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"EQUAL
Before The Law"

Being

**PROPOSALS FOR AMENDMENT OF THE
UNITED NATIONS CHARTER**

Dated February 1, 1946

(In accordance with the Declaration adopted
by the Conference on World Government held
at Dublin, New Hampshire, U. S. A., October
11-16, 1945)

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A PETITION
to the
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
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A PETITION

To The

**GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED
NATIONS**

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Copies of this Petition may be obtained from any of the
above named. Also from Massachusetts Committee for
World Federation, 9 Park Street, Boston, Mass., U. S. A.,
and Missouri State Committee for World Federation, 1230
Olive Street, St. Louis, Mo., U. S. A.

THE JOINT PARLIAMENTS OF GREAT
BRITAIN AND IRELAND

1946. 1. 1. 1946.

February 1, 1946.

A PETITION FOR AMENDMENT OF THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER

To the Members of the General Assembly of
the United Nations:

The undersigned citizens and associations of
citizens of Members of the United Nations
hereby respectfully petition the members of the
General Assembly for the adoption of amend-
ments to the United Nations Charter whereby
the United Nations will be constituted as a
World Federal Government with limited but
definite and adequate powers for the prevention
of war.

We submit herewith specific proposals for
amendments to accomplish this end. We do so
in order to indicate specifically the minimum
changes in the Charter which we believe to be
necessary if the world is to free itself from the
 scourge of war and the constant apprehension
thereof. But in so doing we emphasize the fact
that the textual proposals, while the result of
long consideration, are submitted tentatively
and in order to promote definite discussion and
action. We do not presume to submit these pro-
posals as the only or necessarily the best means
to accomplish the desired result.

The peoples of the world urgently need a
limited world government. The recent appalling
increase in the destructive power of modern
weapons, including long range planes and sub-
marines, rocket carried missiles and, above all,
the atomic bomb, has made the prevention of
war more than a matter of saving life and
property. It has become no less a question than
the survival of mankind in a civilized state.
Since the problem is of world wide scope it
demands a world wide solution. Because a world
scientific revolution has occurred we must meet
its implications by no less revolutionary ideas
and plans in the field of world political organ-

ization. Reason and experience prove that any League of States, preserving the absolute sovereignty of such states, is plainly inadequate to prevent war. A measure of actual world government is therefore, no longer merely a desirable goal. It has become a vital and immediate necessity.

However promising the Charter may have appeared when approved in June 1945, events occurring since then—including the application of atomic energy to weapons of war—have changed world conditions and have tremendously condensed the time within which necessary amendments must be made. Instead of starting all over again, we should build upon the valuable foundations already laid by proceeding through amendments which will so alter and strengthen the present Charter as to make it an instrument of limited world government. It should be and can be amended to this end.

The fundamental deficiency of the Charter now is that is based upon, preserves and confirms unlimited national sovereignty—at least so far as the permanent members of the Security Council are concerned. The requirement of unanimity on the part of China, France, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States for all important decisions of the Security Council represents a retention and confirmation of such unlimited national sovereignty. This rule makes it uncertain whether that Council can function promptly in a crisis to prevent war. Reason compels the conclusion that there can be no assurance of effective action where such action can be taken only with the unanimous approval of a number of sovereign nations.

On the other hand the provision that each member in the General Assembly shall have one vote (irrespective of population, natural, industrial, and military resources or any other factor) makes it unreasonable and virtually impossible to vest important powers of decision or action in an Assembly so constituted. It is not in accord with reason or common sense to expect

that great and powerful nations with populations of 100 millions or more will consent to be bound in important matters by the action of a body in which they have no more voice than small nations of one million or less.

Thus, under the present Charter there exists the combination of an Assembly that cannot or will not be granted any important powers of decision—because of the rule of one vote for each country—and a Council in which prompt action cannot be relied upon because of the veto right in the permanent members. This combination has convinced thinking men and women throughout the world that the structure established by the present Charter is manifestly deficient.

The present Charter can be successfully amended. But the amendments, to accomplish the purpose, must alter certain of the first principles and main features of the structure.

General Proposals

Instead of an Assembly in which the smallest and weakest country has an equal voice with the most populous or the most powerful, the Assembly, it is submitted, should be reconstituted upon the principle of weighted or balanced representation. This does not mean any impairment of the juridical equality of each member country. The smallest and weakest would remain absolutely equal with the greatest Powers before the law. It does mean, however, the abolition of the present rule whereby each member nation has one vote without regard to population or any other factor. Instead of this obsolete conception, each Member should be equitably represented in the Assembly in proportion not only to its population, but also in relation to such factors as resources, production, and current ability to contribute to world order and progress.

Except in a few special instances, decisions of the Assembly so re-constituted should be by majority vote,—as is the case in all the principal

parliamentary bodies of the world, and in the International Court of Justice—so that there will be an assurance of prompt decisions. The representatives therein should vote as individuals, according to their individual convictions, and not in blocs as representing the countries from which they come. They would thus vote, so far as human nature permits, for the general welfare of the world and not in the supposed interest of any particular country.

