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N  
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P  
Q  
R  
S  
T  
U  
V  
W  
Y  
Z

Anglo. Jewish Conference 319, 325, 349, 355, 363

Allen Hall Meeting (1118) 320

Allen Hall, 326, 329, 370, 381

Am. Comments - denunciation of - 327

Aphrodisia 328 50, 178 186

Anti Disarmament Office 386, 4, 36, 41

Anti-Jewish Legislation 347, 41

Alexander, A.V. 32 (24)

Alfred, Lady 120

Affirmation of Christian Faith 149(c), 155

Annual Report 157

Angell, Sir N. 182

Associated Countrywomen of the World 187

Assembly - resolution for 240, 253, 265, 276

Advisory members of Executive 241 (2)

Action in case of War 254, 262

Assembly 1939. 296, 306, 324, 374 378 386

Atoll, Duchess of 319

Advisory Cttee. 346 350

a. Real Peace (Short Statement of Policy) <sup>368</sup>~~367~~ 384 386

Albert Hall 21st Birthday Celebration 354

Austria 361

A  
B  
C  
D  
E  
F  
G  
H  
I  
J  
K  
L  
M  
N  
O  
P  
Q  
R  
S  
T  
U  
V  
W  
X  
Y  
Z

200  
200

British Co-operation 298  
By-Elections 261, 216  
Denes, Dr. 221  
Diligent Rigals in Spain. 252  
Dunelm Revolutions 285, 364, 374  
Beaumont, Capt. H. 60, 104, 110  
Batley By-Election 105  
Bays - Carpenter 143  
Branches and Refuge Work 274  
B. B. C. Talk (Kendall) 294, 303, 310, 318, 331  
  
B. U. L. M. S. 322  
Branch Work - Sub-Classes 335  
Branches + Members 407

B  
C  
D  
E  
F  
G  
H  
J  
K  
L  
M  
N  
O  
P  
R  
S  
T  
U  
V  
W  
Y  
Z

3

Conference on Salvation of Democracy. 206, 325  
 Colonial Problem 507, 350(4) 365, 376, 7, 57, 95, 215  
 Czech-Slovakia. 336, 345, 96, 181, 186  
 Czech L.N. Society. 346.  
 Chairmanship of League Council 26, 35, 45  
 China Campaign Ctee 28, 32, 55, 183  
 Composition + Powers of Executive <sup>24</sup> 32  
 Churchill, Mr Winston 32(1) 53  
 Convention on Holidays with Pay 84, 94  
 Carruth, M.S. 123 175  
 Conference for Defence of Peace + Humanity 132  
 China Campaign Ctee  
 China Campaign Ctee (Queen's Hall Meeting) 216, 219  
 Christian Organisations Ctee Secretary 222, 231, 248  
 Co-optations 236, 241, 248, 259, 271  
 Bull Lad (Birthday) 301  
 Conference of Youth Organisations 351, 359, 366  
 Canada + U.S.A. 362  
 \* Christmas (Closing of office) 405  
 Corporate Members 406

Demand for Colonies 57  
 Jackson, Land 114  
 Jansig 227 238  
 District Offices 291(c) 303  
 Divense Court 19, 353(a)

D  
 E  
 F  
 G  
 H  
 I  
 J  
 K  
 L  
 M  
 N  
 O  
 P  
 Q  
 R  
 S  
 T  
 U  
 V  
 W  
 Y  
 Z

Education, 372

Gen. m. 392, 4, 32 (24), 65, 73,

Executive of the Constitution 24 (2), 32, 46

European Situation 104, 108, 116, 129, 140, 287

Exeter (Closing of office) 118

Education Act, Reconstitution 127, 169, 188 (complete text in pages 293 to 297)

Economic the re-election of 203(a)

Editor of HEADWAY 353(c)

E  
F  
G  
H  
J  
K  
L  
M  
N  
O  
P  
R  
S  
T  
U  
V  
W  
Y  
Z



Future of the L.M.U. 335, 343  
 Food "Freedom for Spain" 330, 351  
 Foster, Arnold, News. M. "The 'Industrialists'" 345  
 Films, 345, 383  
 Far East 13, 50, 61, 79, 156, 164, 195, 206, 216, 219, 226  
 Freshwater Major. 20 (Cont'd above)  
 Fawcett, Miss 93  
 French Speakers, visit of 151, 155, 164, 172, 186, 198, 210  
 Far East 237, 266, 277, 348 350  
 Fenwick, D., Charles 257  
 Functions of Union in Wartime 286(d) 291(e)  
 Local + District offices 291(c) 303  
 Future Activities of League 312, 324, 331  
 Financial Statement 333  
 F. D. U. 344 350 355, 366 377 387 393 397  
 Focus Company 353(a) (see below)  
 Fanshawe, Mrs 353(c)  
 Finance Working Ctee 380  
 Finland 400: 403  
 F. D. U. (Cont'd from above) 402

F  
 G  
 H  
 J  
 K  
 L  
 M  
 N  
 O  
 P  
 R  
 S  
 T  
 U  
 V  
 W  
 Y  
 Z

General Council, December Meeting. 297 336, 342. 366. 377

Parliament of Valladolid Regals ~~for~~ Spain. 352

Jesus Cathedral Swice, 101, 136(c), 143, 155

Garnett, D. Maxwell 124

General Council - annual meeting 149, 207, 223, 231, 235  
242, 251, 343

Gunston, Sir Derrick 248

Germany 255

Germany + Poland 298

German Propaganda 307 315, 320

General Council - December meeting 337, 343 371 379

Grosman August (15) 286(a) 291(c) 303 310 318

356, 391, 397

London: Millum Rev. R. 369

Lancaster, Mr R. 383

General Council (continued from above) 390, 397

G

H

J

K

L

M

N

O

P

R

S

T

U

V

W

Y

Z

Kiddell Hat - "Rule of the L.W.V." 333, 343

Hinsley, Cardinal 391, 4, 16, 56

Hills, Major J.W. 2

Hillis Speech of 31/1/39. 38

Holidays with Pay 84, 94

Headway 88, 92, 99, 108, 122, 135, 145, 155, 174(c)

221(b) 261, 286(c) 292 303, 310

318 331 343 350 353(c) 392, 408

Hyde Park Meetings 326

Headway E. ita 353(c), 392,

Hawkeye No. 380(b)

H

J

K

L

M

N

O

P

R

S

T

U

V

W

Y

Z

Intellectual Cooperation 300, 317, 320, 67, 73  
 I.P.C. 321, 378, 383, 4, 59, 65, 76, 83  
 'Instalations' the. 300(6) 393, 11,  
 Int. Education Spring Meetings 387, 86, 92  
 " " Plenary Congress 1939. 68, 112, 122, 136, 281  
 I.L.O. Economics 84, 92  
 International Education (Statement of Policy) 102  
 I.P.C. Questionnaire to Parliamentary Candidates 194  
 International Labour Org., Support for 257(a)  
 Int. Education Representative Council 314  
 Int. Education - Executive Office 339, 343 370 377, 386 389  
 India 357  
 Industrial Advisory Working Office 398

J  
 K  
 L  
 M  
 N  
 O  
 P  
 R  
 S  
 T  
 U  
 V  
 W  
 Y  
 Z

~~Intellectual Co-operation 205~~

10  
Kaysen, John 319, 331

K

L

M

M

N

O

P

R

S

T

U

V

W

Y

Z

Anden Reigine Federation 302

Limitation of Air Armaments 327

League Office with New Commonwealth 377, 383, 150, 153, 204

League, D.-Christian 388

League Secretariat 8, 16, 312 324 331

Library 25(7), 244, 291(c), 380(c)

League Council Chairmanship 26

Livingstone, Dame a 124, 182, 199

Land, Rev. R.S. 222, 231, 248

League Assembly 240, 253, 265, 276, 296 306, 324

Litration 244

League - Future activities 312, 324 331

L'Europe Nouvelle 324

Lewis Miss 353(f)

Leaflets on Germany 364

L

M

M

N

O

P

R

S

T

U

V

W

Y

Z

Memorandum on Statement of Policy 200.

Tackenzie, Dr. 322

Muchadiso Marks Act. 203, 211, 219, 231, 235 (27)

Mad. Argument for Collector Security; memo. by Dean of  
Chichester 213/6)

Mandates 252 (6)

Minutes - Mr Macarty's memorandum 264, 273

Message to Branches 286 (4)

Marshall, Mr. Fred 288, 300

Meetings 291 (d) 327

Military Situation 295 304

Minutes, circulation of 297

Meetings of Executive 297, 345 350

M  
M  
N  
O  
P  
R  
S  
T  
U  
V  
W  
Y  
Z

Nakunjo. Dr. 300

M  
N  
O  
P  
R  
S  
T  
U  
V  
W  
Y  
Z



- Nobel Peace Prize. 302 (c)
- National Peace Council Petition. 332
- National Youth Campaign 87, 99
- National Youth Campaign Leaflet. 113
- National Peace Fund 136 (a)
- National Youth League Council 138, 148
- Nomination of Officers 158
- New York Fair 184, 186
- News Sheet 291 (f) 332 353 (d) 408
- New Commonwealth 321
- National Peace Council 341
- National Youth Cttee (Working Cttee during war) 293
- Nutrition 360
- National Youth Cttee (Policy) 382
- Nazi Bakers Broadcast 409

N  
O  
P  
R  
S  
T  
U  
V  
W  
Y  
Z

Orusas Societas - communications to 173  
 Ogilvie Gordon, James Maria 232  
 Optimal Clause 325, 336, 343, 373

O  
 P  
 R  
 S  
 T  
 U  
 V  
 W  
 Y  
 Z

Publication of books on Refugees. 356.  
 Political Office 47  
 Parker Goff, Rev. E.N. 60  
 Plenary Congress of Int. Fed. 68 233, 252  
 Publicity for Christian Organizations Office 101  
 Palestine 168, 176, 192, 205, 214, 267  
 Peace Fund 231 245, 263  
 Premises 286(n) 291(n) 303, 310 318  
 Poland 298  
 Propaganda in Germany 307, 315, 320  
 Public meetings 291(d) 327 331 343 350 367 395  
 Place of Executive Meetings 328 331  
 Procedure Office (December Council) 379

P  
 R  
 S  
 T  
 U  
 V  
 W  
 Y  
 Z

Greens Hall Meeting, Nov. '38, 331, ~~339~~ 349, 351, 363  
"Question of Evicting Believers Rights in Spain. 365.  
Quarterly News 343, 350, 353 (c)

17  
Refuges. 88, 91, 98, ~~105~~ 115, 140, 150, 152, 156, 179, 190, 19  
Re-organisation. 161.

Refuges, 18, 27, 37, 48, 58, 65, 70, 77, 83, 89, 103, 136 (c)  
Raw materials, Supply of 126, 139, 144, 166, 172, 190, 204  
Refam of League Procedure 128, 135, 145, 191, 202, 225 234  
(see below)

Refuges (Contd.) 149 (a) 160, 167, 203 (a) 249 (5)

Russia 161, 165, 172, 193

Refuges Office Secretary 222

Rebuilding world O. in 224 235 (3)

Raw materials (Continued) 235 (31)

Refuge work by Branches 274

Rhyadu, had 317

Rysson, Prof. (Farewell message) 363

Statement of Policy 200. (See below)

Spain 302(b), 304, 345, 351, 358, 363 394, 12, 19, 23, 29, 32

Salvador of Democracy, Conference on 306, 325 (See below)

Sinclair, Sir Archibald 24, 32, 41, 53,

Spain 49, 62, 70, 73

Spanish Refugees 49, 58, 70

Statement of Policy for Intra-Education 102

Stangroom, Mrs Eric 208

Support for Intra-Labor organization 262(a)

Staff (war skeleton) <sup>282</sup> 286(c) 291(a) 310 380(d)

St. Martin's Lane 291(a) 303, 310

Small, Mrs Lillian 307

Supernumerary Policies 291(a)

St. Paul's Service (L.R.F.) 343

Twenty-first Birthday (United States) 149(6), 204 338, 343 see  
below

Talbot, Mrs. 200 220

Trade Unionist or Executive 221 (c)

Te Water, Mr. 313

Twenty-first Birthday 354 375, 386

Ukrainians 6, 16, 23

Union's Present Task 179, 186

U  
V  
W  
Y  
Z

Yoksguolpe, 34

Vice Presidents 93

Visit of French Speakers 151, 153, 164, 172, 186, 198, 210

V  
W  
Y  
Z



World Conference 78

Welsh National Council 201(a)

World War-Rebuilding 224

World, Miss Gekind<sup>93</sup> 259

War, Action in Case of 254, 262, 282

War Budget 286(6)

War Measures 291

World Settlement after the War 298, 305, 311, ~~323~~ 334

(Complete text on  
pages 600 to 602) 343, 351, 358, 399

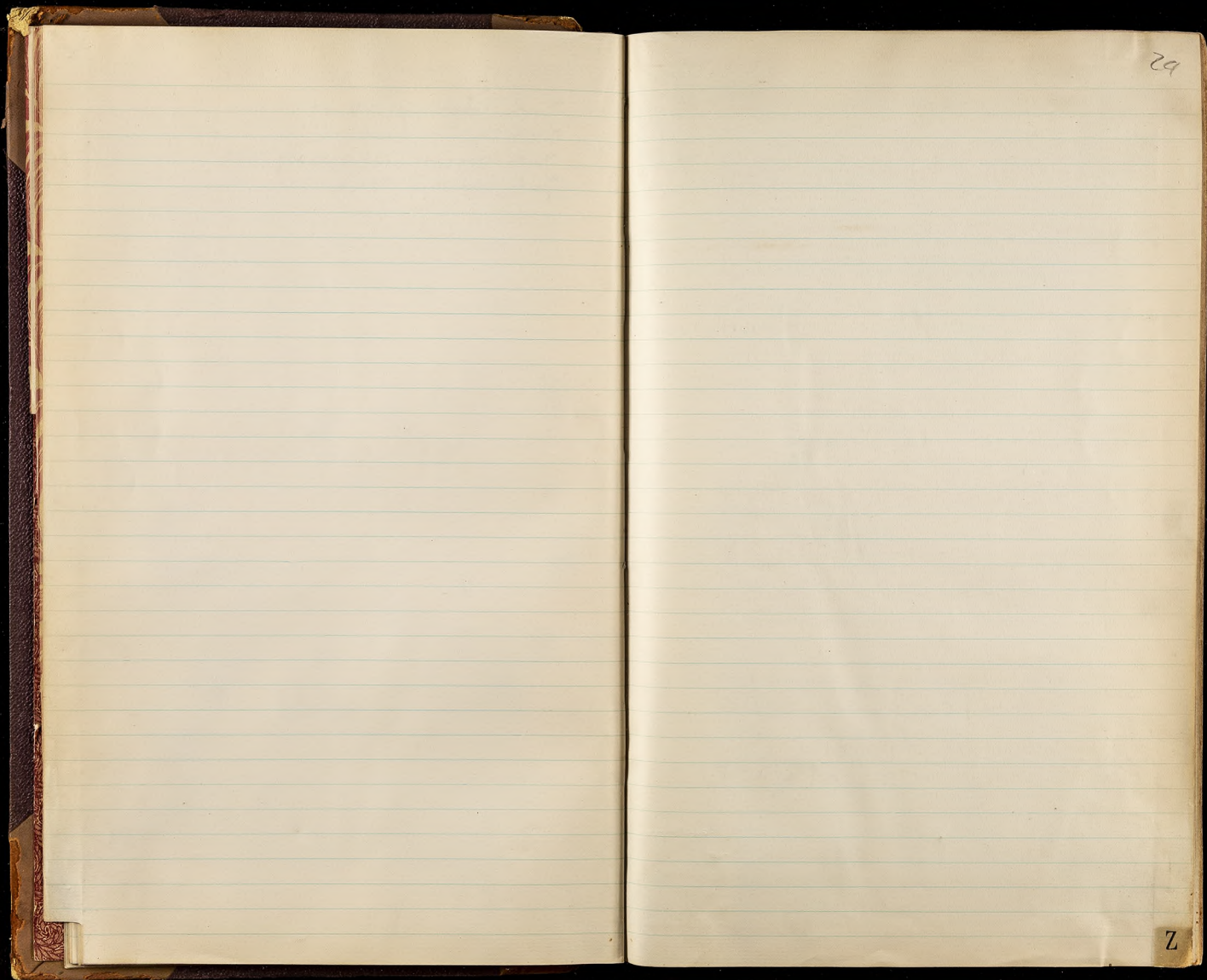
War aims & Peace Terms (see "World Settlement" above)  
+ a Real Peace

White, Miss 353(a)

Working Committee 350

World Unity 372 381 386

Youth Pilgrimage 69, 87  
Youth Campaign (Leaflet) 113  
Youth Magazine 243, 248, 259, 275  
Youth Conferences 351(2), 383 386



29

2

STATEMENT OF POLICY

The occupation by Germany of the Sudetenland, the break-up of Czechoslovakia with all that it involves, and the methods by which these results have been brought about, following so closely on the events in the Far East, Abyssinia, Spain and Austria, have aroused world-wide resentment and indignation and have demonstrated the absolute necessity of an international authority capable of preventing such lawless disturbances of the peace.

The League of Nations Union believes that there is no other effective measure of prevention than insistence upon the principles which underlie the Covenant of the League, e.g.

1. That aggression is an international crime and it is the duty of all civilized nations to do their best to prevent or stop it.
2. That any war or threat of war is a matter of concern to all.
3. That all disputes between nations should be submitted by them to some form of third party judgment.
4. That effective machinery should be provided for the ventilation of grievances and the removal of injustices, so that all conditions likely to impair the good understanding between nations should be remedied before they become acute and result in war.
5. That it is an essential part of any scheme of world appeasement that there should be a limitation of national armaments by international agreement.

These principles have been abandoned by some Governments and neglected by others with the result that there is now a risk of the collapse of the League system. Therefore the first need of the time is to reconstruct the shattered front of the League of Nations.

It was indeed partly the failure to deal with the Sudeten question by the League method and to deal with it in time which gave the pretext for the attack on Czechoslovakia by Germany.

There are several other territorial arrangements in Europe and elsewhere, including the Colonial problem, which need careful examination if future disturbances are to be avoided.

P.T.O.

25  
MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1., ON THURSDAY, OCTOBER 20TH, 1938 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams, Sir Norman Ansell, Lord Cecil, Miss Judith Corcoran, Miss K.D. Courtney, the Dean of Chichester, Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss P. Pawcett, W. Arnold-Forster, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, Dr. C.W. Kimmins, James Macdonald, W.T. Pritchard, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, H.F. Shaw, H.S. Syrett, General A.C. Temperley, E. Wallis-Jones and Major Lawrence Wright, together with the Deputy Secretary.

296. APLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Lord Allen, Mrs. Beale, F.M. Burris, Major Anthony Buxton, Miss M. Lloyd George, J.L. Keyser, Dr. Gilbert Murray and Sir Archibald Sinclair.
297. MINUTES. Subject to the following decision on minute 293, the minutes of the last meeting were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 293 -- December Meeting of General Council,  
it was

RESOLVED: "That the word 'technical' be inserted before the word 'humanitarian' in motion (2) for the General Council; and that motion (3) be amended to read as follows:

- (3) The General Council approves the action of the Executive Committee in issuing the Statement of Policy, printed as Appendix A i.e. in the Preliminary Agenda for the December meeting of the General Council, endorses its terms, and urges the Branches to do everything possible to secure support for it throughout the country.
298. REFUGEES COMMITTEE. Subject to the following decision on minute 11, the minutes of the two meetings dated September 26th and October 7th, 1938 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: (8) Minutes; (9) Treatment of Refugees in Time of War; (10) Scope and Limitations of Inter-Governmental Committee; (11) British Co-operation.

Moreover, the economic situation of most if not all countries is such as to breed dangerous discontent. Excessive tariffs and other commercial hindrances add to these difficulties.

We believe that all political and economic conditions likely to lead to war should be submitted in time to the procedure of international conference for searching examination and remedy by agreement.

Any such conference should conform to the following principles:

1. It must include all the parties affected by the dispute or its settlement.
2. It must be held under such conditions as to secure the procedure of the League of Nations and the services of its trained secretariat where alone can be found the necessary experience and impartial outlook.

The co-operation of non-League Powers, especially of the United States, should be invited and their initiative welcomed.

If we are to avoid in the future hurried decisions arrived at by one or two negotiators under the immediate threat of war; if we are to avoid further the risk of acquiescence in the claim that four Powers should settle the destinies of other countries, it is essential that the principles embodied in the Covenant should be upheld.

Prosperity depends on confidence; confidence depends on security; and security depends on organised co-operation for peace between the civilised nations and their mutual protection against aggression.

We believe that the proposals here made might give a new hope for civilisation and thus the sacrifices of Czechoslovakia might not have been made in vain.

On Minute 11 -- British Co-operation, Sir Norman Angell spoke of the economics of emigration and the importance of educating the public in this matter if certain fallacies, widely held by the rank and file of the Trades Unions were to be removed.

Miss Rathbone referred to a memorandum prepared by Mr. Harrod, the Oxford economist, and circulated by the Council for Civil Liberties. The arguments contained in this paper were, however, too long and complicated for popular consumption, and she suggested that Sir Norman Angell should write a letter for publication in the DAILY TELEGRAPH and other London papers, as well as in the provincial press, which could subsequently be reprinted as a leaflet. Miss Rathbone added that the cost of the leaflet could doubtless be defrayed by private donations.

RESOLVED: "That Sir Norman Angell be asked to write a letter for publication in the press on the lines suggested; and that, when the letter has been published, consideration be given by the Executive to the further use to be made of it."

299. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Executive received resolutions from the North of Scotland District Council, the Stone, Harborne, Lichfield and Weymouth Branches, and the Ilford Youth Group. It was

RESOLVED: "That the local organisations mentioned above be thanked for their resolutions, and be informed of the motions, including the Statement and Memorandum on Policy, to be submitted by the Executive to the General Council in December."

In reply to the Chairman Miss Corcoran expressed the hope that a representative of the Youth Committee would shortly be able to visit the Ilford Youth Group.

300. STATEMENT AND MEMORANDUM ON POLICY. The Executive had before them the Statement of Policy (S.143a) as amended by the sub-Committee of Officers in accordance with minute 292 of the last meeting. It was reported that the Statement would be printed in the Preliminary Agenda for the December meeting of the General Council and circulated to Branches within the next few days.

Lord Cecil read to the Executive a letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury expressing his general agreement with the Statement.

S.160a  
24.10.38.

MEMORANDUM ON POLICY

This Memorandum has been prepared by the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union in amplification of, and as a commentary on, the Statement of Policy recently issued to its Branches. It must be understood that the policy briefly recapitulated in the Statement is no new departure but merely a re-examination, which we believe will be welcomed by our members, of the principles which the Union was established to promote in the light of the crisis through which we have recently passed. Our main object now is to consider how the repetition of such a crisis can best be avoided.

However much opinions may differ as to the necessity in the circumstances of the Agreement reached at Munich, no one will claim that it was the best solution of the Sudeten problem. How can we prevent a similar situation arising in connection with some other dispute in which the only alternative to war would be a hurried removal of a grievance by the creation of an injustice?

The Treaty of Versailles, like all treaties imposed by the victors upon the vanquished after a war, contained many injustices and the seeds of future conflicts, but, unlike any previous treaty, it provided an organisation — the League of Nations — designed to remove gradually the defects of the treaty, as the feelings of the signatory countries towards each other became modified by time, and to secure the settlement of future disputes by peaceful means. Had the League been used as the framers of the Covenant intended, and as the League of Nations Union has repeatedly urged, the crisis through which we have recently passed would never have occurred.

The difficulty of using the League machinery has been increased because three great nations — Germany, Italy and Japan — have abandoned the principles upon which the Covenant is founded and definitely refused to co-operate with the League. The problem, therefore, is not merely how to secure the active co-operation of States Members of the League but how to re-establish the League in the face of avowed hostility.

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Statement of Policy be communicated to the press, and that the Editor be asked to reprint it in HEADWAY."

The Executive also had before them an amended version of the longer Statement (S.160) which it was proposed should accompany the short Statement as an explanatory memorandum, but which the General Council should not be asked to accept or endorse.

Mr. Arnold Forster spoke of the news in the press that morning concerning the attitude of the United States to regional conferences and a general international conference, and suggested that a reference to this might be included in the memorandum. After further discussion, during which other amendments to the memorandum were suggested, it was

RESOLVED: (2) "That the Memorandum be approved and adopted in the attached form as a commentary upon the Statement of Policy; and that it be printed with the Statement in the agenda for the December meeting of the General Council."

(3) "That the article written by Lord Cecil on "The Reform of the League Covenant" and published by the international office of the I.P.C., be also printed as an appendix in the agenda for the General Council."

(4) "That, when the agenda for the General Council is available, consideration be given to the use to be made of the printed Statement of Policy and the documents mentioned in (1) and (2) above."

301. BY-ELECTIONS. The question of using the Statement of Policy in connection with forthcoming By-Elections was discussed. The Committee were reminded that it was the practice of the Union's Branches to submit questions to their Parliamentary Candidates and to publish the replies received. It was reported that the Political Committee would meet on October 26th to draft questions for submission by local Branches to their candidates, and that, in the meantime, it had been suggested to those Branches who had written to the head office concerning By-Elections in their areas that they should use the Statement of Policy as the basis of their questions.

RESOLVED: "That in cases of urgency and pending further instructions from the Executive Committee, Branches in whose areas By-Elections are being held be provided with the Statement of Policy and be asked to use it as a basis for their questions to the Parliamentary Candidates."

It is profitless now to assess the relative degree of responsibility among its Members for the failure of the League of Nations where none can claim complete immunity from criticism. Recklessness about the past can only lead to disunion and passion, whereas unity and wisdom are required if the lessons of September 1938 are not to be missed.

The League of Nations Union believes that the majority of nations in the world still wish to maintain the principles of the League, and that, if Great Britain and France would show themselves resolute to induce the League of Nations on the one hand to remedy grievances and on the other to resist any breach of the peace by violence, the shattered front of the League of Nations could be reconstructed.

One of the lessons of the recent crisis is that failure to deal effectively with the Sudeten question in time gave a pretext, on the one hand, for the German aggression on Czechoslovakia, and, on the other, for the hesitation of other States to afford her protection while that minority problem remained unremedied. Another lesson is that the hurried attempt to settle this grievance at the last moment under the threat of war within a few hours caused new grievances to be created, new injustices to be inflicted, lives to be sacrificed and much misery to be endured — all of which might have been prevented had an orderly procedure been adopted.

When it is also remembered that other features of the settlement made after the last war are still felt by some countries to be unjust, and that no use has yet been made of Article XIX of the Covenant either for treaty revision or for "the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world", we believe that the most urgent needs of the moment are

- (1) something in the nature of a New Peace Settlement framed by agreement and not by dictation;
- (2) the maintenance of a collective system of resisting aggression, all the more necessary now that the principles of the Covenant are openly opposed.

For such purposes we have advocated in the Statement "that all political and economic conditions likely to lead to war should be submitted in time to the process of international conference for searching examination and remedy by agreement."

### 302. COMMUNICATION FROM THE LONDON REGIONAL FEDERATION.

A letter dated 19th October from the L.R.F. was reported, concerning resolutions adopted by their Executive Committee on (a) Nobel Peace Prize for Dr. Benes, (b) Spain, and (c) Sudeten Refugees.

(a) Nobel Peace Prize. The Executive were reminded of the procedure for nominating and supporting candidates for the Nobel Peace Prize and, in particular, that nominations for the Prize in any year had to be made by the preceding February. After it had been suggested that Dr. Benes might already have been nominated, it was agreed that the necessary machinery should be used with a view to supporting Dr. Benes' candidature if he had already been nominated for the Prize in 1938 and, if not, for nominating him for 1939.

(b) Spain. The general opinion was expressed that the Union could not become a distributing agency for clothing and food stuffs for the Spanish people, but that members who had material of this nature available should be encouraged to send it to the various organisations engaged in this work.

303. REFUGEES. Mrs. Dugdale reported to the Committee a telephone message which had been received from Mr. Vandeleur Robinson in Prague on the previous evening from which it appeared that there was urgent need at the moment for more British and French visas for refugees. It was understood that the Foreign Office had given instructions for 100 visas to be issued to German Social Democrats and 250 to Austrian refugees and others, but this was considered to be very inadequate. After discussion on it was

RESOLVED: "That Mrs. Dugdale and Miss Courtney be asked to see Sir Alexander Cadogan at the earliest opportunity and to urge upon him the necessity of H.M. Government (1) providing more visas for refugees and (2) bringing pressure to bear on Poland to permit transport through her territory."

Miss Rathbone and Sir Norman Angell reported on a deputation from the Council for Civil Liberties which had recently waited upon Lord Halifax and in which the principal spokesman was Sir John Hope Simpson.

Reference was made to an international conference on the refugee problem which was being held in Paris on Saturday, October 22nd. Mrs. Dugdale stated that each of the societies represented on the Union's Refugee Committee had been approached in this matter but, for various reasons, none of them thought it would be useful to be represented at the Conference. The general opinion was expressed that no good purpose would be served by the Union sending a representative to Paris, but that it should continue to work with its own Government in this matter.

