

Section.

GENERAL.

11569

REGISTRY.

Section No.

40.

Document No.

1329

Dossier No.

854

Document précédent, No. 1252

Document suivant, No. 1401

(Suite donnée.)

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Distribution

Summary

Print

Réponses, &c. (Out Letter Book) :—

Index C. 12. |

A classer. ms.

Expéditeur.

Writer.

League of Nations.

Date

Oct. 9th

Sujet

Subject Weekly Conference in Secretary-General's Room.

Minutes of the 7th Meeting. Oct. 12th

Subjects discussed:—

1st Meeting of the Council and of the Assembly. (dist of Agenda attached).

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? Mons. Monnet

Oct. 3

Maj. Buxton

April 27/20

MINUTES OF A MEETING, held in the Secretary General's
Room, on Wednesday, October 1, 1919, at 3.30p.m.

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Present:

The Secretary General;
Mr. Fosdick;
Dr. Nitobe;
Sir Herbert Ames;
Mr. Colban;
Mr. Salter;
Dr. von Hamel;
Monsieur Varlez;
Captain Walters.

The Secretary General said that the information received since the last meeting seemed to show that it was unlikely that the Treaty would come into force until the decision of the United States Senate had been taken.

He then read a memorandum (attached) on the probable development of the activity of the League in the immediate future.

Sir Herbert Ames suggested, and the Secretary General agreed, that the list of items for the Council to consider should probably include a budget covering the period up to 31st March 1920. It was only possible now to put in a six months' estimate and it would be a rough one at that; but there was much to be gained by getting the Council's sanction for this estimate. It would be difficult to ask for the allocated shares before that sanction had been obtained. In passing, he remarked that it would probably be desirable to ask for a somewhat larger amount than we should actually spend. He wanted to have a bank balance to meet expenses during that part of the following financial year, which would precede payment of their shares by the members.

The Secretary General said that it was desirable to consider the question of who ought to attend the Assembly. He asked the Directors to consider after seeing the Agenda, whether they would need to attend personally, and if so, whom they must take with them; if not, whether their sections ought to be represented. He asked them to put down the names of those whose special knowledge made them indispensable, and also a statement of what stenographers, etc.

would be wanted. Of course it was desirable, for reasons of economy and space, that the smallest number compatible with efficiency should be taken; The United States Government could supply the necessary mechanical staff, so far as English was concerned; but it was stated that it was cheaper to send out stenographers from England, paying their fares and subsistence allowances, than to engage them on the spot. The question was also raised whether it might be necessary to charter a special steamer to take to America the large number of delegates and their staffs from Europe, which with the staff of the Secretariat might amount altogether to about 700 people.

Mr. Salter said that the Secretariat should consider what to do if the bus and tram employees came out. It might be worth while to hire a car to collect workers living outside walking distance. It was agreed that the Internal Committee should enquire into the possibility of getting temporary accommodation in the neighbourhood.

Sir Herbert Ames said that he would shortly circulate an interim budget of a very rough nature, and asked whether he should circulate it as a whole or send to each Section that part which specially concerned it. The Secretary General said that it should be circulated as a whole.

Sir H. Ames said that his report on the allocation of League expenses was now in the hands of the Secretary General. It would no doubt soon be circulated, and he would then greatly value the views of members of the Secretariat on the fairness of the assessment made for their own countries.

Monsieur Varlez said that the coming Labour Conference still gave rise to controversy.

First, there was the question whether the United States would take part if their Senate had not yet ratified the Treaty. Second, the question whether the workers should send representatives. There was an inconsistency between Monsieur Clemenceau's promise of a definite invitation for ex-enemy States, and the Supreme Council's decision merely to put no obstacle in the way of their going to

Washington. Mr. Gompers had suggested that the original Labour Commission should meet in Paris. The Council of Five had declined to call it together until they knew what subjects it should discuss. Monsieur Vanderwelde had written to Mr. Barnes that the position as regards ex-enemy States was not satisfactory, and urging a meeting of the Commission at Paris. Mr. Barnes replied that British Trade Unions had accepted without reservations the invitation to go to Washington, and he was against a further meeting.

The Secretary General said that he understood that M. Jouhaux and the French Trade Unions had agreed to send to Washington.

Monsieur Varlez quoted on the other side an interview published on September 20 by the Dutch newspaper "Het Volk", in which the President of the Union des Syndicats declared that the Germans would not be satisfied with the Paris decision, and that Scandinavian Labour would take the same point of view.