With a General Assembly constituted on a fair basis of balanced representation, the way would be open to increase the authority of the Assembly by vesting in it wider and more important powers. Thus the smaller countries would take part directly on a proportional basis in all decisions, instead of exercising the less direct influence to which they are now limited. While, in some instances, their nominal proportionate votes would be less than under the present rule of one vote for each country, their actual positions would become more representative, dignified and influential.

By reconstituting the Assembly upon such a balanced system of representation, with decisions in most instances by majority vote, it could and should be made the most important organ of the United Nations. It can be clothed with definite legislative powers to prevent or suppress war. These powers to legislate by binding enactment should be carefully defined and limited and yet be adequate to the purpose. All other powers should be reserved to the member countries, or to the peoples thereof, no power being delegated to the central authority beyond what is essential for the survival of humanity and civilization.

Although the power of the Assembly to bind by world law should be narrowly and carefully defined, it will be wise and consistent to retain, in addition to its restricted legislative powers, broad authority to investigate and make recommendations. This authority should extend to a wide range of subjects involving the economic and social welfare of the peoples. The powers to

investigate and recommend wisely given by the present Charter appear adequate, as does the authority to appoint and supervise subsidiary agencies. All these powers should be retained. The additional powers to legislate must be sufficient to enable the prevention of war, but at present should be confined within strict limits.

It can, indeed, be forcefully argued that, if we are to have a World Federal Government at all, it should have definite powers of regulation as to such matters as international shipping, aviation and communications; and even as to labor conditions and the promotion of agriculture, health and education. But no matter how important the authority to enact world legislation in such fields may seem to be for the general welfare of mankind and the reduction of international friction, it is wise, we believe, to confine the legislative power at the outset to matters plainly and directly related to the prevention of war, leaving the problem of expanding the legislative powers to a time when the governments and peoples have become more accustomed to Federalism on a world scale.

These principles envisage the transfer to the Assembly of the basic authority now vested in the Security Council. But the changes do not involve the abolition of that body. It should continue in existence, but it should be chosen by the Assembly to which it should be responsive and responsible; and it should function pursuant to powers delegated by the Assembly and under voting procedures prescribed by the Assembly. Thus it would operate as an executive committee of the Assembly, rather than as an independent body with independent authority.

The petitioners also respectfully submit that consideration should be given to amending the Charter so as to strengthen the provisions for the decision by impartial tribunals of disputes between nations. Even if it is not now feasible to achieve such a procedure in the case of all disputes between nations, consideration might well be given to an amendment whereby if the

General Assembly, or the Security Council acting for the Assembly, determines that a particular dispute between nations is of so serious a character as to endanger peace, the Assembly or Security Council may require submission of the dispute for decision by an impartial tribunal,—either by the International Court of Justice or an arbitral tribunal, dependent upon the nature of the dispute.

We believe also that the authority of the Assembly or Security Council on its behalf to enforce compliance with the judgments or orders of the Court or of such arbitral tribunal should be clarified and strengthened.

It is essential that there shall be some final judicial authority to interpret the Charter. Accordingly, we submit that the Charter and the statute of the International Court of Justice should be so amended as to establish beyond question the authority of the Court to interpret the Charter.

The petitioners believe also that, in view of the legislative powers given by the proposed amendments, a Bill of Rights should be included in the Charter to protect the individual against abuse of the new powers.

Finally the petitioners submit that the procedure for amendment of the Charter should be liberalized. Recognizing that no one is wise enough to anticipate changes that time and experience may make necessary, it should not be possible for any single nation by its veto, as is now possible, to prevent the adoption of amendments agreed to by a great majority of the governments and peoples of the world.

The foregoing general proposals are in accord with the principles stated in a Declaration issued October 16, 1945 by a conference of citizens of the United States held at Dublin, New Hampshire, U. S. A.

To give effect to these principles and proposals there are herewith submitted for consideration and discussion the following proposed amendments to the Charter.

SPECIFIC PROPOSALS

I

AMENDMENT OF PROVISIONS FOR THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

In order to make operative the foregoing principles, it will be necessary to amend fundamentally the Articles dealing with the General Assembly, *firstly*, in respect of its composition and voting procedures and, *secondly*, in respect of its powers.

In respect of the composition of the Assembly on the principle of balanced representation it will be desirable as soon as possible to adopt a formula and procedure whereby the number of Representatives chosen by the member states may be periodically adjusted in view of inevitable changes in population and capacity. The formula should, we believe, take into account not only the populations of the respective Members but also their natural and industrial resources, production, ability to contribute to world order and progress, and such other factors as the General Assembly may deem relevant.

In the meantime, and in order to make a start, it will be necessary to adopt a definite apportionment for the present Members, pending the taking of a world census and the application of the formula determined upon.

