowship and the Youth Club at Christ Church, MARYLEBONE.

Mr. J. T. Catterall's programme included meetings at WEST MERSEA, HUNGERFORD Women's Institute, and BECKENHAM.

SOUTHAMPTON BRANCH'S Annual Report shows a number of ways in which the Branch, since starting afresh in 1943, has been able to bring the cause of world peace before the people of the town. Apart from monthly meetings, speakers have been sent to various organisations locally, and Group-Captain Fulljames has addressed meetings at COSHAM and (twice) EASTLEIGH. Valuable publicity has been received from the *Southern Daily Echo*. At the last meeting the Branch boldly took the bull by the horns by advertising as the subject, "Is the League of Nations Union Any Use?" Mr. Collins and Group-Captain Fulljames put up a convincing case.

SOUTHBOURNE, IFORD and TUCKTON BRANCHES, as a wartime measure, have been working together. During the next twelve months the daughter Branches of Tuckton and Iford are hoping to secure secretaries of their own and start off again as separate units in friendly rivalry with the Mother Branch.

At the Annual Meeting of the WESTBOURNE AND PARKSTONE BRANCH Mr.

F. L. Whelen gave an account of his four years in Paris under the Germans and after. Many old friends of Mr. Whelen were in the audience and Mr. Arnold Whitting, the Chairman, made a strong appeal for new members.

Addressing the L.R.F. Monthly Luncheon on "Civil Aviation and World Unity," Mr. F. G. Bowles, M.P., strongly advocated that all air lines should be owned and controlled by a "World Airways Ltd." He outlined the scheme that he had in mind and argued that the experience of Geneva proved that you could find men and women to do such a job of international work. In this matter the "ideal" solution was the only solution, and it was those who sneered at it who would land us in catastrophe.

BLACKPOOL BRANCH has sustained a

great loss through the death of *Alderman P. J. Tomlinson, J.P.*, who had been chairman of the Branch for about 18 years.

We are glad to see from the Annual Report of the LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION OF NEW ZEALAND that, in addition to national activities, work is being carried on by Branches in Auckland, Masterton, Wellington, Hamilton, Timaru and Otago.

Pride of place in the Annual Report of the VICTORIAN BRANCH of the League of Nations Union (Australia) is given to the work of Miss Kidd in organising the Youth and Schools' work under the title of the Junior League of Nations Union. Prior to the Federal Elections, a set of five questions based on the Atlantic Charter was sent to each candidate seeking election in Victoria.

LONDON CALLING

THE BRITISH ISLES

A Gallup Poll has tested public opinion on almost every question except the one: "Do you want Peace?" Presumably this is thought to be too easy a one to need answering.

Why is it, then, if the vast majority of people are eager to prevent war, that so few come forward for recruitment in the cause of peace?

The League of Nations Union has undertaken to play its part in the immense problem of setting up the kind of peace that can achieve the final abandonment of war. That was the goal it set itself after the last war, and it will not relax its efforts until it finishes the task it undertook then.

The Union is not looking to the past except to learn from its mistakes. It sees that already a new League is in process of creation. Dumbarton Oaks and Yalta have sketched the rough outline; San Francisco will complete the structure, strengthening, it is hoped, the weaknesses in the present draft plan. It realises that the time has come to embark on an extensive educational campaign to secure the widest possible support for the International Organisation that will emerge from these tentative proposals. The Union looks eagerly and hopefully to the future with its opportunities and responsibilities.

As evidence that this is so, it will shortly undergo a change of name.

Mr. Eden has asked the Union—by whatever name it may come to be known—to give the new League its wholehearted support. It can, however, only do so effectively if the ordinary citizen backs it up and makes its membership sufficiently impressive to influence both Parliament and People.

The Union needs members and workers and money. Those who read this may ask, "Can I afford to help the League of Nations Union?" We would answer, "Can you afford NOT to?" The fate of generations, nay, of civilisation itself, may depend not only upon your answer but upon the practical steps you take to translate that answer into deeds. We venture to suggest that there are three immediate ways in which the cause of world peace can be served:

1. By joining the League of Nations Union, and if you have already done so, enrol your friends and neighbours as members.

2. By giving *some* time, however little, to the work of your local Branch.

3. By sending a donation to Headquarters, where all preliminary enquiries may be addressed.

M. G. S.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH**FOREWARNED IS FOREARMED**

"Don't die in the minefields. Follow the tapes." But the ones so fully marked out by Mr. McCallum* are on the Home Front and designed to be a guide along the path to Peace. It is the duty of Public Opinion to-day and to-morrow—bluntly, of all of you who care a jot or a lot about Peace—to try and realise how and why so large a portion of Public Opinion went astray after Versailles and even ended by smoothing the slopes for Hitler's gadarene gamble.

