



MINUTES

OF THE ELEVENTH ANNUAL
MEETING OF THE GENERAL
COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE OF
NATIONS UNION HELD AT THE
CENTRAL HALL, WESTMINSTER,
ON JUNE 26 AND 27, 1930.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION
15 GROSVENOR CRESCENT, S.W.1

396

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES

OF THE ELEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE
GENERAL COUNCIL HELD IN LONDON ON
JUNE 26—27, 1930.

Professor Gilbert Murray in the Chair.

354. DRAFT STANDING ORDERS TO REGULATE PRO-
CEDURE AT MEETINGS OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL. Mr. H.
Worsley on behalf of the Executive Committee moved the
adoption of the Draft Standing Orders as printed in the
Final Agenda paper, and thanked Major Freshwater and
Mr. Mills for the valuable assistance they had rendered in
drafting the Standing Orders. Captain J. Flint (London)
seconded the motion.

Mr. F. Mortimer Grimes (Nottinghamshire) moved on
behalf of the Keyworth Branch, and Mr. R. B. Minto
(Liverpool and Merseyside) seconded, the following
amendment to clause 3:—

That the following words be added:—

‘ and the same shall be repeated by the President
for the benefit of the whole Council before the
member commences his or her remarks.’

This amendment was adopted.

Mr. C. E. Clift (Manchester) moved, and Mr. J. Sher-
borne (Berkshire) seconded, the following amendment to
clause 11:—

That the words ‘not more than two representatives’ be
substituted for the words ‘one representative
only’ in line 3 above; and that the last sentence of
the above clause be deleted.

This amendment was also adopted.

Mr. H. W. Eden (Liverpool and Merseyside) moved, and
Mr. J. Macdonald (Liverpool and Merseyside) seconded,
the following resolution having relation to the Draft
Standing Orders:—

That a small Committee of three or five to be known as the Standing Orders Committee shall be elected. It shall be the duty of this Committee to meet prior to each meeting of the General Council to consider, with a view to co-ordinating wherever possible, the resolutions appearing on the Agenda Paper of the General Council. The right of the sponsors to move their original resolution to be retained.

This resolution was not adopted.

A resolution concerning the conduct of Council Meetings standing in the name of the Berkshire Federal Council was withdrawn.

It was then

Resolved: That the Standing Orders be adopted in the following form, to operate at once:—

STANDING ORDERS TO REGULATE PROCEDURE AT MEETINGS OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL.

1 These Standing Orders, which are supplementary to the Union's By-Laws and Rules, shall regulate procedure at sessions of the General Council of the League of Nations Union. President, as used in these Standing Orders, shall be interpreted as meaning the Chairman of the Council for the time being.

Members of the General Council within the meaning of the following Standing Orders are persons of whom the Council consists under By-Law 6. Salaried officers of the Union, other than those who attend the Council as properly appointed delegates, may attend meetings of the Council in a consultative capacity, and may speak at the request of the President.

397
PROCEDURE IN DEBATES

- 2 The President shall announce the opening, suspension and adjournment of the meeting; direct the work; ensure the observance of the Standing Orders; accord the right to speak; declare the debates closed; put questions to the vote, and announce the result of the voting. The decision of the President is final.
- 3 A member on rising to speak shall give his name and shall also give the name of any organisation (branch, district, region, affiliated or co-operating body or national council) which he represents, and if he is a co-opted member he shall say so and the same shall be repeated by the President for the benefit of the whole Council before the member commences his or her remarks.
- 4 The rising of the President shall be accompanied by silence, and any member speaking shall immediately resume his seat.
- 5 The President shall permit the proposal of those motions only of which due notice had been given under Rule 29, provided always that he may allow the following motions to be made without notice, namely:—
 - (a) A motion in regard to which urgency is claimed (see Rule 29):
a motion of urgency shall require a vote of not less than two-thirds of the members of the Council then present;
 - (b) a motion to refer the matter back to a committee for examination;
 - (c) a motion for postponement or adjournment;
 - (d) a motion to proceed with the next business;

- (e) a motion that the question be now put;
(f) a point of order.
- 6 A point of order may be raised by any member. It shall be taken immediately it is brought to the notice of the President. Explanations shall be brief and to the point and must not introduce new topics. The President's decision on a point of order is final.
- 7 An amendment of which due notice has not been given in accordance with Rule 29 may nevertheless be moved, seconded and voted upon, provided that in the opinion of the President it does not raise any new question of principle and is relevant to the motion.
- 8 All motions and amendments must be handed to the President in writing, and read out immediately after they have been proposed, and also when the question is put to the vote.
- 9 The movers of resolutions and amendments shall be allowed ten minutes or, in exceptional cases, further time at the discretion of the President. No other speaker to a resolution or amendment shall be allowed more than five minutes.
- 10 A member shall not speak more than once on the same motion or amendment without the permission of the President, provided always that the mover of the original motion shall have the right to reply.
- 11 Where a branch or district, or regional or national council is entitled to more than one representative on the Council, not more than two representatives shall have the right to speak to a motion or amendment.

- 398
- 12 In the event of there being more than one motion on the paper relating to the same subject, the President shall decide in which order they shall be taken, and whether any shall be treated as an amendment to another.
- 13 If an amendment to a motion is moved, no further amendment other than an amendment to the amendment can be moved until the original amendment is disposed of.
- 14 Where several motions or amendments or proposed resolutions are submitted on the same questions, the President shall decide in what order they are to be voted upon.
- 15 First a motion for the adjournment, then a motion to proceed to the next business, then a motion referring the matter to a committee, shall be put to the vote before any other motion.
- If an amendment is moved to strike out part of a motion the vote shall first be taken as to whether the words proposed to be omitted shall stand part of the motion. An amendment proposing to add words to an amendment shall next be voted upon.
- In every case whether an amendment has been adopted or not the original motion or the amended motion shall be put and further amendments to it may be proposed.
- 16 A member has one vote. In order to vote, a member must hold up a special card, one copy of which shall be supplied to every member of the Council. The decision, except at special meetings held under Rule 35, shall be by a simple majority of the votes cast, and in the case of an equality of votes, the motion or amendment shall not be carried.

CLOSURE

- 17 When a motion ' that the question be now put ' has been moved and seconded, it shall be left to the President to accept it or not.

MINUTES

- 18 The Minutes, after approval by the President, shall be printed as soon as possible and copies shall be sent to the officers of the Union, to the co-opted members of the Council, and to the secretaries of bodies entitled under By-law 6 to be represented on the Council. At the written request of the secretary of any organisation which has affiliated or is a co-operating body under By-Law 6 (v), the Minutes and other communications relating to the Council may be sent to the representative or representatives of that organisation instead of to the secretary.

SUSPENSION OF STANDING ORDERS

- 19 Any Standing Order may be suspended by a two-thirds majority of the members of the Council present and voting.

355. WELCOME. Professor Murray then welcomed the Council on behalf of the Executive. He said:—

I am glad to see that we have such a good attendance this morning, and I think it is likely to increase because for the Reception at the Guildhall I believe we have no less than nine hundred acceptances.

You will notice one conspicuous absence on the platform to-day. I refer not to either of the Presidents, because sometimes they are here and sometimes they are not able to be, but everybody will miss the sight of Dr. Garnett. You all know that he has had an exceedingly severe illness and has been through a very serious operation. I am delighted to be able to tell

399
you that he has got through the operation with complete success, and that his constitution is so strong and so resilient that he is making a most remarkable recovery. I fully expect that when he comes back to work he will be stronger than he has been for some years. Naturally at Headquarters we will be very insistent that he does not come back too soon.

I welcome you here to-day not merely because it is pleasant for us who are working for the same cause to get together and strengthen one another's faith, but because I feel increasingly the need of consultation between all of us who are really imbued with the principles of the League of Nations. The League of Nations stands, we must always remember, not merely for peace; it stands for international co-operation which, in its first stages, is a practical piece of political convenience and wisdom, and which in its further stages leads towards that faith which I think most of us cherish somewhere in our hearts—the faith in the brotherhood of man. It is not merely that we do not want to go to war with a foreign country. It is that we realise that the great problems before humanity now are for the most part world problems. They are problems which no nation can solve by itself, which certainly no nation can solve by strife one against another. So far as they can be brought to a satisfactory end it can only be by actual brotherly co-operation between the nations.

Well, peace in its obvious sense is a thing which may be finally obtained. Co-operation is a thing which is always growing, and whether or no we realise the fact, we shall find always wider ramifications in which the need for co-operation comes about. That is why it is quite out of the question to suggest that the work of this Society or the work of the League itself is in any short time going to reach an end. We used at the beginning to have that sort of notion haunting our

minds. When the League of Nations was first formed, it was proposed then that the League of Nations Societies had nothing more to do. We realised that we had. People said when the Optional Clause was accepted, that now a complete system of peaceful settlement has been produced, why could not the Union cease its activities? Our activities, so far as I can see, will always be growing. I see no sort of limit.

May I again bid you welcome to this meeting and express my pleasure that so many are coming and that there seems, from this opening stage, such a fine spirit in the direction of getting forward with our main work—the work we really all care about—at this meeting of the Council.

It was then

Resolved: That the cordial sympathy of the Council be conveyed to the Secretary of the Union on account of his recent illness.

356. MINUTES. The Minutes of the last Council held on December 19 and 20 and of the Special Meeting held on December 19, 1929, were approved as circulated.

357. REPORT ON ACTION TAKEN ON THE GENERAL COUNCIL'S DECISIONS OF DECEMBER, 1929. The following report on action taken on certain Minutes of the previous meeting was approved.

ON MINUTE 336 (324(b)). [*Church Magazine* INSET.]

In response to the wish of the Council the Executive is continuing issue of the *Church and Home* inset for sale to Branches at 2s. per 100.

ON MINUTE 336 (326). [FREE LITERATURE.]

Two new leaflets, *The League of Nations in Pictures* and *Recruits Wanted*, have been published.

ON MINUTE 337 (ii). [BUDGET FOR 1930.]

Headquarters' expenditure has been reduced to £35,200 a year as from May 1, 1930, with the exception of rent paid in respect of the ground floor of No. 13

400
Grosvenor Crescent. Despite all endeavours it has been found impossible to let these premises (which are fully occupied by the Union's staff at present). The Union's lease of these premises, however, expires on December 25 next.

ON MINUTE 338. [STATEMENT ON THE ORGANISATION OF PEACE.]

This statement, as amended by the Council, was duly presented to H.M. Government.

ON MINUTE 342 (1, 2 and 3). [ORGANISATION OF THE UNION.]

These resolutions were duly put into effect by the Executive Committee. For report on reorganisation, see page 60.

ON MINUTE 343. [GENERAL COUNCIL.] (Last paragraph.)

The whole question of the present practice of nominating thirty persons by Postal Ballot for election by the Council to the Executive Committee is under consideration by that Committee. A proposal in regard to this matter will be brought before the Council at its meeting in December, 1930, before any action is taken in regard to the election of a committee for 1931-32.

ON MINUTE 345. [BRITISH INDUSTRY AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.]

Memoranda on this subject have been circulated to Branches. An article has also appeared in *Headway*.

ON MINUTE 346. [*Church and Home* INSET.]

See report on Minute 336 (324(b)) above.

ON MINUTE 348. [PUBLICATION OF *Headway* (last paragraph *re Quarterly Review*).]

The proposal to issue a quarterly magazine which might take the place of many of the pamphlets at present sent to Foundation Members has been considered, together with a suggestion to publish in future small

books to a certain number of which Foundation Members would be entitled during the year by virtue of their subscriptions. The proposal to issue a quarterly magazine has been strongly opposed on financial grounds and the whole question is still under consideration by a special committee.

ON MINUTE 349. [DIVISION OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.]

Appeals for an increase in the number of 5s. subscriptions have appeared in consecutive issues of *Headway*. The number of persons who increased 3s. 6d. subscriptions to 5s. during the period January 1 to May 17 was 1,367. This information has also been published in *Headway*. In regard to Foundation Members, this question has received the most earnest consideration and a proposal is on the agenda paper for this meeting.