The revision of Article 9, proposed below, conforms to these ideas. Paragraph 2 of the revised Article, while not suggesting a definite permanent formula, indicates its general nature with provision for an initial and periodical world censuses.

Paragraph 3 contains a proposed transitional apportionment of Representatives.

The suggested transitional apportionment is based on two main assumptions. The first is that the British Commonwealth and Empire as a whole, the U. S. S. R. as a whole, and the United States as a whole, are entitled to equal

representation. They have acted as equals in World War II. Taking all factors, tangible and intangible, into account, they can be said to be equal in influence in world affairs. It is fair and practical that, under present circumstances, there should be no discrimination between them. It is on this basis that the number allotted to each is placed at 65.

The second assumption is that each member state should have at least one Representative, so that every Member shall be able to make itself heard and vote directly on all questions in the Assembly. Eighteen Members with relatively small populations and resources are, therefore, allotted one vote each, even though in most or all of such cases, the effect is to give more representation to those Members than could be justified on a strict basis of relative power and influence in world affairs.

Within these maximum and minimum limits, the suggested temporary allotment, while not computed on a fixed formula, seeks to take into account the factors above mentioned,—population, natural and industrial resources, production, and ability to contribute to world order and progress. Under this suggested transitional allotment, the total number of Representatives for the present fifty-one Members would be 367.

It is to be hoped that all the other states of the world will be admitted as Members. When the membership is universal, the General Assembly would, on the assumed basis, comprise no more than about 480 Representatives. Considering that they would represent 2,200,000,000 people and that the British House of Commons has 640 members, the Soviet Council of the Union 647, and the Congress of the United States 531—a membership approaching 500 is not too large for an Assembly representative of the whole world.

In suggesting the following table for the transitional apportionment of Representatives, we emphasize that while it has been the subject

of much study and is believed to be rational, it is submitted by way of illustration only. We realize that the working out of any plan for the apportionment of Representatives is difficult. We believe, however, that the problem is capable of solution with a spirit of reasonable accommodation and understanding. We believe also that it serves a useful purpose to make a concrete suggestion for purposes of discussion.

The following textual amendments are suggested:

COMPOSITION

Change Article 9 to read as follows:

Article 9

1. The General Assembly shall be composed of Representatives chosen for terms of four years by the several Members of the United Nations. Each Member shall be free to determine for itself the manner of choice; but it is desirable that the Representatives shall be elected by the peoples of the Members of the United Nations through elections participated in by the voters in each member country qualified to vote for the members of the most numerous branch of the national legislature.

2. [This paragraph should contain a formula for the apportionment of Representatives to be chosen by the Members. As above noted, such formula should take into account not only population, but also resources, production, and ability to contribute to world order and progress. It should provide for an initial world census to obtain the data for the application of the formula and for periodical world censuses, presumably every ten years, upon which to base periodical adjustments of the representation, in view of changing conditions.]

3. Until an apportionment is made under paragraph 2 the number of Representatives

which each Member shall be entitled to choose shall be as follows:

Members of the United Nations (as of Feb. 1, 1946)	Representatives
The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Byelorussian S.S.R., and the Ukrainian S.S.R. (the apportionment to be determined by agreement among themselves)	65
The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Canada, Australia, the Union of South Africa, New Zealand and India (the apportionment to be determined by agreement among themselves)	65
The United States of America and The Philippine Commonwealth (the apportionment to be determined by agreement among themselves)	65
China	25
France	25
The Netherlands	12
Belgium	9
Brazil	9
Poland	9
Argentina	8
Czechoslovakia	7
Mexico	7
Turkey	5
Yugoslavia	5
Denmark	4
Egypt	4
Norway	4
Chile	3
Colombia	3
Cuba	3
Greece	3
Iran (Persia)	3
Peru	2
Uruguay	2
Venezuela	2
Bolivia	1
Costa Rica	1
Dominican Republic	1
Ecuador	1
El Salvador	1
Ethiopia	1
Guatemala	1
Haiti	1
Honduras	1
Iraq	1
Lebanon	1
Liberia	1
Luxembourg	1

Members of the United Nations (as of Feb. 1, 1946)	Representatives
Nicaragua	1
Panama	1
Paraguay	1
Saudi Arabia	1
Syria	1
Total for the 51 Members, as of February 1, 1946	367

4. Upon the admission of a new Member, the General Assembly shall fix the number of Representatives which such new Member shall be entitled to choose.

VOTING

In view of the proposed change in the character of the General Assembly whereby it would be constituted as a representative body in which the Representatives would vote as individuals and not in blocs as representing their respective national states, and in view of the further purpose that the re-constituted Assembly should be able to reach prompt decisions, important changes in Article 18 are essential.