It is a story of meaning well, maybe, but of much misunderstanding and more downright ignorance; of views blinkered by allegiance to Party or an uneasy, enlarged Conscience; of over sympathy with Germany, at the expense of our allies, above all France; and failure to work and support the League of Nations, in spite of the heroic efforts of the L.N.U. and its leaders Viscount Cecil and Professor Gilbert Murray.

Mr. McCallum—mind you, he *has read* his text—makes a careful analysis of Versailles, which endorses the original verdict of the House of Commons that it was stern but just and that a central part of it, the League of Nations, did provide machinery for meeting force with force, and a fruitful instrument for human improvement. Why then did Versailles turn out a failure? For at least two reasons. The work of fulfilment was carried out by M. Poincaré and Mr. Baldwin and others like them, who had little in common with the actual makers of the Treaty. And then, when Germany took up the job of "organising sympathy" for herself, she found a variety of fertile soil in England. Opinion there was lamentably divided. Let us turn over some of the pages. Most Radicals—Labour or Socialist, and some Liberals as well—came to oppose the Treaty because the Tories made it: and besides there was their pet dogma that wars were the work of Capitalists and settled nothing, and any peace coming out of them was the devil. Unlike the rest of the Continent, which lived near Germany,

* Public Opinion and the Last Peace. R. B. McCallum. O.U.P. 10s. 6d.

they were sure that Germany had finally gone democratic; one more reason for making "Versailles" a term of abuse. They didn't like the Small States, who were peasants, unfavourable to large scale industry and allergic to Socialism. True, they welcomed the League, but in a very confused way. They tended to play the ostrich over possible war and to fondle the illusion that peace could be got by wishful thinking, without paying the price. And they were divided by Pacifist elements who stuck to it like limpets that no settlement could come by force. They also seem to have been over-influenced, according to Mr. McCallum, by what is called the Nonconformist Conscience, and by a perverted kind of ethical sense which made them ashamed of victory and automatically favour the beaten side.

Tory opinion was not at first hostile. But when the unpopularity of the Treaty grew, they decided something must be done about it and pitched on the parts which they themselves disliked—the League and the Small States, this time because the Small States were not strong enough to stand up against Germany (and Germany was given five years' full licence to break any Treaty, to prove this point). Mr. Baldwin always "cut" Geneva, though it was only a hop and a skip from his annual Health Resort. And the Party as a rule *refused to make any plans* about the Covenant: though there were glorious exceptions, such as our great Prime Minister. Thus, it is not unfair to describe their foreign policy as "a negation of thought erected into a system of government." This negative policy had frightful results. It smashed our good relations with France, on which the peace of all Europe hung. Labour was little less to blame owing to its distrust of France on the score of alleged militarism. France *knew* that in the long run peace is preserved only by opposing force by force. For herself she only wanted security—no more military adventures for her: only the Maginot line. She simply couldn't fathom British refusals in the 20's to organise the League which they had created, or, later, their illogical policy of guaranteeing the Rhineland

frontier, but leaving Germany free to annex the Vistula valley and the plains of Bohemia. How could France trust our word, when we talked of the Sanctity of Treaties, but let the Germany of 1936 go scot free? We shall be faced with precisely the same dilemma after this war—our attitude to France.

Everyone is agreed that another attempt must be made to ensure World Peace. More than a revived League will be needed. But League principles will be the foundation: there are no other.

With this great purpose in view, we owe Mr. McCallum a big debt for marking out the main minefields, the chief causes of disaster, in the past. It is for us to take the lesson to heart and insist on a greater and more solid Public Opinion as the Master-Buttress of Organised Peace.

GORDON DROMORE.

UNITED STATES OF GERMANY. By K. K. Doberer. (Lindsay Drummond, 6, Buckingham Street, W.C.2. 167 pp. 7s. 6d.)

The author, who was formerly on the editorial staff of the *Fränkische Tagespost*, was deprived of his German nationality and had all his property confiscated because of his anti-Nazi activities. Germany's only hope, he argues eloquently, lies in replacing rigid war centralism by the free organism of peaceful self-government. He sees the Southern German States as the nucleus of a future free and federal Germany which, along with neighbouring states, can be secured against Prussian aggression. We have an analysis of the Prussian power game, with its centralism for war, which developed into Nazi centralism. From first-hand knowledge he writes of the abortive Bavarian "experiment in good will" at the end of the last war. Hitler himself, in *Mein Kampf*, attacked the "God-forsaken disloyalty" of the Bavarian Army. An ironically illuminating example of the essential destructiveness of Nazism is given in Doberer's vivid account of the seizure of his newspaper office by S.A. men. Julius Streicher hastened up to take it over as a going concern for his Nazi newspaper. But his own men had been too zealous. Huge printing presses, typewriters and furniture now lay in the courtyard in an indescribable pile of wreckage.