ON MINUTE 350. [UNDERGRADUATE SPEAKERS.]

The Executive Committee, having given careful consideration to the request contained in this Minute, has come to the conclusion that the best qualified undergraduate speakers shall be secured so far as possible in 1930, as in previous years, with the help of the Universities League of Nations Society, to address meetings in different parts of the country at the request of Branches and local organisations. The Committee will only recommend the use of speakers whose competence and ability are proved.

ON MINUTES 351 and 352. [DRUG TRAFFIC AND THE LEAGUE AND PRISON CONDITIONS.]

These resolutions were duly presented to H.M. Government.

ON THE MINUTES OF THE SPECIAL MEETING HELD ON DECEMBER 19, 1929. [RESOLUTION PROPOSED BY THE NOTTINGHAM BRANCH.]

This resolution has been duly carried into effect. (See report on Minute 349 above.)

407
358. ANNUAL REPORT. Professor Murray on behalf of the Executive moved the adoption of the Annual Report for the year ended December 31, 1929. In presenting the Report Professor Murray said:—

I should like just to mention three points. On page 10 you will see that we have a rather more detailed and careful statement about the actual number of members. There has always been a certain difficulty in knowing whether to count all the members we have on our books, which means really all the people who have joined the Union at any time and who are not known to have died or left it since. That total represents something much higher than reality. The alternative seems to be to take those who have actually paid their subscriptions in a given year. That is a very much smaller figure and again would be an unfair one to take, because it often happens that people do not pay their subscriptions merely because the Secretary does not call upon them or some reason of that sort. As you will see if you read the careful statement on page 10, we have tried to make a fair estimate of what the real working numbers of the Union are. I have to add to it one figure; that is that if you compare the actual subscriptions paid by this date this year with the numbers paid by the same date last year we find that we have this year an increase of 15,000.

On page 16 you will see there is a reference to the so-called Sub-Committee of Experts on the teaching of the aims and achievements of the League of Nations throughout the world. I thought it might be worth while just mentioning that that Committee is meeting again for its second time next week. I am going to Geneva to attend it. What it hopes to be able to do this time is to estimate the amount of work done in all the different nations in response to that series of resolutions which we sent out three or four years ago. We sent out the resolutions and we have had through the Secretariat at Geneva answers from various countries, requests for

advice, comments, suggestions and the like, and next week the original Committee is meeting again to garner in the results.

On page 33 you will see a mention of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies and some little account of the work that it has done this year. A suggestion was sent in that we should say something more about the International Federation. The suggestion came in too late to take the form of an actual resolution, but I think the idea is a good one and I should like to ask you to realise what an important body, from our point of view, the Federation is. It is a Federation of all the League of Nations Societies in the different countries. There are now, I think, forty-one different countries which have a League of Nations Society established in them. That is not quite every Member of the League, but we hope that shortly a society will be established in every State which belongs to the League. The societies form a Federation, they have a central office in Brussels, the General Secretary is M. Ruysen, formerly a Professor at Bordeaux, who is one of the devotees of the League movement. He has under him two other Secretaries, one a Scot—let us call him a Briton—and the other a German. The headquarters is permanently at Brussels. They move to Geneva during the summer in order to be present at the Assembly and to partake in the various activities that go on at that time. The Federation meets in different countries one after another, and it is worth realising what an effect a meeting of the Federation often has, especially in those countries where the League of Nations cause is weak. You have in some small country, let us say, a meeting to which there come distinguished men, sometimes actual Ministers, often people whose names are very well known, from all the great countries of Europe. They hold meetings there, they are very well reported, they have a sort of State reception—in Berlin, for instance, the Federation

402
actually met in the Reichstag and was received by the President. Thus the Federation is doing a great deal to familiarise the mind of Europe, the mind of the ordinary public throughout Europe, with the questions of the League and, what is equally necessary, to impress on them the fact of the existence of the League and the existence of a strong public opinion in various nations in support of the League. There will be an article on the Federation in the July *Headway*. I say all this in order that we may realise that there is such a thing as the Federation in existence, that our opposite numbers in different countries are working for the same cause, and that, through the Federation, the resolutions which we or other societies put forward are brought first to the notice of all the Governments concerned—they are brought separately to the notice of forty-one Governments—and eventually always laid before the Assembly of the League. All that means a good deal in the way of quiet, not immediate, influence. Without it things would be apt to be forgotten, and as long as you can be sure that your cause is not forgotten you are achieving a great deal.

The Council then considered the Report section by section. In reply to a question by Mr. W. T. Pritchard (London), concerning the Children's League of Nations, Dr. Kimmins, Chairman of the Education Committee, said:—

At present there are 17,416 members of the Children's League of Nations, of whom 1,037 come from overseas. He pointed out that the Union loses money on these members to a very small extent, because the first sixpenny subscriptions do not quite cover the cost of the letter, membership card, badge, etc., which are sent to each member, but that the position will be altered next year when the renewal subscriptions are received, threepence of which will go to the Branch and threepence to the head office. In cases where no Branches

exist every effort is made from the head office to get them started. In concluding, Dr. Kimmins paid a tribute to those people who had given voluntary assistance to the head office in dealing with the enrolment of members of the C.L.N.

After further discussion and after it had been agreed that it would have been better to use the word 'assessable' instead of 'rateable' in the footnote on page 57, it was

Resolved: That the Annual Report for 1929 be adopted.

359. AUDITED BALANCE SHEET AND INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT. In the absence of Lord Queenborough, who it was reported was unable to be present owing to the fact that he had recently undergone an operation, Sir John Mann (Finance Committee) presented the Executive Committee's account of the Union's financial operations for the year ended December 31, 1929. In presenting the audited balance sheet and income and expenditure account, Sir John Mann said:—

I am sure it is a matter of great regret to us all that our honorary Treasurer, Lord Queenborough, is prevented by a rather serious illness from being present to-day. He has had an operation which will keep him away from business for quite a time. In a message I have from him this morning, he desires me to present to you his apologies and to express the hope that the meeting will be in every way a thoroughly successful one. We must bear in mind that Lord Queenborough has done great service to the Union; he has been the Chairman of the Finance Committee since the beginning. Without the help of a man of his standing and influence, we should not be in the important position in which we are to-day.

The Council will remember that Mr. Leif Jones, in December, was good enough to outline what had happened in regard to accounts, so far as the year

403
1929 had gone, and I will therefore ask you to dispense with any detailed discussion of the accounts which are before you.

Mr. Leif Jones indicated that we expected by the end of the year 1929 to be something like £8,000 on the wrong side. As a matter of fact, the result of the accounts, leaving aside for a moment the results of the Peace Commemoration Dinner, is £5,400 on the debit or wrong side. Add to that nearly £2,000 which we had carried forward as an accumulated debit at the beginning of 1929 and we have something like £7,200 on the wrong side. As you know, however, there was a magnificent response at the Peace Commemoration Dinner which brought in about £6,900, and therefore the balance on the wrong side in the Balance Sheet is reduced to £300. But I do wish to impress upon everyone that in taking the whole of that fund we have done so most reluctantly. We do hope that it is only a temporary transfer and that a large part of it may still be treated as part of the much-needed endowment fund which the Union really requires if it is to be put upon a perfectly businesslike and sound foundation. And for this reason: the war is passing into a memory. The generation that suffered so acutely and who knew the horror of the war is passing away. The new generation has not the same experience. And, therefore, it behoves this generation to set up a fund which will ensure that the Union does continue even if these memories are fading away. Its activities are growing in a most amazing, a most gratifying way, and therefore we do need continuing support.

I am sometimes amazed to notice amongst the legacies which are recorded in the newspapers the almost, perhaps the entire, absence of reference to the League of Nations Union. May I remind you that everyone here, every member of the Union, has got to make a will or ought to make a will. We have all got to die some day, the wills must be made. And I do

appeal to you to think it over quietly, a simple addition to your will to include a benefaction to the League of Nations Union is a last service which probably each of us has it in his power to render even if only to a small extent.

Another method which has been successful in the past is the form of helping the Union by deeds of gift. The benefit of that has increased by the recent addition to income tax. In fact, for every £4 that you give, a little more than another £1 can be got back from the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Therefore I plead with you in going up and down the country, in the districts, in the regions, and among the individual members, to get as many deeds of gift as you can. It stabilises our income, we know better where we are. That method does not conflict in any way with the appeal which is being launched for the 100,000 Foundation Members who are asked to rally to the banner. We have 100,000 members or readers of *Headway*, so that if every one of these, either through himself or through his neighbour, simply does his duty to the extent of securing one Foundation Member the result is achieved.

Everyone who has had any experience of trying to make up a budget for future expenditure, whether it is one's own budget or a budget of an organisation or of a Government, finds it an extraordinarily difficult task. Now in December there was a great deal of discussion upon finance—quite properly. The result was that we were to set our house in order for 1930, and to make sure that we did not spend more than at the rate of £35,200 from May onwards of this year. The understanding was that we should be able to rearrange the lease of 13 Grosvenor Crescent. As a matter of fact that lease expires in December, but we have not yet been able to obtain a sub-tenant for the remainder of the year. Therefore, I must warn you that we will have

404
an excess expenditure to face so far as we are not able to effect that sub-let. It may mean another £600 by December.

May I remind you of the appeal which Lord Queenborough made some time ago that the Branches and Districts should lend their surplus funds to the Headquarters' office instead of leaving them as they are at present in the Bank. Your response to this appeal may be of great help to us during the summer; we can repay the loans after October 1.

Another point with regard to budgeting, and it is a warning, is that out of this year's budget has been cut all provision for contingency. Hitherto it has been our practice to keep something in reserve for various things which are bound to arise during the year, but the present budget is absolutely bare of a single penny for contingencies. The moral of it all is: take off your coats, get in all the money you can, and I think I can assure you, of my knowledge of the internal working of finance, that it will not be wasted.

May I formally move the adoption of the audited accounts as appearing in the Annual Report, pages 72 to 75.

In seconding the motion Sir John Power, Chairman of the Appeals Committee,

Reminded the Council of what had been pointed out to them by Sir John Mann, that the field of generous people who are well disposed to the Union and have supported it for the last eleven years has been picked over; those people cannot be appealed to over and over again. He asked the Council when considering the Scheme of the Foundation Members, to remember that something has got to be done; the Union cannot go through the kind of time it did last summer and it cannot rely on a Guildhall banquet every year; that was one of those things that could be done occasionally but could not be made one of frequent occurrence. He

would like to join Sir John Mann in his tribute to the kindly Chairmanship which they sat under of Lord Queenborough. He had a good deal of experience of Finance Committees and all he could say was that he never belonged to any Finance Committee where the attendance was so good or where so much time and trouble were taken by the members. With these few words, he had great pleasure in seconding the adoption of the accounts.

It was then

Resolved: That the audited Balance Sheet and Income and Expenditure Account for the year ended December 31, 1929, be adopted.

On the motion of Mr. W. A. Sims (Beddington, Carshalton and Wallington) it was further

Resolved: That the thanks of the Council be conveyed to Lord Queenborough for his work as Treasurer of the Union together with the Council's sympathy in his recent illness.

360. ELECTION OF OFFICERS. The following persons were elected to serve until the next Annual Meeting of the General Council:—

Joint Presidents :

Rt. Hon. the VISCOUNT GREY OF FALLODON, K.G.
Rt. Hon. the VISCOUNT CECIL, K.C.

Hon Presidents :

Rt. Hon. STANLEY BALDWIN, M.P.
Rt. Hon. J. R. CLYNES, M.P.
Rt. Hon. D. LLOYD GEORGE, O.M., M.P.

Chairman of Executive Committee :

Professor GILBERT MURRAY, LL.D., D.Litt.

Vice-Presidents :

The MARCHIONESS OF ABERDEEN AND TEMAIR
Field-Marshal Rt. Hon. the VISCOUNT ALLENBY, G.C.M.G., G.C.B.
The VISCOUNTESS ASTOR, M.P.
The DUCHESS OF ATHOLL, M.P.
Rt. Hon. the LORD BADEN-POWELL, G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., C.B.
Col. SIR GILBERT BARLING, Bt., C.B., C.B.E.
Rt. Hon. G. N. BARNES, C.H.
Dame HENRIETTA BARNETT, D.B.E.
Admiral of the Fleet Rt. Hon. the EARL BEATTY, O.M., G.C.B.
Rt. Hon. Miss MARGARET BONDFIELD, M.P.