It is suggested that the Article be amended to read as follows:

Article 18

1. Each Representative in the General Assembly shall have one vote, and the Representatives shall vote as individuals.

The present paragraph 2 would be omitted and paragraph 3, re-numbered 2, amended to read:

2. Unless otherwise specifically provided in this Charter, decisions of the General Assembly shall be made by a majority of the Representatives present and voting. A majority of the General Assembly shall constitute a quorum to do business.

FUNCTIONS AND POWERS

Pursuant to the principle of conferring upon the General Assembly the minimum legislative powers necessary for the control of atomic energy and the prevention of war, we suggest that Article 12 be amended to read as stated below. The language of paragraph 2 (a), (b) and (c) is adapted from the Declaration on Atomic Energy of President Truman, Prime Minister Attlee and Prime Minister Mackenzie King of November 15, 1945, and the communique of the Moscow Conference issued December 27, 1945. The language of paragraph 2 (f) is largely derived from Article 6 of the Constitution of the International Military Tribunal now in session at Nuremburg.

Article 12

1. The Members of the United Nations confer on the General Assembly primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

2. For the discharge of these duties, the following specific legislative powers are granted to the General Assembly:

(a) To promote the free exchange of basic scientific information between all nations.

(b) To provide for the control of atomic energy to the extent necessary to ensure its use only for peaceful purposes; and to eliminate from national armaments all atomic weapons and all other weapons or means adaptable to mass destruction, and provide that the United Nations shall have exclusive rights thereto for the sole purpose of maintaining world peace and security.

(c) To provide for such inspections as the General Assembly may deem necessary in order to protect complying states against the hazards of violations and

evasions of any laws enacted under this Article, and to raise by voluntary methods, maintain, support and provide for the administration of such inspection forces as the General Assembly may deem necessary for this purpose.

(d) To raise by voluntary recruitment, maintain, support and provide for the organization, command and disposition of such police and military forces as the General Assembly may deem necessary to ensure the effectiveness of such inspections and compliance with and enforcement of any laws enacted under this Article.

(e) To define the conditions and establish the general rules under which the measures provided for in Chapter VII may be applied to Members or other states failing to comply with any laws enacted under this article.

(f) To define the penalties for violations by persons in any member or other state of any laws enacted under this Article and to define and prescribe the penalties for crimes committed by such persons against international peace and security, including the planning, preparation, initiation or waging of any war of aggression or any war in violation of international treaties, agreements, or assurances, or participation in a common plan or conspiracy for the accomplishment of any of these purposes; to provide for the apprehension of any individuals accused of such crimes or violations; and to establish tribunals for their trial and appropriate means for the enforcement of penalties against convicted criminals or violators.

3. All powers not delegated to the General Assembly by the foregoing provisions of this Article or elsewhere in this Charter nor prohibited by the Charter to the Members are reserved to the Members, respectively, or to their peoples.

By paragraph 2 of Article 17, authority is now conferred to apportion the expenses of the United Nations among the Members, and by necessary implication to levy assessments for such expenses. But since the enlarged powers of the United Nations would inevitably involve far greater expenses than under the powers given by the present Charter, there might well be some qualification of the broad authority now given by paragraph 2 of Article 17.

It is suggested that paragraph 2 be amended to read as follows:

Article 17

2. The expenses of the United Nations shall be borne by the Members as apportioned by the General Assembly, but no Member shall be required, without its consent, to provide a greater proportion of such expenses than the number of Representatives chosen by it shall bear to the total number of Representatives in the General Assembly.

II

AMENDMENT OF PROVISIONS FOR THE SECURITY COUNCIL

In consequence of the enlarged scope of the reconstituted General Assembly under the foregoing proposed amendments and its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, it is desirable that the Security Council shall be chosen by the General Assembly and function virtually as its executive committee in the field of security. To this end, the following changes in Chapter V are suggested:

Composition

Change Article 23 to read as follows:

Article 23

1. The Security Council shall consist of eleven members, no two of whom may be nationals of the same state. They shall be elected by the General Assembly from among the Representatives chosen to the General

Assembly. Each of the five Members having at the time of the election the largest number of Representatives in the General Assembly shall at all times have one member of the Security Council elected by the General Assembly from the Representatives chosen by those five Members respectively. The six additional members shall be elected from among the Representatives chosen by other Members, due regard being specially paid, in the first instance, to the contribution of Members to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the United Nations, and also to equitable geographical distribution.

2. The members of the Security Council shall be elected for a term of two years. In the first election, however, five shall be chosen for a term of one year.

Functions and Powers

Change Article 24 to read as follows:

Article 24

1. The Security Council shall execute the laws adopted by the General Assembly and shall perform such other functions as are specified elsewhere in the present Charter, or as may be delegated to it by the General Assembly.

2. The Security Council shall submit annual and, when necessary, special reports to the General Assembly for its consideration. The Security Council in the performance of any of its functions shall at all times be subject to the general direction and control of the General Assembly.

Voting

Change Article 27 to read as follows:

Article 27

1. Each member of the Security Council shall have one vote.

2. Decisions of the Security Council on procedural matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of six members.