THE FUTURE OF THE COLONIAL EMPIRE. By Sir Bernard Bourdillon. (S.C.M. Press, 56, Bloomsbury Street, W.C.1. 85 pp. 2s. 6d.)

A most welcome addition to "The Christian Looks Ahead" series. Like Mr. Churchill, the author is not ashamed of the word "Empire," but is concerned that our policy shall be such as to make the term one of which we can be not only unashamed but proud. On all the main problems, economic, political and moral, Sir Bernard writes from first-hand knowledge. He points out the good and the bad in what has so far been achieved, and gives a clear outline of what remains to be done. The aims which he stresses include fitting the colonial peoples to play their part in international as well as domestic affairs. We want to produce healthy, prosperous, educated and contented peoples, capable of playing their full part towards ensuring the welfare of the human race as a whole. A strong international institution is needed to enable us to make use of the knowledge and experience of other countries.

TOWARDS WORLD RECOVERY. By the Rev. Henry Carter. With Foreword by the Earl of Perth. (National Peace Council. 103 pp. 2s. 6d.)

For the first time, under one cover, we have a connected picture of Europe shaken to its foundations, of the work of the Red Cross for the alleviation of famine during the war, and of those functional agencies for post-war relief and reconstruction, already at work, which offer the only hope for salving social life from chaos because they are co-operative. Here we have guiding facts about refugees, U.N.R.R.A., Food Rehabilitation, the I.L.O., Cultural Reconstruction, etc., all in a connected setting.

CHINA LOOKS FORWARD. By Sun Fo. (Allen and Unwin, 40, Museum Street, W.C.1. 260 pp. 12s. 6d.)

This collection of speeches is dedicated by Dr. Sun to the memory of his father, Dr. Sun Yat Sen, the Father of the Chinese Republic. It is always an inspiration to study the world situation through Chinese eyes. One marvels at the philosophic calm and unflinching sense of abiding values. In this volume we see how China looks forward to freedom and equality, to better livelihood, to victory and to peace.

FROM HEADWAY'S POST-BAG

Britain, Russia and Poland

Sir,—In August, 1941, Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt drew up, on behalf of their respective governments, the Atlantic Charter. That Charter contained eight clauses, the second of which stated, "They desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned." The Charter has since been signed by thirty-five nations, including Russia. How does Russia's attitude, and our Government's support of it, square with the declaration contained in the above clause? It is perfectly possible that a body of detached and competent delegates at the Peace Conference might decide that Poland's eastern frontier should be where Russia desires it to be, but that a single Power—whether Russia, Britain, U.S.A., or Poland itself—should declare a particular contested problem solved in a particular way to its own advantage, even though the solution runs clean counter to the Atlantic Charter, is plainly inadmissible, and would return us to the international anarchy of the pre 1914 and 1939 periods.

If this is to be the attitude and conduct of the Great Powers (the nations who, be it noted, are to be the permanent members of the Security Council under the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals) there is no hope of international peace and security in the future.

Let every member of the Union protest against this great betrayal of all that is decent and just in international affairs.

Dundee.

JAMES STRACHAN.

Dumbarton Oaks

Sir,—It was with some surprise at first that I read in the January HEADWAY of the welcome given to the Dumbarton Oaks proposals at the Council Meeting by the leaders of the League of Nations Union.

I have nevertheless no doubt they were quite right to "support Dumbarton Oaks and ask for improvements."

No one could be better qualified than the Council of the Union to make suggestions for getting the scheme improved.

It seems to me of the first importance now that someone in Britain should strongly put the case for the rights of the smaller nations, while there is yet time.

No permanent world organisation could be satisfactory unless it derived its authority from all nations, not only from a few great powers. It could then reasonably hope to have the backing of public opinion the world over.

W. SHEBBEARE.

The Voice of Youth

Sir,—We were interested in the views of the League of Nations Union on the problem

of Germany. We are in hearty agreement with most of the points made. I submit this summary of some points made in a recent discussion of our group to you, since they may be of interest to your readers as the considered opinion of a section of young people.

JAMES E. MITCHELL

POLICY TOWARDS GERMANY.

The World Affairs Discussion Group of Sir Walter St. John's School recently discussed this country's policy towards Germany. The group was unanimous in its belief that Germany must be totally disarmed, so that she could not bring war upon the world again. It felt, however, that a clear distinction should be drawn between the leaders of the Nazis and the German people. Whilst we hate Fascism, we do not hate the German people. We firmly believe that the Allied policy of unconditional surrender has been useless and has helped the Nazis by strengthening the resistance of the German people. We must show the Germans that we are not weak—but we must also convince them that they will not be under our jackboots.

We consider that German industry must be controlled, but with a positive purpose. We should do all in our power to ensure that raw materials are not used for re-equipping the German war machine. German industry must be replanned as part of a general replanning of the economic resources of Europe.