405

Rt. Hon. Sir ROBERT BORDEN, G.C.M.G.
His Eminence CARDINAL BOURNE
The CHAIRMAN OF THE BRITISH LEGION
Rt. Hon. S. M. BRUCE, C.H., M.C.
The VISCOUNTESS BRYCE
His Grace the ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY
Rt. Hon. J. G. COATES, M.C.
W. T. COSGRAVE, LL.D.
ANNIE, VISCOUNTESS COWDRAY
Mrs. CREIGHTON
Rt. Hon. Sir T. A. CRERAR
Most Hon. the MARQUESS OF CREWE, K.G., G.C.V.O.
Rt. Hon. the LORD CULLEN, K.B.E.
DAVID DAVIES
Rt. Hon. the EARL OF DERBY, K.G., G.C.B.
His Grace the DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE, K.G., G.C.M.G.
Rt. Hon. the LORD DICKINSON, K.B.E.
Rt. Hon. H. A. L. FISHER
Rt. Hon. Sir G. E. FOSTER, K.C.M.G.
The PRESIDENT OF THE FREE CHURCH COUNCIL
Rev. R. C. GILLIE, D.C.L.
The VISCOUNTESS GLADSTONE
Mrs. OGILVIE GORDON, D.Sc., Ph.D.
Gen. Sir H. DE LA POER GOUGH, G.C.M.G.
Sir ARTHUR HAWORTH, Bt.
Very Rev. J. H. HERTZ, Ph.D.
General the Hon. J. B. M. HERTZOG, LL.D.
Rt. Hon. the EARL OF HOME
Rt. Hon. the LORD IRWIN, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.
Rt. Hon. Sir W. F. LLOYD, K.C.M.G.
MARCHIONESS OF LONDONDERRY, D.B.E.
Sir HENRY LUNN, M.D., J.P.
Dame EDITH LYTELTON, D.B.E.
Rt. Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, C.M.G.
Rt. Hon. Sir DONALD MACLEAN, K.B.E., M.P.
Rt. Hon. the LORD MARSHALL, K.C.V.O.
Professor GILBERT MURRAY LL.D., D.Litt., F.B.A.
H.H. the MAHARAJA JAMSAHEB OF NAWANAGAR
Rt. Hon. the LORD PARMOOR, K.C.
Most Hon. the MARQUESS OF READING, G.C.B.
Miss MAUDE ROYDEN
Most Hon. the MARQUESS OF SALISBURY, K.G., G.C.V.O.
Rt. Hon. Sir HERBERT L. SAMUEL, G.C.B., G.B.E., M.P.
Rt. Hon. SRINIVASA SASTRI
Rt. Hon. the EARL OF SELBORNE, K.G., G.C.M.G.
Rt. Hon. the LORD SHAW OF DUNFERMLINE, K.C.
Rt. Hon. TOM SHAW, C.B.E., M.P.
Rt. Hon. the LORD SHUTTLEWORTH, LL.D.
Rt. Hon. Sir JOHN SIMON, G.C.S.I., K.C.V.O., M.P.
Lt.-Gen. the Rt. Hon. J. C. SMUTS, K.C.
Sir HUGH SHAW STEWART, C.B.
Mrs. SWANWICK
Sir WILLIAM VINCENT, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.
Rt. Hon. the LORD WAKEFIELD, C.B.E.
A. WHITEHEAD
Rt. Hon. J. H. WHITLEY
His Grace the ARCHBISHOP OF YORK

Treasurer :

Rt. Hon. the LORD QUEENBOROUGH, G.B.E.

Trustees :

DAVID DAVIES
Rt. Hon. REGINALD MCKENNA

361. ELECTION OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. The following thirty persons having been nominated by Postal Ballot

were elected as members of the Executive Committee until the next Annual Meeting of the General Council:—

NORMAN ANGELL, M.P.
P. J. NOEL BAKER, M.P.
C. DELISLE BURNS, M.A., D.Litt.
L. J. CADBURY
Colonel DAVID CARNEGIE, C.B.E., F.R.S.E.
Miss K. D. COURTNEY
DAVID DAVIES
Rt. Hon. the LORD DICKINSON, K.B.E.
Vice-Admiral S. R. DRURY-LOWE, C.M.G.
A. S. DUFF COOPER, D.S.O.
Major WALTER ELLIOT, M.C., M.P.
Miss RUTH FRY
The VISCOUNTESS GLADSTONE
Captain L. H. GREEN, M.A.
J. H. HARRIS
Sir ARTHUR HAWORTH, Bt.
Major the Rt. Hon. J. W. HILLS, M.P.

362. CO-OPTATIONS OF MEMBERS ON THE GENERAL COUNCIL. The following persons were co-opted to the Council under By-Law 6(iii) subject to their being or becoming members of the Union:—

The DUCHESS OF ATHOLL, M.P.
Rt. Hon. the EARL BEAUCHAMP, K.G., K.C.M.G.
ARNOLD BENNETT
Sir CHARLES BRIGHT, F.R.S.E., M.Inst. C.E.
E. L. BURGIN, LL.D., M.P.
LADY BYLES
Major A. G. CHURCH, D.S.O., M.P.
Miss K. D. COURTNEY
C. T. CRAMP
Mrs. RICHARD CROSS
Miss LEWELYN DAVIES
CHARLES DUNCAN, M.P.
Miss NORA ENFIELD
ISAAC FOOT, M.P.
GERALD FRANCE
H. HAMILTON FYFE
A. G. GARDNER, J.P.
J. L. GARVIN
HENRY N. GLADSTONE, J.P.
G. P. GOOCH, D.Litt., F.B.A.
H. GOSLING, C.H., M.P.
Rt. Hon. WM. GRAHAM, LL.D., M.P.
The MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON, M.P.
Rt. Hon. VERNON HARTSHORN, O.B.E., M.P.
Rt. Hon. A. HENDERSON, M.P.
Major the Rt. Hon. J. W. HILLS, M.P.
Mrs. E. C. NEWENHAM HOARE
LADY HORSLEY
Mrs. PETER HUGHES-GRIFFITHS
Major E. B. INCE
Rev. CANON MAURICE JONES, D.D.
Mrs. MARGARET SEFTON JONES
Miss EMILY LEAF
Col. Sir A. L. LEVER, Bt.
Rev. H. ELVET LEWIS, M.A.
FREDERICK MADDISON, J.P.
Sir JOHN MANN, K.B.E.

The members of the EXECUTIVE and FINANCE Committees.

President of the Welsh National Council of the Union :
DAVID DAVIES

President of the Scottish National Council of the Union :
Rt. Hon. The EARL OF HOME, K.T., LL.D.

President of the London Regional Federation of the Union :
P. J. NOEL BAKER, M.P.

Presidents of the Federal Councils of the Union :

Berkshire : J. H. BENYON, Esq.
Derbyshire : His Grace the DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE, G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O.
Essex : Brig.-Gen. R. B. COLVIN, C.B.
Kent : Most Hon. the MARQUESS CAMDEN
Leicestershire and Rutland : Sir ARTHUR GREY HAZLERIGG, Bt.
Liverpool and Merseyside : Col. J. J. SHUTE, C.M.G., D.S.O.

Manchester : Sir ARTHUR HAWORTH, Bt.
Northamptonshire : The Most Hon. the MARQUESS OF EXETER, C.M.G.
Nottinghamshire : His Grace the DUKE OF PORTLAND, K.G., G.C.V.O.
Worcestershire : Rt. Hon. the VISCOUNT COBHAM

Chairman of the Paris Section of the Union :
Vice-Admiral Sir E. HEATON-ELLIS, K.B.E., C.B., M.V.O.

The following persons were co-opted under By-Law 6(iv), subject to their being or becoming members of the Union:—

Religion :

Rev. M. E. AUBREY, M.A.
Miss E. BEHRENS
Rev. D. S. CAIRNS, O.B.E., D.D.
Miss A. M. CALLOW
Very Rev. the DEAN OF CANTERBURY (Dr. H. R. L. SHEPPARD)
Rt. Rev. the LORD BISHOP OF CHICHESTER
Very Rev. the DEAN OF CHICHESTER
Rt. Rev. the LORD BISHOP OF DURHAM
Rev. H. W. FOX, D.S.O., M.A.
Rev. A. E. GARVIE, D.D.
Rev. R. C. GILLIE, D.C.L.
Rev. T. R. GLOVER, D.D.
Rt. Rev. BISHOP GORE
Rev. A. HERBERT GRAY, D.D.
DENIS GRINLING
Rev. R. F. HORTON, D.D.
Rev. L. P. JACKS, LL.D., D.Litt.
Mrs. RUSSELL JAMES
Rev. J. D. JONES, D.D.
Rev. JOSEPH KEATING, S.J.
Rev. W. MUSSON KELLEY
Rt. Rev. the BISHOP OF KENSINGTON
H. R. LEWIS

Rev. J. SCOTT LIDGETT, D.D.
Very Rev. NORMAN MCCLEAN, D.D.
A. R. MORO
Professor J. H. MUIRHEAD, LL.D.
Rev. THOMAS NIGHTINGALE
Rev. F. W. NORWOOD, D.D.
Rev. CANON H. B. OTTLEY, M.A.
The LADY PARMOOR
The Very Rev. W. P. PATERSON, D.D., LL.D.
Rt. Rev. the LORD BISHOP OF RIPON
The Very Rev. the DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S
The Rt. Rev. the LORD BISHOP OF ST. EDMUNDSBURY and IPSWICH
Rev. W. B. SELBIE, D.D.
Miss M. M. SHARPLES
Rev. HUDSON SHAW, M.A.
Rev. HENRY SMITH
Rev. J. F. STERN
Rt. Rev. the LORD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER
Rev. F. LUKE WISEMAN, B.A.
Very Rev. the DEAN OF WORCESTER
M. F. WREN

and the members of the CHRISTIAN ORGANISATIONS and the RELIGIONS AND ETHICS Committees.

Education :

ANTHONY ASQUITH
G. F. BARBOUR, D.Phil.
ERNEST BARKER, M.A., D.Litt., LL.D.
Sir WILLIAM BEVERIDGE, Director, London School of Economics.
Mrs. A. W. CLAREMONT
Rt. Rev. A. A. DAVID, D.D.
Rev. GWILYM DAVIES, M.A.
G. LOWES DICKINSON, M.A.
Miss LLOYD EVANS, M.A.
C. I. EVANS, M.A.
Sir ALFRED EWING, K.C.B.
Miss L. M. FAITHFULL
Brig.-Gen. G. H. GATER, C.M.G., D.S.O.

F. W. GOLDSTONE
Professor A. J. GRANT, M.A.
Sir Charles GRANT-ROBERTSON, C.V.O., M.A.
Miss F. R. GRAY, M.A.
Sir HENRY HADOW, C.B.E., M.A., D.Mus.
Professor H. W. J. HETHERINGTON, Vice-Chancellor, Liverpool University
Principal Sir J. C. IRVINE, C.B.E.
Sir J. JACKSON
ROBERT JONES, D.Sc.
Sir FREDERICK KENYON, Chairman, British National Committee of Intellectual Co-operation

C. W. KIMMINS, D.Sc., M.A.
 R. W. LIVINGSTONE, M.A.
 THOMAS LOVEDAY, M.A.
 S. B. LUCAS, B.A.
 Rev. and Hon. E. LYTTELTON, D.D.
 W. L. MCKERROW
 ALBERT MANSBRIDGE, LL.D.
 F. S. MARVIN, M.A.
 Sir HENRY A. MIERS, M.A., D.Sc., Ph.D.,
 F.R.S.
 Professor W. H. MOBERLY, Vice-
 Chancellor, Manchester University
 Sir THEODORE MORISON, K.S.C.I.,
 K.C.I.E., M.A.
 CYRIL NORWOOD, M.A., D.Litt.
 Professor Sir T. P. NUNN, M.A., D.Sc.
 Professor Sir C. W. OMAN, K.B.E., M.P.
 J. LEWIS PATON, M.A.
 E. D. PEARCE, D.D.
 Miss E. POWER, M.A.
 Miss ELEANOR RATHBONE
 The Rev. A. R. RHYS PRYCE, M.A., L.Th.
 Miss G. A. RICHARDS
 F. ROSCOE, M.A.
 E. L. SAINSBURY, O.B.E., B.A.

and the members of the EDUCATION Committee.