We believe that a World Conference, such as the Economic Conference held in London, in 1933, summoned without preparation and outside the procedure of the League, would not be likely to achieve the desired result. We have therefore tried to indicate the principles which, in our opinion, should govern any Conference meeting for the purpose of revising a treaty or settling a dispute. There are some questions, especially economic and financial ones, which concern most of the nations of the world, others which only concern a small group — they require different treatment, and it would be vain to expect a single Conference with representatives from fifty or more nations to deal with them all. But if solution by Conference is to be accepted as an alternative to solution by war, it is essential that any Conference, whether it be large or small, should:

- (1) include representatives of all the parties affected by the dispute or its settlement;
- (2) be held under such conditions as will make available the procedure of the League of Nations, the services of its trained secretariat, and at the same time the co-operation of non-League Powers.

The procedure applied to the settlement of the Sudeten problem violated these conditions, and is therefore no more likely to secure future contentment than the Treaty of Versailles. The attitude of the League of Nations Union towards any proposals for the settlement of international disputes in the future will be determined by the extent to which they conform to, or depart from, the principles we have enumerated.

Although we have put the application of conference procedure to all political and economic conditions likely to lead to war in the front rank of urgency, we have always held that the principles of the Covenant are interdependent and can only succeed if they are applied simultaneously. Failure in the past has been chiefly due to attempts to apply them separately.

We feel also that the reduction or limitation of armaments by international agreement is unobtainable until a sense of security has been established by evidence of sincerity in the redress of grievances and a willingness to co-operate in resisting violence. One of the reasons for our ineffectiveness in pressing for the right kind of settlement of the Sudeten question

Lord Cecil read to the Executive the text of an address which the I.P.C., with the approval of the Czech Legation, were proposing to send to Czecho-Slovakia on October 28th, the twentieth anniversary of that country's independence, and for which it was hoped to obtain the signatures of distinguished and representative persons in this country.

Lady Gladstone read to the Committee a message which had been prepared by the Women's Advisory Council and which had been signed on behalf of thirty women's organisations in this country. The message was being addressed to the women of Czecho-Slovakia and was being sent to Dr. Alice Masaryk, Madame Koze of the Czech League of Nations Society, and Madame Plamínková, the President of the Czech National Council of Women.

304. **SPAIN.** Mr. Arnold Forster referred to reports appearing in the press that H.M. Government intended to regard the withdrawal of ten thousand Italian volunteers from Spain as sufficient ground for declaring a settlement in Spain to have been reached. If that were so and if, in consequence, the Anglo-Italian Agreement were brought into force forthwith, it would mean an abandonment of the principle of proportionate withdrawal which had been laid down in the Non-Intervention Committee and which the Union had supported in various resolutions.

Lord Cecil suggested that a short memorandum should be prepared explaining the Union's point of view, stating that we understood that one of the purposes of the Anglo-Italian Agreement was to bring to an end foreign intervention in Spain, that this had been partially accomplished as far as the Government was concerned, and submitting that if the Agreement were to carry out its object it should be accompanied by the withdrawal of assistance for the Nationalists under international supervision.

RESOLVED: "That a memorandum on the above lines be prepared by the office in consultation with Mr. Arnold Forster, and after being approved by the Union's Officers, be communicated to the press."

305. **INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION.**

RESOLVED: "That the draft resolution on Intellectual Co-operation be adjourned until Dr. Gilbert Murray can be present."

306. **CONFERENCE ON SALVATION OF DEMOCRACY.** A circular letter signed by Mrs. Corbett Ashby was reported, inviting the Union to be represented at a conference of various organisations to be held on October 21st at the Gaxton Hall, when it was hoped to formulate a programme for



was the consciousness of the Government, expressed by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons and by Lord Baldwin in the House of Lords, that "there would have been tens of thousands of mangled people — civilians, women and children — before a single soldier or sailor gave his life for the country." Our defence against attack from the air must be greatly strengthened before our influence in international affairs can be effective.

But a continuance of the present insane competition in armaments — which there is little hope of arresting in existing circumstances — is in itself one of the most likely causes of war between nations which should be removed. There can be no prosperity while it continues.

In the universal relief from our escape from war we must not shut our eyes to the dangers which lie ahead of us, if this opportunity of correcting the mistakes of the past and making more secure the foundations of peace is neglected. Every day the danger is increasing. The lust for conquest among the strong nations is being whetted, the fear of the weaker nations is being increased. There are so-called peaceful processes just as dangerous to our civilisation as war, and if that civilisation is to be saved there must be an early return to some orderly method of international co-operation by which alone hatred and fear can be eliminated and the foundations of peace made sure.

In the final days of the crisis the whole nation was united and resolute. When the shadow of immediate war was removed that unity was replaced by controversy. Why did this happen? One reason, perhaps, was that different people have different conceptions of peace. To some peace has only the negative meaning of not being at war. To others it means rather the positive process of substituting security for anxiety and goodwill for hatred. Negative peace can be achieved without any spiritual satisfaction, positive peace represents a spiritual ideal which, however paradoxical it may seem, men will defend, if need be, with their lives. It is peace in this positive sense which the Covenant envisages, and which it seeks to buttress both by the force and the justice of law. Lord Chatfield said in the House of Lords that if you ask men to sacrifice their lives you must give them an inspiration. The same is true if you want them to cultivate peace. Hence the demand for 'moral re-armament'. The meaning of these words — which have not been very happily chosen — is the generation of that spiritual energy without which no great cause can succeed. It should be the function of the League of Nations Union to serve both as the generator and the distributor throughout the country of this spiritual energy until it has become the inspiration of all our foreign policy.

the "Salvation of Democracy" and to appoint a committee to put the programme into action.

RESOLVED: "That Miss Corcoran be asked to attend the conference as an observer."

307. COLONIAL PROBLEM. It was suggested that the Executive Committee should give consideration in the near future to the present position in regard to the problem of colonial territories, and it was

RESOLVED: "That the Mandates Committee be asked to meet as soon as possible in order to consider and submit to the Executive proposals for dealing with the problem of Colonial Territories; and that for this purpose the Mandates Committee be given power to add to its number."

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT  
 NO. 14 GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1. ON THURSDAY,  
 OCTOBER 27TH, 1938 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Mrs. Corbett Ashby, F.J. Noel Baker, Mrs. E.P. Beale, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Lord Cecil, Miss Judith Corcoran, Miss K.D. Courtney, Lord Cranborne, Lord Dickinson, Admiral Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Philippa Fawcett, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, Sir Arthur Haworth, Lady Layton, James Macdonald, Dr. Gilbert Murray, W.T. Pritchard, Miss E. Rathbone, General E.L. Spears, H.S. Syrett, and Major Lawrence Wright, together with the Deputy Secretary.

308. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Lord Allen, Sir Norman Angell, F.M. Burris, Miss M. Lloyd George, Arthur Henderson, J.A. Keyser, G. le M. Mander, Sir Archibald Sinclair, General A.C. Temperley, E. Wallis-Jones and F.W. Weaver.

309. I.L.O. GOVERNING BODY. It was unanimously

RESOLVED: "That the cordial thanks of the Executive be conveyed to

(1) The Marquis and Marchioness of Salisbury for the Reception which they had so generously given for the members of the I.L.O. Governing Body;

(2) Mr. Tanner, Chairman of the Industrial Advisory Committee, for his kindness in giving a dinner to enable senior members of the staff of the I.L.O. to meet certain members of the Union's staff."

310. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting dated October 20th, 1938 were confirmed as circulated.

311. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 298 — Refugees, a letter was received from Sir Norman Angell during the meeting stating that owing to ill health he was unable to be present and enclosing a copy of the letter which he had written to THE DAILY TELEGRAPH in accordance with the Executive's request. Sir Norman feared that the TELEGRAPH were holding the letter until after the Oxford Election, but if he found later that they did not intend to publish it he would arrange for its simultaneous publication in the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN and the GLASGOW HERALD. He added that in adapting

S. 177a  
28.10.38.

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR USE IN BY-ELECTIONS

Do you agree

- (1) That it should be the first object of British foreign policy to revive and strengthen the League of Nations?
- (2) That aggression is an international crime and that it is the duty of all civilised nations to take all practicable steps to prevent or stop it?
- (3) That effective machinery, under the League of Nations or otherwise, should be provided for the ventilation of grievances and the removal of injustices, so that all conditions likely to impair the good understanding between nations should be remedied before they become acute and result in war?
- (4) That it is an essential part of any scheme of world appeasement that there should be a limitation of national armaments by international agreement, and that until that result is achieved this country should have at its disposal sufficient armed strength to enable it to carry out its international duties under the Covenant?
- (5) That His Majesty's Government should recognise that the question of the refugees is one of international concern; and should adopt a generous policy towards refugees and especially those coming from the ceded areas of Czecho-Slovakia by
  - (a) granting liberal financial assistance?
  - (b) facilitating their evacuation and permanent settlement?
- (6) That, in view of the evacuation by the Spanish Government of all their foreign combatants now proceeding under the supervision of the League of Nations, His Majesty's Government should insist upon a similar measure being taken by the insurgents as a condition of the confirmation of the Anglo-Italian Agreement?
- (7) That, since the League has declared that China is the victim of unprovoked aggression and has recommended its Members to consider how far they can individually extend aid to China, His Majesty's Government should assist the Chinese Government
  - (a) by a loan?
  - (b) by sending food and medical assistance?
  - (c) by imposing such economic pressure on Japan as will most hamper her aggression provided the requisite co-operation of other essential nations is forthcoming?
- (8) That the Government should support in every way the technical, social and humanitarian work of the League and of the International Labour Organisation, especially
  - (a) by providing full financial assistance;
  - (b) by ratifying Conventions adopted by the International Labour Conference, particularly those relating to the regulation of the Hours of Work?

his letter for publication in leaflet or pamphlet form he would modify considerably the first few clauses and add to the economic considerations. It was decided further to consider this matter at the next meeting and, in the meantime to send to Sir Norman an expression of the Committee's sympathy in his illness and their hope for his speedy recovery.

On Minute 306 — Conference on Salvation of Democracy. Miss Corcoran reported briefly on the conference, at which some sixty persons, representing mostly women's organisations, were present. A statement had been drawn up which the members present had been asked to submit to their respective organisations. It was

RESOLVED: "That the statement be circulated for consideration at the next meeting of the Committee."

On Minute 307 — Colonial Problem. Sir John Harris suggested that, instead of additional members being invited to join the Mandates Committee for the purpose of discussing and reporting to the Executive on the Colonial Problem, a small *ad hoc* group should be formed of important and well-informed persons. He read to the Committee a list of suggested names. After other names had been proposed by members of the Executive, it was

RESOLVED: "That an *ad hoc* group, on the lines suggested by Sir John Harris be invited to meet and to prepare for consideration by the Executive a memorandum incorporating the main principles which, in its opinion, should apply to any exchange of colonial territories."

Lady Hall suggested that members of the Executive who were not members of the Mandates Committee should be invited to attend the meetings of the group, possibly as observers.

312. MINUTES OF COMMITTEES.

(a) Refugees Committee. The minutes of the Committee dated October 12th, 1938 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: (12) Situation in Czecho-Slovakia; (13) Condition of German Social Democrats; (14) Publicity; (15) Representations to H.M. Government; (16) Action in the Dominion/.

(b) Finance Committee. Subject to the decision on minute 92 (Youth Campaign) recorded in minute 314 below, the minutes of the Committee dated 20th October, 1938 were received.

S.170  
21.10.38.

H

COPY OF A LETTER FROM MRS. DUGDALE TO SIR ALEXANDER CADOGAN, DATED 21.10.38.

When you kindly received Miss Courtney and me last evening, coming to you on behalf of the League of Nations Union Executive Committee, you asked us to send you a short memorandum on the two points concerning refugees from Czechoslovakia which had seemed to us very urgent.

These points were

1. Visas. We had been asked by people now doing refugee work in Prague to draw attention to the fact that emigration of German and Austrian refugees from Czechoslovakia depends very much on their being supplied with a British (or French) visa. Our information yesterday was that about 100 British visas had been made available for Germans, and about 150 for Austrians. These figures, and all others, may not be absolutely accurate, but we believe them to be approximately so.

Our information is that the number of people in immediate danger is nearly 500, and the list of only slightly less urgent cases amounts to about 1,500 more. Therefore, we begged you to do your best to get the number of British visas increased as soon as possible, to help to meet this urgent need.

The figures I have mentioned do not include the wives and families of the people concerned, who, it seems, must be left in Czechoslovakia for the present. We asked you, therefore, to do your best to influence the Czechoslovak Government to guarantee the safety of these people for the time being, and to promise to facilitate their eventual emigration.

2. Transport. Emigration is held up for lack of this. Practically the only feasible route for emigration on any scale is through Poland to Gdynia, and thence by sea. We hear that the Polish Government may be providing one special train next week. We asked you to use influence with them to run a more adequate number as soon as possible.

P.T.O.

These minutes included: (83) Minutes; (84) Financial Position; (85) Report of Director of Appeals; (86) Northamptonshire; (87) Budget for 1939; (88) Payment of Expenses of Members of the Executive Committee; (89) Carrying out the Second of the Union's Objects; (90) HEADWAY Agreement; (91) Warwickshire & Birmingham Federal Council; (92) Youth Campaign; (93) Guildhall Conference, April 25th; (94) Passing of Cheques for Payment/.

313. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Executive received resolutions from the Montague Burton Branch, the East of Scotland District Council and the Torquay Branch. It was

- RESOLVED: (1) "That the Montague Burton Branch be thanked for sending their resolution and that it be noted with interest.
- (2) "That the East of Scotland District Council be thanked for their resolutions, and in regard to resolution (1) be informed of the action taken by the Executive Committee to secure relief for refugees from Czechoslovakia."
- (3) "That the Torquay Branch be cordially thanked for their resolution."

314. ADMINISTRATION COMMITTEE. A report by the Chairman of the Committee (copy filed with these minutes for reference) was received.

315. BY-ELECTIONS. A Questionnaire (S.177) prepared by the Political Committee for use by Branches in whose areas By-Elections are taking place was considered by the Committee, and it was

RESOLVED: "That the Questionnaire be approved and adopted in the attached amended form."

316. CONFERENCE OF YOUTH ORGANISATIONS. The Executive had before them a report of a Conference of Youth Organisations (BYO.25) held at Friends' Meeting House on 15th October, together with a statement of policy for use in the proposed Emergency Campaign; a statement concerning the attitude of the Youth Movement to National Service; and Plans for the proposed Campaign.

Lord Lytton reminded the Executive that the Administration Committee, at its meeting on October 13th, had agreed that the National Youth Committee should again convene the Emergency Campaign Committee, take steps to carry out the policy laid down, and prepare for the Conference on October 15th on the understanding that the Union bore no responsibility for the policy or for any resolutions or decisions which might be adopted at the

- 2 -

We also asked you to be good enough to look into the question of sea transport from Gdynia to ports in England or France, for existing lines appear to call rarely at Gdynia, and to cater for a very small number of passengers. We mentioned to you the hope that it might be possible to send a special boat.

Whether that is possible or not, it is evident that there will be delay at Gdynia, and that some provision ought to be made for sheltering, supporting and embarking the refugees who may collect there.

We told you that, although we had not yet approached the authorities connected with the Lord Mayor's Fund, we thought it conceivable that they might be willing to send a suitable person to supervise these matters, and we asked whether we might say that such a person would be given any facilities at the disposal of H.M. Government.

You encouraged us to hope that this would be so, though you could not answer positively without consulting the Polish Government.

We will, therefore, write to you again on this point after consulting the Lord Mayor's Fund.

May I thank you again for so kindly considering our various points.

Conference. At the same time he did not wish to exercise too rigid a censorship either on the language or the politics of Youth, and to make such a censorship a condition of the Union's financial support would, he thought, be undesirable.

After considerable discussion it was, on the motion of Lord Cecil

RESOLVED: "That the Executive Committee receives the report of the Conference of Youth Organisations held on October 15th, and, without committing itself to every statement contained therein, decided to sanction the advance of £200 for the proposed Emergency Campaign."

Miss Corcoran, in thanking the Executive, stated that the Youth Committee would welcome suggestions for alterations of wording from members of the Executive.

317. INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION. It was

RESOLVED: "That the draft resolution on Intellectual Co-operation be adjourned until the next meeting."

318. REFUGEES. Mrs. Dugdale reported on the visit which she and Miss Courtney had paid to Sir Alexander Cadogan on October 20th. A copy of the letter which they had subsequently written to Sir Alexander at his request was circulated to the Committee (S.170). No reply had yet been received. Mrs. Dugdale further stated that on the previous day she had, in her personal capacity, attended the first constituted meeting of a Committee which was to be known as the British Committee for Refugees from Czecho-Slovakia and which proposed to deal with their evacuation, reception, hospitality and emigration from this country. The Committee consisted of representatives of the bodies which were represented on the Union's Refugees Committee. Mrs. Dugdale thought the work of the new Committee would need to be divided into two sections, one dealing with the question of evacuation and emigration which were matters of high policy and would require representations to the Foreign Office and the Home Office, and the other dealing with the reception of, and hospitality for, refugees. It was likely that the Union's Refugees Committee would be asked by the new Committee to deal with questions concerning evacuation and emigration, while the new Committee would concern itself with reception and hospitality. It was, however, unable to take action of any kind until it knew what funds were likely to be available for its use.

Lady Layton stated that the Lord Mayor was very reluctant for any money from his Fund to be spent on refugee work in this country, but that the Government was expecting a proportion of the Fund to be used for this

purpose. The NEWS CHRONICLE had agreed to place £1,000 at the immediate disposal of the new Committee.

Lord Lytton referred to a conversation he had had with the Lord Mayor on the previous evening and to the visit of Sir Ronald Maclean to Czecho-Slovakia, who would be responsible to the Lord Mayor for seeing that his Fund was used for the people whom it was intended to help, irrespective of race or religion.

Miss Rathbone reported to the Committee a resolution passed by the National Council for Civil Liberties, asking the Union to bring all possible pressure to bear upon the Government to grant immediately not less than two thousand 'entry and temporary residence' permits for refugees and to provide a generous measure of financial assistance towards the cost of their transport and maintenance, and further asking the Union to make a public appeal, if possible through the B.B.C., for offers of hospitality. She suggested that the B.B.C. should be asked to arrange for a short factual talk on the situation in Czecho-Slovakia, concluding with a request for funds and hospitality.

Mr. Noel Baker, General Spears, Miss Courtney and other members supported the proposal for an appeal by the B.B.C., and, after further discussion, it was

RESOLVED: "That Mrs. Dugdale be asked to represent the Union on the new British Committee for Refugees from Czecho-Slovakia, and to communicate to the Committee the strong desire of the Executive that, at the first practicable moment, the B.B.C. should be asked to broadcast a short statement on the situation in Czecho-Slovakia coupled with an appeal from the new Committee for funds and hospitality for refugees entering this country; and that the Union's Refugee committee should continue its efforts on behalf of the evacuation and subsequent emigration of refugees."

The Chairman and Lord Cecil expressed their readiness to help the new Committee in any representations they wished made to H.M. Government, the B.B.C., or the Lord Mayor, or in any other way the Committee might desire.

319. ANGLO-FRENCH CONFERENCE. A letter dated 19th October from M. Jean Dupuy, Secretary of the French League of Nations Society was circulated to the Committee, suggesting that an Anglo-French Conference should be held in London during the first three weeks of November (but excluding November 11th, 12th and 13th) for the purpose of making contact after the recent grave crisis and of discussing a line of action for the future. M. Paul Boncour would attend the Conference, and the earnest hope was expressed that Lord Cecil would also be present.

Lord Cecil suggested that the gathering should take the form of discussion and exchange of views between a

few authoritative people rather than a large meeting at which formal speeches would be made. He added that he understood from M. Dollivet that M. Pierre Cot was anxious to come to London shortly in order to discuss the International Peace Campaign. It might be convenient if he came at the time of the Anglo-French Conference. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That M. Dupuy be informed that the Executive Committee would welcome the proposed Anglo-French Conference; and that it be left to the office, in consultation with the Chairman, to make the necessary arrangements, bearing in mind Lord Cecil's suggestions."

320. ALBERT HALL MEETING. A letter was reported from Mr. Noel Baker suggesting that the Union should organise a meeting in the Albert Hall at Armistice time to put the case for Collective Security.

RESOLVED: "That Mr. Baker's proposal be adjourned for consideration at the next meeting; and that in the meantime inquiries be made concerning the dates on which the Albert Hall and Queen's Hall are free."

321. INTERNATIONAL PEACE CAMPAIGN. It was reported that at a meeting of the British National Committee of the I.P.C. held on the previous day a resolution was adopted requesting "the Presidents and Chairman of the L.N.U. to invite those individuals who were called together during the Czecho-Slovakian crisis and others to a meeting to be held on Tuesday, November 1st for the purpose of discussing the implications of the Anglo-Italian Agreement and, if possible, to arrive at a common policy of action." After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the I.P.C. be informed that the Executive Committee would prefer that the summoning of the Conference should be undertaken by the I.P.C."

322. DR. MACKENZIE. Miss Courtney understood that Dr. Mackenzie of the League's Health Section would welcome an invitation to address a series of meetings in this country in the near future. The office was asked to make inquiries in order to ascertain when and on what terms Dr. Mackenzie would be willing to come to England for this purpose.

*Lytton*  
*Chairman*

10/11/38

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT  
NO. 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1., ON THURSDAY,  
NOVEMBER 3RD, 1938 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams,  
Sir Norman Angell, P.J. Noel Baker,  
Mrs. E.P. Beale, Lady Violet Bonham Carter,  
Lord Cecil, Lord Cranborne, Miss Judith  
Corcoran, Lord Dickinson, Admiral S.R. Drury-  
Lowe, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Philippa Fawcett,  
Miss M. Lloyd George, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall,  
Sir John Harris, Captain B.H. Liddell Hart,  
Sir Arthur Haworth, Lady Layton, James Macdonald,  
Dr. Gilbert Murray, W.T. Pritchard and Miss E.  
Rathbone, together with the Deputy Secretary.

323. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Mrs. Corbett  
Ashby, F.M. Burris, Miss K.D. Courtney, J.A. Keyser,  
Sir Archibald Sinclair, General E.L. Spears, R.R. Stokes,  
H.S. Syrett, General A.C. Temperley and F.W. Weaver.

324. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting dated October 27th  
were confirmed as circulated.

325. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES

On Minute 311 — 298 — Refugees, the Executive had  
before them a copy of Sir Norman Angell's letter which,  
in an abbreviated form, had appeared in THE DAILY  
TELEGRAPH of October 31st. The Committee accepted with  
thanks Sir Norman Angell's offer to expand the letter,  
particularly on the economic side, with a view to its  
being published in the form of a pamphlet.

On Minute 311 — 306 — Conference on Salvation of  
Democracy, a statement of policy issued as a result  
of the Conference held on October 21st was circulated  
to the Committee. The Chairman expressed the opinion  
that the policy outlined in the statement was outside  
the Union's orbit; no action was taken.

On Minute 319 — Anglo-French Conference, the Chairman  
reported that he had written to the Secretary of the  
French League of Nations Society, suggesting that he,  
or his deputy, should come to London in order to  
discuss the detailed arrangements for the proposed  
Conference. No reply had yet been received.

326. LORD ALLEN. On the motion of Admiral Drury-Lowe it was

RESOLVED: "That a message be sent to Lord Allen, ex-  
pressing the Committee's deep satisfaction  
at the news of his improved state of health  
contained in the press, and their earnest  
hope for his speedy recovery."



327. POLITICAL COMMITTEE. Subject to the decision on minute 1 contained in minute 315 of the last meeting of the Executive, the minutes of the Political Committee dated October 26th, 1938 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: (1) By-Elections; (2) Negotiations with Germany; (3) International Federation of League of Nations Societies; (4) Limitation of Air Armaments.

On Minute 4 — Limitation of Air Armaments, the Chairman hoped the new Committee would see that in any proposals for a treaty for the limitation of air forces, a clear distinction was drawn between offensive and defensive weapons.

Lord Cecil suggested that the Committee should consider the recent statements of the future policy of H.M. Government in regard to the limitation of bombing machines, the use of poison gas, etc. and give their opinion regarding the practicability and usefulness of the proposals.

328. BRANCH RESOLUTION. The Executive received a resolution from the North Hackney Branch, and it was

RESOLVED: "That the North Hackney Branch be thanked for their resolution with which the Executive Committee is in agreement."

329. ABYSSINIA. Reference was made to a letter from the Abyssinia Association offering its assistance in any steps the Union might take in protesting against the ratification of the Anglo-Italian Agreement by H.M. Government.

The Chairman read to the Committee a letter from Lady Barton, asking the Union to urge its Branches throughout the country to register a protest against the final abandonment of Abyssinia, and to give this matter precedence over every other issue at the moment. Lady Gladstone expressed the hope that speakers on Union platforms would be asked to draw the educational moral from the situation.

Sir John Harris reminded the Committee that part of Abyssinia was under the Conventional Basin and that certain conditions regarding it ought therefore to be observed; he stated also that he had received information regarding traffic in Danakil which was being carried on across the Red Sea with the connivance of the Italians. He further spoke about the treatment of British Indians in Abyssinia and suggested that a memorandum on these and other points should be prepared for the information of the Executive.

RESOLVED: "That Sir John Harris be asked to place at the disposal of the office such information as he has available in order that a short factual memorandum may be prepared for the information of the Executive Committee and Union speakers."

Sir Norman Angell suggested that in SPEAKERS NOTES reference should be made to memoranda on this subject already issued by the Union.

330. INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION. Dr. Murray, in moving the resolution set out below, described the work done by the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation in various fields and referred to a talk he had had with Lord Halifax on the subject. It was

RESOLVED: "That, believing that the quiet and patient process of psychological appeasement through co-operation in non-contentious fields is one of the indispensable foundations of peace between nations, and that the Committee and Institute of Intellectual Co-operation diligently pursue this task in the realms of education, art, science, letters and social study;

The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union begs His Majesty's Government to recognise more fully the importance of this branch of the League of Nations and to contribute whole-heartedly to its support and encouragement."

In reply to a question by Lord Cecil, Dr. Murray said that it was intended to prepare a statement of the work and needs of the Institute for signature by the members of the British National Committee of Intellectual Co-operation. Lord Cecil suggested that this statement should be sent to H.M. Government with personal covering letters from the individual members of the Committee.

Sir John Harris reminded the Executive that during the last few years there had been a balance in the League's budget which had been refunded to States who contributed to the League. He suggested that the League should be asked to devote, say, 10 per cent. of such balance to the Institute. Dr. Murray promised to bear this suggestion in mind.

331. QUEEN'S HALL MEETING. The Executive considered a proposal by Mr. Noel Baker for a public meeting in the Albert Hall at Armistice time on the subject of Collective Security. Lord Cecil supported Mr. Baker's proposal but suggested that if a meeting were organised it should be held in the Queen's Hall where as much press publicity could be obtained but where a more intimate atmosphere prevailed. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the Chairman be asked personally to convey to Mr. Eden a cordial invitation to address a meeting in the Queen's Hall on Thursday, November 24th or Tuesday, 29th November; that the subject of the meeting be THE CRISIS AND AFTER; and that, if

Mr. Eden is able to accept the invitation, the question of other speakers for the platform be left to him and the Chairman to decide."

332. NATIONAL PEACE COUNCIL PETITION. Reference was made to a Petition which was being organised by the National Peace Council on the subject of a world conference and concerning which a number of enquiries had been received from Union Branches.

RESOLVED: "That it be left to individual members and Branches of the Union to take such action as they see fit in regard to the Petition."

333. FUTURE OF THE L.N.U. Captain Liddell Hart spoke of the position of the L.N.U. in its relation to the present state of the League. He felt that the Union could not hope to rally support for something which was so obviously beyond restoration in its existing form. He suggested that the Union might find new purpose and strength by translating itself into a League for the Defence of Freedom in this country and for co-operation with such other nations as had democratic institutions.

Lord Cecil was not opposed in principle to Captain Liddell Hart's suggestion, but reminded the Committee that the proposal would not fall within the terms of the Charter which the Union had been given for the purpose of acting on behalf of the League of Nations. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That consideration of Captain Liddell Hart's proposal be adjourned, and that in the meantime he be asked to prepare a detailed memorandum for discussion by the Executive at a later meeting."

334. DECEMBER MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL. The Committee had before them the Preliminary Agenda for the December meeting of the General Council, and it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That since the subject matter of motions 4, 6, 16 and 17 are closely related, the Procedure Committee be asked to consider the desirability of re-arranging the order of the Agenda so that these motions should follow one another and if the Chairman so decides, be taken together."

- (2) "That the following amendment be tabled by the Executive to motion 15 (Separation of the Covenant from the Peace Treaties):

"To replace the last paragraph by the following:

'Welcomes the recent decision of the Assembly that this should be done, and urges H.M. Government to initiate

such action as may be necessary to carry out this decision without delay."

- (3) "That the Political Committee be asked to suggest for consideration by the Executive what, if any, amendments should be tabled to motions 18 (Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Commons), 19 (Bombing on North-West Frontier), and 22 (A National Peace Policy)."
- (4) "That motion 21 (An International Language) be referred to the Education Committee for their comments."

### 335. CZECHO-SLOVAKIA.

(a) Dr. Benes. Lord Cecil read to the Executive a letter from Dr. Benes, thanking the I.P.C. for their message and stating

"After our past collaboration in the effort to ensure the peace of Europe I hardly need to emphasise that the spirit and the principles of peace and justice are equally common to me and to your peace movement. I entirely agree with you that this time we must work as never before so that the right cause of Peace and Democracy must triumph. My faith in the final victory of the truth and justice never failed, and the recent events cannot shake my conviction that the greater the sacrifice of the Czecho-Slovak people and of other nations, the harder and better we shall be able to work for real solution of our problems and for true peace."

Dr. Benes added that he hoped, before his departure for the United States, to discuss personally with Lord Cecil not only the past but especially the future.