It was our view that a demand for reparations, as advocated by Sir Walter Citrine, would be a futile policy. The Germans should make some restitution (obviously some of the demands of Russia will have to be conceded), but this should be governed by common-sense, since the employment of "slave-labour" on a large scale would breed further bitterness.

The partition of Germany has been advocated in many quarters, but we are of the opinion that, bearing in mind the need for defensive frontiers, there should be no large-scale dismemberment of Germany. The economic and political consequences of this would be tragic. Any measure of this kind misses the main point—Re-education is the vital factor in bringing Germany back into the comity of nations. The desire for, and the machinery of, re-education must emanate from the Germans. There should be an Education Commissioner with an advisory commission of Germans, such as the Bishops and some of the leading anti-Nazi exiles. Nazi teachings must be thoroughly expurgated, but we must be careful not to inculcate our views into the Germans. Regarding war

criminals, we take the generally accepted view that all war criminals, and particularly the Nazi leaders, should be justly punished. Finally we accept the two principles which can be derived from the Atlantic Charter, viz.:—that all steps must be taken to ensure that Germany cannot again successfully launch a policy of aggression; and that Germany must not be treated worse than any other nation as regards finance, labour, and "welfare" matters. We are convinced that the basis of peace must be co-operation, and not competition.

On behalf of the Group,

JAMES E. MITCHELL
(Secretary).

Our March Editorial

Sir,—I was shocked to read in the March "Editorial" that "only the shallow-minded glorify these victorious episodes for their own sake."

In my opinion this is clumsy writing, the result of clumsy thinking and due to the writer moving in too narrow a circle. One realises, of course, that he is on the old theme of deprecating force as a method of settling anything, but surely the whole trend of thought at present is that good ideals and intentions are not enough but must ultimately rely on adequate force. The enemies of the L.N.U. will readily seize on such writing as indicating that our policy is to "play down" the successes of our armies. A similar meaning can be taken from the first sentence of the second paragraph, where the editor expresses thankfulness that the story of the Yalta Conference takes the place of military news in the headlines.

Much as we all regret it, force is still the ultimate weapon of diplomacy. We are not a Christian World yet. The present "military victories" are as epoch making as Marathon, and I, for one, am "shallow minded" enough to rejoice greatly in them and to be thankful we can produce the generals and men who make them possible.

Good intentions are not enough. We must not give our enemies—and the L.N.U. still has some—any excuse for belittling us.

Lastly, Sir, may I, after this castigation, confess I couldn't do nearly as well myself, and beg that you will believe I am a firm supporter of the cause you have at heart.

J. G. CORMIE.

London, N.16

(Did we, as Dr. Cormie thinks, belittle the great victories of the Allied armies? "Memorable pages of history," we declared, "are being written as Nazidom totters into a chaos of military defeat and disintegration. On the military side, every day adds something new to the United Nations saga." If we proceeded

to describe these victories as a means to an end—ridding the world of Nazism and making it safe from aggression—surely that is the hope of every member of the Union.—Ed.)

"Wilson"

Sir,—I was very interested to see in this month's HEADWAY a favourable critique of the "Wilson" film. I was disgusted with one generally intelligent paper, for publishing a conversation between their dramatic critic and their American "diplomatic representative," pulling this film to pieces without in the least seeming to realise its true significance. Which is that America has repented of the part she played in throwing out the League. I have given three lectures on "American Plans for Peace and Reconstruction after the War," based on speeches of President Roosevelt, Mr. Cordell Hull, Sumner Welles and Henry Wallace; and, as I was speaking to Women's Unions who were completely ignorant about these matters, as most English people are, I prefaced my talks with a review of the political reasons for the rejection of the League, and surely did not spare Senator Lodge in the process. I am glad that America now publicly recognises the fact that he was the chief villain of the piece, and that Wilson died to try and save the world from just what we are suffering to-day. In his Indiana Speech, the first of his last five utterances, he prophesied that "If America stays out of the League and if Article Ten is tampered with in any way, I foresee that this war will have to be fought all over again, and not thousands of Americans, but millions, will be sacrificed."

Everything in those tragic speeches has now come true, and for the reasons which Wilson there set forth. In England, apparently only 60,000 out of 40,000,000 people have ever heard of these things. For instance, I was talking recently to a very dear and intelligent old lady friend of mine who has read *The Times* probably every day since she was a girl. And when I told her the facts about America and the League she said in a most surprised tone, "Oh, but I thought it was Wilson who destroyed the League." Can you beat that one?