Trade and Industry :

Sir CHARLES ADDIS
 Rt. Hon. A. V. ALEXANDER, M.P.
 Colonel ARMSTRONG
 HENRY BELL
 Sir HUGH BELL, Bt.
 Rt. Hon. the VISCOUNT BURNHAM,
 G.C.M.G., C.H.
 M. H. CLEAR
 ARTHUR CONLEY
 RHYS J. DAVIES, M.P.
 Sir ROBERT DONALD
 W. L. HICHENS
 JOHN HILL
 Rt. Hon. the LORD KIRKLEY

and the members of the INDUSTRIAL ADVISORY Committee.

Women's Organisations :

Mrs. ABBOT
 Mrs. ALDERTON
 Commandant MARY ALLEN, C.B.E.
 Miss HARLEY BACON
 Mrs. ELEANOR BARTON
 Mrs. PERCY BIGLAND
 LADY VIOLET BONHAM-CARTER
 Mrs. ANNE CORNER
 Mrs. GEORGE CADBURY
 Mrs. L. W. CLARK
 The LADY DENMAN
 Miss L. DENHOF
 Mrs. CLASSON DRUMMOND
 The LADY EMMOTT
 LADY EVE
 Hon. Mrs. FRANKLIN
 Miss DOROTHY FRASER
 Miss HELEN FRASER
 Dame KATHERINE FURSE, G.B.E.
 Miss NORAH GREEN
 Mrs. HALFORD HEWITT
 LADY HALL

Professor J. Y. SIMPSON
 BENJAMIN SKINNER, M.B.E., M.A., Past-
 President, Educational Institute of
 Scotland
 Sir GEORGE ADAM SMITH
 NOWELL SMITH, M.A.
 Miss F. M. STAWELL
 Miss STRUDWICK, M.A.
 Miss E. M. TANNER, B.A.
 A. TASKER, M.B.E.
 Rev. CANON TISSINGTON TATLOW, D.D.,
 Chairman, Student Christian Movement
 R. H. TAWNEY
 H. V. TEMPERLEY, Litt.D.
 Rt. Hon. Sir C. P. TREVELYAN, M.P.
 Lt.-Col. DOUGLAS TURNER, O.B.E., M.A.
 Professor GRAHAM WALLAS, M.A.
 Professor C. K. WEBSTER, M.A.
 Major W. P. WHELDON, M.A.
 Miss RUTH YOUNG
 A. E. ZIMMERN, M.A.
 A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE BOY SCOUTS'
 ASSOCIATION
 A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE GIRL GUIDES'
 ASSOCIATION

DAVID LITTLE
 Rt. Hon. the LORD MACLAY
 SYDNEY PASCALL
 ARTHUR PUGH, J.P.
 Sir J. RANGLES
 SEEBOHM ROWNTREE
 ARTHUR SHAW
 Sir HENRY STRAKOSCH
 G. H. STUART-BUNNING
 Miss MADELINE SYMONS
 Alderman BEN TURNER, O.B.E., M.P.
 Miss JULIA VARLEY
 Sir DAVID MILNE WATSON

Health :

Sir THOMAS BARLOW, Bt., K.C.V.O.,
 F.R.S.
 LADY BERRY, M.B.
 Sir W. J. COLLINS, M.D., K.C.V.O.
 Sir THOMAS HORDER, M.D., B.Sc.,
 K.C.V.O.
 Dr. HAROLD KERR
 Sir ALFRED KEOGH, G.C.B., G.C.V.O.,
 M.D.
 Dr. JANE WALKER

Law :

Sir ANTON BERTRAM, K.C.
 Professor J. L. BRIERLY, O.B.E., M.A.
 Rt. Hon. the LORD BUCKMASTER, K.C.
 Rt. Hon. the LORD HAILSHAM, K.C.
 Professor A. P. HIGGINS, C.B.E., K.C.,
 LL.D.
 Sir THOMAS INSKIP, C.B.E., K.C.
 Miss CHRYSTAL MACMILLAN
 A. D. MCNAIR, C.B.E., LL.D.
 Rt. Hon. Sir FREDERICK POLLOCK, Bt.,
 D.C.L.
 Rt. Hon. Sir JOHN SIMON, G.C.S.I.,
 K.C.V.O., M.P.
 Sir HENRY SLESSER, K.C., M.P.
 ROWLAND WHITEHEAD, K.C.

Services :

Vice-Admiral J. D. ALLEN, C.B.
 Major-Gen. Sir JOHN DAVIDSON, K.C.M.G.
 Major-Gen. Sir G. M. FRANKS, C.B.
 Lt.-Gen. Sir WM. FURSE, K.C.B.
 Admiral MARK KERR, R.N., C.B., M.V.O.
 Lt.-Gen. Sir HENRY MERRICK LAWSON,
 K.C.B.
 Brig.-Gen. Sir H. O. MANCE, C.B., C.M.G.,
 D.S.O.
 Major-Gen. Sir FREDERICK B. MAURICE,
 K.C.M.G., C.B.
 Lt.-Col. Sir JAMES P. REYNOLDS, Bt.,
 D.S.O.
 Col. J. J. SHUTE, C.M.G., D.S.O.
 Major-Gen. Sir FREDERICK SYKES, G.B.E.,
 K.C.B., C.M.G.

*At this stage (12.45 p.m.) the Council adjourned until
 2.45 p.m.*

363. RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE REORGANISATION SUB-
 COMMITTEE CONCERNING THE ORGANISATION AND FINANCE
 OF THE UNION. On behalf of the Executive, Mr. R. S.
 Hudson moved and Captain L. H. Green seconded the
 adoption of the following report of the Reorganisation Sub-
 Committee, which was submitted with the general approval
 of the Committee of Twelve (see Minute 342 of December
 19, 1929):—

The Executive Committee on January 16, *resolved*

That the report of the Office Reorganisation Com-
 mittee be provisionally approved, as amended and
 attached to these minutes; and that this report be
 further considered with a view to a final decision
 being taken when members of the Union's
 secretariat have been consulted upon the report
 and when it has been examined by the Committee
 of Twelve appointed by the General Council
 for the purpose.

Members of the Union's secretariat have, accordingly, been invited to submit their comments and suggestions, and several officers of the Union have responded to this invitation. The report has also been examined by the Committee of Twelve whose discussion of it was reported to the Executive on January 30. In the light of the observations of the Committee of Twelve and of members of the Union's secretariat, the recommendations have been revised and, in the following form, were finally approved by the Executive on April 10.

(A. i.) ORGANISATION OF THE OFFICE.

In proposing certain changes we desire at the outset to explain that we are in no way criticising either the ability, the enthusiasm or the morale of the staff. On the contrary, we can only express our satisfaction with the general standard of industry, personal efficiency and zeal throughout the Office, a satisfaction which was confirmed by the recent report made on behalf of Sir John Mann. We realise that practically every member of the staff was carefully selected out of a large number of competing applicants.

In order to prevent the loss of time and the difficulty of consultation which ensue from too much routine business going always through the hands of the chief officer, the Secretary has proposed, and the Sub-Committee approves, a plan for devolving part of his work upon the Deputy Secretary and three Assistant Secretaries. This plan is not meant in any way to diminish the authority or the freedom of the Heads of Departments, but merely to provide readier and more accessible means of consultation. By this the ordinary daily work of the Union will in future be divided into three groups, each group comprising certain existing departments: Administration and Finance (under Major Freshwater), Information (under Captain

408
Thomas), Public Action (under Mr. Eppstein). Industry and Commerce (under Mr. Mills) will constitute a fourth section.

We recommend that a Member of the Executive be found who can attend the office daily for an hour or two, and act as Deputy to the Chairman. This Deputy Chairman should also be Chairman of the Office Committee. It shall be suggested to the Deputy Chairman that regular Meetings (weekly if convenient) of the Secretary of the Union, the Deputy Secretary and the three Assistant Secretaries be held under the presidency of the Deputy Chairman. The Vice-Chairman's position and powers should, of course, continue unaffected by this new appointment. Further, we recommend that the Secretary should have the right to attend and speak at all Committees, except the Executive, but that he should not attend meetings of these Committees unless for definite reasons he thinks it desirable.

(A. ii.) RELATIONS WITH BRANCHES

The feelings of Branches towards the Executive vary. In some places Headquarters is regarded as being too prolific with suggestions and proposals. In other places the exact opposite is thought.

We recommend :—

(1) That better arrangements be made for the reception of visitors to the Union, and that to this end Mr. Mills be asked to undertake, in addition to his other duties, those of Reception Officer.

(2) That a Branches Sub-Committee of the Executive be formed to meet once a month and deal specially with questions affecting the relations of Branches and Headquarters.

(3) That a permanent 'Regions' Committee of twelve to twenty-four persons, representative (like the Committee of Twelve) of the National Councils of

Scotland and Wales and of the ten English regions, be constituted; that it should have the right to make proposals as well as to criticise them; and that it meet regularly twice a year some two months before meetings of the General Council. It is hoped that this Committee might save a good deal of the time of the Council.

(4) The Council Meetings appear to show that, while there is general unanimity and confidence in the lead of the Executive in political matters, questions of internal organisation and administration often produce lively discussion, for which the time given is altogether insufficient, and should be increased: this difficulty would to some extent be met by the above proposal to appoint a 'Regions' Committee. We recommend that the Executive as a whole should receive invitations and platform tickets and should make a practice of attending Council Meetings; and that policies proposed by the Executive should be introduced and recommended by members other than the Chairman of the meeting.

(5) We recommend that it should be a regular practice for some member of the Executive to attend every annual meeting of the Federal and County Committees. It would be useful also for them, when convenient, to attend the Annual Meetings of Branches.

(6) An agreement with the London Regional Federation has already been approved by the Executive, chiefly affecting matters of finance.

(7) The Public Meetings department appears to be overworked and, in consequence, not always able to select the most suitable kind of speaker for particular meetings and localities. These difficulties should be met by enlisting the co-operation of the Secretaries of the Industrial Advisory, Education, Women's Advisory and Christian Organisations Committees in choosing and securing speakers for meetings which come within their respective spheres.

409
(B.) FINANCIAL

(1) We have recommended that the lease of No. 13 be got rid of, that certain reductions be made in the staff, and that certain small economies recommended by the representative of Sir John Mann in his examination of the office be put into effect. These measures, in so far as they have not been taken already, should be taken at once. We would point out, however, that the reductions in the staff now decided upon will involve some diminution of the supply of articles and paragraphs for the press.

We also recommend that in the appeals for membership used at meetings and appended to pamphlets, etc., a phrase should be added explaining that the 1s. and 3s. 6d. subscriptions do not appreciably help the funds of the Union, and urging all those who can afford it to subscribe £1 or at least 5s.

A proposal was made to charge booking fees for speakers. This did not seem to be desirable, but it is recommended that, when outside organisations ask for speakers, steps should be taken to secure a donation to the Union.

(2) It has been proposed to increase both the profits and effectiveness of *Headway* and our other literature by creating a special publishing company. This scheme has been referred to a special Sub-Committee with outside advice, and the matter is still under consideration.

(3) A special Appeals Committee has been formed in connection with the Finance Committee, and two Appeals officers have been added to Colonel Fisher's staff. Colonel Fisher has propounded a scheme for obtaining a much larger number of Foundation Members. The main idea of the scheme is as follows: If the Union had 100,000 Foundation Members (see below), it would bring in an income to Headquarters

of £37,500 and suffice for all Headquarters expenditure on the present scale. We recommend that each county should be invited to secure its quota of the 100,000 members, this quota being reckoned according to the county's membership, wealth, etc., calculated on the present quota basis.

