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MEMORANDUM

ORGANIZATION OF THE SECRETARIAT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

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I. General Conceptions.

1. International Character.

It is provided in the Covenant and must be constantly kept in mind, that the Secretariat of the League is an international body. Its members, though necessarily drawn from different nationalities, are to have no relation to their own government and must divorce themselves, so far as they humanly can, from the nationalistic way of thinking. It should be the object of the Secretary General to associate with himself the most capable people of experience in international affairs; when this condition of their choice has been satisfied, it should be his further object to draw these persons from as broad a range of nationalities as possible.

2. Flexibility in Organisation.

There are two chief reasons why it is important that the organization of the Secretariat should not be charted. In the first place, it will be difficult to secure capable men, even for the most important work, if some rigid graphic chart indicates that they are chosen for positions "under" any person other than the Secretary General. In the present plan, two persons (French and American) are considered as composing a kind of cabinet together with the Secretary General. They are naturally thought of as occupying the two places of highest importance after the Secretary General. Such a conception and designation is likely to preclude other people from accepting positions of perhaps even greater authority and influence.

In the second place, it will be impossible to foresee at the outset just what form the organization of the Secretariat will ultimately take. Experience will show that an enlargement,

diminution, or rearrangement of the sections will be necessary. It will be extremely likely, for example, that a section, originally of great importance, like that which will plan for the international Court of Justice will, after that body has been created, become nothing but a liaison section between the court itself and the Council and Assembly. If a too rigid assignment of duties should prevent the employment of the person who had planned the Court of Justice in some new task of equal importance, it would be most unfortunate.

3. Non-administrative Character.

Even if it were desirable, it would be impossible for the Secretariat to conduct all the affairs of the League and all affairs of international character in the interim between meetings of the Council and Assembly. Instead, the Secretariat should deliberately divest itself of administrative duties and let them devolve either upon competent bodies already created, like the International Labor Conference and the Red Cross, or upon satellite bodies of a similar character to be created under the Covenant, under the Treaty, or as the Secretariat itself shall deem advisable.

4. Positive Functions.

The Secretariat should be the channel through which the Council and Assembly may be addressed, the body by which the Council or Assembly may communicate with the governments of members of the League, the unit of liaison between the various international bodies brought in under the aegis of the League on the one hand and the Council and Assembly on the other. It must be the source of information and publicity concerning matters within the sphere of action of the League, not only for the world at large through the instrumentality of the press, but also as the Council or Assembly shall require this information.

These may be called the passive functions of the Secretariat. More important still are its two chief active functions. In the first place, it must prepare matters for the consideration of the Council and the Assembly. In the performance of this task, due regard must be paid to the claims of the various governments concerned in the decision and pains must be taken to present a complete survey of the case, not only in its political aspects, but in its economic, financial and legal aspects as well. At first sight this appears to be a routine duty; in reality, it is a tremendous responsibility and its proper performance will immeasurably contribute to the peace of the world. The Council and Assembly, meeting from time to time and composed of official representatives of the members of the League, will exhibit distinct national prepossessions. The Secretariat, a constantly functioning body of an international character, should aim to present the record in a purely objective form. If the work is faithfully and impartially done, it will be the most important element in inducing that unanimity of decision which is required by the Covenant.

Finally, the Secretariat should be a channel for the constant flow of information between governments - the exchange of all information of whatever nature which will tend to make the point of view of one nation clear to its fellow members of the League, long in advance of any conflict or dispute. Only by such a system of mutual enlightenment can the League hope to foster that international cooperation and understanding which is the only sure foundation of peace.

II. Organization of the Secretariat.

Under the Secretary General, and, as the plan now stands, under his two assistants, a number of sections must be set up;

1. Political.

It will be the task of this section to collect, edit and co-ordinate all material of the character of political information which comes to the Secretariat from whatever source. It will be derived, partly from the members of the League, partly from the bodies of commissions under the League, partly from the Press, and partly from occasional sources. Such a section might conveniently be divided along geographical lines, to comprise the following divisions:- Western European, Eastern European, Near Eastern, Far Eastern, American, etc.

2. Economic.

This section should be a clearing house for matters relating to economics and finance which have a bearing upon the activities of the League with reference to maintaining the peace of the world. Such a section, though receiving its information through the same channels as the Political section, might rather be subdivided into sections dealing with Finance, Shipping, Food, Raw Materials, etc.