(b) Refugees. Lady Layton stated that her husband had written to Lord Halifax on October 28th (a) regarding the scale of emigration for refugees and pointing out that a full examination of the conditions made it clear that the present scale was insufficient for the purpose required, and (b) urging that someone (e.g. Sir Neil Malcolm or Lord Winterton) should go to Prague at once in order to organise the transport of refugees on a large scale and to co-ordinate the work of the different countries which were prepared to give visas. The new British-Czech Committee, under the Chairmanship of Mr. Culpin, was adequate to deal with refugees when they arrived in this country but no official body was available in Czecho-Slovakia to deal with the question of the extension of visas and the co-ordination between different countries. Sir Walter Layton had not yet received a reply to his letter from Lord Halifax and would welcome any pressure the Union might be willing to bring to bear on the Foreign Office.

Mrs. Dugdale stated that the Finance and General Purposes Committee of the new British-Czech Committee would be meeting on the following day, and she urged that all efforts on behalf of refugees should be co-ordinated in that Committee. Her information was that at the moment people were not being pressed to go back to Germany, and the danger to life had not become more acute during the last few days. She urged therefore that any approach to Lord Halifax should be organised by the Committee rather than that Officers of the Union should be asked to take separate action.

Lord Lytton stated that he would remind the Foreign Secretary of Sir Walter Layton's letter when he saw him in the House of Lords that afternoon.

Lord Cecil reported a letter from the International Bureau for the Right of Asylum and Aid to Political Refugees, suggesting that the Inter-Governmental Committee set up at Evian should be asked to assist in questions regarding refugees and, in particular, to determine the countries which could and should provide transit or temporary residence to the people who were most menaced. It was agreed that this letter should be forwarded to the British-Czech Committee.

(c) Appeal to Purchase Czech Products. A letter was reported from Mr. Mander, suggesting that since a negative appeal had been made to the Union's Branches to co-operate in the private boycott of Japanese goods by refusing to purchase them, a positive appeal should now be sent to them to buy Czech goods and to do everything possible to assist the sale of Czech products in this country. Dr. Murray and other members expressed doubts regarding the proposal and no action was taken.

336. CONFERENCE ON FOOD AND FREEDOM FOR SPAIN. It was reported that the I.P.C. in conjunction with a number of other organisations were arranging a Conference on Saturday, November 12th, 1938 at Friends House. The Union had been invited to send two delegates, and it was

RESOLVED: "That Miss Fawcett be asked to represent the Union at the Conference."

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT  
GAS INDUSTRY HOUSE, ON THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 10TH, 1938,  
AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Mrs. Corbett Ashby, P.J. Noel Baker, Mrs. E.P. Beale, F.M. Burris, Major Anthony Buxton, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, the Dean of Chichester, Miss Judith Corcoran, Miss K.D. Courtney, Miss Philippa Fawcett, W. Arnold Forster, Miss M. Lloyd George, Lady Gladstone, Sir John Harris, Captain B.H. Liddell Hart, Arthur Henderson, J.A. Keyser, Lady Layton, James Macdonald, G. le M. Mander, Dr. Gilbert Murray, Harold Nicolson, W.T. Pritchard, Miss E. Rathbone, H.S. Syrett, E. Wallis-Jones and F.W. Weaver, together with the Deputy Secretary.

337. APLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Sir Norman Angell, Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dugdale, General E.L. Spears, R.R. Stokes and General A.C. Temperley.
338. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting dated November 3rd, 1938 were confirmed as circulated.
339. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 326 -- Lord Allen, a letter had been received from Lord Allen thanking the Committee for their kind message of goodwill for his recovery.

On Minute 331 -- Queen's Hall Meeting, Lord Lytton reported conversations which he and Lord Cranbourne had had with Mr. Eden, as a result of which Mr. Eden had consented to address a meeting in the Queen's Hall on Tuesday, November 29th. In accepting the invitation Mr. Eden had said that it would be impossible for him to appear on a platform with Liberal and Labour leaders lest it might give the impression that he was taking concerted action with them. He had, however, agreed to a suggestion that Commander King Hall might be asked also to address the meeting on the lines advocated in his NEWS LETTER. Mr. Eden and Lord Cranbourne had expressed the hope that Lord Lytton would himself preside at the meeting, and it was hoped that a vote of thanks would be moved and seconded by Lady Violet Bonham Carter and Mr. Henderson.

The arrangements were accepted and the following resolution approved:

"This meeting believes that the national and imperial unity so essential to peace and prosperity can only be secured on the basis of respect for international engagements, support

S. 197.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

For consideration under Item 5 of the Executive Committee Agenda

NOTE ON THE FUTURE OF THE L.N.U.

The League of Nations now lies in a state of paralysis so complete that it is hard to distinguish from a state of death. Our belief in its mission should not blind us to that fact. Its fate automatically involves that of the League of Nations Union, as this stands at present. We cannot hope to rally support for something that is so obviously beyond restoration in its existing form. We must take true account not only of the state of the League but of the state of public opinion about it. To persuade the people of this country that the League is still alive would be a vain effort — as vain as it is for the Government to pretend that the Munich "agreement" was not a capitulation.

In these circumstances what course is open to the League of Nations Union?

It appeals to all who are genuine believers in freedom and justice, and has a core of resolute workers for those ideals. But it represents what is now a spirit without a body. If it remains in such a disembodied state, it is bound to lose vitality.

It may find new purpose and strength by translating itself into a league for the Defence of Freedom here, and for co-operation with other free nations — such nations as have democratic institutions.

There is urgent need for such a movement and for its early inauguration. The L.N.U., being a non-party movement, would form a national rallying point. It has an organisation in existence, and with experience. It has leaders who command wide respect by their sincerity and vision.

of the principles of the Covenant of the League of Nations and the strengthening of our national forces for the achievement of these objects."

340. POLITICAL COMMITTEE. It was

RESOLVED: "That the minutes of the Political Committee dated November 8th, 1938 be adjourned for consideration at the next meeting."

341. BRANCH RESOLUTION. The Executive received a resolution from the Executive Committee of the City of London Branch, and it was

RESOLVED: "That the Branch be thanked for their resolution."

342. DECEMBER MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL. It was

RESOLVED: "That an 'urgency' motion on the subject of Refugees be submitted by the Executive Committee to the December meeting of the General Council, and that the Refugees Committee at its meeting on November 15th be asked to draft the motion."

343. FUTURE OF THE L.N.U. The Executive had before them memoranda by Captain Liddell Hart on the Future of the L.N.U. (S.197 and S.197a). In Captain Liddell Hart's view this country and the world needed to-day a movement inspired by the idea and ideal of freedom. The object of such a movement should be to ensure freedom for expression and to create conditions in which individuality could live and grow. The keynote should be Co-operation with anything that fostered freedom; non-Co-operation with anything that fettered it. The L.N.U., being a non-party movement, would form a national rallying point for such a movement; It had an organisation in existence and with experience, and it had leaders who commanded wide respect by their sincerity and vision. The only way to obtain a wide public support for the principles of the League was under a new guise. There was too large a proportion of British people to whom at the present time the League of Nations spelled failure.

Dr. Murray did not agree with Captain Liddell Hart's diagnosis. His recent experience had been that the Union's supporters were greatly disturbed by the present situation and very enthusiastic for the rebuilding of the League. He referred to a discussion which had taken place at the last meeting of the Education Committee concerning the possibility of a veto being placed by H.M. Government in the near future on the Union's educational work in the schools. The Union had consistently preached the same doctrine but the Government had failed to carry it out and sometimes had gone against its own principles. Since Munich the

S.197a  
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THE DEFENCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF FREEDOM

For the past decade there have been too many signs in British policy of the same symptoms which marked the "Decline and Fall" of the Roman Empire. The parallel has become disturbingly suggestive as the tempo of events has accelerated. If the process is to be checked, there must be a change of attitude in our policy and in our people. We must face the problems of to-day not with a negative fatalism but with a positive faith.

The idea of service loses its point unless it is directed to some ultimate end.

The history of mankind is the history of the human mind. All progress has been due to its activity. This is inspired by the desire for truth — for greater knowledge. The essential condition for the development of the mind is freedom of thought. Here, therefore, is the cause we ought to maintain at all costs.

If there is one distinctive feature of Britain's history it is the love of freedom — the insistence on the rights of the individual; above all, to freedom of judgment and speech. This has been the source of our national vitality. For freedom breeds self-respect and self-reliance. In freedom, truth is perceived and justice promised. Here, therefore, is a true foundation for patriotism — which otherwise is no better than an animal instinct or a material interest. It is a tradition worth defence, because it is the mainspring of life.

If we appeal to nothing better than animal instinct, we risk being let down by the individual instinct of self-preservation at the expense of the community. If we appeal to material interest, we risk splitting the people because the interests of different classes and sections diverge. The defence and development of freedom is the one basis of patriotism on which we can hope to rally the people as a whole. This, therefore, should be the keynote of any call to service in the nation's defence.

But the call must be true to itself. In defending our tradition of freedom against dangers without we must beware of betraying it within. This requires a constant watch on every measure of defence, lest increased material efficiency be purchased at too heavy a spiritual price. It would be the supreme irony of our history if we sacrificed the essential elements of our

country had been violently divided so that it had become almost impossible to prevent the Union, if it talked politics at all, taking what was practically an anti-Government line. A solution of the difficulty might be to make the Education Committee an autonomous body.

Mr. Macdonald, Lady Layton and others spoke of the enthusiasm for League principles which they had found manifested at recent meetings. But Mrs. Corbett Ashby's experience was to the contrary effect.

The Dean of Chichester suggested that something more positive and constructive was needed. In the recent statement issued from Lambeth no mention had been made of the League of Nations. It was necessary to make the British people understand that there were certain moral principles of justice and freedom which were involved and which must be maintained at all cost.

The Chairman suggested that two distinct questions had been raised by Captain Liddell Hart. One was the importance of freedom in the national life and the danger to freedom in our own community at the present time and the necessity of rallying the forces that wished to keep that alive. He entirely agreed with the desire expressed in the memorandum and would like to see an organisation specifically concerned with that subject. But he did not think it was the business of the L.N.U. If the League of Nations was as sick as some people seemed to think, it still remained essential to restore it to health.

Mr. Arnold Forster thought there was a greater need than ever before for not abandoning the task both of spreading knowledge of what the League was and did, and for helping to formulate a progressive League policy. There might be an advantage in making a clearer distinction between those two functions. It was necessary to ensure that the policy advocated was one directed towards creating conditions in which all the elements of the League Covenant could work effectively. He suggested that instead of the initiative being left to Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini, this country should itself formulate proposals for dealing with different matters that arose. The Executive might perhaps formulate, in the form of a symposium, concrete proposals for action by Great Britain, for example in the colonial field.

After further discussion, during which the Chairman agreed that the Executive would do well to give more attention to action which it was possible for the Union itself to take, it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the thanks of the Committee be conveyed to Captain Liddell Hart for his interesting memoranda.



life in the effort to defend it -- or, even worse, in the mere preparation for defence. This would be like committing suicide to escape a fear.

Anyone who does not put fidelity to our tradition of freedom ahead of all is unfit, whatever his gifts, to be entrusted with a position of responsibility for Britain's fate.

Peace is but a means to an end. It is only of value in so far as it provides an atmosphere in which freedom and justice can grow; and these themselves are but the means to human progress. A "Peace Policy" or "Peace Movement" embodies the mistake of putting the lesser before the greater. That this country, and the world, needs to-day is a movement inspired by the idea and ideal of freedom.

First of all we must be clear as to the object -- To assure freedom for the expression, and to create conditions in which individuality can live and grow.

Totalitarianism aims to fuse individuals into a mass through the suppression of their individuality and the contraction of their thought. But collective growth is only possible through the freedom and enlargement of individual minds. It is not the man, still less the mass, that count, but the many. Our idea should be the elevation of individuality to the plane of co-operation, not its sub-ordination to the State.

To justify faith in democracy, the method must be constitutional. But our constitution has always had elasticity, and should not be treated as a strait-jacket.

We should strive to revive and expand the power of Parliament in relation to the executive. The way to do this is not to restrict the initiative of executives -- which needs increasing -- but to make them bear more responsibility for their actions. We want a "free administration", dynamic instead of static, to serve a free Parliament in making the people more free.

Even in this country, where the spirit of freedom is the life blood of its tradition, we are far from achieving a state of freedom. It is lacking in the press, in broadcasting, in the theatre, in literature, in education, in the law, and in industry. We need

(2) "That the Executive should consider to what extent it can take action in the direction outlined by Captain Hiddell Hart, and

In formulating its policy keep in the forefront the ideals contained in the memoranda."

344. SPAIN. A letter was reported from the British National Committee of the I.P.C., stating that at a joint conference with other organisations on November 3rd it was suggested that an influential and representative deputation should wait upon the Prime Minister to urge that "the granting of belligerent rights to both parties in Spain should be dependent on the withdrawal of all foreign troops from both sides", and that the L.N.U. should be invited to organise the deputation. The names of certain persons whom it was proposed should be asked to join the deputation were read.

The Executive were reminded that the Union's secretariat were already engaged in organising a Queen's Hall meeting and a deputation to the Prime Minister on the subject of refugees. Mr. Noel Baker suggested that Miss Corcoran might be willing, possibly with the help of Miss Margaret Gardner, and under the direction of Major Freshwater, to arrange the deputation. Miss Corcoran expressed her willingness to help in any way possible.

Miss Rothbom urged that the persons invited to join the deputation should not be those who had already been conspicuous in the Spanish cause. After further discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the I.P.C. be asked to ascertain which of the persons whose names had been suggested would be willing to take part in such a deputation, and that the names be forwarded to Lord Lytton in order that he might communicate with the Prime Minister requesting him to receive the deputation."

345. CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

(a) Refugees. The Executive discussed the present position in regard to Refugees from Czecho-Slovakia, and the urgent need for the provision of more permits and of funds for their transport and maintenance in this country. The need for securing more adequate facilities for the transport of refugees through Poland was also stressed.

Lord Lytton repeated the assurance he had given at the previous meeting of his willingness at any time to take any action which the British-Czech Committee thought would be useful.

- 3 -

to make a searching study of all the spheres of national life, to clear our minds as to what measures should be taken towards creating conditions of freedom and justice — before any Movement is inaugurated. Not less should we take care to devise safeguards against the abuse by its own leaders of the power that they may gain. Thinking should come first; then movement.

The keynote of the Movement should be Co-operation with anything that fosters freedom; non-co-operation with anything that fetters it.

There is room to-day for a new model of modern "Ironsides" — "Men who make some conscience of what they do".

B.H. LIDDELL HART

(b) The 'Installations'. The Committee had before them a memorandum by Mr. Arnold Forster (S. 193) drawing attention to the definition by the Ambassadors' Commission in Berlin (as quoted in THE TIMES of 31st October) of the 'installations' which according to the Munich agreement were to be handed over by the Czechs, and suggesting that the Union should make representations on this subject to the Foreign Office. Mr. Arnold Forster read to the Committee extracts from letters from Sir Arthur Salter and from a member of the League of Nations Society in Czecho-Slovakia, and said that Sir Arthur Salter proposed to ask a question on the subject in the House of Commons.

Lord Lytton suggested that the question might take the form of asking whether it was true, as stated in THE TIMES, that the British Ambassador and the other Ambassadors had agreed to the alleged definition of the 'installations' and whether the provisions had in fact been applied in the manner described. If the answer was in the affirmative the Union should register a strong protest and make the public realise what was involved. To this end a short factual statement might be prepared for publication in the press.

(c) Czech League of Nations Society. A letter dated November 5th from the Vice-President and Secretary of the Czech League of Nations Society was read to the Executive, thanking the Union for all that it had done in the present difficult times for Czecho-Slovakia.

Lytton  
Chairman  
17/11/38



S.193.  
7.11.38.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA: THE "INSTALLATIONS"

Memorandum by Mr. Arnold-Forster

A decision by the Ambassadors' Commission which is dealing with the problems arising out of the Munich Agreement, is so extraordinary, and apparently so unjust to the Czechs, that it might, I suggest, be the subject of a representation on behalf of the Executive to the Foreign Office.

The Godesberg Memorandum of September 23 required the Czechs to hand over the territory to be evacuated "in its present condition"; i.e. "without destroying or rendering unusable in any way military, commercial or traffic establishments (plants) ..... no foodstuffs, goods, cattle, raw materials, etc. are to be removed".

The Munich Agreement said that "evacuation... shall be completed by October 10, without any existing installations having been destroyed .... the Czechoslovak Government will be held responsible for carrying out the evacuation without damage to the said installations".

The Economic and Financial sub-Commission of the Ambassadors' Commission in Berlin has now, according to THE TIMES of October 31, defined these "installations" and the date as from which these provisions should apply.

"The installations which, according to the Munich Agreement, were to be handed over by the Czechs in good order, have been defined as 'installations attached to the ground which serve public purposes, irrespective of whether they are public or private property', and, in addition, 'movable material which is necessary for the normal functioning of the installations'. Property of this nature removed from the Sudeten German country after September 20, the date on which the Czechoslovak Government accepted the Anglo-French proposal, must be returned or paid for by the Czechoslovak Government."

It might be supposed that the date fixed by the Commission would not have been earlier than that on which they gave their definition as to what the installations in question were. Or it might have been reasonable to fix the date of the Munich Agreement, September 30. The date of the Godesberg Memorandum, September 23, would obviously be too early, for this

- 2 -

ultimatum was rejected by the Czechoslovak Government. What justice can be found in the decision to fix the date so early as September 20, the date on which the Czechoslovak Government is said to have accepted the Anglo-French proposals of September 19? (Actually, as the Prime Minister stated on September 28, the Czechs rejected the Anglo-French proposals on September 20 and only accepted them under pressure on September 21.)

There is nothing in the Anglo-French Plan about installations or about the surrender of Czech property in the Sudetenland.

Thus, the Czechs are to be called on to pay for or return property which they were perfectly free to remove at the time when they removed it, — property which the Czech Government had not agreed to leave in the Sudetenland and the character of which had not even been defined at that time. In effect, the Czechs are being made to pay an indemnity to the Germans by means of this retrospective judgment.

I suggest that the Executive should express its deep concern and should beg the Foreign Office to do whatever may still be possible to secure a fair deal for the victims of this monstrous injustice.

## LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1., ON THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 17TH, 1938 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), P.J. Noel Baker, Mrs. E.P. Beale, F.M. Burris, Lord Cecil, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, the Dean of Chichester, Miss K.D. Courtney, Lord Cranborne, Vice-Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Mrs. E. Dugdale, Miss P. Fawcett, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, Arthur Henderson, J.A. Keyser, Lady Layton, James Macdonald, G. le M. Mander, Dr. Gilbert Murray, W.T. Pritchard, Miss E. Rathbone, Wilfred Roberts, E. Wallis-Jones, F.W. Weaver and Major Lawrence Wright, together with the Deputy Secretary.

346. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Sir Archibald Sinclair, R.R. Stokes, H.S. Syrett, and Major-General A.C. Temperley.

347. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting dated November 10th, 1938 were confirmed as circulated.

348. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 339 -- 331 -- Queen's Hall Meeting, the Chairman reported the circumstances in which Commander King Hall had withdrawn his promise to speak at the meeting. Mr. Arthur Henderson and Lady Violet Bonham Carter expressed their readiness to move and second the vote of thanks. Miss Hollingworth reported that tickets for about half the available accommodation had already been disposed of, and that some six hundred tickets were either unsold or out on sale or return.

349. ANGLO-FRENCH CONFERENCE. The Chairman reported that he had written to M. Dupuy, the Secretary of the French League of Nations Society, inviting him to come to London in order to settle the details of the proposed conference. A reply had not yet been received.

350. MINUTES OF COMMITTEES.

(a) Political Committee. The Executive had before them the minutes of the Political Committee dated 8th November, and it was

RESOLVED: "That the minutes be approved and adopted subject to the following decisions on motions 17 and 20:

On Motion 17 (Article XIX), it was agreed not to table an amendment to delete the words 'and just' but to invite the Church Stretton Branch to omit these words when moving their motion.

On Motion 20 (Refugees), the Executive considered a resolution drafted by the Refugees Committee (see minute 342 of the last meeting) for submission to the Council, and it was

RESOLVED: "That the resolution, in the following amended form, be submitted to the General Council as an urgency motion:

The General Council of the League of Nations Union,

(a) In view of the growing volume of human suffering caused by the persecution of persons of Jewish blood and others in the German Reich, trusts that a liberal attitude will be adopted in regard to the admission of refugees into the United Kingdom, and that H.M. Government will make it a major objective of British policy to ensure the success of the system of planned migration initiated by the Inter-governmental Committee for Refugees.

(b) Welcomes the ratification by the United Kingdom of the Convention upon the status of refugees from Germany of February, 1938, and the decision of the Assembly of the League of Nations to continue under a single High Commissioner the protection afforded by the League of Nations to all refugees recognised as such, and trusts that H.M. Government will do its utmost to ensure that this protection is an effective reality."

Miss Fawcett suggested that the London Regional Federation would probably be willing to withdraw their motion in favour of the above.

It was noted that, by accepting the amendment drafted by the Political Commission to motion 15 (Separation of the Covenant from the Peace Treaties) the decision contained in minute 334(2) of November 3rd was rescinded.

(b) Mandates Committee: Colonial Question. Dr. Mirray reported on the minutes of the Mandates Committee dated November 9th, 1938 and stated that, in addition to those persons whose names appeared on the paper, Lord Noel Buxton had also been present at the meeting. The Executive considered the statement of principles on the colonial question contained in the minutes and, after several amendments had been suggested, it was

RESOLVED: "That the Mandates Committee be asked to redraft the statement of principles in a form suitable for circulation to the Union's Branches; and that, when the amended document is considered by the Executive Committee, the question of submitting an urgency motion on the subject to the General Council be also discussed." S

(c) Christian Organisations Committee. The Dean of Chichester reported on minute 66 (Statement and Memorandum of Policy) and minute 67 (League of Prayer and Service) of the meeting of the Committee dated 9th November. It was

RESOLVED: "That these minutes be approved and adopted."

351. SPAIN: (a) Proposed Deputation to H.M. Government. It was reported that invitations to join the proposed deputation to the Prime Minister had been sent to the persons whose names had been suggested at the last meeting, and that, to date, acceptances had only been received from Lord Cecil, Lord Lytton, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Professor Eileen Power, Mr. Wilfred Roberts, Miss Rebecca West, Professor Harrod and Mr. H.H. Elvin.

The Chairman suggested that unless the proposed deputation could be of a really impressive and representative character, it would be preferable for a few members to talk privately with Lord Halifax or with Mr. Neville Chamberlain on the subject. Lord Cecil agreed with this view.

After considerable discussion it was, at the suggestion of the Chairman, decided that a short statement on the Spanish situation, stating precisely what the British plan provided for in the way of belligerent rights and the conditions attaching to it, should be prepared in the office and after being shown to, and accepted by, such members of the Executive as Lord Lytton thought desirable, should be submitted by a small private deputation to H.M. Government. The deputation should stress the necessity of no departure being made from the British plan and belligerent rights not being granted until all the conditions has been fulfilled. Lord Cecil urged that in preparing the statement care should be taken to distinguish between the right of blockade and the right to stop contraband.

Miss Rathbone suggested that a shorter statement should be prepared, stating the case against the granting of belligerent rights from a strategical and humanitarian point of view for signature by a large number of influential people e.g. leaders of the Churches, Trades Unions, etc. Members of the House of Commons, etc. Lord Cranborne urged that the Executive should know

exactly what the proposed belligerent rights were to be before it issued such a statement. After discussion it was decided to give further consideration to Miss Rathbone's suggestion when the document referred to in the preceding paragraph had been prepared.

(b) Conference on Food and Freedom for Spain.

Miss Fawcett reported on the Conference held at Friends' House on November 12th. The resolution adopted at the Conference included three main points: (1) the immediate and complete withdrawal of all German and Italian troops, technicians and munitions from Spain; (2) the protection of British food ships and a demand for compensation from General Franco for the loss of British lives and property; (3) credits to the Spanish Government for the purchase of food. The Spanish Emergency Committee which had recently been set up had printed ten million leaflets (copy filed with these minutes) for which it was hoped a wide distribution would be obtained. Lady Hall expressed the hope that the Union would send copies of this leaflet to all its Branches, inviting them to obtain supplies for free distribution in their own localities.

Lord Cranborne was opposed to the leaflet being circulated to the Union's Branches. Lord Cecil agreed that the Union should not make itself responsible for the circulation of leaflets issued by other bodies, and suggested that if individual members of the Committee wished to send copies of the leaflet to Branches they should be free to do so. After considerable discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Executive Committee accepts no responsibility for the distribution of the leaflet but will not object to individual members of the Executive who may agree with it taking any personal action to secure its distribution, provided it is made clear that such action is not taken at the instance of the Executive."

It was further, by twelve votes to nine,

RESOLVED: (2) "That for this purpose the leave of the Executive Committee be given to Lady Hall to have access to the names and addresses of the Union's Branch Secretaries."

352. REFUGEES. Mrs. Dugdale reported that the Refugees Committee, at its meeting on November 19th, had considered the drafting of a memorandum which it hoped to submit to the Prime Minister at an early date. The memorandum contained two main points: (1) the necessity for planned migration on the Evian principle and (2) that this should be made a question of Cabinet policy and taken out of the hands of the Departments. Mrs. Dugdale doubted whether,

in present circumstances, to present this memorandum to the Prime Minister was the best step to take. She felt that the whole machinery, both governmental and private, for dealing with refugees was breaking down under the weight of events. She spoke of the necessity of a clear distinction being made by the Home Office between aliens coming into this country under the Aliens Act and political refugees seeking temporary refuge. Lady Layton supported Mrs. Dugdale.

Mr. Noel Baker suggested that if the Refugee problem was to be properly dealt with there must be a large scale provision of capital by Governments for the settlement of refugees in a new life and the creation of international administrative machinery on the lines of the Nansen Office.

Lord Cecil thought that a short scheme might be prepared, illustrating the kind of action which it was hoped the various Governments would take.

After further discussion it was decided to ask the Refugees Committee to redraft their memorandum for submission to the Prime Minister, in order to include in it the points raised above.

Miss Courtney reported a conversation she had had with a friend in Amsterdam, and said Refugee camps had not been established in Holland. If such camps were established she hoped that H.M. Government would be urged to give their wholehearted co-operation.

With regard to Czech refugees Mrs. Dugdale reported that the British Czech Committee was meeting regularly, but for various reasons the machinery for getting refugees out of Czecho-Slovakia was working very slowly.

Miss Rathbone reported conversations she had had with Lord Winterton and Mr. Butler.

*Layton*  
Chairman.  
24/11/38.



MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1. ON THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 24TH, 1938 AT 11A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Sir Norman Angell, Captain V. Cazalet, Lord Cecil, Miss Judith Corcoran, Miss K.L. Courtney, Lord Cranborne, Mrs. E. Dugdale, Miss P. Fawcett, Miss M. Lloyd George, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, Arthur Henderson, J.A. Keyser, Lady Layton, James Macdonald, G. le M. Mander, Dr. Gilbert Murray, Harold Nicolson, W.T. Pritchard, Miss Fathbone, H.F. Shaw, H.S. Syrett, E. Wallis-Jones and Major Lawrence Wright, together with the Deputy Secretary.

353. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Mrs. Beale, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, the Dean of Chichester, Vice-Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Sir Arthur Haworth, R.R. Stokes, Major-General A.C. Temperley and F.W. Weaver.

354. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting dated November 17th, 1938 were confirmed as circulated.

355. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES

On Minute 348 — 339 — Queen's Hall Meeting, the Chairman reported that not only would the Queen's Hall be filled but that an overflow meeting had been arranged in the Caxton Hall for which all the tickets had now been allocated. Lady Gladstone had consented to take the Chair at the Caxton Hall and Lord Cranborne had promised to speak. It was proposed that this meeting should begin fifteen minutes earlier than that in the Queen's Hall, and that until Mr. Eden had finished speaking, the speeches from the Queen's Hall should be relayed to the overflow meeting. Mr. Eden had promised also to speak at the Caxton Hall. The Chairman added that although all the tickets for both meetings had been disposed of, it was likely that a deficit of some £50 or £60 would result from the meetings unless a collection were taken up.

RESOLVED: (1) "That Lady Gladstone and Lord Cranborne be warmly thanked for their kind promise to speak at the Caxton Hall meeting.

(2) "That arrangements be made for a retiring collection to be taken at the Queen's Hall and one during the meeting at the Caxton Hall."

On Minute 349 -- Anglo-French Conference, it was reported that a reply had not yet been received from M. Dupuy to the letter in which Lord Lytton had invited him to come to London to settle the details of the proposed conference.

Lord Cecil stated that it was proposed to hold a meeting of the International I.P.C. in London on Sunday, December 11th. He asked that this should be borne in mind when the arrangements for the proposed conference with the French League of Nations Society were being made.

On Minute 351 -- Spain, Lord Lytton reported that owing to the difficulty of arranging for a deputation to wait upon the Prime Minister before he left for Paris on November 23rd, he had had an informal talk with the Foreign Secretary on November 21st. Lord Halifax had assured the Chairman that there was no intention on the part of H.M. Government to raise in the Paris discussions the question of granting belligerent rights to General Franco. If the question were discussed it would be only in a very general manner. Lord Lytton had told the Foreign Secretary that the Union would probably wish to represent its views to H.M. Government before the matter was again brought before the Non-Intervention Committee.