(c.) Colonel Fisher reports, and the report is confirmed from many sources, that the Union is suffering from a certain unpopularity in the City and in some circles which have hitherto contributed generously to our financial support. The unpopularity seems to be based on two charges: (1) that the Union has adopted a party attitude hostile to the Conservatives, especially in the last election; and (2) that its annual expenditure is altogether excessive. We are convinced that both these charges are entirely baseless, and cannot survive careful study of the facts. We consider that steps should be taken, as opportunity offers, to explain the true situation to those whom it may concern.

Mr. W. T. Pritchard (London) made several suggestions concerning the work of the new Branches Committee of the Executive referred to in clause (A. ii) (2). Mr. Worsley on behalf of the Executive thanked Mr. Pritchard for his suggestions and said that they would receive the earnest consideration of the new Committee in question.

Mr. C. G. Hawkins (Edinburgh) moved and Mr. W. T. Pritchard (London) seconded the amendment standing in the name of the Edinburgh Branch in three sections as follows:

- (1) *That the 'Regions' Committee consist of at least 26 representatives of whom 3 shall be elected by Wales and 3 by the Scottish District Councils.*
- (2) *That the 'Regions' Committee be granted representation on the Executive Committee by being empowered to nominate the co-opted members thereof from among their own number to a maximum of 15.*

(3) *Having regard—*

- (a) *To the appointment of a 'Regions' Committee, and in order to facilitate the attendance at Executive Committee Meetings of the Regional representatives,*
- (b) *To the devolution recommended by the Reorganisation Sub-Committee,*
- (c) *To the increasing importance of the matters of general policy falling to the Executive Committee, the Executive Committee meets once a month only.*

After considerable discussion this amendment was put to the meeting, section by section. It was *Resolved* :—That section (1) be adopted in the following form:—

That Scotland be invited to elect three representatives to the permanent Regions Committee referred to in section (A. ii) (3) of the above report, and that a similar invitation be issued to Wales.

Sections (2) and (3) of the amendment were not adopted.

Mr. R. B. Minto (Liverpool and Merseyside) moved and Lt.-Col. C. Hervey Grey (Kent) seconded the following amendment:—

The General Council has received with interest the Report of the Reorganisation Sub-Committee and expresses its cordial thanks to the members of that Committee for the labours they have undertaken; it suggests, however, that the Committee has interpreted its term of reference rather narrowly and desires the Committee to continue its work with a view to reporting to the next meeting of the Council upon the wider questions of

- (a) *The Union's financial policy.*
- (b) *The extension of the Decentralisation Scheme of 1923.*
- (c) *The relationship of the newly-formed Federal Councils to the Regional Representatives; and*

(d) *Any other subject that concerns the organisation and finance of the Union.*

This amendment was not adopted.

It was then

Resolved :—That subject to the amendment indicated above (Section (1) Edinburgh) the recommendations of the Re-organisation Committee concerning the organisation and finance of the Union be adopted.

364. ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND FOUNDATION MEMBERS. On the motion of Mr. C. E. Clift (Manchester), seconded by Mr. Charles Roberts (Executive), it was

Resolved :—

- (1) That the time has come to give practical effect to the wish expressed by the Council that the number of Foundation Members should be very considerably increased; and that, to this end, an attempt be made to enrol 100,000 Foundation Members.
- (2) That each county should enrol a proportion of the 100,000 Foundation Members; such proportions being the mean between :—
 - (a) the number based on the county's proportion of the Council's Vote, and
 - (b) the number based on the county's proportion of the paid membership of the Union in 1929.
- (3) That the scheme be commended to the counties and Branches, pointing out—
 - (a) The new rule whereby Branches receive a bonus of five shillings on every new Foundation Member they enrol on or after October 1, 1929 (so that the Branch retains not less than ten shillings out of such a member's first subscription).
 - (b) The advantage to each individual Branch as well as to the whole Union of obtaining subscriptions larger than £1 from as many as possible of the Foundation Members enrolled under the

411
scheme (since Branches receive twenty-five per cent. of all subscriptions in addition to the above-mentioned bonus of five shillings for each new Foundation Member enrolled.

- (c) The arrangement whereby Headquarters divides equally with any duly constituted Federal Council all Council's Vote money received from its area in excess of its quota.
- (4) That the subscriptions of Foundation Members enrolled under this scheme shall be paid to Headquarters, to individual Branches or to Federal Councils as desired. When paid to Headquarters, Headquarters shall undertake to pay over to the local organisation concerned the proportion due to it at the end of March, June, September and December; accounts to be made up to the end of the previous month. Wherever possible payments shall be made by bankers' orders.
- (5) That the local organisations be reminded of the Union's revised Rule 3, whereby Foundation Members whom the Union's local organisation has not enrolled or retained may be enrolled by and attached to Headquarters on condition that Branch finances do not thereby suffer.
- (6) That all Branches and Districts are hereby urged to adopt the scheme and put it into work without delay with a view to obtaining the desired number of new Foundation Members before the Council Meeting due to be held in June, 1931.

365. BRANCH CONFERENCES. On the motion of Mr. L. M. Wynch (Camberley) and seconded by Mr. F. McLauchlan (London) it was

Resolved : That in Counties or other convenient areas (e.g., one or more Parliamentary Divisions) where district councils have not yet been formed, Conferences of Branch representatives should be

held once or twice a year to discuss Union policy and other matters of common interest to Branches.

At this stage (5.20 p.m.) the Council adjourned until 10 a.m. on Friday, June 27th.

366. PORTRAIT OF LORD CECIL. Professor Murray informed the Council that a certain society proposed to collect funds for a portrait of Lord Cecil. He anticipated that a subscription list would appear at an early date. He expressed the hope that this appeal would receive the support of members of the Union and of the General Council.

367. DR. FRIDTJOF NANSEN. On the motion of Mrs. Newnham Hoare (Reigate and Redhill) seconded by Vice-Admiral S. R. Drury-Lowe (Executive) the following resolution was unanimously adopted by the Council, which rose in silence as a mark of respect to the late Dr. Nansen:—

That this meeting deeply deplures the death of Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, great Arctic explorer, and devoted worker—through the League of Nations—for multitudes of oppressed and suffering people.

368. LORD BALFOUR. On the motion of the Chairman the following resolution was unanimously adopted by the Council, which rose in silence as a mark of respect to the late Lord Balfour:—

That the General Council of the League of Nations Union records its deep sense of loss in the death of Lord Balfour.

369. STATEMENT UPON INTERNATIONAL POLICY SUBMITTED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. Professor Murray, in a speech reported on pages 52 to 64, moved the Preamble of the Statement upon International Policy*; this was unanimously adopted.

Major the Rt. Hon. J. W. Hills, M.P. (Vice-Chairman of the Executive), then moved the first three sections of the Statement, viz. (1) The Pacific Settlement of Disputes

* The Statement of Policy as amended by the Council will be found printed on pages 42 to 47.

917
(2) The Defence of International Order; (3) The Reduction of Armaments by International Agreement. These sections were seconded by Captain J. Flint (London).

Mr. W. L. Smith (Essex) moved, and Mr. J. M. Fisher (Essex) seconded, the following amendment to section (2):—

That the following words be added to the above paragraph: and also shall have ratified the Arms Traffic Convention.

This amendment was adopted.

Mr. W. A. Sims (Beddington, Carshalton and Wallington), speaking on the first three sections, moved that the whole Statement be rejected by the Council. This motion was defeated. A considerable discussion ensued and it was finally

Resolved: That the penultimate sentence of section (2) be amended to read:—

‘... the other a Convention on the basis of the one proposed for financial assistance in the event of war or the threat of war ...’

The sections were then put to the meeting separately. Section (1) was carried with one dissentient; section (2) with eight dissentients; and section (3) with one dissentient.

Sir Walter Napier (Executive) moved and Captain Green (Executive) seconded section (4), The Rights and Duties of Minorities, which was unanimously adopted. In introducing this section Sir Walter paid a tribute to the work of Lord Dickinson on the Minorities question in the years following the Great War.

The Rt. Hon. Leif Jones (Executive) moved and the Rev. A. F. Dauncey (Abbots Morton and District) seconded section (5) Economic Co-operation, which was unanimously adopted.*

* Resolutions on a similar subject standing in the name of the Wolverhampton Branch and the South Staffordshire District Council were taken at this point (see page 47).

The Earl of Lytton (Executive) moved, and Captain L. H. Green (Executive) seconded, sections (6) and (7),† viz., Improvement in Conditions of Labour and Slavery and Forced Labour. In moving the adoption of these sections, Lord Lytton said:—

It is more than ten years since the Washington Convention was drawn up and agreed upon, and surely we cannot be accused of impatience if we say at the end of such a period, that the Convention ought to have been ratified either in its original or in some modified form. I know there are difficulties; it is not a simple question. There are difficulties which are partly technical and partly political, and they are the kind of difficulties which might very well have delayed or even prevented the original drafting of such a Convention, but they are not difficulties which can justify permanent refusal to ratify a Convention once it has been drafted and agreed to by representatives of labour and employers and Government representatives on behalf of this country. If I were standing on a Conservative Party platform I could no doubt put up a defence for the late Government; if I were standing on a Liberal or a Labour Party platform I have less doubt that I could put up a case against it, but I am not standing upon any Party platform, and I am not concerned with the Party aspect of this question. I am concerned only with its international aspect; that is the only point of view from which the League of Nations Union is concerned with the matter, and strictly from that point of view I have no hesitation in saying that our Governments in the past have not shown that strict regard for their international obligations which the League of Nations Union demands. After all, our record in the matter of hours of labour is as good, if not better than that of any other country, and we only stand to gain, therefore, by an international

† These sections were taken on Friday afternoon at 2.30 p.m., but are printed at this point in the Minutes for the sake of clarity.

413
instrument which will bring other countries up to the same standard. It is not because we have any difficulty whatever in accepting the principle, the principle which is already carried out in nearly 90 per cent. of our business undertakings. The difficulty has simply been one of phraseology in the terms of the original Convention. Let me remind you briefly what the policy of the Union has been on this question. First of all, we asked that the Convention should be ratified. For some years that was our simple policy. But it was pointed out to us by responsible ministers that there were actual difficulties in the way of ratification, and that some amendment of the original Convention was desired. We then said to the Government, very well, if you have difficulty in accepting the wording of the present Convention, tell us what you would accept. If you desire to see some changes or amendments, define in precise terms the amendments you desire. It would be dangerous to throw the whole Convention back into the melting pot, but it would be convenient if you would tell us and the other nations of the world what are the specific points on which revision is required. Finally, we asked them to introduce a Bill which would show the people of this country what changes would be required in order to bring our legislation into conformity with the Convention. That our demands were not altogether unreasonable is shown, I think, by the fact that the present Government has now done what we of the Union have been asking them to do for some time. The present Government has announced its intention of ratifying the Washington Hours Convention, it has also introduced a Bill into Parliament showing what changes would be necessary in our laws to make them conform to the Convention. And note this interesting fact—the result of our example. Italy was one of those countries which said she would ratify the Convention when and only when Great Britain, France and Germany had also ratified it. Now, without waiting for any further action

the Italian Government has in the last few days, I think, announced that it, too, will, or has, introduced into the Italian Parliament a Bill showing changes necessary in that country to ratify the Convention, and has stated the intention of the Italian Government to ratify the Convention without waiting for further ratification from France or Germany. That only shows the importance of example and the value of giving a lead in international matters of this kind.