3. Labor.

This section should be a unit of liaison between the International Labor Conference and the Council or Assembly. While the Political and Economic sections will have to be directed by first-class men of independent thought, the chief of the Labor section should rather be a diligent, conscientious and capable officer entrusted with the work of keeping the lines of communication open between the central organs of the League and the International Labor Conference. Labor matters must primarily be dealt with by the Conference: it must express its views through

a Director of Labor of superior calibre; and if a prominent person of intellectual independence were given charge of the Labor section of the Secretariat, undesirable antagonism might be provoked. This section might well constitute itself a convenient source of information concerning ~~the~~ questions dealing with labor conditions, movements and legislation.

4. Mandatory.

A section dealing with mandatory matters should be created, to bear the same relation to the Mandatory Commission as the Labor section will bear to the International Labor Conference.

5. Military and Naval.

Similarly there should be a military and naval section, entirely a liaison and information body, which should constitute the channel of communication for the military and naval Commission, through the Secretary General, to the chief organs of the League.

5. Treaty Administration.

It will unquestionably be necessary to set up a section of the Secretariat which should always be completely informed concerning the performance of duties put upon the League by the Treaty of Peace. In organising this section, it should be kept in mind that its work is not permanent, but temporary, until the conditions of Peace are fulfilled.

6. International Organisations.

A section must be created to keep in touch with the activities of the various international organisations brought under the League, devoting its particular attention to those organizations whose connection with the League is close, and merely acting as a body of general information concerning those whose relationship is remote. It should take a survey of existing international organisations and determine the closeness of connection, it should advise the consolidation of others, or

their association with the League. It should decide upon the merits of the application of any international body seeking to become affiliated with the League. It should be scrupulously careful, however, to see that all the administrative work is performed by the organizations themselves.

7. Women.

When the various international women's organizations shall apply for affiliation with the League it will be necessary to have a Women's Section to serve, under the Secretariat, as a medium of transmitting recommendations and claims of these international organizations through the Secretariat for the consideration of the Council or the Assembly. Considering the important services which these organizations, and women generally, can render in the first stages of the life of the League, it is recommended that a Women's Section be created at the outset even before such affiliation takes place.. Such a concrete recognition of the importance of women and their relation to the League will be a strong factor in securing their support.

8. Establishment.

Such a section should deal with the practical matters of administration, such as contracts, disbursements, appointments, housing, communications and files - the business organization of the Secretariat.

9. Legal.

A Legal Section should be established to bear a general relation to all the other sections of the Secretariat ready to advise them upon any legal questions which may arise with regard to, say, the imposition of economic measures upon a recalcitrant state, the legal aspects of the recommendations of the Labor Section or the Women's Section, contracts about

to be entered into by the Establishment Section, etc. etc.

10. Research.

One of the lessons learned from the Peace Conference is the need of co-ordinating and integrating information. These various sections, as the plan now tentatively stands, will make separate reports directly to the Secretary General. It would therefore seem advisable to create, as between the various sections of the Secretariat and of the Secretary General, an intermediate body which might be known as the Division of Research. It would be the duty of this body, having at its command an adequate library, the archives of the League, and the memoranda of the various sections upon a certain matter, to co-ordinate these reports and present them as a single unified report to the proper body. Should any dispute arise, for example, which involved political, economic and legal questions in the administration of a mandatory state under the Conditions of Peace, this superior body would receive reports from the five sections concerned and would present them in the form of a complete survey for the information of the Secretary General and for transmission by him to the proper authorities. It is earnestly to be hoped some central body of this character will be created; otherwise the failure of the Peace Conference in organization will be repeated.

11. Information.

A central section must be created which shall be the incoming and outgoing channel of information. It should comprise a Press-Clipping Bureau for the convenience of the other sections of the Secretariat, and in turn should be the source from which the Press of the world may receive material. It should thus comprise a Division of Publicity, ready to supply the Press, magazine writers, historians and inquirers (official or non-official) with whatever they require. It should, under

the close supervision of the Secretary General, prepare an annual report and such periodical or occasional reports as may be necessary.

Most particularly, it should be the central office for receiving political or economic information from the governments of the States members, redistributing upon receipt all that can possibly be of interest to the governments of the other States members.

That this may be effectively done, it will be necessary for each member government to set up, as a part of its Foreign Office, a bureau whose one duty shall be to keep in constant contact with the League. Indeed the first act of the Organization Committee should be to pass a resolution recommending the establishment in every Foreign Office of a Bureau of this kind. The Division of Information must then keep this current of governmental information constantly flowing, for it represents the greatest form of international understanding.

May 20. 1919.

Dear Drummond! This is for you private information. It is of course very sketchy
MEMORANDUM BASED ON CONVERSATION HELD AT
23 RUE NIROT,
ON THE EVENING OF MAY 7, 1919.
Chubberty

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1. The office of the Secretary General should be organized in such a way as to relieve the Secretary General of all details. The Secretary General must be in close touch with all the activities of the League, but he must not be so tied up with any specific activity as to prevent his being in constant consultation with the members of the Council.