Does your Mr. Gordon Dromore believe Walter Lippmann in his statements about Wilson on the last page of HEADWAY, which are the reverse of the truth? It was Wilson who provided for concerted action against aggressors in Article Ten, and the Republican party, of which Mr. Lippmann is a member, I believe, who objected to this; and their spokesman, Henry Lodge, who went about telling the mothers of America that "If America joined the League with Article Ten, they would always have to be sending their sons over to fight the battles of Europe." I was in

America all during the crisis, so I ought to and do know. Wilson knew, as has been proved, that the opposite would be the case. I hope all English people will go and see this Wilson film and get a bit of sense knocked into them. As to Mr. Lippmann, I think it a pity that this article should go uncorrected for even one number of HEADWAY.

WINIFRED JACKSON.

Chorlton-cum-Hardy.

(Mr. Gordon Dromore writes:—"Miss Jackson's comment on some lines in my review of Mr. Lippmann's book, as they stand, is, I think, justifiable. It might have been made more clear that the whole paragraph refers to Mr. Lippmann's 'belief' about Wilson and the League, not the reviewer's. But at the same time, owing to lack of space, the explanatory context of Mr. Lippmann's statement about the League (line 3, page 16) was omitted. He was discussing the "negative" armaments policy of the League, as envisaged by Article 8 of the Covenant, which, he thought, was enough to repel invasion, but not to enforce peace against a big aggressor, since the great states who were founders and participators in a world order were denied the right to meet their strategic needs. In short, a new plan of collective action was adopted, but was applied by a negative armaments policy. To that extent it was Wilson's League rather than lack of will on the part of Governments which ultimately prevented the League succeeding.")

Security against Aggression

Sir,—1. International Force, so essential to the new world organisation to secure all

nations against aggression and to support international law, failed to get a mention in the March number of HEADWAY. The need of an International Force was mentioned by Mr. Churchill in his report on the Crimea Conference, but it is evident that we do not all mean the same thing when we refer to International Force. Unless we are more specific, we shall find that the military authorities, who are instinctively conservative to these new ideas, will again try to return to a loose arrangement that will give no real security and will leave power in national hands.

2. The San Francisco Conference must face the problem of power behind the new world organisation and plan for the creation of a genuine International Force, recruited by, paid by, and under the direct orders of the Security Council. Pending the creation of such a force, we must necessarily rely upon national contingents: but these must be immediately and automatically at the disposal of the Security Council. No single power must be allowed to veto the imposition of sanctions, economic or military, against an aggressor.

3. The will of the people is important, but let us not forget that public opinion in this country was strongly in favour of the League of Nations just before the Hoare-Laval business and the disgraceful betrayal of Abyssinia. The real weakness of the League was that there was no police force to enforce its decisions.

R. FULLJAMES,
Group Capt. (ret.).

Southampton.

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SAN FRANCISCO

League of Nations Union at a Special Meeting in the Livingstone Hall, London, S.W.1, on 5th and 6th April, 1945.

The General Council of the League of Nations Union

Congratulates His Majesty's Government on having

Recommendations of the League of Nations Union

on the

DUMBARTON OAKS PROPOSALS

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

(2) The Council further desires to draw the attention of H.M. Government to certain suggestions for amending the Dumbarton Oaks Proposal which the Union has drafted, and trusts that H.M. Government will give the suggestions their

THREEPENCE

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION
11, MAIDEN LANE, LONDON, W.C.2.

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DUMBARTON OAKS CONVERSATIONS ON WORLD ORGANISATION

SAN FRANCISCO CONFERENCE ON WORLD
ORGANISATION.

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

Where the Council desires to suggest an amendment the official
*Resolution unanimously adopted by the General Council of the
League of Nations Union at a Special Meeting in the Livingstone
Hall, London, S.W.1, on 5th and 6th April, 1945.*

The Council's principal suggestions are summarized in an
Appendix.

The General Council of the League of Nations Union

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

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these proposals to a meeting of all the United Nations at
San Francisco on April 25th, and trusts that those Nations
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ORGANISATION
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LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION
11, MAIDEN LANE, LONDON, W.C.2

DUMBARTON OAKS CONVERSATIONS ON WORLD ORGANISATION

Recommendations by the General Council of the League of Nations Union.

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

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

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

The Council's principal suggestions are summarized in an Appendix.

PROPOSALS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A
GENERAL INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION.

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

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

"THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES, declare that:

1. The principles of Freedom, Justice and Good Faith should govern all international relations;

2. Subject to any alterations made by agreement of the interested parties or under the provisions of this Charter, the territorial integrity and political independence of all nations should be respected; (2)

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

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

CHAPTER I.—PURPOSES.

The purposes of the Organisation should be :

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

CHAPTER II.—PRINCIPLES.

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

- (1) The Organisation is based on the principle of the sovereign equality (3) of all peace-loving States.
- (1) The Organisation is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all States members of the Organisation.
- (2) All members of the Organisation undertake, in order to ensure to all of them the rights and benefits resulting from membership in the Organisation, to fulfil the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the Charter.
- (3) All members of the Organisation shall settle their disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security are not endangered.
- (3) All members of the Organisation shall settle their disputes by peaceful means.

