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The human problem involved in a transfer of populations on so vast a scale is very great. However, in the only instance in recent times—the exchange of populations between Turkey and Greece, after the first World War—the transfer was not only humanely and successfully carried out but is to-day recognised by both Greece and Turkey as having been beneficial to both.

It will of course immediately be alleged that any such adjustment as that proposed would constitute a flagrant violation of the assurance contained within the Atlantic Charter relative to the right of self-determination of all peoples. As I interpret that assurance it would prevent the transfer of peoples against their will from the jurisdiction of one sovereign government to that of another. It should make it impossible for Germans to be forced to become Polish nationals counter to their own free decision. It should prevent Poles from being compelled to live under Russian sovereignty, or vice versa. That, it seems to me, is the essential freedom implicit in the promise held out in the Atlantic Charter. If the assurance of the Atlantic Charter were to be so construed as to make impossible any orderly transfer of territories in any part of the world, there could be undertaken at the close of the war no remedial measures to provide for the solution of problems which have afflicted central and eastern Europe for many centuries, and the continuation of which in the post-war years would make impossible the creation of a stable and peaceful Europe.

# WORLD ORGANISATION

*PARTITION of Germany is only one of the steps which Mr. Welles sees as necessary for a stable world. Here the former U.S. Under-Secretary suggests the mechanics of a world organisation, the Provisional Executive Council, which would see that peace is kept. Some readers will like to compare his plan below with that adopted at Dumbarton Oaks.*

## Transition Period

IT is essential that the United Nations agree to a transition period to follow the surrender of their enemies. During this transition period the United Nations would have a chance to complete the first and most urgent military steps required; to correct the cardinal territorial errors of the past; to carry out such transfers of populations as may be necessary; to conclude the more immediate programmes for rehabilitation and reconstruction; and to pave the way for their ultimate assumption of international trusteeship over such dependent peoples as are not yet ready to enjoy the rights of self-government. During this period, as the hatreds and bitternesses engendered by the war years gradually burn themselves out, the United Nations can, little by little, determine the specific machinery needed for a permanent and effective international organisation.

Before and during the transition period, there must be effectively functioning some executive agency of the United Nations able to make political and military decisions for all of them. At the present moment no such executive agency exists. It is lamentable that this

executive agency should not have been set up for some time in order that it might carry over from the war into the post-armistice period. For it is inconceivable that the United Nations, let alone the few remaining neutral states, will reconcile themselves to being dominated for an indefinite period by a dictatorship composed of the four great powers. They are not fighting a war to liberate themselves from the domination of Hitlerism solely to replace the Axis tyranny with a new form of world dictatorship.

## Provisional Executive Council

ANY provisional executive council of the United Nations must afford the other members of the United Nations full right to share now in all non-military decisions.

This provisional council should be composed of 11 members, including a member designated by each of the four major Allied powers, namely, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, China, and the U.S.; two additional members chosen by the group of European states; two additional members chosen by the group of American states; one by the group of Far Eastern states; one by the group of states of the Near and Middle East and of Africa; and one by the British Dominions.

The members of the executive council representing the regional groups of states would be elected for a term of one year by all of the states comprised within that region, from a panel consisting of two nominees designated by each state within the regional group, such nominees being chosen from among the nationals of any of the states within that region.

By using the regional system of representation the U.S., under the plan proposed, would be given one vote in the provisional united nations executive council and the United Kingdom would also be given one individual vote. In addition, the U.S. would have the right, as one of the sovereign republics of the Western Hemisphere, to participate in the election of the two representatives from this hemisphere. In the same manner the United Kingdom, in addition to its individual representative, would have the right to vote for the two regional representatives from Europe. It would also have the right to participate in the selection of a representative of British Dominions.

## Two Basic Problems

THIS plan is intended to reconcile the two basic problems which proved difficult of reconciliation in the Covenant of the League of Nations and which are to-day perhaps even more difficult to reconcile.

It is to meet the first of these problems—the need to give the four major powers scope for their present military action—that I have proposed to give them direct representation in the provisional executive council; and further to make it necessary that their votes be cast affirmatively before any action is taken by the executive council.

The second problem—to give full representation and protection to the interests of the smaller nations—will, I believe, be met by building the world organisation upon a foundation of regional systems. By giving each region full representation in the executive council, and by guaranteeing to the council supreme authority, any trend toward regional antagonism and any tendency to use the regional systems for the aggrandisement of an individual power should be successfully combated.

The provisional United Nations executive council should come into being as soon as the protocol providing for its creation has been ratified by at least 20 states, members of the United Nations, including the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, China, and the U.S. Provision should be made within the protocol for the adherence of other sovereign states, not originally members of the United Nations, subsequent to the termination of the present war.

## Duties of The Council

THE executive council should be charged with the following duties:

1. The assumption of responsibility for determining the form of the administration of any Axis territory from the date upon which the military authorities of the major powers which have occupied that region agree that the purely military objectives in that region have been attained.
2. The determination of the procedure to be adopted for the pacific settlement of any dispute which may arise subsequent to the armistice and which threatens the peace.
3. When pacific methods of settlement prove ineffective, reference of the dispute, actual or threatened, to the police agency functioning under the authority of the executive council.

It is proposed that a security and armaments commission be designated by the executive council to function under its control and act as the policing agent of the council whenever armed force is necessary to keep the peace or to enforce the council's decisions. The security and armaments commission should be composed primarily of military, naval, and aviation representatives of the states and regional groups of states represented on the executive council.



NEW POLAND would be reduced in size by the Russian demand for an area east of Curzon line where the population is mostly non-Polish. To compensate Poland, she would get East Prussia from Germany. Poland's western border would also be redrawn to include in Germany a slice of territory where the population is mostly German. East Prussians may migrate to Germany, leaving the new Polish state without important minorities.