Mr. Fosdick said that Mr. Gompers approved of the Paris decision, so that it appeared that there was a split between the American, French and British Trade Unions on the one side, and some of the other Labour Parties on the other.

The Secretary General said that it was clear that there would be a Conference, and the secretariat must be represented at it. This was, for practical purposes, all that it was immediately necessary for us to know.

Dr. van Hamel referred to the question of disarmament. In many countries, particularly in Switzerland and Holland, enthusiasm for the League was in proportion to the desire for limitation of armaments. Were any steps being taken now to promote it?

The Secretary General hoped that the question would be thrashed out in the Assembly, and practical steps could then be taken. As regards the Permanent Commission to advise on disarmament - in this country the War Office, Admiralty and Air Ministry were now ascertaining one another's views.

Mr. Salter said that the personnel of the Commission was very important, and that he hoped that this would be realised.

The Secretary General said that the Admiralty certainly realised the importance of appointing a first-rate representative, and held the view, which he personally thought was important - viz:- that the representatives should speak in the name of their respective Departments, and not be appointed by the League.

If as now seems probable, the Treaty will not come into force until the decision of the United States Senate as regards ratification is definitely known, or at any rate till shortly before that date, it will be practicable for a representative of the United States to be present at the first meeting of the Council.

The Council should be convoked not later than ten days after the coming into force of the Treaty. Should it not be possible for an American representative to be present at the first meeting the only subject with which the Council would deal would be the selection of three members of the Sarre Valley Delimitation Commission. In this case, the meeting ought probably to be held in Paris, and no particular publicity given to it.

A If, on the other hand, a representative of the United States can be present, the meeting should, I think, be held in London, and ought in view of the questions to be discussed to last for at least three or four days. A list of subjects which it is desirable, and in some cases necessary, for the Council to consider before the Assembly meets is attached. Full publicity ought to be given to the meetings of the Council, and might specially be directed to the fact that the Council is undertaking certain necessary preparatory work for the first meeting of the Assembly.

I trust, therefore, that if a United States representative can be present the President may instruct me to convoke a meeting of the Council in London some ten days after the Treaty has come into force.

B With regard to the first meeting of the Assembly, I hope that the President will decide to summon it in Washington as soon as practicable after the United States have ratified the Treaty. A period of nine or ten weeks must be allowed for the coming into force of the Treaty in order to provide for the accessions under Article 1 of the Covenant. Proposals for the agenda of the first meeting are attached. They must, I think, be submitted to the Council for approval. Probably the best method of procedure would be for the President to instruct me to inform the Council that he

proposes to convoke a Meeting of the Assembly at Washington at a given date. If he does so it would be desirable that he should also tell me to ask the various Governments Members of the League to inform the Secretariat of any particular subject which they wish to bring forward at the meeting of the Assembly. I trust, however, that in most cases the President of the Assembly will decide, in view of the conditions of the first meeting, that the Governments of the various States have not been able to give sufficient consideration to the subjects thus brought forward and that therefore discussion with regard to them had better be postponed till the second meeting of the Assembly which should, I feel convinced, take place at Geneva six months after the termination of the first meeting.

1st October, 1919.

A

LIST OF AGENDA FOR THE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL.

1. Saar Basin Frontier Commission.

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Memorandum by the Secretary General.

Under Article 48 of the Peace Treaty, 3 out of the 5 Members of the Saar Basin Frontier Commission are to be appointed by the Council of the League of Nations. The memorandum draws attention to the points to be considered by the Council.

Draft Resolution concerning the Commission.

2. Saar Basin Governing Commission.

Memorandum by the Secretary General.

Under Article 17 of the Annex to Section 4, Part 3, of the Treaty of Peace with Germany, ^{the} 5 Members of the Saar Basin Governing Commission are to be appointed by the Council of the League of Nations. The memorandum draws attention to the points to be considered by the Council.

Draft Resolution concerning the Commission.

3. Free City of Danzig.

Memorandum by the Secretary General.

Under Article 103 of the Peace Treaty, the League of Nations will appoint a High Commissioner, who shall reside at Danzig. Certain considerations in connection with this appointment are dealt with in the memorandum.

Draft Resolution concerning the High Commissioner.

4. Provisional Order of Procedure for the Council of the League of Nations

5. Health.

Memorandum by the Secretary General.

Under Article 23(f) and Article 25 of the Covenant, the League has certain very important duties imposed upon it with regard to Health matters throughout the world. It seems necessary for a small permanent international body to be constituted, to whom the Council can refer Health Problems. It is suggested that the Ministry of Health in London might be asked to arrange for a small conference of international experts, who should submit proposals for the consideration of the Council.