Copies of a memorandum on "The Question of Granting Belligerent Rights in Spain" (S.225) were circulated to the Committee. Lord Lytton stated that he had shown the first draft of this paper to Lord Plymouth, and to an official of the Foreign Office and that, subject to two small modifications which had since been made, they had agreed that the statements in the memorandum were wholly accurate. If it was the wish of the Committee to obtain signatures to a declaration the Chairman suggested that it might take the following form-

"We, the undersigned, while not all agreed on the merits of the Spanish Civil War, are united in demanding that belligerent rights shall not be granted to General Franco until the conditions laid down in the British plan approved by the Powers represented on the Non-Intervention Committee and accepted by the Spanish Government have been fulfilled."

Lord Cecil suggested that a question should be asked in the House of Commons with a view to ascertaining whether the League Commission had yet made its Report and, if not, whether H.M. Government were taking any steps to ascertain when the Report would be available, and *would ask for an interim report to be made.*

Miss Rathbone welcomed Lord Lytton's proposal in regard to the declaration but suggested that the form of declaration should be accompanied by the explanatory memorandum (S.225).

Miss Courtney thought that action on the above lines should be deferred until information had been received concerning the Report of the League of Nations Commission. After further discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That further consideration of the use to be made of the proposed declaration and memorandum be adjourned pending a reply to the question to be asked in the House of Commons concerning the Report of the League Commission."

### 356. REFUGEES

(a) Minutes of Refugees Committee. The Executive had before them the minutes of the Refugees Committee dated November 15th. Subject to the following report on minute 19 and to the decision on minute 20 taken at the last meeting, these minutes were approved.

On Minute 19 -- Memorandum to the Prime Minister. Mrs. Dugdale reported that, since the debate in the House of Commons on Monday, November 21st, the memorandum drafted for submission to the Prime Minister had become out of date. It was proposed to redraft the memorandum in order that it might include the reactions of the voluntary organisations to the suggestions made by the Prime Minister and the Home Secretary in the debate. It would be pointed out that the voluntary societies could not be expected to undertake the re-settlement and migration of refugees which was not only beyond their financial resources but also outside their scope. It was proposed to submit the revised memorandum to the Prime Minister so soon as it had been approved by the Committee.

Mrs. Dugdale added that a useful purpose would be served if a Parliamentary Refugee Committee could be formed by M.P.'s.

Miss Courtney quoted figures to show that Ministers, by suggesting in the debate that the problem was one which could be dealt with by voluntary organisations were presenting the matter to the public in an entirely false light.

Captain Cazalet reported recent conversations he had had with Government representatives in Australia and New Zealand and with representative people in America on the subject of refugees.

(b) Appointment of Sub-Committee. Lord Cecil suggested that two practical things might be done. One was to take the refugee problem out of the hands of the different departments who were now dealing with it and to have, as in the War, a single Minister in charge with advisers from each of the departments concerned. Secondly, he did not believe it was practical to get any considerable assistance from increased taxes, etc. unless some means could be shown by which the money expended could be got

back from Germany. If the Germans were faced with the alternative of allowing Jewish refugees to take their money out of Germany or of money due to Germany being, in some form or another, taken as compensation, he believed the problem would quickly be solved.

Mrs Dugdale said that, if it was desired, the memorandum for submission to the Prime Minister could include Lord Cecil's first suggestion, but that the Committee felt it was outside their scope to include proposals on the second suggestion.

Sir Norman Angell agreed that it was perfectly feasible to get money from Germany if there was the will to do it in this country. Little could, he thought, be done by actually collecting German funds. But if, as was probable, common action could be secured between this country and America, some means of economic pressure, e.g. a customs surcharge, might be found. After further discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That a sub-Committee be appointed to consider the above suggestion and to prepare a report for submission to the Executive; and that Sir Norman Angell, Captain Cazaret, Lord Cecil, Sir Walter Layton and Sir Arthur Salter be invited to serve on the Committee."

Mrs. Dugdale drew attention to an offer reported in THE TIMES that morning from the Jewish Agency, undertaking the financial responsibility and the organisation involved for the immediate absorption into Palestine of 100,000 German Jews which would include practically all the younger generation of German Jewry able to migrate and adapt themselves to a new life.

(c) Publication of Book on Refugees. Sir Norman Angell recalled the suggestion made at the meetings on October 27th and November 3rd, 1938, that the Union should issue a pamphlet on the problem of refugees, dealing, in particular, with the economic fallacies which stood in the way of emigration. He stated that Mrs. Eden Buxton had just completed a manuscript of some 15,000 words covering the economic point adequately and that the paper had been prepared in consultation with Ministers. He was willing that the Union should, if it desired, publish the book. If this were done Sir Norman proposed to write an introduction to it, re-arrange some of the material, and include any suitable memoranda the Union had available, as well as addresses of organisations dealing with the problem. He suggested that the book should be published at sixpence in a form resembling the PENGUIN series. The subject was now so widely discussed that it was likely that retail booksellers would take considerable numbers of such a book and this

would provide the most speedy means of bringing home to the public the nature of the problem. Sir Norman did not think that the Union would sustain any financial loss by this publication. It was

RESOLVED: (2) "That Sir Norman Angell's proposal as outlined above be approved, after consultation with the Finance Committee if any financial obligation were involved."

357. INDUSTRIAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE. The Executive had before them minutes 76 (Constitution of Committee) and 77 (I.L.O. Governing Body).

RESOLVED: "That the proposal contained in minute 76 be approved, subject to approval by the Finance Committee."

358. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Executive received resolutions from the Wolverton, Carlisle, Whalley Range and Sheffield Branches. It was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Wolverton Branch be thanked for their resolution and be reminded of Appendices A, B and C in the Agenda for the December meeting of the General Council."

(2) "That the Carlisle Branch be thanked for their resolution and be reminded of Appendices A and B in the Agenda for the December meeting of the General Council."

(3) "That the Whalley Range Branch be thanked for their resolution and be informed that the matter is receiving urgent attention by the Executive Committee and some of its principal members; and that the resolution be referred to the Refugees Committee for consideration."

(4) "That the Sheffield Branch be thanked for their resolutions; that in regard to resolution (1) a reply as suggested for the Whalley Range Branch be sent; and that in regard to resolution (2) they be reminded of the Memorandum on Policy included in the Agenda for the General Council."

359. POLITICAL COMMITTEE. Lord Cecil stated that although the Political Committee was composed of fifteen members

of the Executive Committee, the meetings (which were of necessity often summoned at short notice) were only attended by two or three persons. It was decided to ask the Chairman and the Officers to consider and report to the Executive whether ~~some~~ other means could not be found for adequate consideration being given to political questions before their submission to the Executive.

360. **RE-ORGANISATION.** The Executive had before them the Report of the Re-organisation Committee (S.219) together with recommendations from the Administration Committee (10.11.38), the Standing Sub-Committee of the Women's Advisory Council (4.11.38), the Library Committee (21.11.38) and the Education Committee (21.11.38). After considerable discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That, with the exception of the recommendation concerning the Library, the Report of the Re-organisation Committee be approved and adopted;

That the Budget for 1939 be the same as that for 1938, subject to such modifications as are consequent upon the adoption of the Report; and

That provision be included in the Budget for continuing the Library on its present scale for three months.

- (2) "That the Chairman be authorized to make any modifications in the proposals of the Re-organisation Committee in so far as they affect individual members of the staff, provided they did not alter the total economy to be effected."

*Lytton*  
Chairman.

1. 12. 38.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT No. 14 GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1, ON THURSDAY, DECEMBER 1ST, 1938, AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), P.J. Noel Baker, F.M. Burris, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Captain V.A. Cazalet, Miss Judith Corcoran, Miss J.D. Courtney, Mrs. E. Dugdale, Miss P. Fawcett, Miss M. Lloyd George, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, Arthur Henderson, J.A. Keyser, G. le M. Mander, W.T. Pritchard, Miss E. Rathbone, H.S. Syrett, Major-General A.C. Temperley and Major Lawrence Wright, together with the Secretary.

361. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Mrs. Beale, Lord Cecil, Vice-Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Lady Layton, Captain B.H. Liddell Hart, James Macdonald and R.R. Stokes.

362. MINUTES. The Minutes of the Committee dated November 24th, 1938, were confirmed as circulated subject to the addition of the words "and would ask for an interim report in the meanwhile" at the end of the third paragraph of minute 355 (351).

363. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES

On Minute 355 - 348 - Queen's Hall Meeting, it was reported that both the Queen's Hall and the Caxton Hall had been filled to capacity for the meetings on November 29th, that some three thousand people were unable to obtain admission, and that the proceeds of the collections amounted to over £71.

RESOLVED: "That the congratulations and thanks of the Committee be conveyed to Miss Hollingworth on her successful organisation of the meetings."

On Minute 355 - 349 - Anglo-French Conference, the Chairman reported a telegram from M. Dupuy, suggesting that discussions concerning the proposed Anglo-French Conference should be adjourned for the present.

On Minute 355 - 351 - Spain, Miss Rathbone was asked to send to the Chairman the information she had received in answer to her question in the House of Commons on November 28th in order that it might be incorporated in the memorandum (S.225).

364. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Executive considered resolutions from the Watford, Falkirk, Stafford, Peppard and District, Harborne and North Hackney Branches, and the Golders Green and Hampstead Youth Groups. It was

RESOLVED: (1) That the Watford Branch be thanked for their resolution and be reminded that the whole subject of a world conference is to be debated at the forthcoming meeting of the General Council.

(2) That the Falkirk Branch be thanked for their resolution and be reminded of Appendices A, B and C in the Agenda for the General Council meeting.

(3) That the Stafford Branch be thanked for their resolution and be reminded of Appendices A and B in the Agenda for the General Council meeting.

(4) That the Golders Green & Hampstead Youth Groups and the Peppard Branch be thanked for their resolution; be informed that the refugee problem is receiving urgent attention by the Executive Committee and some of its principal members; and be reminded of the 'urgency' motion on this subject to be submitted by the Executive to the General Council.

(5) That the Harborne Branch be thanked for their resolution and that it be referred to the Youth Committee for consideration and report.

(6) That the North Hackney Branch be thanked for their resolution and be reminded of Appendix C in the Agenda for the General Council meeting.

The Executive also considered a resolution from the L.C.C. (Staff) Branch dealing with the recent changes of personnel in the League Secretariat. It was reported that inquiries on this subject had been addressed to M. Ruyssen, the Secretary-General of the International Federation, and a letter from him, dated November 23rd, was read to the Committee. It was then

RESOLVED: (7) "That the L.C.C. (Staff) Branch be thanked for their resolution and be supplied with the information received from M. Ruyssen."

Mr. Mander stated that a question was to be asked in the House of Commons on the subject.

365. COLONIAL PROBLEM. The Executive had before them a redraft of the Statement of principles for dealing with the African Colonial Problem (S.221) prepared in accordance with minute 350(b), together with a memorandum on Colonies and their Rulers (S.224) and a draft resolution for submission as a matter of urgency to the



General Council (S.249). After several amendments had been suggested in the draft statement, it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Mandates Committee be asked to redraft the statement of principles in the light of the amendments suggested by the Executive; and that the statement, as amended, be communicated as from the Mandates Committee to the delegates attending the General Council meeting for their information.

(2) That no 'urgency' motion on this subject be submitted to the General Council."

366. DECEMBER MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL. The Executive considered the Final Agenda for the December meeting of the General Council and it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the members named below be invited to take charge of the following items in the Council's agenda and that the following decisions be taken in regard to those items:

4. Statement of Policy. Lord Lytton and Miss Courtney: to move and second the Executive's motion; to oppose the amendments standing in the name of the Albany, Croydon and Beddington Branches and Mr. Keen; to support the amendment of the Edinburgh Branch in line 53; and to suggest that the amendments of the Edinburgh Branch in lines 23 and 37 are unnecessary.

5. World Conference. Lord Lytton and Miss Courtney: to oppose the motion.

6. World Conference and the League of Nations. Lord Lytton and Miss Courtney: to oppose the motion.

7. Revision of Peace Treaties. Lord Lytton and Miss Courtney: to oppose the motion.

8. Article XIX. Lord Lytton and Miss Courtney: to oppose the motion.

9. Publication of Statements of Policy: to support the motion from the Chair.

10. Strengthening the League. Dr. Murray: to propose the motion; to oppose the amendments of North Hackney Branch, Edinburgh Branch, New Commonwealth, Weston-super-Mare Branch, Manchester Branch and Tyme District Council; and to support the amendments of Lady Hall, Kensington Branch and the London Regional Federation.

It was suggested that the New Commonwealth should be asked to withdraw their amendment and that it should be referred to the Liaison Committee for discussion. Mr. Mander promised to convey this suggestion to the New Commonwealth.

11. Refugees. Mrs. Dugdale: to move the Executive's motion; to express the hope that the London Regional Federation will withdraw their amendment; and, if this is done, to accept the substance of the amendments of the Westminster Branch, Carlisle Branch and Liverpool and Merseyside District Council for incorporation in the Executive's motion.
13. League Action and Japan. That the Teymouth Branch be asked to substitute the words 'adhering to' for the words 'insisting upon' in line 7 of their motion; that, subject to this amendment, Lady Gladstone be asked to support the motion and to oppose the amendment of the Carlisle Branch.
14. Budget for 1938. Mr. Syrett.
15. The Union's 21st Birthday. Mr. Pritchard.
17. Non-Political Activities of the League. Miss Fawcett to move the Executive's motion; to accept the amendment of the London Regional Federation; and to suggest to the Tyneside District Council the re-wording of their amendment on some such lines as follows: 'Urges H.M. Government, as a Member of the League, to advocate the policy of providing....'
18. Intellectual Co-operation. Dr. Murray to support the motion of the London Regional Federation.
19. Separation of the Covenant from the Peace Treaties. Miss Courtney to move Executive's amendment.
20. Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Commons. Dr. Murray to take the Chair, and Lord Cecil to move Executive's amendment.
21. Bombing on North-West Frontier. Miss Courtney: to move Executive's amendment.

- 5 -

22. International Language. Dr. Murray or Miss Charlesworth to deal with on lines recommended by Education Committee.

23. A National Peace Policy: to leave to The Council's discretion.

24. League Publications. Mrs. Dugdale: to oppose."

It was further

RESOLVED: (2) "That except for the motion on Refugees already included in the Agenda, no urgency motions on current aspects of international affairs be submitted by the Executive.

(3) That Lord Cecil be asked to remind the Council at the opening session that, owing to the length of the Agenda, it will be necessary for the Council to meet on the morning of Saturday, December 10th, and to urge members of the Council and, in particular, members of the Executive, to remain until the conclusion of the Council's business."

It was reported that Mrs. E.M. White had asked leave to move an 'urgency' motion of the subject of Spain. This motion had been communicated to the Procedure Committee who proposed to ask the Chairman, subject to the Council's consent, to grant leave for it to be moved. Miss Corcoran stated that the Youth Committee would also ask leave to move an urgency motion on Spain.

367. NEXT MEETING.

RESOLVED: "That the next meeting of the Executive be held at 11 a.m. on Thursday, December 15th."

*Lytton*  
Chairman  
15/12/38

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT No. 14 GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1. ON THURSDAY, DECEMBER 15th, 1938, at 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Sir Norman Angell, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, P. J. Noel Baker, Lady Violet Bonham-Carter, R. M. Barris, Major Anthony Buxton, Dean of Chichester, Miss Judith Corcoran, Miss J. D. Courtney, Lord Dickinson, Admiral S. R. Drury-Lowe, Miss P. Rawcett, Lady Gladstone, Sir John Harris, Arthur Henderson, E. Wallis-Jones, J. A. Keyser, Lady Layton, G. le M. Mander, Dr. Gilbert Murray, W. T. Pritchard, Miss E. Rathbone, Major Lawrence Wright, together with the Secretary.

368. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Mr. Vyvyan Adams, Lord Cecil, Lady Hall, Sir Arthur Haworth, J. Macdonald, R. R. Stokes and H. S. Syrett.
369. MINUTES. The minutes of the Committee dated December 1st, 1938 were confirmed as circulated.
370. LORD ALLEN. The Chairman read to the Committee a letter dated December 2nd from Lord Allen, resigning his membership of the Executive not because of disagreements on policy, since he felt the Union was never more necessary than at present, but because of his incapacity on grounds of ill-health to attend Executive meetings. Lord Allen added that he felt it wrong to fill one of the seats on the Executive and yet to make no contribution to the life of the Union. It was

RESOLVED: (1) That Lord Allen's resignation be accepted with deep regret; and that it be left to the Officers to consider and make recommendations to the Executive for filling the vacancy.

(2) That the Editor of HEADWAY be asked to print Lord Allen's letter of resignation in his journal; and that a copy of the letter be sent to Branches with the next circular letter.

371. REPORT FROM ADMINISTRATION COMMITTEE. The Executive received a report on action taken by the Administration Committee (C. 37.12.12.38).

372. EDUCATION COMMITTEE. Dr. Murray reported, as a matter of urgency, that the Education Committee at its meeting on December 12th had expressed a desire to meet the members of the Executive in order to discuss with them the desire of the Education Committee to be given an autonomous status. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Officers of the Union be asked, in the first instance, to meet the Education Committee and discuss the situation with them; and that when definite recommendations have been formulated they be submitted to a special meeting of the Executive, at which the members of the Education Committee shall be invited to be present."

It was further

RESOLVED: (2) "That the Education Committee as at present constituted, continue in office pending a further decision by the Executive."

373. **CHRISTIAN ORGANISATIONS COMMITTEE.** The Dean of Chichester reported that his Committee, when it met on the previous day, had considered a request from the National Peace Council to support their Petition for a World Conference by communicating it to Corporate Members of the Union. The Committee had been unable to accede to this request since they considered it undesirable for the Union to send documents issued by other organisations to their Corporate Members. The Chairman reminded the Dean of Chichester of the decision taken by the Executive on November 3rd, with which the Christian Organisations Committee had acted in conformity.

374. **BRANCH RESOLUTIONS.** The Executive received resolutions from the Executive Committee of the Welsh National Council, the Eccles Branch and the Church End, Finchley Congregational Church. It was

RESOLVED: (1) That the Executive Committee of the Welsh National Council be thanked for their resolutions.

(2) That the Eccles Branch be thanked for their resolutions and be informed of the resolutions on refugees and Spain adopted by the General Council at its last meeting.

(3) That the Church End Finchley Congregational Church be thanked for their resolution and be informed of the Statement of Policy adopted by the General Council at its last meeting.

375. **FILMS.** The Executive considered a resolution adopted by the London Regional Federation concerning the proposal to restrict the exhibition of non-inflammable sub-standard films to premises licensed by the appropriate local authority. It was reported that this proposal had been referred to the Home Office Advisory Committee which would be receiving a deputation organised by the Sub-Standard Cinematograph Association on January 12th. It was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union views with apprehension any proposal to restrict the exhibition of non-inflammable sub-standard films to premises licensed by the appropriate local authority; and regards such proposals as limiting severely the international exchange of films, and the use of the film in educational work on behalf of the League of Nations and of its many activities."

(2) "That the above resolution be communicated to the Sub-Standard Cinematograph Association, and that they be informed that the Union would be willing to appoint a representative to join their deputation to the Home Office, if desired."

It was decided to leave it to the Secretary, in consultation with Dr. Murray and Miss Courtney, to appoint such a representative if necessary.

376. **COLONIAL PROBLEM.** The Executive had before them an amended draft of the Statement of Principles (S.265) prepared in accordance with minute 365 of the last meeting. Amendments to the wording of paragraphs (3) and (4) were proposed and accepted. It was also suggested that it should be made clear in the Statement that the principles outlined applied not only to Africa but also to the populations of all tropical and sub-tropical colonies, and that this might perhaps be done by the addition of a final paragraph to the Statement. After further discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That it be left to Dr. Murray, in consultation with Sir John Harris and Miss White, to redraft the Statement in the light of the further amendments suggested by the Committee for submission to the Executive at a later meeting."

The Executive also had before them a memorandum on colonies and their rulers (S.224) which had been written by Miss White and had appeared in HEADWAY. It was agreed that this memorandum should be available in the office for use in response to inquiries on the subject.

377. **DECEMBER MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL.** The Executive had before them the text of the resolutions adopted by the General Council at its last meeting. They were reminded that it had been left to the Committee to make such drafting changes in the amended Statement of Policy as they might consider necessary, and it was

RESOLVED: (1) That the further drafting changes in the Statement of Policy be left in the hands of the Chairman and Dr. Murray.

It was further

RESOLVED: (2) That the resolutions on the following subjects be communicated to His Majesty's Government:

Statement of Policy; Strengthening the League; Spain; The Far East; Refugees; Intellectual Co-operation; Non-political activities of the League; Separation of the Covenant from the Peace Treaties; Cabinet Responsibility in International Matters; League Secretariat.

- (3) That the resolutions on "Bombing on North-West Frontier" and "A National Peace Policy" be referred to the Political Committee for consideration and report.
- (4) That the resolution on the "League Secretariat" be communicated to M. Avenol for his information.
- (5) That the resolution on "An International Language" be referred to the Education Committee for consideration and report.

Dr. Murray reported that he had already arranged to discuss with Lord Halifax the Council's resolution on the subject of Intellectual Co-operation.

Copies of a speech (S.290) prepared by Mr. F.N. Keen in support of his amendment to the Statement of Policy were placed before the Executive. The Chairman stated that Mr. Keen had been unable to complete his speech at the Council meeting in the time allotted to him and had asked that it might be communicated to the Executive for their information.

The Chairman spoke of what he regarded as the insufficient provision in the Covenant and in League procedure at the present time for the treatment of important political issues. He thought it was partly for this reason that the New Commonwealth were pressing for a Tribunal in Equity. Mr. Keen had proposed the establishment of an international legislative body; and Sir Raymond Uman, with whom the Chairman had discussed the question, was in favour of a Council of Conciliation which was a feature in some of the original drafts for the League of Nations.

After discussion the Chairman suggested and it was agreed that a useful purpose might be served if the Liaison Committee between the Union and the New Commonwealth were asked to meet again to discuss this matter with a view to submitting an agreed recommendation to the Executive and possibly to the General Council.

379. INTERNATIONAL PEACE CAMPAIGN.

(a) Deputation to Prime Minister on Spain. A letter dated December 6th from the Secretary of the British National Committee of the I.P.C. was read to the Executive, concerning the organisation of a deputation consisting of prominent persons from all the constituencies, to wait upon the Prime Minister on Saturday January 7th on the subject of the withdrawal of foreign troops, technicians and war material from Spain.

Lord Lytton thought it was undesirable that procedure of this kind should be adopted by the I.P.C. without prior consultation with the Union as one of its co-operating bodies. It was essential that such matters should be discussed by the Executive Committee before action was finally decided upon by the I.P.C. Lord Lytton also felt that more effort was produced upon H.M. Government by a small deputation, organised in accordance with the Union's practice, than by a mass demonstration. As the deputation had been arranged for 3.30 p.m. on January 7th without the organisers having first ascertained that the Prime Minister would be willing to receive it at that time, Lord Lytton had been unable to sign, jointly with Lord Cecil, a letter asking the Prime Minister to receive the deputation.

Dr. Murray and Major Buxton shared the Chairman's views.

It was explained that, had it not been for the intervention of the General Council meeting, the Executive would have had an opportunity of considering this matter at their meeting on December 6th.

After further discussion, during which Lady Layton, Sir Norman Angell, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Miss Rathbone and Lord Dickinson moved that the Union should be associated with the deputation, and this having been agreed to, it was

RESOLVED: "That the Chairman be asked to consult with Lord Cecil with a view to modifying the terms of the letter to the Prime Minister; and, if he is satisfied with the amended form, to sign it as Chairman of the Executive Committee".

It was further agreed that the Secretary should inform the Regional Representatives, the District Secretaries and any inquirers on the subject of the action taken by the Executive.

(b) Japanese Boycott Poster Parade. A letter dated 8th December from the Secretary of the British National Committee of the I.P.C. was read to the Executive, stating that a car and poster parade for the boycott of Japanese goods was being organised on Monday, December 19th in the west-end shopping districts, and inviting the Union to urge its Branches and members to support it.

Since it was felt that the short interval remaining before December 19th would make it impossible for Branches to support the parade, no action was taken.

379. REFUGEES: MEANS OF RAISING FUNDS FROM GERMANY. The Executive had before them a report (S.246) from the special sub-Committee appointed on November 24th to consider the means of raising funds from Germany for the maintenance and settlement of German refugees who were thrown on the mercy of other countries without financial resources.

After discussion it was

RESOLVED: That the report of the sub-Committee be received with thanks; and that copies of it be communicated to the Refugees Committee, to Mr. Rublee, Secretary of the Inter-Governmental Committee, and to such other organisations as are considering long-term plans for the relief of refugees.

It was reported that arrangements had been made for a deputation, representing the various societies working on behalf of refugees in this country, to wait upon the Home Secretary on December 21st at 3.30 p.m.

Sir Norman Angell reported that the pamphlet dealing with the economic aspect of the refugee problem was now in the printers' hands and would be available in a few days' time.

380. DATE OF NEXT MEETINGS.

RESOLVED: "That a further meeting of the Executive be held at 11 a.m. on Thursday, December 22nd; that the Committee then adjourn until Thursday, January 12th; but that it be left to the Vice-Chairman to summon a special meeting at an earlier date if she considers it necessary."

*Lyften*  
Chairman  
22/12/28



MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 14 GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1. ON THURSDAY 22ND DECEMBER, 1938, AT 11 a.m.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Miss Judith Corcoran, Miss K.D. Courtney, Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Miss F. Pawcett, Lady Gladstone, G. Le M. Mander, W.T. Pritchard, Miss E. Rathbone, together with the Secretary.

381. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Mrs. Beale, Lady Violet Bonham-Carter, the Dean of Chichester, Sir Arthur Haworth, J.A. Keyser, J. Macdonald, H.F. Shaw, Sir Archibald Sinclair and Major Lawrence Wright.

382. MINUTES. The minutes of the Committee dated December 15th, 1938 were confirmed as circulated.

383. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 375 - Films, a letter was reported from the Sub-Standard Cinematograph Association thanking the Executive for their resolution and stating that it would be used in the evidence to be presented by the deputation to the Advisory Committee of the Home Office on January 12th. The Deputation was already a very large and representative one, but if it was possible in any later developments to introduce a representative from the Union, the Executive's offer would be carefully considered.

On Minute 377 - December Meeting of General Council - Liaison Committee, it was reported that since the Executive at its last meeting had suggested that a further meeting of the Liaison Committee should be held, a letter had been received from the New Commonwealth making the same suggestion. The Executive were reminded that the Union's representatives on the Committee had been Lord Lytton, Lord Allen and the Secretary. It was

RESOLVED: "That the Liaison Committee be asked to meet on the earliest convenient date for Lord Davies and Lord Lytton; and that Miss Courtney be asked to take the place of Lord Allen on the Committee".

On Minute 378 - I.P.C. Deputation to Prime Minister, The Chairman reported that, after agreeing with Lord Cecil on a revised draft of the letter to the Prime Minister concerning the proposed deputation, the letter had been sent to Mr. Neville Chamberlain over their joint signatures. The Prime Minister's reply had not yet been received.

Lord Cecil had assured the Chairman that when future action was contemplated by the I.P.C. sufficient notice would be given to the Union to enable full consideration to be given to it by the Executive before a final decision was taken.

384. MINORITIES COMMITTEE

RESOLVED: "That consideration of the minutes of the Minorities Committee dated 15th December 1938 be adjourned until the next meeting of the Executive".

385. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Executive received resolutions from the Stafford and West Hampstead Branches and the Wilmslow and District Branch Committee.

RESOLVED: (1) That the Stafford Branch be thanked for their resolution and be informed of the action taken by the Executive Committee and the General Council in regard to the problem of Refugees.

(2) That the West Hampstead and Wilmslow and District Branches be thanked for their resolutions and be informed of the resolution on Spain adopted by the General Council at its last meeting.

386. AIR DISARMAMENT. The Executive considered a memorandum (S.260) on Air Disarmament submitted by Mr. Innes, the Secretary of the Air Disarmament Committee. The Chairman reminded the Executive that the Union had repeatedly stated to H.M. Government its position on the subject of air disarmament and he did not think any useful purpose would be served by a further repetition at the moment. The time for action would come if and when a proposal for disarmament was received from Germany concerning which statements had lately appeared in the press.

Reference was made to the statement by Mr. Eden in the House of Commons on February 2nd and quoted in the memorandum of the Air Disarmament Committee, and it was

RESOLVED: "That the attention of H.M. Government be drawn to Mr. Eden's statement of February 2nd and that enquiries be made regarding the present state of the preparatory survey which, according to Mr. Eden, was at that time being undertaken by the different Departments concerned; and that the question of further action to be taken by the Union be considered in the light of the reply received."

Miss Courtney suggested that a useful purpose might be served by the publication in HEADWAY of an article reviewing the situation in regard to air disarmament.

387. INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF LEAGUE OF NATIONS SOCIETIES. The Executive were reminded that the Spring meetings of the Federation would be held in Geneva on February 25th and 26th, and that resolutions for inclusion on the agenda should reach the Secretary by January 1st.

RESOLVED: (1) That the resolutions adopted by the General Council on the following subjects be submitted mutatis mutandis to the International Federation:

Statement of Policy  
Intellectual Co-operation  
League Secretariat

and that the Council's resolution on Non-Political Activities of the League be also submitted to the Federation but in the following amended form:

"The International Federation of League of Nations Societies

Rejoices in the continued success of the technical, humanitarian, social and intellectual activities of the League, and

Urges the Governments of all States Members of the League to advocate the policy of providing adequate funds for these purposes."