3. Decisions of the Security Council on all matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of six members including the concurring votes of at least three of the five members elected from among the Representatives chosen by each of the five Members having the largest number of Representatives in the General Assembly.

III

AMENDMENT TO CONFER JUDICIAL AUTHORITY TO INTERPRET THE CHARTER

Under the present Charter, the authority of the International Court of Justice to interpret the Charter is not clear. It is essential, however, that there shall be an authoritative and impartial method of interpreting a constitutional document of this character and of removing from time to time any doubt as to its scope and meaning. The same is true of any laws enacted under the Charter. This is properly a judicial function and the International Court of Justice is the natural and appropriate organ to fulfill it.

It is therefore suggested that Article 96, paragraph 1, be amended to read as follows:

Article 96

1. The International Court of Justice shall have power, at the request of any Member or of the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, or the Trusteeship Council, to make a binding interpretation of any of the provisions of this Charter or of any law enacted by the General Assembly under this Charter. It shall have power, at the request of the General Assembly or the Security Council, to give an advisory opinion on any other legal question.

IV

AMENDMENT OF PROVISIONS CONCERNING AMENDMENT OF THE CHARTER

The present provisions (Articles 108 and 109) make the process of amending the Charter too uncertain and too rigid. This is especially so because of the requirement that no amendment whatever can come into force unless approved by all the permanent members of the Security Council. These Articles should be liberalized and made more flexible. To accomplish this, the following changes are suggested:

Change Article 108 to read as follows:

Article 108

Amendments to the present Charter shall come into force for all Members of the United Nations when they have been adopted by vote of two-thirds of the Representatives in the General Assembly present and voting and ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by a majority of the Members of the United Nations, which majority shall include Members which have chosen not less than two-thirds of the Representatives in the General Assembly.

Change Article 109 to read as follows:

Article 109

1. A General Conference of the Members of the United Nations for the purpose of reviewing the present Charter may be held at a date and place to be fixed by a two-thirds vote of the Representatives in the General Assembly present and voting. The number of delegates in such General Conference which each Member of the United Nations shall be entitled to choose shall be equal to the number of Representatives chosen by it in the General Assembly at the time of such General Conference.

2. Any alteration of the present Charter recommended by a two-thirds vote of the delegates present and voting in any such General Conference shall take effect when ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by a majority of the Members of the United Nations, which majority shall include Members which have chosen not less than two-thirds of the Representatives in the General Assembly.

3. At the tenth annual session of the General Assembly following the coming into force of the present Charter, and at every tenth session thereafter, there shall be placed on the agenda of the General Assembly the proposal to call a General Conference for the purpose of reviewing the Charter, and the conference shall be held if so decided by a majority vote of the Representatives in the General Assembly present and voting.

V

OTHER SUGGESTIONS: (A) DECISION OF INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES; (B) A BILL OF RIGHTS; (C) CONSEQUENTIAL CHANGES

(a) **Decision of International disputes.** Under the present Charter and Statute of the International Court of Justice, the machinery for the decision of controversies between states is highly incomplete. The International Court has at present no compulsory jurisdiction, except to the extent that states may agree to submit to it any controversies under the "optional jurisdiction" clause or by a special treaty.

It is true that the most comprehensive provision for the decision of international disputes cannot be a complete answer to the problem of preventing war. This is so because some wars do not arise from anything that can be called a "controversy" or "dispute" at all. Nevertheless, there have been and presumably will be many causes of trouble between nations that are

capable of decision by impartial tribunals and which, if not determined by authoritative decision, may be the causes of war. Accordingly, the extension of the rule of law in respect of international disputes is of vast importance, even though this cannot alone prevent all wars.

In these circumstances, we believe that consideration should be promptly given to the strengthening of the machinery for the decision of disputes between nations. While we do not now suggest a specific amendment to this end, we believe that consideration should be given to amendments of the Charter and of the Statute of the International Court of Justice whereby the General Assembly, or the Security Council acting for the Assembly, should have definite authority to require submission of any controversy between states either to the World Court or to an arbitral tribunal if, in their judgment, the dispute is of so serious a character as to endanger peace.

We believe also that the General Assembly, or Security Council on its behalf, should have unequivocal authority to enforce compliance with the judgments or orders of the Court or such arbitral tribunal, and that Article 94 of the Charter should be amended to make this authority more clear and definite.

(b) **A Bill of Rights.** The adoption of amendments like those above suggested would confer certain powers on the United Nations whereby it would exercise a direct authority upon individuals. This authority would exist, it is true, within a very limited field. There would for example, be no power to tax the individual but only power to levy assessments against the member countries. There would also be no power to conscript the individual for the inspection, police and military forces of the United Nations, since the authority to raise such forces could only be exercised by voluntary methods.