6. Staff of the Secretariat.

Memorandum by the Secretary General, asking for confirmation of the provisional appointments, explaining the organisation of the Staff, and submitting a Resolution that no Member of the Staff should accept any honour or decoration during his or her appointment.

7. Admissions to the League.

Memorandum by the Secretary General suggesting that the Council, advised by the Permanent Commission appointed under Article 9 of the Covenant, should prepare recommendations for the Assembly in regard to military, naval and air forces of States seeking admission to the League. Applications, which are not legally valid, have been made by 4 States for admission. Extracts from the letters ^{from these states} are attached to the memorandum.

8. Communications.

Memorandum by the Secretary General, quoting 2 Resolutions proposed at the meeting of the Organisation Committee with regard to the establishment of communications between the national Governments and the Secretariat. The memorandum submits further Resolutions on this subject, which have been re-drafted with a view to meeting the various objections made by certain Members of the Organisation Committee.

9. Permanent Court of International Justice.

Memorandum by the Secretary General, submitting a list of names of International Jurists, who may be invited to form a committee to prepare plans for the Permanent Court of International Justice. A draft letter of invitation to serve on the committee of International Jurists is attached to the memorandum.

10. Letter from the National Council of Women of Great Britain & Ireland.

urging the representation of women on the Commissions under the control of the League.

11. Transit. Water-ways, Ports, and Railways.

Memorandum by the Secretary General, suggesting a Resolution, confirming the Commission appointed by the French Government.

as being

an appropriate body from which the Council may ask any advice required, when called upon to undertake the various tasks under the Ports, Water-ways and Railway clauses of the Treaty of Peace.

12. Agenda for the first session of the Assembly.

Memorandum by the Secretary General to be submitted to the Council, suggesting the subjects for the Agenda for the first session of the Assembly.

13. Provisional Order of Procedure for the Assembly.

14. The Economic situation and preparatory measures to give effect to Article 16. of the Covenant.

Memorandum by the Secretariat, to be submitted to the Council for approval, before submission to the Assembly.

15. Budget up to March 31. 1920.

16. Future apportionment of the expenses of the International Secretariat etc. between Members of the League.

Scheme for submission to the Assembly.

Memorandum by the Secretary General.

17. Definition Statement of the terms of the 3 classes of Mandates.

The Treaties between France, Great Britain and the United States stipulate that these Treaties must be submitted to the Council of the League of Nations, and must be recognised by the Council, acting if need be by a majority, as engagements which are consistent with the Covenant of the League.

The British and Persian Governments intend, as soon as the Council of the League comes into effective existence to communicate the Persian agreement to the Council, together with a full explanation and defence of its contents.

The following memoranda will be circulated to the

Members of the Council:-

- (a) Correspondence between the Slavs of Lusace and the

Secretary General asking that the Slavs may be taken under

the protection of the League of Nations.

- (b) Correspondence between the Bund Neues Vaterland and the Secretary General suggesting that the League of Nations should lay down rules to enforce respect of humanitarian principles in the conduct of civil war.

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AGENDA FOR THE FIRST SESSION OF THE ASSEMBLY.

The work of the Assembly at its first session will depend to a great extent on the work already done by the Council.

If the Council at its first meetings deals with general questions and does not confine itself to the duties imposed on it by the Treaty of Peace, a considerable Agenda should be ready for the Assembly to tackle.

Apart from preliminary meetings of the Council held in London which will perhaps deal merely with the immediate duties imposed on the Council by the Treaty of Peace, there will be some fully attended Council meetings, probably also held in London, after ratification of the Treaty by the American Senate, at which general questions could be dealt with.

A period of at least 6 weeks will certainly elapse between ratification by America and the first meeting of the Assembly at Washington, which will give an interval, though not a long one, for the preparation and circulation of memoranda and resolutions referred by the Council to the Assembly.

Possibly there will also be a few meetings of the Council at Washington shortly before the meeting of the Assembly.

The subjects for the Agenda are put roughly in the order of probability of their inclusion.

- (1) Discussion and adoption of Rules of Procedure and Appointment of Committee to examine and report on the credentials of representatives.

The Draft Rules of Procedure for the Assembly should probably first be laid before the Council, because the Assembly will have to act on them, until the Committee, which they will no doubt appoint to consider them, has reported.

(2) Admission of any States not named in the Annex.