The Chairman made a Statement to the Committee concerning the desirability of an alteration in the procedure followed by the League in regard to the Chairmanship of the League's Council, and it was

RESOLVED: (2) "That notice be given that the Executive Committee intends to table a motion on the subject of the Chairmanship of the League Council for the meeting of the International Federation; and that Lord Lytton be asked to prepare a memorandum and draft resolution on the subject for consideration by the Executive at a later meeting."

388. DR. CHRISTIAN LANGE. The death on December 11th was reported of Dr. Christian Lange, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1921 and Norwegian delegate to the League of Nations. After expressing their appreciation of the great service Dr. Lange had rendered to the cause of peace, it was

RESOLVED: "That a note of condolence from the Executive Committee be conveyed to Mme. Lange."

390. REFUGEES. The Executive considered a communication from the Secretary-General of the International Federation asking the constituent societies of the Federation to recall the attention of their Governments to the resolution adopted by the Plenary Congress at Copenhagen in July last on the subject of Refugees. It was

RESOLVED: "That in view of the many representations already made to H.M. Government by the Executive Committee on the subject of Refugees, the resolution of the Federation be not again submitted to them; and that M. Ruyssen be so informed."

The Chairman reported that owing to the illness of Mrs. Dugdale the deputation to the Home Secretary which was to have taken place on the previous day had been postponed.

The Chairman further reported that he had promised in January to meet the Union's Refugee Committee in order to reassure the representatives of certain organisations that the Union was in fact an entirely non-party organisation and had no anti-Government tendencies.

Miss Rathbone spoke of the work being done by the Parliamentary Refugee Committee of which Captain Cazalet was Chairman.

391. RESIGNATION OF CARDINAL HINSLEY. Reference was made to the recent resignation of Cardinal Hinsley, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Westminster, to which publicity had been given in the press. The Chairman read to the Committee the letter which Lord Cecil had written to the Archbishop on the subject, and stated that Lord Cecil had not sent his letter to the press but had suggested that both the Cardinal's letter and his own might be published in full in HEADWAY.

- 4 -

392. MR. EDEN. It was

RESOLVED: "That an invitation be sent to Mr. Eden to attend a meeting of the Executive after Lord Lytton's return and to give them an account of his recent visit to the U.S.A."

393. CZECHOSLOVAKIA: THE INSTALLATIONS. The Executive had before them the text of questions and answers in the House of Commons on November 14th and December 8th on the subject of the "Installations" to be ceded under the Munich Agreement. The Chairman considered that the Union should take action in order to make the facts known, and it was

RESOLVED: "That the office be asked to prepare a memorandum for the information of the Executive recalling the merit that was claimed for the Munich Agreement and the appointment of the International Commission, and describing the points on which agreement had been reached by the International Commission when they met in the Foreign Office in Berlin as well as the various demands that were subsequently made by the Germans and agreed to by the International Commission; and that the question of action to be taken by the Union be considered in the light of the memorandum."

394. SPAIN. Miss Corcoran stated that Mr. Butler, in talking to a deputation of which she had been a member on December 19th, had stated that a scheme was in process of negotiation between various Government Departments for sending a large quantity of surplus herrings to children in the Government side in Spain. Miss Corcoran added that the scheme was apparently held up at some point and asked whether anything could be done to accelerate it. The Chairman promised to do what he could in this matter if Miss Corcoran would supply him with the facts.

*A. D. Cooney*  
Chairman

12/1/39

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BLEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 14 GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1, ON THURSDAY, JANUARY 12TH, 1939, AT 11 a.m.

PRESENT: Miss K.D. Courtney (in the Chair), W. Arnold-Forster, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, the Duchess of Atholl, Mrs. Beale, F.M. Burris, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Lord Cecil, the Dean of Chichester, Miss J. Corcoran, Lord Dickinson, Vice-Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss P. Fawcett, Lady Gladstone, Sir Arthur Haworth, E. Wallis Jones, J.A. Keyser, J. Macdonald, Professor Gilbert Murray, Major A. Buxton, W.T. Pritchard, Miss E. Ratbone, Brig.-Gen. E.L. Spears, H.S. Syrett, F.W. Weaver, Major Lawrence Wright, together with the Secretary.

1. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Mr. Vyvyan Adams, Lady Hall, Mr. Arthur Henderson, Lady Layton, Lord Lytton, Miss M. Lloyd George and Mr. R.R. Stokes.
2. DEATH OF MAJOR THE RT. HON. J.W. HILLS. The Executive learned with deep regret of the death on December 24th of Major the Rt. Hon. J.W. Hills, M.P., who was, for many years, Vice-Chairman of the Executive Committee and who had rendered invaluable service to the Union, particularly in its efforts on behalf of Disarmament. It was reported that a letter of condolence had already been sent by the Secretary to Mrs. Hills, and it was

RESOLVED: "That Dr. Gilbert Murray be asked also to write to Mrs. Hills, expressing the Executive Committee's profound sympathy in her bereavement and their gratitude for all that Major Hills had done for the cause of the League and of the Union."

3. MINUTES. The minutes of the Committee dated December 22nd, 1938, were confirmed as circulated.
4. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES

On Minute 383-378 -- I.P.C. Deputation to Prime Minister, a report on the deputation of January 7th, prepared by the Spanish Emergency Committee, was circulated to members of the Executive. Lord Cecil reported that some 400 people from all parts of the country had assembled in the Central Hall, Westminster on that date, when a resolution had been passed and had later been taken by the deputation to Downing Street. The proceedings had been admirably organised and had received wide publicity both in the Press and by the B.B.C.

On Minute 386 — Air Disarmament, it was reported that only a formal acknowledgment had so far been received of the inquiry addressed to H.M. Government.

On Minute 391 — Resignation of Cardinal Hinsley, the Dean of Chichester reported that, as a result of the resignation of Cardinal Hinsley, the two Roman Catholic members of the Christian Organisations Committee (Father O'Hea and Dr. Mathew) had resigned from the Committee. The Christian Organisations Committee, at their meeting on the previous day, had asked the Executive to examine the reasons for Cardinal Hinsley's resignation.

Lord Cecil, after reporting the circumstances which had led to the Cardinal's resignation, said that he had replied to the Cardinal and had hoped that the correspondence would be published in the January number of HEADWAY. But since there had not been time for this to be done, Lord Cecil was of the opinion that it would be better not to give further publicity to the matter by printing the correspondence in the February number.

Mr. Macdonald reported that the Liverpool District Council, whose area included a large number of Roman Catholics, were anxious that some action should be taken by the Union in order that its position in this matter might be made clear; and after discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That Lord Cecil be asked to discuss with the Dean of Chichester and Mr. Macdonald the situation arising out of Cardinal Hinsley's resignation and to suggest what, if any, action the Union might take."

On Minute 392 — Mr. Eden, a letter from Mr. Eden, dated January 30th, was read, thanking the Executive for their invitation but regretting that pressure of work prevented him from accepting.

5. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Executive received resolutions from the Hitchurch (Salop) Branch, the Teddington Methodist Circuit, the Romford Branch and the Winchcombe Branch. It was

RESOLVED: (1) That the Hitchurch (Salop) Branch be thanked for their resolution and their attention drawn to the Statement of Policy in its amended form adopted by the General Council at its December meeting.

(2) That the resolution of the Teddington Methodist Circuit be received with thanks and be referred to the Refugees Committee for consideration and report.

(3) That the Romford Branch be thanked for their resolution and be reminded of the

S:265a  
8.12.38THE COLONIAL PROBLEMI. AFRICA

E

Note by the Mandates Committee of the League of Nations Union. 5.12.38.

The question of the government of Africa is a matter of worldwide concern. It is complicated by a diplomatic problem raised by Germany's demand for the return of the colonies she possessed before the war.

In the present state of affairs in Europe it does not seem to us either likely or desirable on diplomatic grounds that this claim should be entertained. Even if circumstances alter, the question should be discussed only as part of a general settlement, which must include disarmament under international control and inspection.

In any case, the diplomatic convenience of the European Powers ought not to be the primary consideration in this question. The main issue at stake is the future of the native peoples of Africa. This must be treated on its merits. The racial philosophy of the present German regime would result in the permanent relegation of Africans to the position of inferior and subject races; which is the direct opposite of the mandatory conception.

This Committee believes that the following principles apply to the government of Africa:

1. The British Government should work out the solution of the colonial problem for themselves and judge the suitable time to begin negotiations on it, so that the initiative may rest with them. They should have a definite plan to lay before the parties concerned.

NOTE: Those are:

- (1) The Principal Allied and Associated Powers:— Britain, France, Italy, Japan, United States of America.
- (2) The League Council.
- (3) Other Mandatory Powers: South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, Belgium.
- (4) Powers ruling African territories: Portugal, Spain.
- (5) Other Powers that may be interested, such as Germany.

P.T.O.

resolution on the Far East adopted by the General Council at its December meeting and communicated to H.M. Government.

- (4) That the Winchcombe Branch be thanked for their resolution and be reminded of the resolution on the non-Political Activities of the League and of the Statement of Policy adopted by the General Council at its December meeting.

6. MINORITIES COMMITTEE. The Committee had before them the minutes of the Minorities Committee dated December 14th, 1938. Subject to the following decision on minute 11, the minutes were approved and adopted.

These minutes included:

On Minute 11 — The Ukrainians, Lord Cecil expressed doubt whether the Executive should make representations to H.M. Government on the lines suggested unless it was prepared to support the full policy of assisting Poland if the need arose. He would prefer to see the Executive consult with the Foreign Office in order to ascertain what the position in regard to the Ukrainians really was and what action, if any, the Union might take.

After considerable discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That consideration of Minute 11 be adjourned; and that Dr. Murray and Miss White be asked to consult officials at the Foreign Office in regard to the situation in the Polish Ukraine and possible action by the Union, and to report to the Executive."

7. COLONIAL PROBLEM. The Executive had before them the Statement of Principles revised in the light of their discussion on December 15th (S.265a). It was

RESOLVED: "That the Statement of Principles be approved and adopted, and be supplied in response to inquiries on the subject from Branch Secretaries and others."

8. LEAGUE SECRETARIAT. A letter dated December 23rd, written on behalf of M. Avenol, was read to the Executive, acknowledging the resolution adopted by the General Council at its December meeting, and stating that a copy of the Report of the Budgetary Economics Committee would be sent to the Executive so soon as it was ready, from which M. Avenol hoped they would recognise that it was the strong desire of the Budgetary Committee that Economics should be so effected as not to have the untoward results referred to at the end of the Council's resolution.

P.T.O.

2. The purpose of European administration of subject races must be to further the welfare and development of those peoples until they are capable of self-government. This aim is safe-guarded by the mandatory system.
3. International supervision of colonial government should be extended in Africa to the whole region bounded on the North by the Deserts and on the South by South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. This is the part of Africa whose climate and geography make it unsuited for the settlement of white races. The African mandated areas lie within it. It includes also the Conventional Basin of the Congo, where certain rules such as the Open Door, freedom of conscience, prohibition of the traffic in liquor and arms, are applied by international agreement under the Brussels Act. That agreement might be extended to include the whole area.
4. Within those boundaries, a consortium of the Powers concerned acting in consultation with the Mandates Commission, should agree upon the broad lines of policy to be followed. The actual administration of the different territories should be left in the hands of separate states, though nationals of other countries should be eligible for government services. The whole system should be supervised by the Mandates Commission, which provides the independent and expert authority required.
5. Some conditions are already accepted as essential to good government. They fall into two divisions, safeguards for the general interest, including that of non-African countries, and safeguards for the interests of the natives. Among the former are the "Open Door", that is, equal opportunity for foreign nations in commerce, industry, settlement and competition for contracts for public works; freedom of conscience, prohibition of naval, military and air bases. The latter include the safeguarding of native rights in land; conditions of labour consistent with the International Labour Organisation standards; the prohibition of conscription of natives except for local service and police purposes; the prohibition of evils such as slavery and the slave-trade, traffic in arms and liquor.
6. Britain has adopted "consultation with the inhabitants" and "full acquiescence" as the principles to be applied in considering the transfer of the Protectorates of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland. They are equally applicable to any other territorial readjustments in Africa.

Lord Cecil stated that he had written a personal letter to Lord Halifax, dealing with the general question of reductions in the League's expenditure and with the particular proposals regarding Dr. Rajchman and the withdrawal of assistance to China. Lord Halifax had said in reply that the proposed reductions were an inevitable consequence of the present position of the League, that there had been a strong feeling at the last Assembly in favour of economy, that the Budgetary Committee had thereupon been appointed, and that he personally thought some reduction of expenditure was necessary if a complete collapse of the League was not to take place. He added that he thought the proposed reductions would not, in any way, interfere with the League's activities but that they might provide an opportunity for recasting the organisation of the secretariat in order to make it more effective, and he promised to look into the matter when he went to Geneva.

The Chairman drew attention to the passage contained in the report of the Budgetary Committee which stated that the termination of appointments was to be proceeded with immediately without waiting for the approval of the Council or Assembly.

Mrs. Corbett Ashby, who had just returned from Geneva, reported a conversation with M. Avenol on the subject, and said that the International Women's Organisations had written to every individual member of the Council, asking them to consider the possible effect of the proposed re-organisation and reminding them that it was the social services of the League which would provide the core for further developments. After considerable discussion, it was

RESOLVED: "That Lord Cecil be asked to write a further letter to Lord Halifax, drawing his attention to the grave unrest which the proposed dismissals are causing in the Secretariat, and stating that the Union views with dismay the apparent attempt in the cause of economy to withdraw assistance to China and the proposal to reduce the social services at a time when they constitute the most important aspect of the League's work."

9. REFUGEES. Mrs. Dugdale reminded the Executive of the circumstances in which the proposed deputation, which was to have waited upon the Home Secretary before Christmas, had had to be postponed. She thought it was now becoming more than ever clear that it was impossible for voluntary organisations to deal with the vast problem of refugees and that it was essential that governmental action should be taken in the matter. She referred to the letter which appeared over the signatures of Captain Cazalet, Mr. David Grenfell, Sir Arthur Salter and Miss Rathbone in the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN of 4th January, and to the leading article in THE TIMES of January 11th. There was nothing in the whole field of politics that the Union could more usefully do than to press for governmental action on the refugee question.



- 5 -

Miss Rathbone reported that every Member of the House of Commons had received an invitation to join the Parliamentary Refugees Committee, and some hundred Members had already accepted. The Executive of the Parliamentary Committee had met on the previous day and had considered a suggestion for a deputation to the Prime Minister. Miss Rathbone had suggested that, since the Union was proposing to take a deputation to H.M. Government, the Parliamentary Committee might be willing to join in a combined deputation.

Lord Cecil thought the domestic aspect of the refugee problem, although very important, was not primarily the concern of the Union and he was therefore not in favour of a deputation from the Union to the Home Office. The Union's aim should be to secure an international settlement of the refugee problem.

Mr. Arnold-Forster and General Spears supported Mrs. Dugdale and Miss Rathbone in the view that the domestic aspect should not be left solely to other societies. Mr. Arnold-Forster also drew attention to the article by Sir Arthur Salter in THE TIMES of 27th December, and stressed the need for a clearing house in the form of reception camps being provided in this country.

Lady Violet Bonham Carter suggested that if the Prime Minister were unwilling to receive a deputation, Sir John Simon might be asked to do so.

Lord Cecil urged that any action the Union took in this matter should be in full accord with the views of Lord Hailey and his Co-ordinating Committee, and after further discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That Mrs. Dugdale, on behalf of the Union, and Miss Rathbone, on behalf of the Parliamentary Committee, be asked to see Lord Hailey with a view to deciding what common action could best be taken in regard to the Refugee problem, and to report to the Executive."

10. REPORT ON BY-ELECTIONS. A report on the recent By-Elections in Doncaster, Bridgwater, West Lewisham and Kinross and West Perthshire (S.298) was received.
11. CZECHOSLOVAKIA: THE INSTALLATIONS. A memorandum (S.300) prepared in accordance with the request contained in Minute 393 of the last meeting was considered. In reply to a suggestion that the memorandum might form the basis of an article in HEADWAY, Mr. le Prevost stated that he was already negotiating with a writer in Czechoslovakia for an article dealing with the present situation in that country and would consider whether parts of the memorandum might be incorporated in it.

- 6 -

After discussion, during which it was suggested that further questions on the subject should be asked in Parliament, it was

RESOLVED: "That specific questions, based on the memorandum, be prepared and, together with the memorandum, be communicated through the Parliamentary Committee to Members of Parliament."

12. SPAIN. Dr. Murray read to the Executive a cablegram WHICH he had received from thirty Professors of Spanish Universities denouncing the recent bombing of Barcelona, and which he had communicated to the Press, the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford and to the Master of Balliol.
13. THE FAR EAST. The following extract from a letter received by Mr. Geoffrey Hender from a correspondent in Burma was read:

"Everything in Burma is very much upset owing to the Yang-tse and Canton rivers being closed, practically the only way to get things into China is through Burma. A British ship arrived from Russia recently with 55,000 cases — chiefly guns and machine guns — and there is a Norwegian ship also in the harbour with a full cargo of munitions. These are the forerunners of a great fleet — bringing upwards of 10,000 motor lorries to ply on the road between Lashio (the rail head) and Yunnan Fu."

*H. D. Century*  
 Chairman  
 19/1/39.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT No. 14  
GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1., ON THURSDAY, JANUARY 19TH  
1939, at 11 a.m.

PRESENT: Miss K.D. Courtney (in the Chair), Lady Violet Bonham  
Carter, F.M. Burris, Lord Cecil, Lord Dickinson,  
Admiral Drury-Lowe, Miss P.G. Fawcett, Lady Gladstone,  
E. Wallis Jones, J. Macdonald, Dr. Gilbert Murray, W.T.  
Pritchard, Major Lawrence Wright, together with Mr.  
D.H. Mills.

14. APPOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Vyvyan Adams, Mrs. Beale,  
Major Huxton, Mrs. Dugdale, Arthur Henderson, J. Keyser, Lady  
Layton, Miss M. Lloyd George, Lord Lytton, General Spears, R.R.  
Stokes, H.S. Syrett, and F.W. Weaver.
15. MINUTES. The minutes of the Committee dated January 12th, 1939,  
were confirmed as circulated.
16. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 4 - 391 - Resignation of Cardinal Hinsley.

Mr. Macdonald suggested that a note should be included in  
the next circular letter to Branch Secretaries concerning  
the resignation of Cardinal Hinsley and the Union's  
position in the matter. Lord Cecil stated that, owing to  
his absence from London, he had been unable to discuss with  
the Dean of Chichester and Mr. Macdonald the question of  
further action by the Union, but when he had done so he  
would inform the Secretary what, in his opinion, it was  
desirable to say to Branches on the subject.

On Minute 6 - The Ukrainians. Dr. Murray reported that he  
and Miss White had seen an official of the Foreign Office  
on January 17th, who had agreed that the report and draft  
resolution submitted by the Minorities Committee was  
orthodox and correct according to the Covenant and the  
Minorities Treaties, but who confirmed the doubts of the  
Executive concerning the wisdom of passing any such resolu-  
tion at the present time. Amongst other things he said that  
since Poland had practically repudiated the Minorities  
Treaties, neither this country nor the League of Nations  
could use any influence with Poland unless they were able  
to assure her of their support if it were needed. After  
discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the Minorities Committee be asked, in the  
light of Dr. Murray's report, to reconsider the  
resolution contained in minute 11 of December  
14th, and to report further to the Executive".

On Minute 8 - League Secretariat. Lord Cecil read to the  
Committee extracts from a letter he had written to Lord  
Halifax on January 12th, as well as extracts from the  
Foreign Secretary's reply, in which he had said:

"It is an unfortunate fact that not only has the  
League's income declined through the withdrawal of  
certain countries, but that many Members of the League  
want the unit, on which contributions are based,  
actually reduced. But with the fall in membership,  
the present expenditure can only be met by an increase  
in the unit, which would certainly be strongly opposed...

The reason why it is necessary to go ahead at once with certain reductions in the staff, which the Budgetary Committee, in accordance with the wishes of the Assembly, put forward as one among the possibilities of immediately curtailing expenditure, is that if the re-organisation and consequent staff reductions are postponed for some months, the compensation due to the people who have to go will fall on the 1940 budget, and therefore cancel out the economies to be made in it. Only by taking the necessary steps at once and paying the compensation out of the credits for salaries in 1939 is it possible to make the necessary economies in the 1940 budget. Avenol also feels, and I think that there is force in what he says, that it is really kinder and also better for the work of the Secretariat to put through the re-organisation at once rather than to leave everybody in a state of uncertainty.

As regards the merits of the proposed re-organisation of the Health, Opium and Social Sections, the considered opinion of the members of the Government departments in London most familiar with the work of these Sections of the Secretariat is that it should be all to the good to put them under a single head, provided that he is a first-class administrator. I do not think that you need have any fear that the re-organisation will cripple the technical activities of the League. This is very far from Avenol's intention. It is clear to him as to us all, that with the restriction of the political activities of the League, it is precisely these educational, social and humanitarian activities of the League that must be maintained and developed. The budgetary reductions proposed will not mean a restriction of activity, and indeed it is difficult to see why the proposed re-grouping of sections with a consequent simplification of administration should prejudice the work in the way you apprehend."

It was

RESOLVED: "That Lord Cecil be asked warmly to thank Lord Halifax for his courteous and detailed reply."

17. **BRANCH RESOLUTION.** The Executive received a resolution from the **GODALMING BRANCH** urging H.M. Government not to promote the Italian invasion of Spain or the still incomplete conquest of Ethiopia by granting financial or other facilities to the Italian Government.

The Chairman reported a communication from Mr. Arnold Forster, who had lately seen two people who spoke with authority on the subject, both of whom attached great importance to this question, owing to the Italian lack of foreign currency. The Italian Government were anxious to get a substantial advance in sterling in return for concessions they would make concerning the use of Lake Tsana water (for Egypt and the Sudan). If H.M. Government gave the financial assistance desired they would, in effect, be facilitating the invasion of the Sudan. It was

RESOLVED: "That the Godalming Branch be informed that the Executive recognise the importance of the question they have raised, that they be thanked for having passed the resolution and for having telegraphed it to the Prime Minister."

18. **REFUGEES.** The Chairman reported that Mrs. Dugdale and Miss **REYNOLDS** had arranged to meet Lord Hailey and Mrs. Ormerod at the new offices of the Co-ordinating Committee on January 23rd. Miss Courtney would be present at the interview and it was hoped that Lord Lytton would also attend.

The Chairman further reported on the meeting of the Refugees Committee held on 13th January, 1939, when practically all the societies represented had, orally or in writing, expressed their appreciation of the work of the Committee and their desire that it should continue.

RESOLVED: "That the minutes of the Refugees Committee of 13th January be approved."

19. SPAIN AND THE MEDITERRANEAN. The Secretary of the I.P.C. reported arrangements for a deputation which the I.P.C. were arranging on January 24th and which the Prime Minister, Mr. Eden, Mr. Winston Churchill, Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Alfred Barnes (President of the Co-operative Party), Mr. Attlee, Sir Archibald Sinclair and a representative of the Trade Union Congress had been invited to receive. The deputation would include some 350 persons and would be divided into two parties. It would deal with three issues, viz: supply of arms for Spain, protection of British shipping, and the immediate withdrawal of German and Italian troops. The Prime Minister had been unable to see his way to receive the deputation, but Sir Archibald Sinclair and Mr. Alfred Barnes had accepted the invitation. Replies had not yet been received from Mr. Eden, Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Winston Churchill. It was hoped that members of the Executive would support the deputation.

Lady Gladstone reported that at a recent meeting of the Executive of the Women's Liberal Federation a resolution had been passed protesting against the Prime Minister's undemocratic action in refusing to receive the deputation of prominent citizens from over 300 constituencies organised by the Spanish Emergency Committee at the beginning of the month.

Mr. Wallis Jones suggested that the present situation in Spain, following the Rome conversations, called for a further resolution from the Executive Committee for the guidance of Union Branches.

Lord Cecil thought there was difficulty in drafting a resolution which would cover the whole ground. He would prefer to see a statement issued which could deal more fully with the situation following the Rome Conversations.

After the Executive had been reminded of the resolutions on Spain, adopted by the General Council in December, 1938 and in June and December, 1939, it was

RESOLVED: "That Lord Cecil be asked to draft, for signature by himself and Dr. Murray, a letter for circulation to the Union's Branch Secretaries early next week dealing with the international situation as a whole following the Rome conversations."

20. THE SECRETARY. The Committee learned with regret of Major Freshwater's ill-health, and the Chairman was asked to convey to him the Committee's best wishes for his speedy recovery and their hope that he would not return to duty until his medical adviser was satisfied that his recovery was complete.

*Lyllion*  
Chairman  
January 26th, 1939

THE ROME MEETING AND AFTER

At the League of Nations the meetings of statesmen took place as matters of routine and without advertisement. It illustrates one of the many disadvantages of Europe's general relapse into pre-League methods, that the Rome meeting had to be an exceptional enterprise, widely advertised and watched by different nations with conflicting hopes and fears. We are assured that no request was put forward by either side, and consequently none accepted or refused. Such a purely negative result is no doubt, in view of what might have happened, a matter of congratulation, but makes a poor impression after so much advertisement.

On the other hand, from the point of view of the League Cause, which is all that concerns the Union, there is much to be regretted in the meeting. It took place at one of the most critical moments of the Spanish struggle. It was common knowledge that Italian troops and Italian munitions had been in the forefront of the late drive against the Friendly Government of Spain. The Italian press had gloried in the fact, in spite of the many assurances given to the Non-Intervention Committee that if the Spanish Government dispensed with outside assistance, Italian help to the Spanish insurgents would cease. Nevertheless, our Ministers went to Rome and treated the Italian Government, to say the least of it, as if they were without reproach in international affairs. Our Prime Minister proposed the health of the head of that Government expressly naming him as Emperor of Ethiopia, though the people of that country, by all accounts, are still rightly struggling to be free.

Even these advances, however, did not produce any cordiality from Signor Mussolini. His speech in reply was cold. His interviews with the British Ministers were so brief as to be almost perfunctory, and he markedly absented himself from Rome for the second day of their visit. His object had been, no doubt, to make it appear that the British Empire was an accessory to Italian international crime and a suppliant for Italian favour.

P.T.O.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 15 GROSVENOR GARDENS, LONDON, S.W.1, ON THURSDAY, JANUARY 26TH, 1939, AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Wyvan Adams, M.P., P.J. Noel Baker, M.L.A., Major Anthony Buxton, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Lord Cecil, Miss Courtney, Admiral Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Fawcett, Lady Gladstone, J. Macdonald, Dr. Murray, W.T. Pritchard, Miss Rathbone, H.F. Shaw, H.S. Syrett, E. Wallis-Jones *Angus MacIntyre*

21. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Sir John Harris, Sir Arthur Haworth, Lady Layton, Miss M. Lloyd George, G. le M. Mander, M.P., and R.R. Stokes, M.P.
22. MINUTES. The minutes of the Committee dated January 18th, 1939, were confirmed as circulated.
23. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES

On Minute 16 -- 6 -- The Ukrainians, Dr. Murray stated that the Minorities Committee, at their meeting on January 23rd, had been informed of the interview which he and Miss White, at the Executive's request, had had with an official of the Foreign Office on January 17th. The Committee felt that since the purpose of their resolution on the subject of the Ukrainians had been well served by the interview, there was no further action for them to take.

On Minute 19 -- Spain, Mr. Macdonald reported on the deputations, organised by the I.P.C., which had been received by Mr. Attlee, Sir Archibald Sinclair and Mr. Alfred Barnes on January 24th.

Copies of the statement on THE ROME MEETING AND AFTER (S.318) drafted by Lord Cecil and Dr. Murray and circulated to the Union's Branch Secretaries, were placed before the Executive.

24. SIR ARCHIBALD SINCLAIR. The Chairman read to the Committee a letter he had received from Sir Archibald Sinclair, stating that since he found it increasingly difficult to attend the meetings of the Executive, he would prefer not to stand for re-election.

Lord Cecil suggested that there might be a new class of members consisting of people of eminence who were supporters of the Union but were unable to attend regular meetings of the Executive. Such members would receive the papers for the meetings of the Committee and be free to attend whenever they felt able to do so. A memorandum might be prepared on the technical aspect of this suggestion and how it would affect the provisions laid down in the Charter. It was, after discussion

## The Rome meeting and after. (Contd.)

- 2 -

We feel that in this case, as in others, recent British policy has not been based on any clear principle. It has consisted of a series of opportunist expedients for avoiding temporary difficulties as they arise, often with little regard to our international obligations or even our ultimate interests. So it was in the case of Czechoslovakia: so it still is in the case of China. In both these cases we were pledged as members of the League of Nations to do our best to secure their independence and integrity, and we did little or nothing. Czechoslovakia has been surrendered. But Spain and China still carry on their heroic efforts for freedom against ruthless and unprovoked invasion.

In Spain, where we have deprived the Spanish Government of its normal right to buy arms, on the principle that no foreign Power should intervene in the civil war, the Italian Government no longer even pretends to keep its pledge of non-intervention, while the Spanish Government has sent away all its foreign volunteers. It follows obviously — not that any nation should intervene in Spain against Italy, but that the ordinary rights of the Spanish Government should be restored. Incidentally, this seems to offer the only chance now left of securing that Armistice and Peace by Agreement which almost all Spaniards and men of goodwill outside Spain are united in desiring.