With regard to slavery, here fortunately there is nothing to complain of in the attitude taken up by our own country in this matter. This is not one on which any one can possibly say we have been regardless of international obligations. In the matter of slavery we have not only led the way from the first but are still in advance of any other country. It was the British delegation which first brought the matter to the notice of the Third Assembly in 1922; it was the British delegation which drafted the first Slavery Convention in the Sixth Assembly of 1925; it was again the British delegation that at the Tenth Assembly last year put forward the view that in order to secure the efficient carrying out of the Slavery Convention it would be desirable to set up some permanent organisation on the lines of the Mandates Commission to supervise, on behalf of the League, the working of this Convention. That proposal was made by our President, Lord Cecil, on behalf of the British delegation last year. The proposal was not accepted and in place of it the Secretary General was instructed to collect all necessary information regarding those states that have ratified and those that have not and the degree to which those who have ratified are carrying it out, and to submit this information to the next meeting of the League. I have no doubt at the Eleventh Assembly next September that the British proposal will be again repeated, at least I hope it will, because speaking for myself it seems to me that some such step as that is the only way, or at any rate, the

414
best way of securing those objects which are contained in our resolution, which I have now the honour to move.

The resolution you will see also contains a reference to Forced Labour. Now Forced Labour was inevitably a consequence of the Slavery Convention, but because it was a consequence, coming after the Slavery Convention in the matter of time, it has not yet reached such an advanced position as the subject of slavery has done. It was in the Sixth Assembly of 1925 in which the Slavery Convention was approved, that this question of Forced Labour was referred by the Assembly to the International Labour Office and the International Labour Office immediately took the matter up and has dealt with it along the lines of its usual procedure. In the procedure of the I.L.O. there are always three statements. There is first of all what is known as the Grey Report, which is simply a resumé of facts giving the law and the practice of various countries in the matter. Then there is drawn up a questionnaire which is addressed to the various Governments of the States Members of the League, and, thirdly there is what is known as the Blue Report, which contains the answers to that questionnaire, and finally there is the draft Convention prepared in the Office. That draft Convention is now on the Agenda of the International Labour Conference which is in session at this moment. It is actually being discussed at Geneva while we are sitting here and I have no doubt that in the course of a few days we shall hear that the Convention has been approved. That is the history of the matter as regards the League of Nations.

Let me just remind you that the League of Nations Union has also applied to this question its usual practice. It has been our practice, always in anticipation of the discussion of some matter by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office or by the

International Labour Conference, to hold a Conference in which the subject itself is examined by our own branches and members, and in accordance with that custom, the Union held a Conference last winter in London at which this question of Forced Labour was explained by competent speakers, discussed and considered in all its aspects.

Lastly, it has also been considered by the Plenary Congress of the Federation of League of Nations Societies sitting at Geneva this month, and that Congress passed a resolution identical almost with the resolution which we are now submitting to our Council.

The matter, therefore, has been considered by the League, and by the Federation of our League of Nations Societies. It has been discussed at a conference by the Union and it is only right and fitting, therefore, that we should submit to our Council at this session a resolution to secure from them the same approval that has been secured by all those other bodies for bringing the question of Forced Labour into line with that of Slavery and expressing our hope that a Convention for that purpose may soon be before us. That is the object of these two resolutions, which, on behalf of the Executive Committee, I now beg to move.

Dr. Crystal Macmillan (Co-opted) moved and Mr. R. B. Minto (Liverpool and Merseyside) seconded, that the last sentence of section 6 be amended to read as follows:—

To bring the draft Conventions signed by it at the International Labour Conference before Parliament in accordance with Article 405 of the Treaty of Versailles.

After a considerable discussion, in which Miss Helen Ward (Co-opted) took part, the amendment was ruled out of order in accordance with clause 7 of the Standing Orders,

415
owing to the fact that it raised issues not upon the Agenda paper.

Lady Hall (Executive) then moved and Mr. Monro Briggs (Cheltenham) seconded the following amendment:

That the words 'and subsequently approved by the House of Commons' be added to section 6.

This amendment was not adopted.

Mr. R. B. Minto (Liverpool and Merseyside) moved and Mr. J. Macdonald (Liverpool and Merseyside) seconded the following resolution:—

That section 6 be referred back to the Executive Committee for consideration.

This resolution was not adopted.

Mr. Leif Jones (Executive) then moved the following amendment:—

That the last paragraph of section 6 be amended to read:—

'In particular, the Washington Hours Convention should be ratified and renewed upon its expiration, and it should be part of the considered policy of the British Government to bring promptly before the House of Commons all Conventions signed by it at International Labour Conferences, so as to secure prompt ratification.'

This amendment was adopted. Section (6) was then adopted as amended.

Section (7) was adopted with one dissident.

Dr. C. W. Kimmins (Chairman of the Education Committee) moved and the Rev. A. R. Rhys Pryce (Harrow) seconded section (8) Education and the League, which was unanimously adopted.

Professor Murray moved and Mr. Henry Brinton (Kent) seconded section (9) Social Activities of the League, which was unanimously adopted.

STATEMENT UPON INTERNATIONAL POLICY
AS ADOPTED ON FRIDAY, JUNE 27, 1930.

The Royal Charter under which the Union was Incorporated cites as the third object of the Union: 'To advocate the full development of the League of Nations, so as to bring about such a world organisation as will guarantee the freedom of nations, act as Trustee and Guardian of backward races maintain International order and finally liberate mankind from war and the effects of war.' This statement is put forward in pursuance of this object.

International Arbitration has made great progress in recent months. But the London Naval Conference has brought to light some of the difficulties of reconciling the desire of America to avoid political commitments with the insistence of European Powers upon the importance of pre-arranged mutual assistance between nations for the defence of international order.

Appreciating both these points of view, Great Britain has a leading part to play in the organisation of peace and the promotion of a general reduction of armaments, which is an essential condition of lasting peace. It should be a fundamental object of British foreign policy to sustain and encourage cordial co-operation between the British Empire and the United States of America in the interests of peace, without weakening in any degree the loyal attachment of the Empire to the Covenant of the League of Nations.

For Peace is the greatest interest of the British Empire, and the Empire can render a valuable service to peace through the League. The system of consultation between the seven delegations of the British Empire to the Assembly of the League of Nations has been valuable as a means of promoting unity of purpose in the Empire's foreign policy and the effective collaboration of all members of the British Commonwealth in the League's various activities. This

416
system might be developed and utilised in the intervals between the meetings of the Imperial Conference.

1. THE PACIFIC SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES.

It is of the utmost importance that peaceful means be provided for the solution of every type of conflict between nations.

The signature of the Optional Clause of the Statute of the Permanent Court by the British Governments and the majority of States Members of the League involves the submission of international disputes of a legal character to judicial settlement. As a means of completing machinery for the solution of other disputes, the British Government is asked to consider the acceptance of the General Act, adopted by the Ninth Assembly of the League, with whatever reservations or modifications may be thought necessary.

Treaties which have become inapplicable, or which seem to constitute obstacles to international goodwill, should be reconsidered and modified: it is important to use Article 19 of the Covenant, wherever it is properly applicable, for this purpose.

2. THE DEFENCE OF INTERNATIONAL ORDER.

The provisions for mutual assistance in the Covenant and in the Locarno agreements (so far as Western Europe is concerned), together with the Kellogg Pact, should furnish any Power with such reasonable security against the violation of its rights that it should be willing to join forthwith in a considerable reduction of armaments.

In order that practical means of applying the principles of the Covenant to deter a disturber of the peace may be available, two Conventions should be signed; one upon the basis of the Draft Model Treaty to Strengthen Means of Preventing War; the other, upon the basis of the Draft Convention for Financial Assistance in the event of war or the threat of war; the latter should be signed on condition that a State benefiting

from the Convention shall have ratified and loyally co-operated in the execution of a Treaty for the general reduction of armaments, and also shall have ratified the Arms Traffic Convention.

3. THE REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS BY INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT.

The willingness of Governments to reduce and limit their armaments is the test of their sincerity in making promises not to go to war. The general and effective reduction of armaments is essential to the organisation of peace and security through the League. Every effort should be made to bring to a satisfactory conclusion the work of the League's Preparatory Disarmament Commission, in order that a World Conference may soon be held to conclude a general treaty for the reduction and limitation of all armaments. Such a treaty should at least include the following provisions:—

All classes of warships should be progressively restricted. There should, in particular, be an immediate reduction in the number of existing capital ships and a drastic limitation in the future size and armament of such ships, as well as an agreement to reduce the number of auxiliary craft, including submarines, which should, if possible, be abolished.

The period of service in conscript armies, or the annual contingent of recruits, or both, should be restricted.

The number of military aeroplanes, or pilots and of mechanics should be strictly limited and reduced, and commercial aircraft should not be built in such a way as to be immediately available for fighting purposes.

War material should be restricted either specifically or by budgetary limitation, or by both, and, in view of the treaties renouncing chemical warfare, chemical manufacture should be subject to special regulations and publicity.

Reasonable machinery should be devised and accepted for ascertaining that the provisions of a general disarmament treaty are loyally carried out.

Plans for the reduction of armaments should be accompanied by adequate schemes for mitigating unemployment resulting from their adoption.

4. THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF MINORITIES.

It is essential to a lasting peace that the rights of minorities should be respected and harmonised with their duties to the States of which they are part.

The Council of the League should not cease its endeavour to improve the methods by which it discharges its duty of protection to a certain number of minorities; and all States Members of the League should undertake to respect the same rights of minorities as a few of their number are at present obliged by treaty to acknowledge.

5. ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION.

There should be constant co-operation between Governments, through the League, in the economic and financial sphere.

With this object in view, every effort should be made to secure the enlargement of markets for exports; the improvement of credit for commercial purposes in connection with the Bank for International Settlements; and the removal of hindrances to international commerce and the friction and impoverishment arising therefrom.

6. IMPROVEMENT IN CONDITIONS OF LABOUR.

A low standard of working conditions in one country is the enemy of social progress in all. No effort should be spared to secure a general improvement in the standard of living through the activities of the International Labour Organisation.

In particular, the Washington Hours Convention should be ratified and renewed upon its expiration, and it should be part of the considered policy of the British Government to bring promptly before the House of Commons all Conventions signed by it at International Labour Conferences.

7. SLAVERY AND FORCED LABOUR.

Slavery and forced labour should be abolished.

The League should give continual attention to the loyal fulfilment by its Members of the International Slavery Convention of 1926, and a Convention for the suppression of forced labour should be ratified at the earliest possible date. In the meantime, all Colonial Powers should observe a standard which is at least not lower than that laid down in the regulations already in force in the ' B ' and ' C ' Mandates.

8. EDUCATION AND THE LEAGUE.

Education in the aims and work of the League should be promoted in all countries.

It is desirable that the League should convene a World Education Conference to consider and report upon the progress made in this direction. In Great Britain, full effect should be given to the Recommendations of the League's Sub-Committee of Experts and those of the Joint Committee of Associations of Local Education Authorities and of teachers.

9. SOCIAL ACTIVITIES OF THE LEAGUE.

The activities of the League directed against grave social evils should be supported and developed.

Progressive steps should be taken for the suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children, and the British Government should use its influence to secure the general ratification and application of the Conventions already signed for this purpose, and the abolition of licensed houses of prostitution in all countries.

The general ratification of The Hague Opium Convention of 1912 and the Geneva Drug Conventions of 1925 should be secured, and an endeavour should be made through the League of Nations to bring about legislation and practical administrative measures in each country to control the amount of derivative drugs manufactured, sold and exported.

The League of Nations should promote an international Convention determining the conditions to be observed in all civilised countries in the treatment of persons under arrest or in captivity, and should co-operate with the International Prison Commission to secure the loyal observance of such a Convention.

370. BANK FOR INTERNATIONAL SETTLEMENTS. The Rev. J. Leslie Chown (Wolverhampton) moved the following resolution on behalf of the Wolverhampton Branch:—

That in view of the great and growing power of International Finance, this Union would respectfully urge the Finance and Economic Commission of the League of Nations to explore the possibility and to take the necessary steps for the formation of a League of Nations Bank at Geneva.

And also the following resolution on behalf of the South Staffordshire District Council:—

That the General Council recommends that a League of Nations Bank be formed, with Headquarters at Geneva.

After discussion it was unanimously

Resolved : That the Executive Committee be asked to consider what steps can be taken to secure close co-operation between the League and the Bank for International Settlements.