Any request for admission to the League should when possible be first reported to the Council, in order that they may ask the Permanent Commission constituted under Article 9 of the Covenant, to report on the military, naval, air and armament conditions required by the State asking for admission. The Council would then forward this report with any alterations they might make upon it, to the Assembly. As there will probably not be time this year to receive a report from the Permanent Commission even if it has been constituted, States might be admitted to the League by the Assembly, subject to their agreeing to be bound by any regulations which the Assembly might subsequently impose.

(3) Method of selection and appointment of the four non-permanent Members of the Council.

(4) Appointment of a Drafting Committee for reconciling the English and French texts of the Covenant.

(5) Resolution by Members of the League undertaking severally to interchange full and frank information as to the scale of their armaments, their military, naval and air programmes, and the conditions of such of their industries as are adaptable to warlike purposes.

(6) Report by the Council on work completed up to date.

The Council will certainly have appointed:-

- (a) The three Neutral Members of the Saar Boundary Commission,
 - (b) The Saar Governing Commission,
 - (c) The High Commissioner of Dantzig,
- and for the information of the Assembly and for the world in general will no doubt submit a short report to the Assembly on these appointments, with a statement in the case of Dantzig on the acceptance of the protection and guarantee of the Constitution of the Free City.

The Council will also include in their statement a report on:-

- (d) The establishment of a Permanent Commission under Article 9 of the Covenant.
- (e) The establishment of the Permanent Commission under Article 22 of the Covenant.

The latter will include a statement of the terms of the three classes of Mandates.

(7) Report by Secretary General on the organisation and work of the Secretariat

This report should be designed to show that members of the Staff hold a strictly international position and do not act in the capacity of representatives of their respective countries.

The following questions would be referred by the Council for the approval of the Assembly :-

(8) Plans for the establishment of the Permanent Court of International Justice, or, if the Committee of International Jurists have not yet reported, a request for authority to establish the Court provisionally, after the receipt of the recommendations of the Committee of International Jurists.

In the latter case, the constitution of the Court would, of course, be subject to revision at the next meeting of the Assembly.

The designation of river tribunals and of other arbitral authorities, such as those mentioned in Article 375 of the Peace Treaty, will probably be entrusted to the Permanent Court.

(9) *Consideration of Economic Questions.*
~~Establishment of an Economic Council under the League~~

Under this heading a report, prepared by the Secretariat, might, with the approval of the Council, be submitted on:

- (a) The International Economic and Finance position with reference to currency, the credit position cost of living, coal, food, and raw materials, use of war controls, growth of trade combinations, etc.
 - (b) The duty of the League (Article 23 (f) to secure "equitable treatment for the commerce of all Members of the League"
 - (c) Preparations required to enable the economic weapon of the League to be used in case of necessity.
 - (d) Co-ordination of statistics and questions as to the desirability of securing greater uniformity in coinage and weights and measures systems.
 - (e) *Establishment of an Economic Council or other bodies in connection with the above economic questions.*
- (10) Adhesions to the Arms Traffic Convention by Members.

(11) Adhesions to the Liquor Traffic Convention by Members who have African possessions.

The following questions may possibly be ready for inclusion in the Agenda for the Assembly:-

- (12) Establishment of a Permanent Transit Commission.
- (13) Approval of Convention to deal with the White Slave Traffic

An International Meeting is being held at Geneva in September to discuss this subject, and recommendations by the Meeting for action by the League, will probably be forwarded to the Secretariat, and may be ready to lay before the Assembly.

- (14) The Establishment of any International Health Organisation.
- (15) Approval of a General Transit Convention
- (16) Confirmation of any adhesions to the League which are not formally completed within the period of 2 months from the ratification of the Treaty.
- (17) Adhesions to the Opium and other dangerous drugs Convention by States invited to accede to the Covenant.
- (18) Any resolutions to the Labour Conference which may be submitted to the Assembly.

In addition, questions may be submitted by the Council under Article 15 of the Covenant, which deals with disputes not submitted to arbitration.

Questions may be raised by Members under Article 19 of the Covenant, which deals with Treaties which have become inapplicable, or under Article 20 of the Covenant, dealing with obligations inconsistent with the terms of the Covenant.

The Scandinavian States are preparing detailed proposals to be submitted to the Assembly on the following subjects:-

- (a) A rule insuring an Annual Meeting of the Assembly.

(b)

- (b) The establishment of a roster for non-permanent members of the Council, which will guarantee the representation by turn of all minor States on the Council.
- (c) Arrangements for the conclusion of arbitration treaties and the establishment of conciliation Boards between individual members of the League.

Lastly, the Council may refer amendments to the Covenant ratified by the Council for final ratification by the Assembly.

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