To China, we ought to give financial help and at the same time diminish the war strength of Japan by declining to buy her goods or to sell to her war materials. In other words, we ought to base our policy on the principles of the League of Nations, on respect for treaties and co-operation with other countries against aggression. We believe that it is only by a foreign policy of this kind that we can hope to secure continued peace, national security, and in the end international friendship.

CECIL  
GILBERT MURRAY

24.1.39

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Chairman be asked to write to Sir Archibald Sinclair, stating that the Executive were unanimous in desiring to retain his help on the Committee, and suggesting that, if he felt an obligation not only to the Executive but also to the local organisations in Scotland which had chosen him as their representative, he might allow himself to be co-opted to the Committee or be willing to serve in some such capacity as had been suggested by Lord Cecil."

(2) "That a memorandum be prepared dealing with the constitution and powers of the Executive and Lord Cecil's suggestion."

25. FINANCE COMMITTEE. The minutes of the Committee dated January 17th, 1939, were received.

On Minute 7 — Library. Mr. Syrett deprecated special appeals being made to Branches and individual members on behalf of the Library.

Dr. Murray thought that, in view of the Council's attitude the Executive were under an obligation to continue the Library after the expiry of the three months for which provision had been made in the 1939 Budget. Arrangements were being made for an appeal to certain educational bodies and trusts; a draft had been prepared for which it was hoped to obtain the signatures of influential people who commanded respect in the educational world. If that appeal succeeded it would relieve the burden on the Executive of providing for the Library out of the normal budget.

After further discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That in the opinion of the Executive Committee the Library should be retained on its present scale after the expiry of the three months for which provision has been made in the 1939 Budget; that the Finance Committee be informed of this and of the action, described by Dr. Murray above, which is being taken with a view to raising additional money."

Mr. Syrett expressed the hope that the Finance Committee would, in these circumstances, be able to find the necessary money for the Library; if not, he would report further to the Executive.

26. CHAIRMANSHIP OF LEAGUE COUNCIL. The Executive considered a memorandum prepared by Lord Lytton, in accordance with Minute 367 of December 22nd, 1938, and containing suggestions for altering the procedure for the appointment of Chairmen of the League Council. The Committee were reminded that notice had already been given of the Executive's intention to move a resolution on this subject at the Spring meetings of the International Federation.

Major Buxton thought that the proposals contained in the memorandum would affect the whole legal constitution of the Council. Lord Cecil pointed out that, under Article 4 of the Covenant, a Chairman of the Council appointed on the lines proposed could not be a member of the Council. He thought the suggested alterations in procedure would have immense advantages, but he doubted whether they would be acceptable to the Continental mind. Moreover, he thought some means should be found of preserving the rights of the South American States.

After further discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That consideration of this matter be adjourned; and that the Chairman be asked, in consultation with Lord Cecil, Dr. Murray, Major Buxton, Mr. Noel Baker and Mrs. Dugdale, to revise the memorandum and to draft a resolution for consideration by the Executive at its next meeting."

27. REFUGEES. Mrs. Dugdale reported that Lord Lytton and representatives of the Union's Refugee Committee, together with representatives of the Parliamentary Refugee Committee, had met Lord Hailey, Chairman of the Co-ordinating Committee, on January 24th. Sir Herbert Emerson, the new League High Commissioner, who was also present, took an active part in the discussion. Practically everyone was agreed on the basic principle that the Government must be asked not to leave the refugee question entirely in the hands of the voluntary societies. It was decided to make preparations for communicating with the Government on this subject, either by means of a deputation or otherwise. But it was felt that it was better to adjourn a definite approach to the Government until the outcome of the negotiations now proceeding between Mr. Rublee and the Germans was known.

Lord Lytton said that it had also been decided to organise an immediate deputation to the Home Secretary on the subject of providing visas for those refugees from Czechoslovakia who were in urgent need. The deputation would consist of people who had been to Czechoslovakia and had first-hand knowledge of the situation there.

Reference was made to a report issued by the Royal Institute of International Affairs in favour of governmental action on the refugee problem which was reviewed in THE TIMES that morning.

Mrs. Dugdale added that she and Mr. Porter Goff were to see Sir Herbert Emerson on February 3rd to consult with him about the possibilities of inter-governmental action.

28. CHINA CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE. A letter was reported from the China Campaign Committee regarding a conference which they were proposing to hold on Saturday, January 28th,



with a view to launching a BUY NO SILK movement. Lady Gladstone expressed her willingness to attend the Conference as an observer from the Union.

29. SPAIN. The Committee discussed the present situation in regard to Spain.

Miss Rathbone read a draft letter which she had sent to the Council of Action and which she suggested might form the basis of an appeal to be signed by influential persons and sent to the Government. The letter urged that, in the event of Barcelona falling to the insurgents, (1) as many as possible of those in serious danger should be removed in British warships or otherwise aided to escape into France or to take refuge in the British Embassy; (2) that the British Minister and Diplomatic Staff should immediately return to Barcelona for the purpose of exercising such influence as they could on the treatment of the population; (3) that the International Commission for Child Refugees, to which H.M. Government was about to make a further grant of £20,000, should itself with a strengthened staff proceed at once to Barcelona in order to act as observers.

Dr. Murray and Lord Cecil considered it of the greatest importance to have independent observers in Barcelona after its occupation by General Franco.

Miss Courtney stated that the International Commission were meeting in Paris during the week-end, but she reminded the Committee that, since the function of the Commission was to feed Refugees, it had to be available in the places where such refugees were in large numbers, and since it administered Government money it had been very careful to preserve itself from any suspicion of taking a particular view.

After further discussion it was agreed to ask Dr. Murray personally to inform the Foreign Office of the anxiety felt by the Executive in this matter and to enquire whether they were taking any steps with a view to arranging for observers to be present in Barcelona after its occupation by General Franco. Mr. Noel Baker and Miss Courtney were also asked privately to make representations on the subject to the International Commission.

A telegram which Lord Cecil had received from a number of Methodist Episcopalian Bishops in America was placed before the Committee, and it was suggested that this should be communicated to the Foreign Office.

A letter from the Hull Branch was read, asking the Union to make petitions not only to H.M. Government but also to the Governments of the U.S.A. and France for the supply of arms to the Spanish Government. The Executive also had before them a resolution adopted by the Bournville Works Branch pressing for the removal of the arms embargo.

Mr. Noel Baker thought we were rapidly approaching a crisis more grave and more immediately dangerous to this country than the crisis of last September. The best hope of postponing the crisis or of strengthening the position of this country, if it were bound to happen, lay in the supply of arms to the Spanish Government even at the present late hour. He hoped the Executive would press strongly for such action.

The Chairman reminded the Committee that it was not within the province of the Union to communicate with Governments outside this country, and that H.M. Government were well acquainted with the Union's view in this matter from the many resolutions which had been sent to them from the Executive Committee and the General Council. Moreover, he thought it unlikely in the present situation that, even if the embargo were removed, any country would be in a position to supply arms to Spain.

Lord Cecil stated that a mass meeting was being held in Paris that evening in support of arms for Spain and the opening of the Pyrenean frontier, to which he had been asked to send a message.

After further discussion it was

RESOLVED<sup>X</sup> "That Lord Cecil be asked to write a letter to H.M. Government and for publication in the press, urging the withdrawal of the embargo on arms for the Spanish Government,<sup>X</sup> referring to the mass meeting in Paris and the telegram from the American Bishops, and using if possible the communications from the Hull and Bourneville Branches."

*Lytton*

CHAIRMAN

February 2nd, 1939

COMPOSITION OF THE EXECUTIVEBye-Law 8

The General Council shall at its Annual General Meeting elect an Executive Committee, which shall consist of not more than thirty members of the Union. Additional members, not exceeding twenty in number, may be co-opted by the Executive Committee.

Bye-Law 9

The Executive Committee shall be responsible for the conduct of all the affairs of the Union subject to any directions given by the General Council.

By a decision of the General Council in June 1927, the names of only thirty people are placed before it for election to the Executive Committee. These thirty people are chosen by Postal Ballot.

The names of the existing members of the Executive who are prepared to serve again are, about the beginning of February, sent to the local organisations represented on the General Council and the individual members of the Council together with an invitation to propose additional members of the Union for appointment to the Executive. Additional proposals have to be accompanied by signed statements that the persons proposed are prepared to accept membership of the Committee and to attend its (fortnightly) meetings regularly.

The names of the existing members of the Committee, together with any additional ones received by a given date are, in accordance with a decision of the General Council of June 1931, to be arranged in separate lists - General and Regional.

Of the thirty to be submitted to the Council for election to the Executive, 17 are to be chosen by postal ballot from the General list and 13 from the Regional list; these 13 are to possess personal experience of the work of a branch, district, regional or National Council within the area to be represented.

The Committee elected by the General Council at its Annual Meeting co-opts up to twenty additional members. Although it is not prescribed that these twenty shall undertake the obligations required from elected members concerning regular attendance, it is the general practice of the Executive to ask those it co-opts to undertake that obligation. Sir Arthur Salter, General Temperly and Captain Liddell Hart have however been co-opted without that obligation the idea being that they will attend when subjects about which they have specialised knowledge are being considered.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 14 GROSVENOR GREEN, LONDON, S.W.1, ON THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 2ND, 1939 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams, M.P., P.J. Noel Baker, M.P., Lady Violet Bonham-Carter, Major Anthony Buxton, Captain Cazalet, M.P., Lord Cecil, Miss Corcoran, Miss Courtney, Admiral Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Duggale, Miss Fancett, W. Arnold-Forster, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, A. Henderson, M.P., J.A. Keyser, J. Macdonald, G. Le M. Mender, M.P., Dr. Murray, H. Nicolson, M.P., W.T. Pritchard, Miss Rethone, M.P. and E.F. Wallis-Jones *Chairman*

30. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Mrs. Beale, P.M. Burris, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Sir Arthur Haworth, Lady Layton, R.R. Stokes, E.B. Syrett and E.W. Weaver.
31. MINUTES. The minutes of the Committee dated January 26th, 1939, were confirmed as circulated.
32. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES

On Minute 24 - Sir Archibald Sinclair, the Chairman reported a conversation he had had with Sir Archibald Sinclair on the previous day, when he had told him of the practice already followed by the Executive in the case of certain co-opted members of the Committee who were under no obligation to attend regularly the weekly meetings but who received the papers and were asked to attend whenever subjects of which they had specialised knowledge were being considered. Reference had also been made to the suggestion made by Lord Cecil at the last meeting that the Executive might form a new category of people who would not be full members of the Committee with voting power but who would receive the papers and attend whenever they wished or were specially invited to do so. Lord Davies was already in this position. The new category might consist of a few of the Union's Vice-Presidents, e.g. Sir Archibald Sinclair, Mr. Eden, Mr. Winston Churchill and a front-bench Labour man. Sir Archibald had said that he would welcome the opportunity of being included in such a category if the Executive decided to adopt this course; otherwise he would be ready to accept co-optation on the terms suggested by the Chairman.

A note on the Composition and Powers of the Executive (S.329) was placed before the Committee, and attention was drawn to the fact that, as neither the Joint Presidents nor the Chairman formed part of the thirty elected or twenty co-opted members as prescribed in Bye-Law 8, they were not technically members of the Committee and therefore had no power to vote.

Section 7 (continued)

- (b) The Annual General Conference shall pass no resolutions except those relating to internal administration. Branches of U.N.A. may effect policy through resolutions to the General Council of the U.N.A..
  - (c) The date and place of the Annual General Conference shall be decided each year by the executive committee. The conference shall discuss reports from member societies and plan action for the forthcoming year. It shall also plan a week's Summer School to be held in Great Britain or on the Continent each year.
  - (d) At the Annual General Conference, observers with the right to speak, but not to vote, may be admitted to the meetings at the discretion of the Conference.
  - (e) The Annual General Conference may elect Honorary Vice-Presidents.
  - (f) The Annual General Conference shall appoint auditors for the coming year.
8. Annual Congress. There shall be an annual congress to receive, consider and pass resolutions upon international affairs. These resolutions are not binding upon the U.N.S.A. as a corporate body, but upon the congress alone. They shall be circulated to interested bodies.

Power Ballot

86

Power Ballot

S.329.  
(Contd.)

The Presidents of the Union are treated and act as if they were members of the Executive in accordance with Bye-Law 8 and for the purpose of Bye-Law 9. It is for consideration whether or not if they are neither elected as part of the thirty nor co-opted as part of the twenty (Bye-Law 8) they have power to vote at meetings of that body of not more than 50 members which, under Bye-Law 9 is "responsible for the conduct of all the affairs of the Union".

The position of the Chairman of the Executive is somewhat similar. He is an Officer of the Union appointed by the General Council. If he is neither elected as one of the thirty nor co-opted as one of the twenty (Bye-Law 8) is he a member of the Executive in the sense of being entitled to vote?

It was suggested that since only thirty members of the Executive could be elected by Postal Ballot the number of names submitted for nomination in the Ballot should not greatly exceed that number.

After further discussion it was

- RESOLVED: (1) "That a special category of Vice-Presidents be formed who would be asked to receive the papers for each meeting of the Executive and to attend the meetings whenever they felt able to do so or were specially invited by the Executive, and that Sir Archibald Sinclair, Mr. Eden and Mr. Winston Churchill be invited to serve in this capacity."
- (2) "That when nominations for the election of Vice-Presidents are being discussed by the Executive for submission to the General Council, the name of Mr. A.V. Alexander be considered."
- (3) "That the Secretary be asked to write to Captain Liddell Hart, Brig.-General Temperley and Sir Arthur Salter, stating that it is not proposed to submit their names for election to the Executive Committee in the postal ballot for 1939/40; but expressing the hope that they will allow themselves, as in the past, to be co-opted to the Executive on the understanding that they are under no obligation to be present at the weekly meetings but that they will attend wherever subjects about which they have specialised knowledge are being considered."

On Minute 28 - China Campaign Committee, Lady Gladstone reported on the conference organised by the China Campaign Committee on January 28th, and stated that a public meeting to launch the BUY NO SILK campaign was to be held at the end of February at which she had promised to take the Chair. In view of the fact that practically all silk on the British market was of Japanese origin at least in part, the public were to be urged to buy British rayon instead. It was stated that the import of Japanese silk into America had recently dropped by 50 per cent. Lady Gladstone added that it had been proposed that speakers from the China Campaign Committee might be invited to speak at Union meetings on the subject, and that it had been suggested that the Secretary of the China Campaign Committee should be asked to discuss this matter with the Secretary of the Union.

Lord Cecil suggested that the proposed campaign should be brought before the Women's Advisory Council as soon as possible, and that drawing-room meetings might usefully be held on the subject.

On Minute 29 - Spain, Miss Courtney reported a conversation she had had with Miss Ewe and said that the International Commission were very conscious of the need for watching the present situation in Barcelona and it was probable that two independent observers would go there.

Dr. Murray reported a conversation he had had with Lord Halifax's secretary. A telegram had been sent to the British Consul asking him and his staff specially to watch the behaviour of General Franco's troops and to let General Franco know that this was being done. In the opinion of H.M. Government, General Franco realised that the eyes of the world were upon him at the present time and this fact would probably influence his behaviour.

It was reported that one of the Union's Branches had asked permission to reprint in the local paper the statement on THE ROME MEETING AND AFTER written by Lord Cecil and Dr. Gilbert Murray. The Committee, having been reminded that the statement had already appeared in the February number of HEADWAY, saw no objection to its publication in the local press.

Mr. Macdonald reported on a deputation from Manchester and Liverpool which had been unsuccessful in reaching the Prime Minister but which had waited upon the local Members of Parliament and urged the withdrawal of the arms embargo on the Spanish Government.

33. ADMINISTRATION COMMITTEE. A report on action taken by the Administration Committee (C.97 of 30.1.39) was received.
34. MINORITIES COMMITTEE. The minutes of the Committee dated 23rd January 1939 were considered.

On Minute 4 - Volksgruppe, the Executive were reminded of the action taken on this subject by the International Federation at its Copenhagen meeting. Several members of the Committee were of the opinion that no communication should be made to the Federation unless it represented the agreed opinion of the Executive. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That no action be taken by the Executive on the two documents (3.328 and 327) submitted by the Minorities Committee; but that if that Committee desires a communication on the subject to be submitted by the Executive to the International Federation, it be asked to prepare a revised document for their consideration."

On Minute 5 - Anti-Jewish Legislation, the Chairman thought that little effect would be produced by the Executive merely repeating to H.M. Government the resolution adopted by the International Federation at Copenhagen. He suggested that members of the Committee who had studied the question should discuss the matter with officials of the Foreign Office and ascertain what the facts were and what action was being taken by H.M. Government. If, as a result of this discussion, it appeared that something more was needed, a deputation might be sent to the Foreign Secretary. It was

RESOLVED: "That Major Buxton, Captain Cazalet, Mrs. Dugdale, Mr. Henderson and Mr. Keyser be asked to discuss the matter with officials of the Foreign Office, and to report to the Executive."

Mr. Mander reported a communication from Senator Balla regarding the present critical situation of 1500 Jewish refugees who were being driven from the territory now occupied by Hungary. It was suggested that this communication should be referred to the Refugees Committee.

35. CHAIRMANSHIP OF LEAGUE COUNCIL. The Chairman reported that a revised version of the memorandum on the Procedure for Appointing Chairmen of the League Council was being prepared and would be submitted to the Executive at its next meeting.
36. AERIAL DISARMAMENT. The Executive gave further consideration to the memorandum from the Air Disarmament Committee (S-260) in the light of the reply received on 24th January from the Under-Secretary of State to the Executive's inquiry concerning the present state of the preparatory survey which, according to a statement by Mr. Eden (when Foreign Secretary) on February 2nd, 1938, was being undertaken by H.M. Government. The Committee also had before them the answers given by the Prime Minister to questions on the subject by Mr. Arthur Henderson on 14th December.

Mr. Harold Nicolson expressed his readiness to make inquiries privately of H.M. Government on this subject, and it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That further consideration of the memorandum from the Air Disarmament Committee be adjourned pending a report from Mr. Harold Nicolson."

It was again suggested that a useful purpose might be served by an article in HEADWAY dealing with the whole question of aerial disarmament, and it was

RESOLVED: (2) "That this suggestion be communicated to the Editor of HEADWAY."



37. REFUGEES. Mrs. Dugdale asked the Committee to consider whether, in the proposed deputation to H.M. Government, it should be suggested that, following Lord Winterton's departure, some member of the Cabinet should be charged with refugee questions. She was of the opinion that a Ministry for Refugees was needed which would clearly define the different aspects of the Home Office work regarding aliens and the work to be done for the admission of refugees. Some separate mechanism was desirable for dealing with the many problems which would arise if H.M. Government approved a policy of mass immigration into this country.

The Chairman thought that, apart from the merits of the proposal, it would be premature to ask for a Ministry of Refugees at a time when the Government did not even admit that the refugee problem was their responsibility. The most urgent need at the moment was to concentrate on persuading H.M. Government that the problem was not one which the private organisations could deal with. When once that had been accepted, further action could be proposed.

Lord Cecil thought the whole subject required careful consideration by H.M. Government. The question of the admission of refugees involved grave dangers; on the one hand if they were not admitted to this country further horrors would be committed abroad. On the other hand, a policy of free admission might lead to an anti-Semitic or anti-alien movement in this country which would hamper operations. A definite policy was needed regarding the future of such refugees, and it was necessary to find some place to settle them permanently. He was shocked to learn that, at the present stage, H.M. Government were appointing another commission to go out to British Guinea in this connection. He suggested that Lord Lytton should be asked to raise the matter in the House of Lords.

The Chairman reminded the Committee of his readiness to take any action which the Refugee Committee recommended. If they wished the matter to be raised in the House of Lords and would supply him with the necessary information, he would do so. But he hoped he would not be asked to advocate a new Government department for refugees for the reasons he had already stated.

Miss Rathbone suggested that instead of a separate Government department, a Co-ordinating Minister for Refugees should be appointed to co-ordinate the work of the Foreign Office, the Home Office and the Ministry of Labour.

Mr. Noel Baker considered that the most urgent need was for adequate international machinery and hoped that full use would be made of the League's High Commissioner and his organisation.

Reference was made to a speech on the subject of Refugees delivered by Sir John Hope Simpson to a recent meeting of Chatham House. The Committee asked that copies of the speech should be circulated to them.

38. **HERR HITLER'S SPEECH.** Mr. Arnold-Forster expressed the hope that members of the Executive would read carefully the speech of Herr Hitler of January 31st, and pointed out that Hitler's promise of support for Italy was given in respect of offensive as well as defensive action. He drew attention to a translation of passages in the speech contained in the KÖLNISCHE ZEITUNG and to a German interpretation contained in the NEWS CHRONICLE, and suggested that copies of these should be circulated to the Executive for their information. This was agreed to.

*Lytton*

CHAIRMAN.

February 9th, 1939

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 15 GROSVENOR CRESCENT, S.W.1., ON THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 9TH, 1939, AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, P.J. Noel Baker, Mrs. E.P. Beale, Major Buxton, Captain Cazelet, Lord Cecil, Miss Judith Corcoran, Lord Dickinson, Vice-Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Philippa Fawcett, Miss Lloyd George, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, Sir Arthur Haworth, G. le M. Mander, Dr. Murray, W.T. Pritchard, Miss Rathbone, General Spears, F.W. Weaver, together with Major A.J.C. Freshwater.

39. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from F.M. Burris, Miss K.D. Courtney, W. Arnold Forster, Captain Liddell Hart, Wallis Jones, Lady Layton, J. Macdonald, Sir Arthur Salter, Sir Archibald Sinclair, R.R. Stokes, H.S. Syrett, and General Temperley.
40. MINUTES. The minutes of the Committee dated 2nd February 1939 were confirmed as circulated.
41. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 32 - (1) - Sir Archibald Sinclair.

It was reported that Sir Archibald Sinclair was in communication with the Union's local organisations in Scotland concerning his future position on the Executive Committee.

On Minute 34 (5) - Anti-Jewish Legislation.

Mrs. Dugdale reported that she and Captain Cazelet, Mr. Henderson and Mr. Keyser had been received by Mr. Randall, the League of Nations Adviser at the Foreign Office on February 6th, and had drawn attention to the urgent plight of the Jews in Poland, Hungary and Roumania, emphasising the importance of dealing with it at an early stage, if possible through the Evian Committee. Mr. Randall had pointed out that the League High Commission for Refugees had been deliberately merged with the Nansen Office for the purpose of dealing with non-German refugees. The Evian Committee could not at present take up the question of Polish, Hungarian or Rumanian Jews, because it was confined by its terms of reference to German Jews, and by natural extension, to Jews in Austria after the Anschluss. It was likely that its authority would very shortly be extended to cover also Sudeten refugees. The question did not end with the Foreign Office because other factors had to be taken into account. Mr. Randall, however, promised to bring the views of the deputation before Lord Winter-ton and the Secretary of State.

P.T.O.

On Minute 36 - Aerial Disarmament, the Chairman read to the Committee a letter he had received from Mr. Harold Nicolson, reporting his conversation with an official of the Foreign Office concerning the delay which had arisen in the completion of the survey and the initiation of the negotiations foreshadowed in Mr. Eden's statement in the House of Commons on 2nd February, 1938. It was

RESOLVED: "That the Secretary of the Air Disarmament Committee be thanked for communicating his memorandum to the Executive, and that he be informed that representations have been made to the Foreign Office but that the Executive has at present no further information than that given by the Prime Minister to Mr. Arthur Henderson's questions in the House of Commons on December 14th."

42. WOMEN'S ADVISORY COUNCIL. Lady Gladstone reported on minutes 706 (Statement of Policy), 707 (Refugees), and (708) (League Budget Economics) of the meeting dated 1st February, 1939. It was

RESOLVED: "That the resolutions of the Women's Advisory Council contained in minutes 707 and 708 be communicated, together with particulars of the composition of the W.A.C., to H.M. Government; and that the resolution in minute 708 be also communicated to the Secretary-General of the League for his information."

43. NATIONAL YOUTH COMMITTEE. The Executive considered minute 124 (National Union of Seamen Memorial Fund) of the meeting dated January 7th, 1939. It was

RESOLVED: "That the Youth Committee be informed that, while in full sympathy with the objects of the Memorial Fund, the Executive is unable to make a donation out of Union funds; but that it be left to individual members of the Committee to subscribe if they so desire."

44. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Executive received a resolution from the Church End Finchley Branch, and, while not objecting to the resolution felt that it would have been better, in view of the General Council's decision of June, 1934, if it had been submitted to the Executive before being communicated to the Prime Minister.

45. PROCEDURE FOR APPOINTING CHAIRMEN OF THE LEAGUE COUNCIL. The Executive had before them a revised draft of the memorandum prepared in accordance with minute 26, together with a draft resolution for submission to the International Federation. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the following resolution be approved and adopted for submission to the International

Federation at its forthcoming meeting:

"The League of Nations Union asks the International Federation of League of Nations Societies to consider the attached memorandum (S.333), recommending the appointment of a Chairman of the Council of the League of Nations in addition to the President, and to recommend it to the Societies as a suggestion to be laid before their respective Governments."

Major Buxton asked that his dissent from the above resolution should be recorded.

46. **EDUCATION COMMITTEE.** The Chairmen reported that the Officers of the Union had had one meeting with representatives of the Education Committee and that there were a number of matters which required further consultation. The proposals would not be submitted to the Executive until they were in such a form as the Officers approved and were prepared to recommend to the Executive.
47. **POLITICAL QUESTIONS.** With reference to minute 359 of November 24th, 1938, it was agreed that, unless the Executive should decide otherwise, political questions should be referred in cases of urgency to the Officers (i.e. the Presidents, Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Executive, Treasurer and Secretary) for consideration and report. When there was adequate time for consideration of such questions, they could be submitted, as in the past, to the Political Committee.
48. **REFUGEES.** Mrs. Dugdale presented the minutes of the Refugees Committee dated February 3rd, 1939 and reported on the conversation which she and Mr. Porter Goff had had with Sir Herbert Emerson on February 3rd.

**RESOLVED:** "That these minutes be approved and adopted; and that in regard to minute 3(c) the authorship of the proposed leaflet and article be left in the hands of the Refugees Committee in consultation with the Editor of HEADWAY."

Captain Cazelet reported a recent conversation he had had with Mr. Rublee, from which he gathered that Germany was very anxious to come to some agreement concerning the Jews.

Reference was made by Miss Rathbone to the leading article appearing in THE TIMES of February 3rd.

49. **SPAIN.** The Executive considered a draft resolution concerning the refugees from Spain (S.337) and after discussion it was

**RESOLVED:** (1) "In view of the tragic plight of the many thousands of refugees now pouring into France from Spain, and of the immense financial

burden thus imposed upon France, the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union wishes to assure H.M. Government of their support in any measures (including the immediate provision of supplies and personnel) which they may take to associate themselves with France in this work of human charity beyond the contribution of £40,000 already made which, while welcome as an indication of our willingness to co-operate, can hardly be called an adequate contribution to so great an emergency."

- (2) "That the above resolution be communicated to H.M. Government."

Miss Rathbone referred to a conference being held in Paris at the present time between representatives of the various organisations concerned in Spanish relief. She suggested that the Executive might be willing to join in any representations that might be made either by letter or personally to the Foreign Office to assist the French in this matter.

The Chairman said that the Union would, of course, be willing to associate itself with any other bodies in making representations in the sense of the above resolution.

Dr. Murray referred to a letter (S.339) which had been sent to the TIMES for publication and copies of which were circulated to the Executive. The letter had been drafted by Dr. Friederich Jensen and approved by Nurse Barton, who had both served for two years with the International Brigade in Spain, and had been signed by an English doctor. The Executive expressed the hope that if the letter were not published in THE TIMES it would be sent to the DAILY TELEGRAPH.

50. THE FAR EAST AND ABYSSINIA. Mr. Noel Baker drew attention to the present situation in the Far East. China was certainly very far from conquered and there was apparently a strong new movement of discontent in Japan. Any support given to China at the moment would be of extreme importance. He urged that through HEADWAY and in other ways renewed and continued attention should be directed to the situation in the Far East and to the necessity of supporting China with a Government loan. He further suggested that there might also be an article in HEADWAY giving the latest news with regard to the Abyssinian resistance which he understood was continuing this year even more successfully than last year.

The Chairman said that in regard to a loan for China he had had many conversations with the Chinese Ambassador and that there was nothing which he thought it advisable for the Union to do at the moment.

*L. J. M.*  
CHAIRMAN  
26. 16th 1939.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 14 GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W. 1<sup>st</sup> ON THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 16<sup>th</sup>, 1939 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams, The Duchess of Atholl, P.J. Noel Baker, Major Buxton, Captain Cazalet, Lord Cecil, Dean of Chichester, Miss Corcoran, Miss Courtney, Lord Dickinson, Vice-Admiral Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Fawcett, W. Arnold-Forster, Miss Lloyd George, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, A. Henderson, Dr. Kimmins, J. MacDonald, G. le M. Mander, Dr. Murray, W.T. Pritchard, E.P. Wallis Jones, Major Wright, together with Major Freshwater.

1. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Mrs. Beale, F.M. Barris, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Sir Arthur Haworth, Lady Layton, R.P. Stokes, M.P., and H.S. Syrett.
2. MINUTES. The minutes of the Committee dated February 9<sup>th</sup>, 1939 were confirmed as circulated.
3. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 41 - 32 — Sir Archibald Sinclair,

it was reported that Sir Archibald Sinclair and Mr. Winston Churchill had accepted the Executive's invitation to serve in the new category of Vice-Presidents who would receive the papers for each meeting of the Executive and would attend the meetings whenever they felt able to do so or were specially invited by the Executive. No reply had yet been received from Mr. Eden, but the Chairman had written to him again informing him that both Mr. Churchill and Sir Archibald Sinclair had accepted the Executive's invitation.