- (4) All members of the Organisation shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the Organisation.
- (5) All members of the Organisation shall give every assistance to the Organisation in any action undertaken by it in accordance with the provisions of the Charter.

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

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

CHAPTER III.—MEMBERSHIP.

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

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

CHAPTER IV.—PRINCIPAL ORGANS.

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER V.—THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

(A) Composition.

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

(B) Functions and Powers.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(C) Voting.

(1) Each member of the Organisation should have one vote in the General Assembly.

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

(D) *Procedure.*

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

CHAPTER VI.—THE SECURITY COUNCIL.

★ (A) *Composition* (6).

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

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

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

(B) *Principal Functions and Powers.*

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

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

(C) *Voting.*

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

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

- (1) Each member of the Security Council should have one vote.
- (2) Decisions of the Security Council on procedural matters should be made by an affirmative vote of seven members.
- (3) Decisions of the Security Council on all other matters should be made by an affirmative vote of seven members, including the concurring votes of the permanent members ; provided that, in

[NOTE :—

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

decisions under Chapter 8, section A, and under the second sentence of paragraph 1 of Chapter 8, section C, a party to a dispute should abstain from voting.]

(D) Procedure.

- (1) The Security Council should be so organised as to be able to function continuously and each State member of the Security Council should be permanently represented (7) at the headquarters of the Organisation. It may hold meetings at such other places as in its judgment may best facilitate its work.

★ There should be periodic meetings (8) at which each State member of the Security Council could, if it so desired, be represented by a member of the Government or some other special representative.

- (2) The Security Council should be empowered to set up such bodies or agencies as it may deem necessary for the performance of its functions, including regional sub-committees of the Military Staff Committee.

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

- (2) The Security Council should be empowered to set up such bodies or agencies as it may deem necessary for the performance of its functions, including regional sub-committees of the Military Staff Committee and impartial tribunals, when required, to investigate disputes and give advice as to equitable solutions.

- (3) The Security Council should adopt its own rules of procedure, including the method of selecting its President.
- (4) Any member of the Organisation should participate in the discussion of any question brought before the Security Council whenever the Security Council considers that the interests of that member of the Organisation are specially affected.

- (5) Any members of the Organisation not having a seat on the Security Council and any State not a member of the Organisation, if it is a party to a dispute under consideration by the Security Council, should be invited to participate in the discussion relating to the dispute.

CHAPTER VII.—AN INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE.

- (1) There should be an International Court of Justice which should constitute the principal judicial organ of the Organisation.

- (2) The Court should be constituted and should function in accordance with a Statute which should be annexed to and be a part of the Charter of the Organisation.

- (3) The Statute of the Court of International Justice should be either (a) the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, continued in force with such modifications as may be desirable, or (b) a new Statute in the preparation of which the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice should be used as a basis.

- (4) All members of the Organisation should, *ipso facto*, be parties to the Statute of the International Court of Justice.

- (5) Conditions under which States not members of the Organisation may become parties to the Statute of the International Court of Justice should be determined in each case by the General Assembly upon recommendation of the Security Council.

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

(A) *Pacific Settlement-of Disputes.*

- (1) The Security Council should be empowered to investigate any dispute, or any situation which may lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute, in order to determine whether its continuance is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security.
- ★

- (1) The Security Council should be empowered to investigate any dispute, or any situation which may, in its opinion, lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute in order to determine whether its continuance is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security.

(2) Any State, whether member of the Organisation or not, may bring any such dispute or situation to the attention of the General Assembly or of the Security Council.

(3) The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, should obligate themselves, first of all, to seek a solution by negotiation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement, or other peaceful means of their own choice. The Security Council should call upon the parties to settle their dispute by such means.

(4) If, nevertheless, parties to a dispute of the nature referred to in paragraph 3 above fail to settle it by the means indicated in that paragraph, they should obligate themselves to refer it to the Security Council. The Security Council should in each case decide whether or not the continuance of the particular dispute is in fact likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security and, accordingly, whether the Security Council should deal with the dispute, and, if so, whether it should take action under paragraph 5.

(5) The Security Council should be empowered at any stage of a dispute of the nature referred to in paragraph 3 above to recommend appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment.

(3) The parties to any dispute should obligate themselves, first of all, to seek a solution by negotiation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement, or other peaceful means of their own choice. The Security Council may call upon the parties to settle their dispute by such means.

(4) If, nevertheless, parties to a dispute fail to settle it by the means indicated in paragraph 3, they should obligate themselves to refer it to the Security Council.

(5) The Security Council should be empowered at any stage of a dispute to recommend appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment.

(6) Justiciable disputes should normally be referred to the International Court of Justice. The Security Council should be empowered to refer to the Court for advice legal questions connected with other disputes.