There would, however, be power in the General Assembly to pass all laws necessary to ensure the use of atomic energy for peaceful

purposes only and to eliminate atomic and other major weapons from national armaments; to provide for such inspections as are deemed necessary to these ends; to raise and maintain inspection, police and military forces; and to apprehend, try and punish individual violators of the kind of laws specifically authorized.

While these powers are believed to be the minimum powers necessary to maintain peace, they are nevertheless substantial and raise the question of constitutional safeguards against their possible misuse. Such safeguards should certainly include guarantees for fair trial of persons accused of violating any laws passed by the General Assembly. It might also be advisable to prohibit the use of the granted powers in any such manner as to infringe upon the fundamental rights now possessed by citizens of member states, such as freedom of religion, of speech, of the press, assembly and petition. Under this head, it is true that there is nothing in the proposed powers to justify any perversion of those powers in these directions. However, carefully expressed guarantees against any possible misuse of the delegated powers might give assurance which would strengthen confidence in the United Nations.

A Bill of Rights of this character would be directed solely to the exercise of the delegated powers of the United Nations. The matter of "promoting respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all" presumably through recommending guarantees of such rights by the member countries themselves, is a separate question which is the responsibility of the Economic and Social Council under Article 62, paragraph 2.

(c) **Consequential changes.** If the above main amendments are adopted in substance, a number of consequential changes will be necessary in order to make the Charter consistent and harmonious.

For example, the term "Organization" in the Charter should be eliminated. The effect of the above main amendments would be to constitute

a world federal government with limited but definite legislative powers in the General Assembly, with a Security Council responsible to the Assembly and acting as an executive body in the field of security and with a world judiciary with authority to interpret the Charter and to interpret and apply the laws enacted by the General Assembly. The designation "Organization" would, therefore, no longer be appropriate, so that in all cases where the term "Organization" occurs in the Charter, the term "United Nations" should be substituted.

VI

If and when amendments are adopted substantially in accord with those above suggested, a minimum of centralized control would be provided and a maximum of self-government would be reserved to the separate states. The delegated powers for unity of action would be restricted to those things strictly necessary to the survival of civilization, the development of further powers being left to future evolution and the growth of confidence among the nations, through the successful operation of the limited powers first exercised.

Nevertheless, the delegation of these limited powers would involve a definite modification of the sovereignty of the member states, and this delegation would confer upon the United Nations authority which can only be correctly described as authority to govern within a strictly defined sphere. There would exist, therefore, a true World Federal Government, even though the powers delegated to it would be far more restricted than those commonly assigned to the federal government in national states of a federal character.

Of equal importance with the delegation of the minimum powers essential to survival are the provisions making reasonably certain the effective exercise of these powers. For it would be of no use to grant powers much more extensive than herein proposed if, as under the present Charter, the machinery for their

exercise is such as to make it uncertain whether any decisions can be arrived at, no matter how urgent the need.

We believe that through the provision for balanced representation in the General Assembly, coupled with the provision for decisions by majority vote and for voting by the Representatives as individuals, the indispensable requirement for world machinery **capable of functioning promptly and reliably**, has been met.

Under the proposed (f) of Article 12, empowering the Assembly to enact laws to make wars of aggression criminal and to punish **individual** violators after trials in courts of the United Nations, a tremendous step would be taken. We would have come much nearer to "a world law, with a world judiciary to interpret it" and "with a world police to enforce it."*

We believe that only when amendments are adopted which go at least as far as those herein proposed, will the world have a reasonably reliable system for the maintenance of world order and for the promotion of justice among all peoples.

We believe that there is no time to lose in considering amendments of the character proposed. Accordingly, we respectfully petition the members of the General Assembly to take these proposals under advisement at the first opportunity.

Massachusetts Committee for World Federation, By Thomas H. Mahony, Chairman, (9 Park St., Boston, Mass., U. S. A.)

Missouri State Committee for World Federation, By F. R. von Windeger, Chairman, (1280 Olive St., St. Louis, Mo., U. S. A.)

James B. Ames, (Lawyer, Boston, Mass., U. S. A.)

Douglas Arant, (Lawyer, Birmingham, Ala., U. S. A.)

Samuel G. Atkinson, (Business, Boston, Mass., U. S. A.)

Margaretta A. Austin, (Former Executive Secretary, Federal Union, Washington, D. C., U. S. A.)

Perkins Bass, (Lawyer, Peterborough, N. H., U. S. A.)

*See the speech of Mr. Ernest Bevin on November 23, 1945

Hon. Robert P. Bass, (Former Governor of New Hampshire, Peterborough, N. H., U. S. A.)

Kingman Brewster, Jr., (Student, Cambridge, Mass., U. S. A.)

H. L. Brotman, (Lawyer, New York City, U. S. A.)

Lincoln C. Brownell, (Lawyer, New York City, U. S. A.)

Henry B. Cabot, (Lawyer, Chairman of Massachusetts Committee of 1000 on world organization, Boston, Mass., U. S. A.)

Elizabeth Cady, (Executive Secretary, Massachusetts Committee for World Federation, Boston Mass., U.S.A.)