54. CHRISTIAN ORGANISATIONS COMMITTEE. The Dean of Chichester reported on minute 15 (Resignations from the Union) of the Committee dated February 8<sup>th</sup>, 1939.

Reference was made to speeches by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons on 28<sup>th</sup> September last concerning the application of Article 19, to statements by Lord Halifax, and to a speech delivered by Sir John Simon on 11<sup>th</sup> November, quotations from which, it was suggested, should be added to those contained in the Christian Organisations Committee's minute.

Miss Courtney thought that, if it were desired to make clear that the British Government did not wish to do away with Article 10 their attitude at the last Assembly, when the question of the reform of the League was under consideration, might be usefully quoted.

The Chairman saw nothing inconsistent with the policy of the Union in the suggested replies of the Christian Organisations Committee, but the precise wording of the replies would depend on individual cases. The Intelligence department should bring up to date the quotations contained in the minute.

Lord Cecil hoped that some such sentence as the following would be included in the replies: It is true that certain acts of the Government have seemed to the Union to be inconsistent with the principles of the League, and the Union has thought it right to urge that view. Criticism of certain acts of the Government did not necessarily mean criticism of the Government as a whole; so long as they professed that their policy was support of the League the Union had no desire to criticise them as a Government.

After further discussion it was

- RESOLVED: (1) "That the Dean of Chichester be asked to inform the Christian Organisations Committee of the Executive's discussion on this matter, and particularly of Lord Cecil's proposed addition to the suggested replies to members raising the question of their relations with the Union".
- (2) "That the quotations contained in the Christian Organisations Committee's minute be supplemented by further statements, including those suggested above, by members of H.M. Government".

55. CHINA CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE. It was reported that the China Campaign Committee were organising a conference at Friends House, London on March 10th to 12th, and had invited the Union to send a delegation. After discussion it was

- RESOLVED: (1) "That members of the Executive Committee who are able to attend the Conference be asked to do so as representatives of the Union".
- (2) "That a notice of the Conference be included in the next issue of the NEWS SHEET, and that Branches be invited to send representatives to join the Union's delegation to the Conference.

56. RESIGNATION OF CARDINAL HINSLEY. The Dean of Chichester reported a recent conversation with Bishop Mathew, who had been Cardinal Hinsley's representative on the Christian Organisations Committee, and Dr. Murray spoke of a talk he had had with Father O'Hes.

Mr. Macdonald suggested that a memorandum should be sent to the Branches, explaining the position in regard to the Cardinal's resignation and stating that, in spite of this, there was a cordiality of spirit existing between Roman Catholics and the Union.

After discussion Lord Cecil expressed his willingness to prepare such a memorandum on condition that it would not be circulated to the Union's Branches unless Dr. Mathew was satisfied that it was prudent to do so.



57. GERMAN DEMAND FOR COLONIES. Admiral Drury-Lowe presented to the Executive a memorandum dealing with the German demand for colonies (S.344) which he had prepared in view of the frequent questions on the subject addressed to him at Union meetings. In reply to a question by the Chairman he said that, when drafting his paper, he had not seen the Statement of Principles on the Colonial Problem adopted by the Executive Committee on January 18th. The Statement suggested that the British Government should work out the solution of the problem for themselves. He considered it important that Britain should take the initiative in this matter and not leave it to Germany: we should express our readiness to explain our views to Germany either in a conference or in some other way.

The Chairman reminded the Executive of the references to the colonial question contained in the Statement and Memorandum on Policy, and said that the emphasis which any individual member might give either to our readiness to discuss the colonial problem at a conference as part of a world settlement or our unwillingness to discuss any such question with the present Government of Germany as a concession to their warlike intentions must depend upon the individual.

Dr. Murray stated that although the Mandates Committee, when it discussed this question, had begun by considering the German demand for colonies, they thought in the end it would be more profitable to consider the whole general future of Africa.

58. REFUGEES. Mr. Mander reported a recent conversation with Mr. RUSLEE concerning his negotiations with General Goering. It was proposed to set aside the money taken from the Jews in Germany and to make it available in some form for the purposes of the Jews. Their railway fares would be paid to the frontier so far as German currency was concerned, and if they were able to set up in industry in any part of the world they would take with them German goods.

#### Hospitality for Czech Refugees

Mrs. Dugdale read to the Executive a letter which she had received from the Hospitality Secretary of the Czech Committee, stating that they were expecting large numbers of refugees from Czechoslovakia in the next few weeks. Their policy was to send as many as possible out of London to the cities and towns of the north and west, but there were some who had to remain in or near London and for such refugees there was great need of hospitality. It was suggested that small hospitality committees might be organised by local Branches of the Union to secure either homes or support for specific refugees.

Lord Cecil hoped that in any communication made to the Branches on the subject it would be made clear that the hospitality required was only a temporary measure until permanent settlement had been organised for the refugees.

The Dean of Chichester urged that this matter should be brought to the notice of branches and their help

NOTE ON THE HISTORY AND FUNCTIONS OF THE LEAGUE OF  
NATIONS UNION REFUGEES COMMITTEE.

The Refugees Sub-Committee of the League of Nations Union was formed in 1935, to assist and advise the Executive upon the international aspects of the Refugee problem, especially in connection with the work of the League of Nations. At that time the "Nansen Office" working under the League, was the only international body dealing with Refugees, and private organisations had no common meeting ground, or organisation. This the League of Nations Union Committee provided, so far as international policy was concerned. Thus, in 1935, when the League of Nations proposed to wind up the Nansen Office, the League of Nations Union Committee was able, in 1935 and 1937, to organise strong national Delegations, headed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and containing representatives of the principal religious bodies, Members of Parliament and others, to represent to the Foreign Secretary the urgent necessity of maintaining the League's protection for Refugees, and organising it under a single head. Undoubtedly this had a considerable influence upon our Government, and in 1930 the League Council accepted the British proposal to establish a League High Commissioner for Refugees. This post was first filled by General Sir Neil Malcolm, whose successor is Sir Herbert Emerson. The League of Nations Union Refugees Committee always endeavours to work in close touch with the League representative.

In 1930 the increasing size and urgency of the refugees problem put the need for international action beyond possible doubt. An inter-governmental Committee was set up by the Evian Conference, and in the autumn of 1930 its Chairman, Mr. Rublee, accepted the invitation of the League of Nations Union Committee to confer with them.

By that time, the League of Nations Union Committee included representatives of nearly all the voluntary societies working in this country for refugees. These societies are not necessarily the same as those now represented on the Co-ordinating Committee. The Co-ordinating Committee was actually formed to deal with the emergency arising from the persecution of the Jews in Germany and Austria. It does not include, as the L.N.U. Committee does, representatives of the societies concerned with Russian and Armenian refugees. Moreover, the L.N.U. Committee co-opts individuals specially qualified to help in framing policy for consideration by the League of Nations Union Executive.

The Union's Refugee Committee makes a clear distinction between its functions and those of the voluntary societies which are represented upon it. While these are necessarily concerned largely with case-work, the L.N.U. has concerned itself with questions of policy, and mainly with matters requiring international action, international protection,

invited; it would provide a means of revivifying many Branches.

After further discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) That Mrs. Dugdale be asked, in co-operation with the Czech Committee, to prepare a statement on this subject for inclusion in the next edition of the NEWS SHEET.

The Chairman hoped that the statement would make it clear that hospitality might be offered for a limited period only, and that it would also explain that whatever expense might be incurred would be met out of refugee funds.

Czech Committee.

Mrs. Dugdale then reported on the reorganisation which was taking place in regard to the Czech Committee. A General Council had been formed which would meet probably once a month, together with an Executive Committee which would hold frequent meetings, and a number of sub-Committees. It had been decided that organisations as such should not be represented on the Executive Committee since this would make the body too large. Mrs. Dugdale would continue as a member of the Executive in her personal capacity, but it would be only on the General Council that she would serve as the Union's representative. She placed before the Committee a memorandum which she and Miss Courtney had prepared on the History and Functions of the Union's Refugee Committee (S.345). It was decided to have this memorandum available for circulation in response to inquiries.

Spanish Refugees.

Lady Hall asked if the Refugee Committee had considered the question of the Spanish refugees now in France. An attempt was apparently being made by the French to persuade the Spanish refugees to go back to Franco Spain. Every kind of pressure was being put upon them to return and many of them would face certain death if they did so. It had been proposed that the refugees who were in the most imminent danger should be taken out of the camps and placed in homes or hostels in France until arrangements could be made for them to go elsewhere. A great deal of money was required for this purpose and she understood that a small amount was already available, but the most urgent need was for temporary homes for large numbers of refugees.

Lord Cecil asked whether the High Commissioner for Refugees had had entrusted to him anything with regard to Spanish refugees, and suggested that the Council of the League should consider immediately what action they proposed to take.

Mrs. Dugdale thought there was little the Refugee Committee could do in this matter. The Committee consisted of representatives of organisations who were already working very hard for other categories of refugees and who came together under the aegis of the Union to combine in political action.

- 2 -

etc., as, for instance, the Refugee Conventions, the Nansen passports, etc. It believes that this sphere of action is likely to increase in the future, and that the Committee will continue to be of use to the Voluntary Societies whose energies must necessarily be much occupied by the relief and rescue of the various classes of Refugee whom they exist to help. Above all, the aim of the League of Nations Union Committee is to assist the League High Commissioner whenever possible, and to keep before the public the reasons why the League of Nations should remain actively responsible for Refugee protection and settlement.

S. 345  
(Contd.)

The Chairman reminded the Executive of the resolution adopted at the last meeting and sent to H.M. Government. He did not see what further action the Executive could take at the present time.

The Duchess of Atholl stated that the Parliamentary Committee had sent a telegram offering hospitality to two or three leading Spanish Trade Unionists who, to their knowledge, were in special danger. She expressed her willingness to bring the matter before the National Joint Committee for Spanish Relief in order to see whether it could provide financial help or organisation through which refugees could be received here, if the permission of the Government were forthcoming.

Lord Cecil suggested that, in addition to the inquiries to be made by the Duchess of Atholl, inquiries should also be addressed to the Foreign Office and the Spanish Embassy, concerning the present position of the Spanish refugees in France, the action, if any, which is being taken by H.M. Government, and the possible action which the Union might take. It was

RESOLVED: (2) "That inquiries be made on the lines suggested by Lord Cecil and a report given to the next meeting".

59. INTERNATIONAL PEACE CAMPAIGN. Mr. Arnold Forster stated that the I.P.C. were facing a grave financial situation and were considering the whole problem of their future work. The I.P.C. Executive had asked if the I.H.U. Executive would receive a small deputation in order to review the financial problem and the future relations of the I.P.C. with the Union.

The Chairman suggested that it would be preferable if, in the first instance, a deputation from the I.P.C. met the Union's Officers in order that, if possible, agreed proposals might be laid before the Executive at their next meeting. Mr. Arnold Forster accepted the Chairman's suggestion and it was

RESOLVED: "That the Officers of the Union be asked to meet representatives of the I.P.C. at 4.45 that afternoon, and to present a report to the next meeting of the Executive Committee".

60. STAFF. The Chairman reported that

- (a) The Reverend E.N. Porter Goff, Secretary of the Christian Organisations Committee and the Refugees Committee, had been appointed Provost of Portsmouth and would be leaving the Union's service at Easter; and that
- (b) Mr. H. Beaumont, Assistant Director of Appeals, had been adopted as Labour Candidate in the forthcoming By-Election at Batley and in order to commence his campaign on February 22nd had tendered his resignation as from February 21st.

It was

RESOLVED: "That the congratulations of the Committee be conveyed to Mr. Porter Goff and

Mr. Beaumont; that their resignations be accepted with great regret; and that they be warmly thanked for their services to the Union".

Mrs. Dugdale asked to have placed on record the Refugees Committee's appreciation of the valuable help which Mr. Porter Goff had given them.

- c1. THE FAR EAST. The Chairman referred to a confidential letter written by Mr. W.H. Donald, Confidential Adviser to General Chiang Kai-Shek, giving a detailed account of the present situation in China. A few copies of the letter were available for members of the Executive who desired to have them.
- c2. SPAIN. The Executive discussed at length the question of 'recognition' of General Franco's Government and the conditions which should attach to such recognition by H.M. Government. A draft resolution by Lord Cecil was considered, and after discussion it was decided to leave it to the Chairman to prepare a redraft of the resolution for consideration by the Executive at its next meeting.

*Lytton*  
CHAIRMAN  
February 23rd, 1939

## LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

A

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD  
AT NO. 14 GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1, ON THURSDAY,  
FEBRUARY 23RD, 1939, AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams,  
Mrs. Corbett Ashby, F.M. Burris, Lady Violet  
Bonham Carter, Captain Cazalet, Miss Corcoran,  
Lord Dickinson, Vice-Admiral Drury-Lowe,  
Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Fawcett, Sir John Harris,  
A. Henderson, G. de M. Mander, P.J. Noel-Baker,  
W.T. Pritchard, Miss Rathbone, Wilfrid Roberts,  
H.S. Sprott, E.P. Wallis-Jones, Major Wright,  
together with Major Freshwater.

63. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Lord Cecil,  
Miss Courtney, Lord Cranborne, W. Arnold Forster, Lady  
Gladstone, Lady Hall, Sir Arthur Haworth, Lady Layton,  
Mr. Macdonald, Dr. Murray, H.F. Shaw, and R.R. Stokes.
64. MINUTES. The minutes of the Committee dated February  
16th, 1939, were confirmed as circulated.
65. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES

On Minute 53 - 41, the Chairman read a letter from  
Mr. Eden, regretting that owing to pressure of  
engagements at the present time he was unable to  
accept the Executive's invitation. The Chairman  
said he would write again to Mr. Eden, reminding him  
that the Executive were doing no more than inviting  
him to receive the papers for their meetings in order  
that he might be kept in touch with the Union's work,  
and attend only when he felt able or was specially  
invited by the Committee to do so.

On Minute 58 - Hospitality for Czech Refugees, Mrs.  
Dugdale reported that, after consultation with the  
Czech Committee, it had been agreed that an appeal  
for hospitality for Czech refugees should be sent to  
Branches in the London area with the March circular  
letter, and that a nation-wide appeal should be  
included in the NEWS SHEET for April.

On Minute 59 - International Peace Campaign, the  
Chairman reported that a conference had been held on  
February 16th between the Officers of the Union and  
representatives of the I.P.C. As Lord Cecil, Lady  
Hall and Mr. Arnold Forster were unable to attend  
the present meeting, the recommendations of the  
conference would be circulated to the Executive for  
consideration on March 2nd and would be submitted to  
the Finance Committee at their next meeting.

66. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Executive received resolutions from the Withington, Carlisle and North Chingford Branches. It was

- RESOLVED: (1) "That the Withington Branch be thanked for their resolution which is in line with the policy of the Executive Committee and the General Council."  
 (2) "That the Carlisle and North Chingford Branches be thanked for their resolutions, and be informed of the motion which is to be considered by the Executive at its next meeting concerning the recognition of General Franco's Government by H.M. Government and the conditions which should attach to such recognition (see minute 70(b) below)."

67. EDUCATION COMMITTEE. The Executive considered minutes 14 (International Committee of Intellectual Co-operation), 15 (Bulletin on League of Nations Teaching) and 17 (An International Language).

On Minute 14 - International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, Mr. Mander stated that, in reply to his question in the House of Commons on the previous day, Mr. Butler had said that H.M. Government would consider the possibility of inviting the League's Committee of Intellectual Co-operation to hold one of its meetings in London. But H.M. Government had now decided that, for reasons of financial principle, they could not adhere to the International Act on Intellectual Co-operation but were fully prepared to maintain the contributions they made to intellectual co-operation through the League of Nations itself. Mr. Mander hoped that a letter would be sent to Lord Halifax from the Executive, welcoming the possibility of a meeting being held in London.

It was suggested that if and when such a meeting took place, it would provide an opportunity of returning to the charge about financial assistance from H.M. Government, and it was

- RESOLVED: "That a letter be sent to Lord Halifax, welcoming the suggestion that a meeting of the International Committee of Intellectual Co-operation should be held in London and offering the help and co-operation of the Union in such a meeting; and that Dr. Murray be informed of the action taken."

On Minute 17 - An International Language, it was

RESOLVED: "That this minute be approved and adopted for inclusion in the Executive Committee's report to the General Council at its annual meeting."

68. OVERSEAS COMMITTEE. Mrs. Dugdale reported that the Overseas Committee, at its meeting on the previous day, had considered a letter from the Secretary General of the International Federation stating that, although the Federation had accepted an invitation to hold its next Plenary Congress in New York, the constituent societies had for the most part given no indication regarding their delegations to the Congress and the American Society had suggested that it might be better to abandon the idea of a meeting in the States this year unless they could be certain of having a good number of outstanding personalities among the delegates. In view of the meetings of the Union's General Council it would be impossible for the leaders of the Union to attend the American Congress, and it had been suggested at the Overseas Committee that some other place might be more suitable. A letter had been written to Dr. Murray concerning the possibility of the Federation being invited to hold its Plenary Congress in Oxford. No reply had yet been received from Dr. Murray but Mrs. Cox, the Secretary of the Oxford Branch, had favoured the proposal. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the Union's delegates to the Spring meetings of the International Federation be asked to discourage the holding of the next Plenary Congress in New York and to state that the annual meetings of the General Council which are to take place in July would make it impossible for the leaders of the Union to be present at the Congress in America; and that the delegates be authorised, in the event of the Federation deciding not to meet in New York, to invite them to hold the Congress in this country, Oxford or London being suggested."

69. YOUTH PILGRIMAGE. Miss Corcoran reported on the Pilgrimage organised by the National Youth Campaign when some 2,500 young people from all parts of the country had come to London. There had been a mass demonstration in Trafalgar Square on Saturday, February 18th, and a meeting in the Empress Hall on the evening of February 19th. She drew the Committee's attention to an article on "Youth and War" by Captain Liddell Hart in the SUNDAY PICTORIAL of February 19th, which expressed the ideas behind the Pilgrimage, and copies of which she would be glad to send to any interested member. Although it was intended that the Campaign should be of a temporary nature, it was now felt that the vast amount of

support which had been given to it throughout the country should be consolidated and that the Youth movement should become permanent.

The Chairman stated that, with Lord Cecil, he had met a deputation from the Pilgrimage and was much impressed by the spirit of the movement and the success achieved. But at the meeting in Trafalgar Square every speech was one of very pronounced left-wing politics and it would be a pity if the Youth movement became the mouthpiece of the views of only one set of political opinions among young people. If the movement was to be on a really national basis and to make an appeal to the youth of the country, irrespective of the political party to which they belonged, it would have to be very careful about the nature of the views it expressed. He hoped the Youth Committee would consider this matter carefully and remember that its main concern was with a League of Nations policy.

Admiral Drury-Lowe and Mr. Pritchard gave their impressions of the meeting in the Empress Hall. A telephone message was reported from Major Buxton who was greatly concerned by a newspaper account of speeches at the meeting, particularly one made by Mr. Carritt.

Mr. Mander thought it was no fault of the Youth movement if the members of other political parties were not willing to come in and assist them.

Mrs. Dugdale suggested that Miss Corcoran should report to her Committee the Executive's discussion, bearing in mind the Chairman's remarks. She hoped a tremendous effort would be made to avoid any separation between the Union and the Youth Organisations.

The Chairman agreed with Mrs. Dugdale's suggestion and asked the Youth Committee to consider the extent to which the Youth movement was to be as all-party as the Union itself had to be. In so far as it was able to do this, the Executive would gladly co-operate. But if it were to become entirely an organisation of one political colour the Executive would find greater difficulty in the future than it had in the past in associating itself with its activities.

70. SPAIN. (a) Refugees in France. The Chairman reported to the Committee on a conversation which Mr. Mills had had with the Foreign Office concerning the present situation of the Spanish refugees in France. As a result of the information thus obtained regarding the International Commission for Assistance of Child Refugees in Spain, the Chairman had invited Miss Pye to attend the meeting and tell the Executive of the work of the Commission.



Miss Pye described at length the origin and work of the Commission. She understood from the Foreign Office that the money given by H.M. Government was not available for adult refugees who were not able for political reasons to go back to their homes, but it was available to help with the women and children who were in France. She had just returned from Perpignon and had not heard of any definite pressure being put on refugees to return, but the refugees themselves were convinced that if they went back they would be put into concentration camps or shot. She considered that some kind of relief Committee, on the lines set up for German and Austrian refugees, was absolutely essential. The work should be done in France; but, since the French people were paying £23,000 a day to maintain these refugees, it was only by a substantial contribution towards the cost by H.M. Government that this country would have any power to persuade the French to keep the refugees in their country. Miss Pye added that eventually large numbers of refugees not only could, but would have to go back to Spain; it was necessary to see that sufficient food was available for them when they returned. The International Commission was to be allowed to keep in touch with the civil population in regard to food supplies, but her main anxiety was for the people in the small villages for whom the problem would be more acute. Miss Pye would like to see a large fund raised in this country, and the responsible organisation working in close touch with an opposite number in Paris. Large sums of money were needed to enable many refugees to go to the Latin Americas.

Miss Rathbone said that the National Joint Committee were already taking steps to set up a committee, which would be a separate body but would be associated with the National Committee.

Captain Cazalet, judging from recent conversations, did not see much hope of H.M. Government being willing to give more money to the French Government for the refugees.

Lord Lytton referred to the successful work which the League organisation had done for refugees in the past, and suggested that it should be used again. Miss Pye reminded the Committee that an excellent opportunity had been provided at the last Assembly by the Bray Report for action by the League, but that nothing had been done. Mr. Noel Baker thought the situation had changed since September. He hoped the Executive would press for League action and for a grant of money from H.M. Government. Sir Herbert Emerson's powers as League High Commissioner should be extended to cover Spanish refugees.

**D**  
S. 355  
20.2.39

DRAFT RESOLUTION

The League of Nations Union

Recalling their repeated declarations that the presence of Italian and German Government troops in Spain constitutes a violation of the Covenant, and holding that the provisions of the Agreement adopted by the Non-Intervention Committee on July 5, 1938, for the withdrawal from Spain of all foreign troops ought to have been complied with by all Governments which accepted it;

Recognising the immense importance of bringing the war in Spain to an end as quickly as possible and on terms that offer a reasonable prospect of being acceptable to both sides,

Urges H.M. Government to state as clearly as possible the conditions on which they would be willing to recognise General Franco's administration as the legitimate Government of Spain.

In the opinion of the League of Nations Union these conditions should be

1. That it should comply with the usual conditions laid down by International Law and custom for recognition in such cases.
2. That it should give an undertaking that no adherent of the present Government of Spain should be punished merely on the ground of such adherence.
3. That all foreign combatants shall have been previously removed from Spain.

Mr. Wilfrid Roberts spoke of the position of the international volunteers who had been withdrawn under the League Commission. The Commission had no funds available apart from those used for supervising the withdrawal, and there were now many thousands of civilian volunteers who presented a special problem. He suggested that the powers of the Commission should be extended and that it should be made responsible for the future of the men who had been withdrawn under its supervision, and that it should be given the funds necessary for the purpose. Such a proposal would, he thought, meet with a favourable response from the British Government and most certainly from the French Government.

The Chairman then expressed the Committee's gratitude to Miss Pye for her attendance at the meeting and for the information she had given them. He suggested that a full statement should be prepared, dealing with the whole of the refugee question, embodying the Executive's view that the problem was getting quite beyond the capacity not only of voluntary organisations but of individual Governments, and that the League of Nations should be asked to consider it. Mention might be made of the proposal for utilising the League Commission and for giving additional powers to the League Commissioner. Such a statement would be most useful to the Union's Branches and speakers, and might also be published in HEADWAY. It was

RESOLVED: (1) "That Mr. Wilfrid Roberts and Miss Rathbone be asked to prepare a statement on the lines suggested by the Chairman for consideration by the Executive at a later meeting."

(b) Recognition of General Franco's Government. The Executive had before them a revised draft of the motion submitted to the previous meeting of the Executive (S.355). After a brief discussion, during which it was suggested that in view of the small attendance, it would be desirable to postpone consideration of the motion for a full discussion at the next meeting, it was

RESOLVED: (2) "That the motion be adjourned for consideration at the next meeting of the Executive; and that, in the meantime, members wishing to suggest amendments or additions to the motion be asked to send them in writing to the Chairman."

*Lytton*  
CHAIRMAN,  
March 2nd, 1939

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT  
No. 14 GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1, ON THURSDAY,  
MARCH 2ND, 1939, AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams,  
P.J. Noel Baker, Mrs. Beale, Major A. Buxton,  
Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Captain V.A.  
Cazalet, Lord Cecil, Lord Dickinson, Vice-  
Admiral Drury-Lowe, Miss P. Fawcett, Lady  
Gladstone, Sir Arthur Haworth, J. Macdonald,  
G. le M. Mander, Dr. Murray, W.T. Pritchard,  
Miss Rathbone, Wilfrid Roberts, H.S. Syrett,  
Major Wright, together with Major Freshwater.

71. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from F.M. Burris,  
Miss Courtney, Lord Cranborne, Mrs. Dugdale, W. Arnold  
Forster, Dr. Kimmins, Lady Layton, Miss M. Lloyd-George,  
and R.R. Stokes.
72. MINUTES. The minutes of the Committee dated February  
23rd, 1939, were confirmed as circulated.
73. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 65-53, the Chairman reported a further letter  
from Mr. Wden, regretting that he was unable to  
accept the Executive's invitation since he disliked  
sitting on any committee unless he felt that he could  
take an active part in its work and could defend its  
conclusions with inside knowledge and understanding.

On Minute 67 - 14 - International Committee on Intellec-  
tual Co-operation, it was reported that a reply had  
not yet been received to the letter sent to Lord  
Halifax after the last meeting of the Executive.

Dr. Murray reported information he had received  
from Geneva concerning the likely displacement of  
Mr. de Montenach and of Mr. Abrahams from the Secretariat,  
as well as the probability of the Intellectual  
Co-operation Section being done away with at Geneva.  
He thought it very important that intellectual co-  
operation should continue to be associated with the  
League; if it became merely an independent enter-  
prise operating from the Institute in Paris its whole  
character would be destroyed. He was anxious to  
know what the attitude of the Foreign Office would  
be on this matter.

Mr. Mander referred to an answer given in the  
House of Commons recently to the effect that H.M.  
Government saw no reason to believe that the necessary  
re-organisation and simplification of administration  
would result in any restriction of the beneficent  
activities of the League as at present carried on.

REPORT ON ACTION TAKEN BY THE ADMINISTRATION  
COMMITTEE

**PUBLICATIONS.** Revised editions of HUMAN WELFARE AND THE LEAGUE and FIFTY FACTS ABOUT THE LEAGUE are being published.

Inquiries are being made concerning the possibility of the publishers of the PENGUIN books being willing to include a book on the League in the series.

**TWENTY-FIRST BIRTHDAY.** (a) Birthday Fund. Arrangements have been made for the issue of a series of Birthday Stamps with values from a penny to a guinea. They have been designed by eminent artists including Eric Gill, Percy John Smith, F.V. Blundstone, George S. Dixon and Arthur T. Hage. The stamps will serve as receipts for donations to the Birthday Fund, and it is hoped that a contribution will be made by every member of the Union. Branches will be allowed to retain 25 per cent of the proceeds of the sale of Birthday stamps for their local use. Small emblems in blue and white for wearing in button holes have been prepared for sale at 1d. each; the idea is that every member of the Union will wear one as an outward sign of faith in the League and membership of the Union. These small tokens will arouse the curiosity of friends and neighbours, so that members wearing them will be helping to make the Birthday Fund better known.

(b) National Demonstration. Arrangements are being made for a National Demonstration to be held in the Albert Hall on Saturday, November 28th or December 2nd. At this gathering the total sum collected will be presented to Lord Cecil for the work of the L.N.U. both local and central.

The Demonstration will be divided into two sessions, the afternoon session being in the nature of a children's effort. At the evening session it is proposed that the various Embassies should be invited each to take a Box. Possibly one or two Ambassadors should be invited to speak, (e.g. Mr. Kennedy might be willing to say a few words of tribute to Lord Cecil); Mr. Avenol (Secretary-General of the League) and Mr. Wyant (Director of the I.L.O.) should be invited to attend, and possibly also the President of the League Assembly and the Chairman of the Council. The proceedings would include (i) A procession of contingents from the different Branches and regions, in which the Youth Committee have been invited to assist; (ii) Community singing; and (iii) An Auction of signed sets of Birthday Fund Stamps.

(c) PICTURE POST. The Editor of PICTURE POST has consented to devote some twelve pages in one of the autumn issues to illustrations of the Union's work during the past twenty-one years and to the Birthday Celebrations.

**BRANCHES, CORPORATE MEMBERS, ETC.** There are now 2,516 Branches and 259 Youth Groups. 338 Study Associates and 159 Corporate Associates paid subscriptions in the twelve months ended 31st January, 1939. 5 Industrial Associates paid subscriptions during the first month of 1939.

**MEMBERSHIP.** During 1938 there were

19,354 new enrolments - 28% fewer than 1937  
244,719 renewals collected - 77% of those who paid in 1937  
264,073 total payments - 16% fewer than in 1937.

There were increases in Durham, Wales, Channel Isles and Overseas members, and decreases in all other areas.

Admiral Drury-Lowe suggested that public opinion should be mobilised on the subject. A short article in HEADWAY might help. Dr. Murray stated that he had been asked by the Education Committee to write a paper which might perhaps be printed in the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW and be subsequently available in pamphlet form.