(7) The provisions of paragraphs 1-6 of Section (A) should not apply to situations or disputes arising out of matters which by international law are solely within the domestic jurisdiction of the State concerned.

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

(1) Should the Security Council deem that a failure to settle a dispute in accordance with the procedures indicated in paragraph 3 of Section A, or in accordance with its recommendations made under paragraph 5 of Section A, constitutes a threat to the maintenance of international peace and security, it should take any measures necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Organisation.

(2) ⁽¹⁰⁾In general the Security Council should determine the ★ existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression, and should make recommendations or decide upon the measures to be taken to maintain or restore peace and security.

(3) The Security Council should be empowered to determine what diplomatic, economic or other measures not involving the use of armed force should be employed to give effect to its decisions, and to call upon members of the Organisation to apply such measures. Such measures may include complete or partial interruption of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic and economic relations.

(4) Should the Security Council consider such measures to be inadequate, it should be empowered to take such action by air,

naval or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such action may include demonstrations, blockade and other operations by air, sea or land forces of members of the Organisation.

- (5) In order that all members of the Organisation should contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, they should undertake to make available to the Security Council, on its call and in accordance with a special agreement or agreements concluded among themselves, armed forces, (11) facilities and assistance necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security. Such agreement or agreements should govern the numbers and types of forces and the nature of the facilities and assistance to be provided. The special agreement or agreements should be negotiated as soon as possible, and should in each case be subject to approval by the Security Council and to ratification by the Signatory States in accordance with their constitutional processes.
- (6) In order to enable urgent military measures to be taken by the Organisation, there should be held immediately available by the members of the Organisation national Air Force contingents (11) for combined international enforcement action. The strength and degree of readiness of these contingents and plans for their combined action should be determined by the Security Council, with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee, within the limits laid down in the special agreement or agreements referred to in paragraph (5) above.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(C) *Regional Arrangements.* | (C) *Regional Security Arrangements.* *

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

(2) The Security Council should, where appropriate, utilise such arrangements or agencies for enforcement action under its authority but no enforcement action should be taken under regional arrangements or by regional agencies without the authorisation of the Security Council.

(3) The Security Council should at all times be kept fully informed of activities undertaken or in contemplation under regional arrangements or by regional agencies for the maintenance of international peace and security.

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

(A) *Purpose and Relationships.*

(1) With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations, the Organisation should facilitate solutions of

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

international economic, social and other humanitarian problems and promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. * (12) Responsibility for the discharge of this function should be vested in the General Assembly and under the authority of the General Assembly in an Economic and Social Council.

(2) The various specialised economic, social and other organisations and agencies would have responsibilities in their respective fields as defined in their statutes. Each such organisation or agency should be brought into relationship with the Organisation on terms to be determined by agreement between the Economic and Social Council and the appropriate authorities of the specialised organisation or agency, subject to approval by the General Assembly.

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

(B) *Composition and Voting.*

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

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

The Economic and Social Council should be empowered :

- (a) To carry out, within the scope of its functions, recommendations of the General Assembly.
- (b) (13) To make recommendations on its own initiative with respect to international, economic, social and other humanitarian matters.

* The attention of H.M. Government is especially invited to the detailed suggestions in Note 12, pp. 27 and 28.

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

(D) *Organisation and Procedure.*

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

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

CHAPTER X.—THE SECRETARIAT.

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

CHAPTER XI.—AMENDMENTS.

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

CHAPTER XII.—TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS.

- (1) Pending the coming into force of the special agreement or agreements referred to in Chapter VIII, Section (B), paragraph

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

NOTES.

I. TITLE.

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

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

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

3. CHAPTER II (1).

The words "sovereign equality of all peace-loving States" are in our opinion too vague. Neither "sovereign equality" nor "peace-loving" are capable of precise definition. We presume that what is meant is that membership of the Organisa-

tion shall be confined to such States as indicate their love of peace by accepting the objects and principles of the Charter, and that the sovereignty of all States members shall be equal, *i.e.*, they will be equally entitled to the benefits and equally subject to the obligations of the Charter.

4. CHAPTER V, B (1).

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

5. CHAPTER V, B (1).

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

6. CHAPTER VI, A.

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

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

7. and 8. CHAPTER VI, D.—*Procedure.*

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

The words we propose to add to this section are due to our wish to emphasise the importance of Ministers of Cabinet rank attending all the meetings of the Security Council when-

ever matters of real importance are likely to be discussed and not only the regular periodic meetings.

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

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

10. CHAPTER VIII, B (2).

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

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

See "Principal Suggestions concerning the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals."

12. CHAPTER IX, A (1).

See "Principal Suggestions concerning the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals."

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

See "Principal Suggestions concerning the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals."

APPENDIX

Principal Suggestions concerning the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals.