Marie J. Carroll, (Research Director, World Peace Foundation, Boston, Mass., U. S. A.)

Grenville Clark, (Lawyer, New York City, U. S. A.)

Louisa H. Clark, (Student, Dublin, N. H., U. S. A.)

Alan Cranston, (Correspondent and author, Chairman of Dublin Conference Committee on world government, Washington, D. C., U. S. A.)

Howard P. Davis, (Lecturer and author, Bolton, Mass., U. S. A.)

John Dickinson, (Foreign correspondent, Arlington, Va., U. S. A.)

Dr. Albert Einstein, (Institute of Advanced Study, Princeton, N. J., U. S. A.)

Rev. William F. English, (Clergyman, Norwood, Mass., U. S. A.)

Marshall Field, Jr., (Lawyer, Chicago, Ill., U. S. A.)

Mrs. Richard T. Fisher, (Director, Massachusetts Committee for World Federation, Boston, Mass., U. S. A.)

Arthur J. Goldsmith, (Publicist, New York City, U. S. A.)

Frank H. Griffin, Jr., (Student, Wawa, Pa., U. S. A.)

Conrad Hobbs, (Treasurer, Massachusetts Committee for World Federation, Boston, Mass., U. S. A.)

Palmer Hutcheson, (Lawyer, Houston, Texas, U. S. A.)

James Imbrie, (Business, Trenton, N. J., U. S. A.)

Cloyd Laporte, (Lawyer, New York City, U. S. A.)

John J. Mahoney, (Professor at Boston University, Boston, Mass., U. S. A.)

Edward F. Mahony, (Student, Boston, Mass., U. S. A.)

J. A. Migel, (Merchant, Director, Americans United for World Government, New York City, U. S. A.)

Lillian T. Mowrer, (Foreign correspondent, Washington, D. C., U. S. A.)

Lewis Mumford, (Historian, Hanover, N. H., U. S. A.)

Albert Pratt, (Business, Boston, Mass., U. S. A.)

A. J. G. Priest, (Lawyer, New York City, U. S. A.)

Ivor A. Richards, (Professor at Harvard University, British subject, Cambridge, Mass., U. S. A.)

Dr. L. N. Ridenour, (Physicist, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Mass., U. S. A.)

Herbert F. Rudd, (Professor at University of New Hampshire, Durham, N. H., U. S. A.)
Joseph H. Rush, (Physicist, Manhattan Project, Oakridge, Tenn., U. S. A.)
Joseph A. Salerno, (Labor leader, President of Massachusetts State C.I.O., Boston, Mass., U. S. A.)
Richard B. Scandrett, Jr., (Lawyer, New York City, U. S. A.)
Joseph Schreiber, (Lawyer, New York City, U. S. A.)
R. Minton Sedgwick, (Business, Boston, Mass., U. S. A.)
Eldon C. Shoup, (Business, Boston, Mass., U. S. A.)
Rev. Paul T. Shultz, Jr., (Clergyman, West Roxbury, Mass., U. S. A.)
Marshall K. Skadden, (Lawyer, New York City, U. S. A.)
Louis B. Sohn, (Research Fellow in International Law, Harvard Law School, Cambridge, Mass., U. S. A.)
William L. Storey, (Lawyer, New York City, U. S. A.)
Rex Stout, (Author, Brewer, N. Y., U. S. A.)
Hon. Glen H. Taylor, (Senator from Idaho, U. S. Senate, Washington, D. C., U. S. A.)
Hon. Elbert D. Thomas, (Senator from Utah, Chairman of Senate Committee on Military Affairs, Washington, D. C., U. S. A.)
Gray Thoron, (Lawyer, New York City, U. S. A.)
Hon. Jerry Voorhis, (Representative from California, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., U. S. A.)
Bruce M. Weisbold, (Business, Youngstown, Ohio)
Herbert Whyman, (Lecturer, New York City, U. S. A.)
Eugene P. Wigner, (Physicist, Princeton, N. J., U. S. A.)
Wayne D. Williams, (Lawyer, Denver, Colorado, U. S. A.)

Petitioners

The originals of these proposals were flown to London by Alan Cranston, Chairman, Dublin Conference Committee, on February 7, 1946, and presented to each delegate from the fifty-one nations attending the first meeting of the United Nations Organization.

"I would ask whether the United Nations can be an effective organ if national sovereignty is not limited. The nations must sacrifice a part of their sovereignty if the United Nations is to be a real and effective organ."

Andrei Y. Vishinsky, Russian Vice Foreign Commissar, in his speech before the United Nations Security Council, February 10, 1946.

If this pamphlet has interested you, won't you please pass it on to a friend?

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No Justice without Law,

No Law without Government to Make,

Enforce and Uphold that Law.

My Day -O-

By Eleanor Roosevelt

MONTREAL, Monday.