2. The Secretary General will appoint a French and an American, who will be given dignified titles of equal rank. It is unnecessary to define specifically their duties. They will constitute the "Cabinet" of the Secretary General, and will be his advisers. These men might be called "Under Secretary Generals," or "Deputy Secretary Generals," or "Assistant Secretary Generals." Personally, I am inclined to favor "Under Secretary Generals." *see slight amendments*

3. It is clear that there are two Divisions of the Secretary General's office, that should be organized almost at once. The work of these Divisions will, before long, become routine. These two Divisions are

- agreed*
very important work
L. view of Article III
- (1) Division of Political Intelligence. (Just as the Foreign Offices today of the different States receive daily advices from all over the world respecting conditions, the League of Nations will have to evolve some system to secure this information and properly to tabulate the same. A library will have to be started, and files, etc.

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- (2) Executive Division, or Office of Business Management. (A system of accounts must be inaugurated. The employment of clerical force. The Securing of offices and furnishing thereof and the general organization of the purely business end of the League of Nations must be taken up at once.)

4. The French "Under Secretary General" should be requested to charge himself with one supra, and the American "Under Secretary General" should be asked to charge himself with two supra. They should, with the approval of the Secretary General, appoint at once under

- (1) A "Director of Political Intelligence," and under
(2) An "Executive Officer," or "Business Manager."

The only immediate appointments that should be made in addition to these, are the appointment of

- (1) An Accountant or Disbursing Officer. (C.F.F.)
(2) Registrar or Chief Filing Clerk.
(3) Assistant General Manager.

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5. The accounts will probably have to be kept in both English and French and, therefore, probably two men will have to be found for this work, one to act as chief and the other as assistant.

6. The Secretary General already has in mind a man to act as Registrar.

7. I suggested the name of Harry R. Young, to do the work of "Assistant General Manager." Upon thinking the matter over, I think he is entirely competent to do the work of "Executive Officer," or "General Manager."

8. In order to get necessary rock-bottom organization in operation, the following steps should be taken:-

- (1) Decide on a Headquarters in London;
- (2) Send the "General Manager" to London to furnish a Headquarters and to engage the necessary clerical assistance; *a see note*
- (3) Install the Registrar and the Accountant.

9. While the Secretary General is away on his vacation, he should leave his private secretary in charge of the London Office. ✓

10. The Secretary General and the two "Under Secretary Generals" should, within the next few weeks, make plans for the organization of the various "Divisions" of the League of Nations. These "Divisions" should be organized as clearing houses of information, each in charge of a competent secretary.

For Example, there will probably have to be a "Division" devoted to each of the following:

- (1) ✓ Publicity.
- (2) Labor.
- (3) ✓ International Bureaux.
- (4) ✓ Mandatary Matters.
- (5) ✓ Special Administrations.
- (6) Permanent Commission, under Article 9 of the Covenant.
- (7) ✓ Court of International Justice, referred to in Article 14 of the Covenant.
- (8) ✓ Arbitration matters, under Article 13 of the Covenant.

(This list is of course not complete)

11. A uniform system of filing and recording should be set up for all of these "Divisions" and the Secretary of each of these "Divisions," should be under the jurisdiction of the "Secretary General." Each "Division" will have to be furnished office space, clerical assistance, etc., etc. In all probability, the individuals who will be most prominent in each of these "Divisions," will not remain at the Seat of the League continuously, but will be called in from time to time as special advisers on particular matters. The underlying organization, or Secretariat of each "Division," however, will be functioning all the time.

12. There must also be created a Legal Division, which, after the League has functioned for six months or so, will be run very much along the same lines as the other "Divisions," that is, a legal staff will always be on hand, but whenever anything particularly important arises, special counsel will be called in.

13. During the first few months, while the organization of the League is just beginning, the Secretary General will need a good deal of legal assistance and the members of the Council will each one need legal assistance from someone familiar with the laws of the country he represents.

14. I understand that at the present time a careful summary is being made of the duties required of the League of Nations by the Treaty of Peace.

15. I suggest that just as soon as this summary is prepared that Drummond issue a statement to the newspapers, giving a brief account of the progress of the temporary organization which he has set up. This statement might feature the following points:-

- (1) The functions of the League of Nations, as set forth in the Covenant itself.
- (2) The functions of the League of Nations, as set forth in the Treaty of Peace.
- (3) A general account of the scheme of organization proposed to be set up to carry into effect the duties of the League under one and two supra.

16. It will probably be necessary before issuing this statement to have it approved by the Organization Committee.

255

1919.