1. DECLARATION.

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

2. GROWTH.

We believe that the individual, separate sovereign States should use this Organisation to foster the growth of a greater unity in the future. We, therefore, suggest an addition to Clause (2) of Chapter I; and we suggest below (9) that the national armed contingents at the disposal of the Organisation should so work together in peace that they may not only be effective in suppressing aggression but lead eventually to the formation of an international force.

CHAPTERS I AND VIII.

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

CHAPTER IV.

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

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

CHAPTER V.

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

CHAPTER VI.

7. Suggestions for voting procedure in the Security Council were drafted by the Union's Executive for submission to the General Council of the Union before the proposals of the Crimea Conference on the subject were announced. Having considered the proposals of the Crimea Conference, the General Council passed the resolution contained in the Note in Chapter VI (C), page 11.

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

CHAPTER VIII.

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

We trust that the armed forces mentioned in this paragraph—the air forces, and also when practicable the sea and land forces

—will in peace-time arrange for such co-operation, by means of exercises, manoeuvres, &c., as will enable them to act speedily and effectively should an international crisis necessitating their employment arise. We also express the hope that the successful employment of co-operating national contingents may be replaced at the earliest possible moment by the creation of a genuinely international force, recruited by, paid by, and under the orders of the Organisation itself.

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

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

CHAPTER IX.

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

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

and enforced by courts of law in the countries the governments of which have ratified the convention. Lastly, the existence of such an international convention would, by making them of international concern, justify the intervention of the Assembly in cases of extreme or sustained violation of these human rights and freedoms by administrative action, or denial of them by legislation.

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

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

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

be the task of the Economic and Social Council as determined by the discussions of the Assembly.

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

CHAPTER VI.

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

MR. CORDELL HULL at the opening of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference :

"We are fully aware that no institution—especially when it is of as great an importance as the one now in our thoughts—will endure unless there is behind it considered and complete popular support. The will to peace must spring from the hearts and minds of men and women everywhere if it is to achieve enduring peace."

MR. CHURCHILL in reporting to Parliament on the Crimea Conference :

"I am anxious that all parties should be united in this new instrument (the new United Nations Organisation to be set up at San Francisco) so that in these supreme affairs we shall be, in Mr. Gladstone's words, 'high and dry above the ebb and flow of party politics.'"

* * *

"It is to this strong body that we look to prevent wars of aggression, or the preparation of such wars, and to enable disputes between states, both great and small, to be adjusted by peaceful and lawful means, by persuasion, by the pressure of public opinion, by legal method, and eventually by another category of method which constitutes the principle of this new organisation."

* * *

"All the work that was done in the past, all the experience that has been gathered by the working of the League of Nations will not be cast away, but the new body will differ from it in the essential point that it will not shrink from establishing its will against the evil doer or evil planner in good time and by force of arms."

MR. ATTLEE who with Mr. Eden will represent Great Britain at the San Francisco Conference, said in the course of the debate :

"At San Francisco we shall be taking part in a conference that might well determine the whole future of mankind for centuries."

* * *

"I would like to regard the acceptance by the House of this motion as a step in the achievement of unity of policy in foreign affairs and

defence and a unity of purpose common to all the major political parties ; the policy of a world organisation for peace and co-operation in the activities of peace, and a resolve by all not to give lip service only but to accept whole-heartedly the obligations which that policy entails. In the immediate future it may be that people will flag, that there will be a tendency to relax and to say that we have accepted heavy burdens. But they are nothing like as heavy as the burdens we have had to accept because we would not take up the obligations in support of the principles of collective security embodied in the League of Nations and now, I hope, to be embodied in the international law of the civilised world."

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT, in reporting to Congress :

"World peace is not a party question any more than is military victory . . . The same consecration to the cause of peace will be expected by every patriotic American and by every human soul overseas. The structure of world peace cannot be the work of one man or one party or one nation. It cannot be an American peace, or a British, a Russian, a French, or a Chinese peace. It cannot be a peace of large nations, or of small nations. It must be a peace which rests on the co-operative effort of the whole world."

MR. HERBERT MORRISON, in a speech at Manchester :

"Nor is this a task for Governments alone. An international organisation can only do its job if it has behind it an alert, lively, courageous public opinion in deadly earnest about the task. The men and women in the international assemblies will reflect the mood of peoples. It is for the peoples to keep their purpose clear and their will firm."

VISCOUNT SAMUEL in a House of Lords debate :

"We watch to-day the page slowly turn. What is to be written there next ? It depends not merely upon skill in drafting formulas, though that also is necessary, but depends (and this cannot be too frequently repeated) upon whether the masses of mankind will consent to place spiritual and moral factors in predominance over their actions. It depends in fact upon whether there is among nations a will to peace or a will to power."

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Mr. Herbert Morrison, in a speech at Manchester:

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