In view of this unanimous resolution of the Council the Rev. J. Leslie Chown did not proceed with his original resolution.

371. INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE. On the motion of Mrs. Gladstone Solomon (Berkshire) and seconded by Professor Gilbert Murray it was

Resolved : That this Council is of the opinion that the teaching of an international language in the schools of all countries would promote international goodwill and peace.

The Council then adjourned at 1.5 p.m. until 2.30 p.m. At 2.30 p.m. those sections of the Statement of Policy dealing with International Labour questions were moved by Lord Lytton. These are minuted on pages 45-46.

At 3.55 p.m. the Council resumed consideration of business which had been adjourned from the previous day.

372. SUBSCRIPTIONS. Mrs. Bulmer (Hereford) moved the following resolution:—

That any Branch which guarantees to pay its quota of the Council's Vote in two half-yearly instalments, one in January the other in July, shall retain its subscriptions in full except for the amount due for literature supplied by Headquarters.

On the motion of Mr. R. B. Minto (Liverpool and Merseyside) this resolution was ruled out of order in accordance with clause 5 of the Standing Orders in view of the fact that its adoption would involve an alteration of the rules.

373. REPRESENTATION OF BRANCHES ON THE GENERAL COUNCIL. On the motion of Mr. W. T. Pritchard (London) and seconded by Mr. J. Macdonald (Liverpool and Merseyside) it was

Resolved : That, as about 90 per cent. of the Branches of the Union are not directly represented at the General Council meetings, the Executive Committee be requested to find some method by which they may be more adequately represented than at present.

419
374. EXPENSES OF COUNCIL REPRESENTATIVES. Mr. R. Miller (Tyne) moved and Mr. R. B. Minto (Liverpool and Merseyside) seconded the following resolution:—

That the Executive should be instructed to formulate a scheme whereby the travelling expenses of representatives be pooled (expenses to include train fare and £1 per day Hotel expenses during the time of the Conference), so that the costs of representation may be equally distributed.

After considerable discussion this resolution was withdrawn on the assurance that the matter would be considered along with the preceding resolution of the London Regional Federation. It was pointed out, however, that the question of expense was really one for the Branches rather than the Executive Committee.

375. LIBRARY FINANCES. Mr. H. Brinton (Kent) moved the following resolution:—

That, on the cessation of the grant from the Carnegie Trust at the end of the year, an adequate sum be voted for the maintenance of the Union's library, on a basis consistent with its reputation as one of the best libraries of its kind in the world.

The amendment standing in the name of the Waterloo, Crosby, Seaforth and Litherland Branch was withdrawn. The resolution moved by the Kent Federal Council was then accepted subject to the proviso that action taken thereon should be consistent with the state of the Union's finances as a whole.

376. PLACE OF NEXT ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING. The Council had before them invitations to hold the next Annual General Meeting from Essex (Clacton), Blackpool and Cheltenham. After discussion, on the motion of Mr. R. Tootill (Blackpool) and seconded by Mr. J. Macdonald (Liverpool and Merseyside) it was

Resolved : That the Twelfth Annual General Meeting of the General Council be held in Blackpool.

The Council expressed its appreciation of the other invitations which had been extended to it in this connection.

377. ARMISTICE DAY LEAFLET. The Rev. F. A. Steele (Nottinghamshire) moved and Mr. F. Booth (Derbyshire) seconded the following resolution:—

That, in view of the value of Armistice Meetings as a means of strengthening public opinion in favour of the work of the Union, Headquarters be asked to resume the free distribution, at properly organised meetings, of the leaflet, *Some Thoughts on Armistice Day*, on request for supplies being made by Federal or Branch Secretaries.

This resolution was not adopted.

378. WORK IN THE CHURCHES. On the motion of Mr. C. H. Bates (Chiswick), seconded by Mr. J. H. Barr (Bebington and Bromborough) it was

Resolved: That, where a suitable person can be obtained, there be appointed by each Branch a special official to develop work in the Churches.

The amendment standing in the name of the Thirsk and District Branch did not obtain a seconder and was therefore not considered.

379. PRIZE ESSAY COMPETITION. Mr. H. D. Neate (Keyworth) moved and Mr. G. S. Green (Skipton) seconded the following resolution:—

(a) That the General Council recommends the holding at an early date of a Prize Essay Competition somewhat on the lines set forth on pages 63-64 of the Brighton Agenda.

(b) That a Committee be appointed, consisting of one representative attending this Council Meeting, from each Region of the Union, one representative from the Executive, and one from the staff of Head Office, to consider the best means of raising the money required.

470
(c) And that this Committee meets at the close of this session to discuss the first steps to be taken to bring about the desired results.

After discussion it was

Resolved: That this resolution be submitted to the Executive for their consideration.

380. JUNIOR BRANCHES. Mr. F. E. Pearson (Northamptonshire), seconded by Mr. H. F. Shaw (Leeds and Wakefield), moved the following resolution, indicating that he would be glad if the Council would consider the resolution amended as suggested by the Essex Federal Council as follows:—

(a) That the reorganisation of Junior Branches with regard to rural areas be explored; and

(b) That Junior Branches in Elementary Schools should contribute to Headquarters a capitation fee of not less than 1*d.* per member.

After discussion it was

Resolved: That paragraph (a) of the above resolution be adopted, and that the terms of reference be extended to cover (b).

381. LITERATURE FOR JUNIOR BRANCHES. Mr. F. M. Grimes (Nottinghamshire) moved and the Rev. F. A. Steele (Nottinghamshire) seconded the following resolution:—

That in view of the opinion expressed by the leading educational authorities in the area covered by the Nottinghamshire Federal Council, Headquarters be asked to consider a scheme for the provision of literature suitable for distribution among members of Junior Branches as and when Branches are formed.

After discussion it was

Resolved: (a) That the above resolution be not adopted, but

(b) That Headquarters be asked to consider a scheme for the provision of literature suitable for distribu-

tion among members of Junior Branches as and when Branches are formed.

382. VOTES OF THANKS. On the motion of the Chairman it was

Resolved : That the thanks of the Council be conveyed to the Westminster Branch for the luncheon which had been arranged in honour of the Council and at which the Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson, M.P., had delivered a speech.

It was further

Resolved : That the thanks of the Council be conveyed to the Lord Mayor for his action in permitting the reception for the Council to be held in the Guildhall.

383. PROFESSOR GILBERT MURRAY. On the motion of Mr. G. S. Green (Skipton) and seconded by Mr. R. B. Minto (Liverpool and Merseyside) it was, by acclamation, unanimously

Resolved : That the cordial thanks and appreciation of the Council be expressed to Professor Gilbert Murray for his Chairmanship of the Eleventh Annual Meeting.

ADDRESS BY PROFESSOR MURRAY

In presenting the Statement upon International Policy:

I rise to introduce the resolutions submitted by the Executive upon International Policy, and it is usual that I take that opportunity of making some little statement about the condition of League affairs in the world. I should like, first of all, to give out one or two notices.

In the first place, you will remember that it was suggested some years ago that we should raise subscriptions for a portrait of Lord Cecil. We decided that, in the present state of the Union's finances, we were not justified in using your subscriptions for a purpose like that, even though we felt that most people

would be thoroughly in sympathy with the purpose. I ought to say now that there is an independent society which is collecting subscriptions with a view to presenting Lord Cecil with his portrait. It has nothing to do with our finance, but I am sure that it is an object with which you will all sympathise, and I have no doubt that this society, which in course of time will send out its notices, will be quite ready to receive anybody's subscriptions.

There is one other matter on which I think it is absolutely necessary for me to touch. That is the immense loss which the whole cause of the League has sustained in the death of Dr. Nansen, one of our greatest champions and, from the Union's point of view, one of our greatest and staunchest friends. A resolution will be submitted later in the day from the Conference of Surrey Branches, and so I will say no more now. There is, as you probably know, a movement for preserving the little ship specially built for Nansen with which he made his great voyage to the North Pole—the *Fram*. The *Fram* is there, still in existence, and it does not require very much expenditure to keep it safe, to keep its timbers from rotting, and to keep it there as a permanent memorial of Nansen's greatest adventure. I commend that object also to the interest of members of the Union.

Now there is one other subject on which I would like to touch. It is a subject which, in the language of Geneva, is always called 'une question delicate,' and when there is a 'question delicate' I am reminded of a phrase of my old tutor at Oxford, Arthur Sidgwick, who once defined a delicate question as one which if not handled firmly at once was apt to become indelicate. Most of you I expect heard that splendid speech from the Secretary for Foreign Affairs yesterday. It was a speech absolutely and without reservation in support of all the things for which we stand. We cannot but be

most grateful to have a man in that responsible position—one of the most responsible positions in the Empire or perhaps in the world—so absolutely endorsing our aims and the spirit in which we pursue them. But now I want to say this. Is there any Conservative in this room who felt for a moment that because a Labour Minister spoke like that, so entirely in agreement with the aims of our Society, that seemed to give our society a sort of stamp of belonging to the Labour Party rather than to the Conservative? I want most emphatically to say 'No' to that. Supposing a Conservative Minister, supposing Lord Cecil had been the Minister of Foreign Affairs in some Conservative Government, would not he have said, not the same words, but would he not have expressed exactly the same sentiments. The Liberal Party is not very rich at the moment, but supposing that Mr. Leif Jones or Mr. Worsley were Foreign Secretary, should we not have exactly the same spirit in the speech? Our policy of remaining non-party is not in any sense a question of dancing on eggs, avoiding delicate questions and the like. We are non-party because we are non-party. There is no Radical amongst us who is not devoted to the great task of preserving the civilisation and peace of the world. There is no Conservative amongst us who is not standing, who is not working, for a great revolution, a deep-seated revolution, in the whole relations of one nation to another. We are non-party because we are pursuing an aim that goes deeper than the differences of party and which has arisen only now, only recently, after the old parties were established. Let us never for a moment fail to realise that profound truth about the League of Nations movement. I wanted just to say that in case of any possible misunderstanding.

Now I have one or two things to say about the actual position of the movement in the world. I remember

422

years ago when I was coming back from an Assembly of the League it so happened that I was in a motor car at night and it went wrong. It was in France, and we had to try and mend that car and make it go by the light of one candle; it was a very still night and we succeeded in mending it. But as we were there, with this candle shaded carefully against every puff of wind, I could not help thinking that that was very much the state of the League of Nations at that time. If it was allowed to work, if the calm held, we could mend the international machine. But another strong puff of wind might blow it out. I believe we are much better off now. The League has struck its roots firmly, the League is an accepted institution. You do not any longer, in defending the League, wish to defend every single act it did any more than if you defend the House of Commons you feel called upon to prove that every Bill that it ever passed was a wise Bill. We feel about the League as we feel about the House of Commons, that it is an institution which is there and which we cannot do without. That is an enormous advance.

Yet is our task anything like achieved? Is this battle on which we are engaged won? Clearly not. Even inside the League, in Europe, we have all sorts of causes for disquiet. Armaments are far too large and we cannot get them down. The language used by certain nations in Europe and still more by a great nation on the borders of Europe is always hinting at war and using threats of war. If you look even at the inside, at the more internal work, of the League, the work that is not directly connected with war but only with alleviating the sufferings of mankind, what a very little way we have really gone, say in handling the opium question. I suppose there is more opium being grown now all over China than there has been for a long time past. You see casually in the newspaper that two tons of dangerous drugs have been seized at Marseilles—more than enough for the whole use of the world for a generation.

We are still in the midst of a hard up-hill struggle, and there is no reason whatever to suppose that we have a right to rest upon our oars.

Outside the League I think we should be probably right in saying that a larger number of human beings have actually died from the effects of war, pestilence and famine, than at any time during, say, the century before the Great War. Civil war constantly going on in China, famine in China, famine in Russia, a condition of affairs in India which makes one wonder whether we can really save the whole vast population of India from the same sort of fate as that which has overtaken Russia and China. There are all kinds of extreme dangers still threatening us outside the League. The contest we are engaged upon is a contest that really is never won.