AFTER spending Sunday at home in peace and quiet, with a few guests at lunch and a few at tea, I departed again Sunday evening, continuing my whirlwind round of travel. This time I find myself in Montreal. The day here I shall have to tell you about later, but the point of my coming is to speak tonight at the meeting of the United Nations Society of Canada.

During my brief visit to Boston, it was quite fitting that on Washington's birthday I took my grandson and some of his friends from school over to the wayside inn near Southboro, Mass. I greatly admire the delightful way in which Henry Ford has restored this old inn where George Washington is said to have dined. I am always fascinated by the kitchens of that early period, but the inn's dining room is very charming.

ALL THE old-fashioned implements, hang on the wall, and I particularly admired the grace of an old iron instrument with which our forefathers took coal from the fire to light their pipes. Being ingenious, that is not all that they did. They had a tamper attached, and a little thing through which one could draw the air to make the pipe burn better, and a cleaner for the stem and bowl. Nowadays, all of these things are made pocket-size so that one can carry them around, but in those days people spent more time at home and this instrument hung by the fireplace for their hours of ease.

To me the most interesting thing in the inn is the illusion of height created in the ballroom on the second floor. The ceilings are low everywhere, but in that room there are chandeliers and you feel that there is more height than the yardstick measures.

We all know, of course, what a valiant soul George Washington was, but when I realize how much, in those days of slow travel, he apparently went around and visited in various parts of the country, I cannot help feeling a good deal of sympathy for Mr. Washington, who was running a plantation and carrying a heavy responsibility more or less alone. In those days, to run a plantation was tantamount to running several factories today.

I FORGOT to mention that, on the train to Boston the other day, I met a young Bostonian who was returning home after having tried to attend the meeting of the World Federalists in Asheville, North Carolina. But he had been frustrated by the weather. We had a talk on the subject of a world Federalist Government, and he told me of the vote that had been obtained in Massachusetts in favor of a world government. He feels strongly that this question must be discussed in order to prepare people for the achievement of this type of organization, which he thinks is the only way to maintain the peace of the world.

Therefore I read with interest the statement of "beliefs and purposes" formulated at the Asheville meeting, but I must say I find them a little difficult to understand. Just what is "a world government of limited powers adequate to prevent war and having direct jurisdiction over the individual?" I am afraid that a "people's world constitutional convention would be about as baffling a meeting as could be called. I can well imagine the varied ideas which would be presented and the unending debates. And in the end, since the people individually would represent only themselves, I wonder what agreements would be achieved.



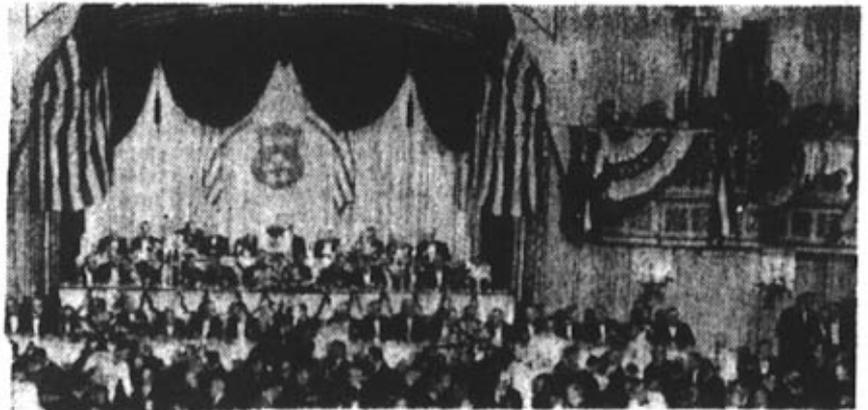
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The general, riding in a parade in his honor after leaving train at Union Station yesterday afternoon, smiles and waves along the route through the downtown section, where thousands braved the cold to greet him. Mayor Aloys P. Kaufmann is at l



on avenue, with the general in the decorated lead automobile.



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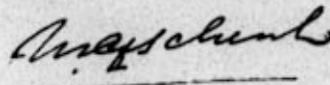
Mrs Eleanor Roosevelt
Hyde Park
New York
=====

Dear Mrs Roosevelt,

So many thanks for the kind way in which you sent me good wishes for the birthday of H.M. Queen Wilhelmina! As printed matter I have sent a copy of De Vrouw en haar Huis.

I took the opportunity to tell something about yourself and the many kinds of works you did and do. Starting with a reminding of the way in which you chose the side of the Boers in the African war up till your present work in the UN, and a very few of the things you did in between.

Yours truthfully,


M.G. Schenk

[ORIGINAL RETIRED] Vignini?
FRAGILE

Montevideo Junio 19 de 1946

Senora Eleanor Roosevelt

(New York)

Estimada Senora:

Se permite adjuntar un numero de La Revista
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permitido escribir un artículo con ese fin, y se lo adjunto,
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lo necesitaba, para la terminación de su gran obra.
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9. Op.

Hyacinth

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