Now I want to speak roughly of two divisions of our work, considering it in the way of achievement. I think first of all there is the whole sphere of arbitration and peaceful settlement. I expect you will all agree that the progress in that line has been exceedingly satisfactory. Supposing we did not take a single further step I think we have already got a machinery which, if worked with goodwill, is capable of settling all the differences between civilised nations—if worked with goodwill. All that remains is a sort of clearing up of particular outstanding points. Nearly all the important nations have signed and ratified the Optional Clause. We have all agreed to the Covenant, and we have all agreed to the Kellogg Pact. There is some little work to be done in making the Covenant and the Kellogg Pact exactly dovetail; there is some little work to be done in settling what line of conduct we should take about those exceptionally difficult disputes which are not justiciable, not to be settled by the Court, and in which the merits are so obscure that we cannot get a unanimous Council about them. You all know that there has been a Committee at Geneva,

423
presided over by M. Scialoja and with Lord Cecil as a member, which has drawn up some exceedingly interesting constructive proposals for taking the engagements of the Kellogg Pact inside the Covenant and combining them in one authoritative document. The only doubtful point that arises, I am speaking roughly, is this: supposing you have one of those extremely difficult questions between two nations—a question in which there is no legal wrong and right, so that you cannot settle it by law, a question also in which the claims on both sides are so evenly balanced that the Council cannot make up its mind, what are you to do? Are you, as would be the case at present under the Covenant and the Kellogg Pact, merely to say 'We cannot settle this issue. All we can say is: Don't go to war and see what happens'? Or can we go one step further and say that if the Council or some similar arbitral body considers it absolutely necessary or desirable that that obscure question shall be settled somehow, then it shall have the right by a mere majority vote to impose its will? There is a great deal to be said on both sides of that question. The Scialoja Committee has made amendments which would give that power to the Council; the Council, when it thought fit, could, by a majority vote, absolutely settle any difference whatever that was brought before it.

The line taken by the Executive about it is rather interesting. You see it would give to the Council the power of enforcing its own decision. What we have said, after a good deal of consideration, is that we approve of these amendments subject to two conditions. First, that in the case of enforcing its decision the Council shall never use military measures except against a nation which has already resorted to war. I think that would commend itself to everybody. Secondly, that this tighter, more authoritative and constructive form of League government shall not come into operation until disarmament is already a fact. We want to wait until

some project of general disarmament has been accepted and is being carried out. I just mention that because I think it is an interesting problem and, on the whole, I think that after a good deal of discussion the Executive has probably taken the line that will commend itself to the general feeling of the Union.

With regard to disarmament, we are up against a quite different problem. When you are speaking of arbitration you find all the nations of Europe willing. They want to bring in arbitration; they are ready to agree not to be judges in their own case, but to submit the decision to some fair tribunal. You get a good reception at once. When you ask them to disarm the atmosphere changes. Why is that? I see that we have a resolution somewhere later on saying that the question of disarmament is a test of the sincerity of Governments. I do not think it is exactly a test of the sincerity of Governments; it is a test of the confidence which Governments have in one another's sincerity. And that is, of course, a rather different thing. They say 'We will go to arbitration, we will not make war, but we cannot rid ourselves of a certain fear that some nation in the world might make war, and for that reason we want defence.' What must we do? That question is in the best hands that we could wish. Lord Cecil has worked at it from the beginning. He knows the ins and outs of all the problems. He is working with great patience and the necessary concomitant of patience, infinite perseverance, to bring about an agreement on disarmament. I think we are getting on. We are getting on slowly. Disarmament may well be the last thing for the League to achieve.

Meantime we have had the Naval Conference. And may I say, at the risk of repeating truisms, one or two things about the Naval Conference. In the first place it is surely a very great thing that we have achieved agreement between the three greatest naval powers. It is a very great thing that we have achieved agreement,

424
quite apart from what the agreement is. There is another thing that is interesting. In all three countries there has been a violent kicking against the Treaty. There has been a lot of violent language in that friendly nation which does so much for the League, Japan. I see that the opponents of the League there have gone even a further step and, in the fine old chivalrous Japanese manner, a high Admiralty official who disapproved of the Conference has formally committed suicide. I don't know how far that example will be followed in the United States or here. But what I first want to emphasise is this: It is quite clear that what I may call the militarist party—the party that objected to an agreement—is beaten in all three countries. They fight like a minority, they speak like a minority, and they feel like a minority. That is a great thing.

Now as to the agreement actually reached. If you study the terms of the agreement you will find that if we all built up to the limit that is allowed by the Treaty there would be an enormous increase of shipbuilding. If America were to build up to the limit that is allowed by the Treaty, I think it would be the most tremendous effort of shipbuilding that has ever occurred in history. We should increase; Japan would increase. On the other hand, I think it is practically certain that none of us will build up to the limit. Is that not very interesting? We have made an agreement and, for the purpose of a binding agreement, we have had to have rather large limits. But the intention in each country is a much greater degree of reduction in armaments than is embodied in the words of the Treaty. That surely is true. I do not see that it can be controverted, and it is a very important point. No nation likes to bind itself absolutely. We have bound ourselves to a reduction of armaments that will be only slight, but inside that reduction we all mean to reduce further, and not to build up to the limit.

Then there is another point that I would venture to commend to you. It is a great thing that we have been

able to confer about armaments at all. Before the great war it would have been, I think, inconceivable that three nations or five nations should sit round a table, and tell each other what armaments they have, and explain why they want them and submit to criticism. It is a great thing that we have got to the point when armaments are not a secret jealously guarded, but a thing on which we wish to consult our neighbours. It is a great thing again that even where agreement was not reached, as between the European powers, that they all agreed to come and discuss the matter again. It shows that we are getting into the right spirit.

There are two points affecting the future on which I should like to say a word or two; they are points on which I think dangers or difficulties may hereafter arise, and to which I think our attention might well be given. Two very distinguished international lawyers, Professor Brierly of Oxford and Sir John Fischer Williams, the Legal Adviser to the Reparations Commission, have both separately emphasised one great difficulty about the Covenant. You know it is laid down in the Covenant that if a matter of dispute between two nations is found to lie entirely within the domestic jurisdiction of one of them, the Council has simply to take its hands off. The League is powerless. Now both these authorities have pointed out that there are all kinds of things which at present are supposed to be in the sphere of domestic jurisdiction which are really international in their effects. They point out that the sphere of domestic jurisdiction must not be regarded as rigid and fixed for ever, that there are more things constantly moving into the sphere of what is international. Remember that before the war, before the foundation of the League, civilisation was divided into so many sovereign independent nations which owed, according to international law, no duties to one another, which had a right one to make war on another whenever it chose, and all of them to be judges in their

425
own cause. That produced international anarchy and it led to the war. Now we must see that such remnants of the international anarchy as still menace the peace of civilisation are gradually dealt with.

The first of all I think is to be found in the economic sphere. Nations may still, according to international law, take all kinds of steps to injure their neighbours' trade without consulting their neighbours. In some cases lately you can see Bills passed that actually have the effect, and to some extent the purpose, of doing so. There is one Bill which we have all read about in the papers in another country which might I think quite suitably have been described as a Bill for increasing unemployment in Great Britain and elsewhere. Now there has recently been, as we all know, a World Economic Conference, that is to say economists chosen by the Governments of all nations, have met—one hundred and fifty of them—and they have arrived at a unanimous conclusion about certain things. And I want to call attention to one particular phrase which was unanimously accepted in their Report, which was very carefully considered and which I think marks an epoch in the region of international policy. It is this: that tariffs and certain other lines of economic action, they say, 'are not a matter of purely domestic interest but greatly influence the trade of the world.' You will notice, of course, that I am not speaking in favour of either protection or free trade or Empire free trade or anything else, I am calling attention to a new fact which we of the League of Nations Union ought to realise, that this sort of economic action is international in its bearings and that this exceedingly important Conference has made that statement. What conclusion does the Conference draw? It draws a conclusion which I think in principle is important and very far reaching, though at the moment it has very little practical effect. It is this: that they suggest that if a nation finds itself injured by the legislation of another in economic

matters, it should be able, I quote the words, ' to ask for the opening of friendly negotiations between the Governments in order to restore the equilibrium that has been disturbed '—that a nation that is injured shall be able to ask for friendly conference between the Governments.

You will remember a certain time ago at the time of the occupation of the Ruhr, the German coal trade and our coal trade were hot rivals. At one time the Germans sent out a lot of cheap coal which terribly increased our unemployment and distress. Then the German supply was stopped and our coal trade went up. If we could injure the German trade we gained, if the Germans could injure our trade they gained. Now from the League of Nations point of view, I put it to everybody, that is not a sensible way of conducting business. We must look forward in future to a quite different way of conducting business, of realising that in economics, perhaps more than in any other sphere, every nation is dependent upon others and that we must at least get to the point which is conveyed in this recommendation of the Economic Conference, of realising that such action has an international bearing and ought to be considered internationally. I venture to mention that because I think it will be of very great practical importance in future. If we do not do that, if we do not recognise that these things are international, if we try to stand on our rights as an independent sovereign power, I think the danger is extreme, because this business is becoming more and more international. Economic conflict is, I think, becoming keener between different economic groups, and when you speak of economic conflict remember you are speaking of the struggle for life, the struggle of the living creature to get the food without which it will die. We must not leave that unregulated.

One other point, and that is about the Secretariat. You will have noticed that Lord Cecil is sitting at this

476
moment on a Committee about the reorganisation of the Secretariat—a very important matter. And I want to call your attention to one point, that, owing to the development of the League, the Secretariat is becoming more and more an ordinary official body. When the League started the members of the Secretariat were chosen almost entirely from people who had taken part in the Conference at Versailles. It looked at a certain moment as if the League was not going to succeed, so that all those who did not believe in the League did not wish to join the Secretariat. You had chosen, first of all, people selected for their ability; secondly, people who were ready to give up their ordinary positions in order to take, even at a certain risk, a place in this great international undertaking. They were officials, they were also to a great extent crusaders. It is impossible to over-estimate the work done by a number of members of the Secretariat whose names I could mention. Another point was this, there was no technique yet developed for international action. The various Foreign Offices had not got the technique. The Secretariat had to create it, to find out the way in which this new work could be done. Now that the League is well established, now that the ordinary sceptic in an ordinary Foreign Office sees that the League has to be reckoned with, it has become much more official. For one thing, ordinary diplomats from the Foreign Offices of France, Italy, Germany, etc., are drafted off into the Secretariat into very high positions. They are very good officials, everyone that I know, but they are officials taken from the various national Foreign Offices. The Secretariat is no doubt equally good as an official body, but it must inevitably slightly lose the spirit of the crusader with which it started. The men who go to it now are the men who go in for a diplomatic career. They are not what they were at the beginning, people who staked their futures on the success of a new world and a new international movement. Can we bring about the great

change we all want in the relations of nations to one another unless there is somewhere this crusading spirit? We cannot. It won't be done by the machinery unless there is the spirit behind it. The only conclusion I can draw is that that work is thrown back upon the voluntary societies. We do whatever we can to supply that side of the movement. We try to influence our own Government; we try to effect public opinion; we try to keep alive this spirit—shall we call it—of idealism, though it should be practical idealism. I come back to the purport of my remarks at the beginning, that the task to which you and I have set ourselves is not getting lighter day by day or less important. It is becoming heavier and more important. If the voluntary societies were swept out of existence I really should tremble for the future of the League, and I think that there I could quote not only Dr. Nansen in favour of the same opinion, but Sir Eric Drummond himself. Well, let us go on with our work. I should say avoid fanaticism, because fanaticism, the refusal to be reasonable, the refusal to see facts, is something that always repels. Avoid fanaticism; avoid party spirit; be incorruptible. You will remember the great word of Bismarck, Bismarck the believer in blood and iron, the believer still more in gold and iron, when he was calculating the chances of a tremendous undertaking. When he had calculated all the things that could be weighed in the balance there remained what he called, using the Latin word, *imponderabilia*—imponderables, things that cannot be weighed in any balance that we have because they are the things of the spirit. And I think we can do no better than follow the man whom nobody accused of being too much an idealist, in pinning our faith to the imponderables, the things of the spirit.