**On Minute 66 - Overseas Committee.** Captain Cazalet reported that, in spite of the representations made by the British delegates at the Spring meeting of the International Federation, it had been decided to hold the next Plenary Congress of the Federation in New York, from June 26th to July 1st.

**On Minute 70 (b) - Recognition of General Franco's Government.** In view of the decision taken by H.M. Government on February 27th to 'recognise' General Franco's administration, the draft resolution (S.353) adjourned from the last meeting had not been circulated again to the Executive.

74. **BRANCH RESOLUTIONS.** The Executive received resolutions from the Wilmslow and District Branch, and it was

RESOLVED: That the Wilmslow and District Branch be thanked for their resolution, and be informed of the resolution adopted by the Executive Committee on February 9th.

75. **REPORT FROM ADMINISTRATION COMMITTEE.** The Executive received a report on action taken by the Administration Committee (S.363), dealing particularly with the arrangements for celebrating the Union's 21st Birthday.

The Chairman expressed the earnest hope that members of the Executive would take every opportunity presented to them at local meetings and otherwise to remind their audiences of the Birthday Fund and to enlist their support.

Specimens of the Birthday Buttons were given to members of the Committee. The Chairman hoped that members would wear the buttons on all occasions during the Birthday Year and would take a sufficient supply for one to be placed in each of their coats.

In reply to Lord Cecil, the Chairman said that an 8-page pamphlet was being prepared, describing the scheme for the Birthday Fund. Copies would be circulated to the Executive so soon as they were available.

76. **FUTURE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE UNION AND THE I.P.C.** The Executive had before them a memorandum (S.352) containing recommendations regarding the future of the L.N.U. and the I.P.C. which had been unanimously agreed to at the conference between the Officers of the Union and representatives of the I.P.C. on February 16th.

The Executive were reminded of the resolution adopted by the General Council in December, 1936 in view of which the recommendations, if adopted by the Executive Committee and the I.P.C., would require confirmation by the Council at its next meeting.

S. 352  
20.2.39.

THE L.N.U. AND THE I.P.C.

At a meeting between representatives of the I.P.C. and the Officers of the L.N.U. on Thursday afternoon, February 16th, the present financial difficulties of the I.P.C. and the future relationship between the I.P.C. and the L.N.U. were exhaustively discussed. At the end of the discussion the following recommendations were unanimously agreed to:-

- (1) That the continuance of the I.P.C. in Britain as an active peace organisation was desirable.
- (2) That in future the Union and the I.P.C. should be entirely separate, and that the Union should cease to be a constituent of the I.P.C.
- (3) That each organisation should in future be free to raise funds for its own objects.
- (4) That consultation as to the methods of raising money and as to co-operation in the pursuit of their common objects should be secured through the medium of a Liaison Committee.
- (5) That the New Commonwealth, as a supporter of the collective peace system, should also be invited to be represented on this Liaison Committee.

In view of the resolution passed by the General Council on December 15th, 1936, these recommendations, if approved by the Executive, would require confirmation by the General Council at its next meeting.

The organisation of the Peace Penny Fund was also considered by the conference. The Peace Penny Fund is to be tried out fully in four selected districts in the early part of this year. It was agreed that, if the results of these experiments proved satisfactory, further experiments might be undertaken in other parts of the country this year, subject only to this condition: that the active co-operation of Branches of the League of Nations Union should not be invited in districts where those Branches had been actively engaged in organising the Twenty-first Birthday Fund.

In reply to questions from Mr. Syrett, Lord Cecil said that the I.P.C. was precluded by the terms of its constitution from enrolling individual members; and that, if the recommendations were adopted, the Union would cease to be represented on the I.P.C. Committee, although individual members would continue to be eligible for co-optation by that Committee. Lord Cecil added that he himself was no longer Chairman of the British Committee of the I.P.C. but he remained President of the International organisation of the I.P.C. In reply to Mr. Macdonald, Lord Cecil thought it not unlikely that the I.P.C. would wish to have affiliated Committees in some of the larger towns.

Major Buxton entirely agreed with recommendations (2) and (3) but could not subscribe to recommendation (1).

Lord Cecil agreed with the Chairman that, if the Union ceased to be a constituent of the I.P.C., there could not be any sort of affiliation by Union Branches.

After further discussion, it was

RESOLVED: "That the Executive Committee accepts the following recommendations submitted by the conference between the Officers of the Union and representatives of the I.P.C.: and asks for a further report to be presented when the views of the I.P.C. Executive upon the recommendations are known:

- (1) That the continuance of the I.P.C. in Britain as an active peace organisation was desirable.
- (2) That in future the Union and the I.P.C. should be entirely separate, and that the Union should cease to be a constituent of the I.P.C.
- (3) That each organisation should in future be free to raise funds for its own objects.
- (4) That consultation as to the methods of raising money and as to co-operation in the pursuit of their common objects should be secured through the medium of a Liaison Committee.
- (5) That the New Commonwealth, as a supporter of the collective peace system, should also be invited to be represented on this Liaison Committee.

It was suggested that the New Commonwealth should be informed, at the meeting of their Liaison Committee with the Union on March 6th, of the proposal contained in paragraphs (4) and (5) above.

In reply to a question, the Chairman said it would be possible to give immediate effect to the recommendation in paragraph (3), if approved by the Executive of the I.P.C., without waiting for formal confirmation by the General Council.

77. REFUGEES. The Chairman stated that he had received from Mr. Wilfrid Roberts a memorandum dealing with the situation in regard to Spanish Refugees.

Miss Rathbone reported that the National Joint Committee for Spanish Relief was suggesting to the Foreign Office and the Home Office a concerted policy with regard to the large numbers of refugees who would be repatriated shortly but who were at present living in France. The Committee had recommended firstly that the International Commission should be allowed to continue its work in France with increased funds and personnel and with the help of the British Government, but that their reference should be extended to include men of all ages instead of, as at present, being limited to women and children; secondly, that the British Government should make a direct grant to the French Government to help in the maintenance of those refugees who were already dispersed throughout France under the care of the municipal authorities, and for whom therefore the work of the International Commission was neither possible nor necessary; thirdly, that General Molesworth, either individually or as part of the International Military Commission, should be allowed to go out to Spain for the purpose of dealing with the evacuation of the men who formed the International Brigade. Miss Rathbone spoke of the work now being done by Lady Hall in collecting names of refugees whose lives were most seriously in danger and a small number of whom it was hoped to bring to this country. She suggested that the Government should be asked to shoulder some responsibility for the permanent settlement of such refugees by arranging for their migration to Spanish America and the Colonies.

Mr. Wilfrid Roberts added that the three points mentioned by Miss Rathbone had been submitted to Mr. Butler who had agreed to receive a deputation from the National Joint Committee at 3.15 p.m. on Monday, March 6th in order to discuss them. Mr. Roberts thought it would be very valuable if the Union would appoint a representative to join the deputation.

It was agreed that Lord Cecil, who it was hoped would attend the deputation as Treasurer of the National Joint Committee, Miss Rathbone and Mr. Roberts should be asked also to attend as representatives of the Union.

Admiral Drury-Lowe remarked that the Executive heard much from the Spanish Government point of view about the danger from the reprisals which were expected from General Franco, but very little in his favour.

He had heard recently very strong praise of General Franco from an Englishman who knew him well, and who had the highest opinion of him as a great patriot with the best interests of Spain at heart, and it would, in the Admiral's view, be a mistake on the Union's part at the present moment to indulge in violent criticism of his supposed intentions and to represent him as bent on wholesale reprisals.

Miss Rathbone referred to a statement of policy on the subject of Spanish refugees recently adopted by the Refugee Parliamentary Committee.

The Chairman reminded the Executive of the suggestion he had made at the last meeting regarding the preparation of a document dealing with the whole of the refugee question. He proposed that the office should be asked to prepare a memorandum on these lines, incorporating in it the paper supplied by Mr. Wilfrid Roberts on the subject of Spanish refugees and the policy adopted by the Parliamentary Committee. If such a paper were available at the next meeting of the Executive, it could be considered in the light of the information given by Mr. Butler to the deputation from the Spanish Joint Committee. This was agreed to.

78. **WORLD CONFERENCE.** A resolution from the annual meeting of the South Liverpool Branch was considered, asking "the British Government to take the initial steps in calling a World Conference for the discussion of the economic and other causes of war with a view to laying a new basis for Peace and Justice".

The Executive were reminded of the footnote referring to a world conference contained in the Statement of Policy adopted by the General Council, and it was

RESOLVED: "That the attention of the South Liverpool Branch be directed to the Statement of Policy; and that they be informed that it is for the Government of the day to decide to take preliminary steps for calling a world conference when they find that it is possible to initiate conversations for that purpose; and that the Union is ready to urge them to do so whenever, in the opinion of the Government, an opportune time has arrived."

It was suggested that in the reply sent to the South Liverpool Branch reference should be made to the Prime Minister's recent statement in Parliament that he did not regard the present moment as opportune.

79. **THE FAR EAST.** Mr. Noel Baker drew attention to the situation in the Far East. China was certainly unconquered and was making a marvellous resistance. He believed that the British Government and the Governments of France and the United States were much more

ready to give real help to China than they had ever been before. Their disposition to help China would, in his opinion, be greatly increased if there were a strong movement of public opinion in support of such action.

The Chairman said that although there was unanimity of feeling about the Far Eastern question far greater than about any other of the present world crises, it was difficult to find any particular occasion for public action about the Far East. He felt that it would be very useful if someone like Mr. T.V. Soong would come over to this country to negotiate a loan and thus provide the Union and other societies with a focus for their activities. He hoped members of the Executive would think this matter over and send him any suggestions they might be able to make. If it would serve any useful purpose, the Chairman said he would get a message from General Chiang-Kai-Shek to the British people which the Union could then use and send to its Branches.

Mr. Noel Baker suggested that Madame Sun Yat Sen might be invited to come to England and address a meeting; and the boycott organised by the China Campaign Committee would provide an opportunity for a new appeal to the rank and file.

*Lyell*  
CHAIRMAN.  
March 9th, 1939.



MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 14 GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1., ON THURSDAY, MARCH 9TH, 1939 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Sir Norman Angell, P.J. Noel Baker, Mrs. E.P. Beale, F.M. Burris, Major Buxton, Captain Cazalet, Lord Cecil, the Dean of Chichester, Miss Judith Corcoran, Miss K.D. Courtney, Lord Dickinson, Vice-Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Miss Philippa Fawcett, Miss M. Lloyd George, Lady Gladstone, Arthur Henderson, J.A. Keyser, Dr. C.W. Kimmuns, James Macdonald, G. le M. Mander, Dr. Gilbert Murray, W.T. Pritchard, Brig.-General E.L. Spears, E. Wallis-Jones, F.W. Weaver, Major Wright, together with Major Freshwater.

80. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Lord Cranborne, Mrs. Dugdale, Lady Hall, Lady Layton, and R.R. Stokes.
81. LORD ALLEN OF HURTHOOD. The Committee expressed their profound regret at the recent death of Lord Allen. The Chairman paid tribute to the invaluable service Lord Allen had rendered to the Union, not only on the Executive Committee but also at meetings of the General Council: his loss would be deeply felt.

RESOLVED: "That the Chairman be asked to write to Lady Allen, expressing the profound sympathy of the Executive Committee in her bereavement and their deep appreciation of the service rendered to the Union by Lord Allen."

Members of the Executive asked that they should be informed of any arrangements which might be made for a Memorial Service.

82. MINUTES. The minutes of the Committee dated March 2nd, 1939, were confirmed as circulated.
83. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 76 - Future Relationship between the Union and the I.P.C., Lord Cecil reported that at the meeting of the British I.P.C. Executive Committee on March 7th, the five recommendations contained in minute 76 of the last meeting had been agreed to. It was also reported that the Finance Committee of the Union, on March 7th, had raised no objection to the proposals, and it was

RESOLVED: "That the five recommendations be submitted jointly by the Executive Committees of the Union and the I.P.C. to the General Council of the Union for confirmation at their Annual Meeting in July."

The Chairmen said that, without waiting for formal approval by the General Council, immediate effect could be given to recommendation 3, and the Union and the I.P.C. would act separately in the spirit of the recommendations.

Lord Cecil read to the Executive a statement concerning the future relationship of the I.P.C. and the Union which the I.P.C. were anxious to include in their Bulletin. It was agreed that the final wording of the statement should be left in the hands of Lord Cecil and the Chairman.

On Minute 77 - Referees. The Chairmen reported that a first draft of the memorandum for which the Executive had asked had been prepared, and that the final document would be available for consideration by the Committee at the next meeting.

84. INDUSTRIAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE. The Executive had before them minutes 15 and 18 of the Industrial Advisory Committee dated February 23rd, 1939.

On Minute 15 - I.L.O. Economics. Lord Cecil suggested that, instead of formally communicating the resolution to H.M. Government, a letter should be sent to them, urging the importance of maintaining the non-contentious work of the League and, while recognising the difficulty of increasing subscriptions of States Members of the League, suggesting that H.M. Government might perhaps give a lead by increasing its own subscription. The letter should refer to the sense of the resolution adopted by the Industrial Advisory Committee with which the Executive was in agreement. It was

RESOLVED: "That the Chairman be asked to write to H.M. Government on the lines suggested by Lord Cecil above."

On Minute 18 - Holidays with Pay. it was

RESOLVED: "That this minute be adjourned for consideration at the next meeting; and that in the meantime the Executive be supplied with a memorandum dealing with the Convention on Holidays with Pay."

85. FINANCE COMMITTEE. Mr. Pritchard reported orally on two matters of urgency from the Finance Committee's meeting on March 7th, and it was

RESOLVED: "That authority be given for the seal of the Union to be affixed to the lease of the new offices for the London Regional Federation, and to such documents as may be necessary to effect the transfer to Miss Spaul and Mrs. Downer of the policies or the proceeds of the policies taken out in their names under the Staff Superannuation Scheme."

86. INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION. The Executive received a report on the Spring Meetings of the International Federation (S.372). Captain Cazalet reported orally on some of the decisions of the Federation and replied to questions. He was warmly thanked for the action he had taken on the Union's behalf at the meetings.

In regard to the discussion by the Federation of the Union's Statement of Policy, it was agreed to leave it to the Chairman to consider, in the light of the suggestions made at the Federation meeting, what drafting changes could be made in the Statement of Policy without departing from its essential principles, and to submit a revised draft to the Executive at a later meeting.

RESOLVED: "That the report as a whole be communicated to the Overseas Committee, and the relevant parts to the appropriate sub-Committees of the Executive for their information."

Mr. Wallis-Jones asked what arrangements would be made, following the departure of Captain Small at the end of June, for keeping open the Federation's office in Geneva during the session of the Plenary Congress in New York, when many visitors were likely to be in Geneva. It was agreed that enquiries should be made of Mr. Ruyssen on this subject.

87. NATIONAL YOUTH CAMPAIGN. The Executive had before them a memorandum on the National Youth Campaign and the purpose of the Youth Pilgrimage in London on February 18th and 19th (S.373). It was

RESOLVED: "That the Officers of the Union be asked first to discuss the memorandum and afterwards to meet representatives from the National Youth Campaign, and to present a report to a later meeting of the Executive."

Mr. Wallis-Jones expressed the hope that, since members of the Youth Campaign were engaged in business during the day, they would be asked to meet the Officers of the Union in the early evening.

88. HEADWAY. The Chairman reported that on the previous day, following recent correspondence with Sir Robert Waley Cohen, he, together with Dr. Murray, Mr. Syrett, Sir Norman Angell and the Secretary had met Sir Robert and Mr. Wood. Mr. Le Prevost was also present. It was apparent from the discussion that HEADWAY was not paying its way, that the Focus Board were unwilling to consider reducing the size of the paper and consequently its expense, and that £50 a month, which under the Agreement, Focus had been paying to the Union in respect of profit, was not forthcoming. The losses on HEADWAY were due almost entirely to the failure to obtain sufficient advertisement revenue. The suggestion made by Sir Robert Waley Cohen was that the paper should continue as

at present but that neither Focus nor the Union should take any profits in the hope that eventually the advertisement revenue would be increased and the paper would once more pay. Sir Robert had asked for a decision from the Union at once; since HEADWAY was not earning the revenue which would enable Focus to fulfil their obligations to the Union out of revenue, either the Union must agree to forgo the profits to which it was entitled or the Focus Company must go into liquidation, because Sir Robert was not willing that the payments to the Union should be made out of capital. In answer to a suggestion that the character of the paper might be altered, the Union's representatives had stated that they had no interest in a paper which did not exist for the purpose of supporting the principles of the Union and of the League. The Chairman's impression was that if the present arrangement continued it would merely result in further losses; HEADWAY should immediately be reduced in size and its expenses curtailed.

Sir Norman Angell thought the Union had gained from the advertising and publicity which had been given to HEADWAY during the past few months. He suggested that the News-Letter type of publication was the kind of thing desired by the public in its present mood, and that, if a twenty-page or sixteen-page HEADWAY were produced, preserving many of the present features but specialising on that particular type of presentation, a saving of £100 a month would immediately be effected in postage and some £50 in the cost of paper and printing, and the solvency of the paper would thus be restored. He hoped this suggestion would be the subject of careful investigation by a sub-Committee. If it were agreed to reduce the size of HEADWAY as from the May issue, he suggested that the Union might undertake to suspend for March and April its profits from HEADWAY. He added that the Advertising Manager of HEADWAY had expressed the opinion that he could secure the same quantity of advertisements of a journal of reduced size.

The Chairman stated that Mr. Syrett was entirely opposed to the Union agreeing to forgo its profit and was convinced that the paper could be run in a way which would make it possible for profit to be earned.

In reply to a question from Mr. Noel Baker, Mr. Le Prevost stated that the circulation of HEADWAY to the general public was in the neighbourhood of eight thousand per month.

Lord Cecil and Dr. Mirray were in favour of the suggestion made by Sir Norman.

The Chairman hoped that the present arrangement would be brought to an end as soon as possible; he would agree with any suggestion which would enable it to be wound up with the greatest amount of goodwill. He suggested that the Executive should give notice of its desire to terminate the present arrangement; should urge that the expenses of the paper, as from the May issue be reduced; and that, if

this were done, should indicate its willingness to consider a suspension of its profits for March and April. After further discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That it be left to the Chairman and Sir Norman Angell to discuss the position further with Sir Robert Waley Cohen and to come to an arrangement with him in the light of the Executive's discussion."

89. REFUGEES. The Executive had before them the minutes of the Refugees Committee of 3rd March, 1939.

RESOLVED: "That these minutes be received, and that the recommendation contained in minute 25 (Lectures on Behalf of the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning) be approved."

Lord Cecil reported a letter from Miss Rathbone referring to answers to questions in the House of Commons on the previous day when the Prime Minister had said that no help could be given to Spanish refugees to escape from Central Spain without the prior consent of General Franco and when Lord Winterton had repeated the view that in no circumstances could the financing of refugee migration be taken out of the hands of the voluntary organisations. In regard to the first, Lord Cecil thought it an inevitable result of the recognition of General Franco by H.M. Government.

Mr. Noel Baker compared the situation with that at the beginning of the Spanish war when in fact Britain had assisted a number of General Franco's people to leave the country without asking permission of the authorities. He reminded the Committee that, at the present moment, one-third of Spain was de facto not under General Franco's control.

The Chairman thought this was not a fair comparison since when General Franco's people were assisted to leave the country, the Republicans were not in a position to prevent them, whereas General Franco was presumably in such a position at the present time.

Mr. Noel Baker then urged that the question of Spanish Refugees should be immediately brought within the scope of the League and the Evian Conference; he thought there was a good chance of securing this at the present time.

*L. Lyell*  
CHAIRMAN

March 16th, 1939

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT No. 14 GROSVENOR GARDENS, LONDON, S.W.1. ON THURSDAY, MARCH 16TH, 1939, AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams, Sir Norman Angell, P.J. Noel Baker, R.M. Burris, Major Anthony Buxton, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Captain Cazalet, Lord Cecil, Miss Corcoran, Miss Courtney, Lord Dickinson, Mrs. Duggals, Miss F. Fawcett, Lady Gladstone, Dr. C.W. Higgins, Lady Layton, G. Le M. Lander, Dr. Gilbert Murray, W.T. Pritchard, Miss Rathbone, H.F. Shaw, H. Syrett, E. Wallis-Jones, together with Major Freshwater.

90. APologies for Absence were received from Mrs. Beale, Lord Cranborne, Lady Hall, Admiral Drury-Lowe, J. Macdonald, R.R. Stokes and Major Lawrence Wright.
91. MINUTES. The minutes of the Committee dated March 9th, 1939 were confirmed as circulated.
92. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES:

On Minute 84 - I.L.O. Economics, the Chairman read the reply to the letter he had sent to Lord Halifax.

On Minute 86 - International Federation, the Chairman stated that he had made certain drafting changes in the Statement of Policy in the light of the suggestions made by the International Federation at its Spring meeting, and that the revised draft would be circulated to the Executive for consideration at its next meeting.

A letter was reported from Mr. Ruyssen, stating that a member of the staff would be at the Geneva office during the meeting of the Plenary Congress in New York.

On Minute 87 - National Youth Campaign, it was reported that a meeting between the Officers and representatives of the National Youth Campaign had been fixed for 6 p.m. on Wednesday, March 22nd. Miss Corcoran said she proposed to send to the Chairman a further statement dealing with the whole position of the Youth Movement which she hoped would facilitate and shorten discussion at the meeting.

On Minute 88 - HEADWAY, the Chairman said that he had informed Sir Robert Walley Cohen that the Union was not prepared to forgo its profits on HEADWAY but that it would be prepared to suspend its profits for March and April if, in the meantime, there could be a conference to consider immediate reductions in the cost of publishing the paper. Sir Robert had stated that for the April number it would be impossible to do more than reduce the size of the paper from 32 to 28 pages which it was proposed to do. A meeting would be held immediately to consider what could be done for the May number. It was hoped that if the cost of the paper were substantially reduced there would not be a loss on that issue; but, if there were and the Union's representatives

were satisfied with the steps taken, the Chairman had said that the Union would be ready to extend its suspension of profit to cover the May issue also. He added that, according to the terms of the contract, if the partnership between Focus and the Union were terminated by the latter, the paper would remain with Focus. The present arrangement could therefore only be terminated by agreement with Focus. A meeting with representatives of Focus had been arranged for Monday, March 20th, when the whole future policy would be considered in that light.

Sir Norman Angell reported a conversation with Mr. Wickham Steed on the previous day, when they had both agreed that, in view of the differences of opinion that had arisen, a termination of the agreement between Focus and the Union should be effected as quickly and in as friendly a manner as possible.

93. FINANCE COMMITTEE. The minutes of the Committee dated March 7th, 1939 were received.

On Minute 17 - Library, it was reported that the amount of the fee which Miss Rawcett had generously given to the Union for seven years was £435 a year plus tax, which, calculated at the present rate, would amount to a total of £600 a year.

RESOLVED: (1) That the cordial thanks of the Executive Committee be conveyed to Miss Rawcett for her generous gift.

- (2) That the General Council be recommended, at its Annual Meeting, to elect Miss Rawcett and Miss Gertrude Ward as Vice-Presidents in recognition of their generous benefactions to the Union.

94. CONVENTION ON HOLIDAYS WITH PAY. The Executive further considered minute 18 of the Industrial Advisory Committee of February 23rd, recommending that "the Minister of Labour be invited to receive a deputation from the Union on the question of the holidays with Pay Convention". A memorandum dealing with the Convention (I.M.143a) had been circulated to the Committee.

RESOLVED: "That the recommendation of the Industrial Advisory Committee be approved; and that, if the Minister of Labour agrees to receive a deputation, it be left to the Industrial Advisory Committee to decide what material shall be sent to him on the subject."

95. COLONIES. A letter from the Secretary of the Birmingham District Committee dated February 16th was communicated to the Executive, suggesting that, as a first step in the settlement of the Colonial problem, all non-self-governing Colonies should be placed under the Mandate system. . . . declaration by Britain that she was willing to take this step with other Imperial powers would, it was felt, bring into international affairs a spirit of sincerity and honesty which would render the immediate calling of a world conference possible of success. There was, in the Birmingham Committee's opinion, a growing volume of support for such a suggestion amongst

peace societies such as the P.P.U. and the W.I.L. and they asked the Executive to prepare plans for the co-operation of such peace societies as were willing to join with the Union in an immediate national campaign for this policy.

After it had been reported that the Officers had considered the above communication on March 14th, it was

RESOLVED: "That, as recommended by the Officers, the Birmingham District Committee be informed that, in the opinion of the Executive Committee, their proposal was not opportune at the present moment. The view of the Union has always been that H.M. Government should be willing to consider the colonial problem as part of a general settlement. Since, however, there was no prospect whatever of a general settlement at the present time, no useful purpose would be served by discussing details of a settlement which did not arise. In any case, the Executive Committee felt grave doubt regarding the desirability of the League of Nations Union and the Peace Pledge Union joining in any action on the lines suggested"

It was agreed that a copy of the Statement of Principles on the Colonial Problem, adopted by the Executive Committee on January 12th should be sent to the Birmingham District Committee.

96. CZECHOSLOVAKIA. The Committee discussed at length recent events in Czechoslovakia. A resolution (S.382) and a declaration of policy (S.385) drafted by Lord Cecil, were placed before the Executive. Lord Cecil said that, after giving further consideration to the matter, he preferred to ask the Committee to support the declaration rather than the resolution, the former being a more reasoned document. He hoped the Executive would make it clear that, while it recognised the desirability of increasing the strength of Britain, both by armaments and alliances, yet it believed that was in itself not sufficient and that an international system must be re-established if permanent peace was to be secured.

Mr. Vyvyan Adams suggested that greater emphasis should be placed on the strengthening of British armaments. He believed the moment had come when some form of compulsory national service should be instituted. It would provide one of the most impressive moves that this country could make. He further suggested that the present crisis demanded a Coalition of all Parties in the country.

Some members of the Committee supported Mr. Vyvyan Adams' suggestions. Others felt that any statement issued by the Union should refrain from suggesting domestic action in this country and should adhere strictly to the International standpoint.

The Chairman reminded the Committee that no action that could be taken in this country today, whether by greatly accelerating our armaments programme or by the immediate introduction of compulsory military training, would do more than show that we were going to take every possible precaution to see that we were not



attacked and that, if we were, we could defend ourselves effectively. The only thing that would have any effect in Europe at the present time would be to show that we had recognised that we could not stand alone, and to endeavour to obtain an increase of international solidarity. The Government should immediately get in touch with those countries primarily interested in Europe and ask them what they were prepared to do.

Telegrams from the American League of Nations Society and from Mr. Arnold-Forster were reported.

After further discussion, during which it was suggested that the declaration of policy should state clearly the principles upon which an international system might be built, it was decided to leave it to the Chairman and Lord Cecil to redraft the latter part of the declaration, and it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the declaration in its revised form be immediately communicated to the Union's Branches and to the press".

(Note. The declaration, as revised, reads as follows:

× On September 23rd 1938 the League of Nations Union protested vehemently against the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia. They pointed out that it was part of a settled policy of domination in Central Europe which would be carried out step by step unless the peace-loving nations resolved that it should be stopped.

That is the plain truth as all must see today. Czechoslovakia has been destroyed and her people enslaved. Whose turn next? Is it to be the French possessions in the Mediterranean basin, or Spain and the Balearic Islands, or Holland or Switzerland or Roumania or even Belgium? Are we to do nothing while all our friends in Europe are destroyed one by one, and we are left alone to face a far greater and more powerful Germany and Italy? Surely not. Surely while there is still time we should take effective steps to concert measures with other States to prevent further aggression. The warning recently given to Italy by Lord Halifax with the co-operation of France alone should be immediately addressed to Germany, with the assured co-operation of other States whose interest in resisting such aggression, is as great or greater than ours.

For this purpose the co-operation of France is already assured, that of Russia should be immediately invited, and if this is obtained a real beginning will have been made towards the restoration of that system of international defensive combination for the maintenance of peace for which the L.N.U. has always stood, and the departure from which has so greatly increased the danger of war. The strength of our own armaments must of course be progressively increased. But no action taken by this country alone can secure that lasting peace which we all so ardently desire, or re-establish the rule of law without which peace must always be precarious.) ×

The Committee then considered the question of Czech refugees, and a conversation which Miss Rathbone and Captain Cazalet had had on the previous day with Mr. H.B. Butler was reported.

Mrs. Dugdale said that, in the opinion of the Czech Committee, both the Home Office and the Foreign Office were doing all they could in this matter, and that it was undesirable to bring further public pressure to bear on the Government at the present time. She hoped the Executive would not take any action without consulting the Czech Committee.

Miss Rathbone thought there was a danger lest H.M. Government, although theoretically very willing to assist, become obsessed with other problems; and, after discussion, it was on her motion

RESOLVED: (2) That the Executive Committee, recognising the responsibility which rests on Great Britain as a partner in the Munich agreement for the fate of those refugees in Czechoslovakia who are now exposed to the vengeance of their enemies, urges H.M. Government to spare no effort of diplomacy, no means of economic pressure, and no expenditure of money which might result in rescuing the victims.

It was also, on the motion of Mr. Noel Baker,

RESOLVED: (3) The Executive Committee calls upon H.M. Government to take whatever action they can, and if possible induce France to do the same, to see that the lives and liberties of the leaders of the Czech people are respected.

Further it was

RESOLVED: (4) That the above resolutions be communicated to H.M. Government but not to the press.

*K.D. Coathery*  
CHAIRMAN

23rd March, 1939.

## LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 14 GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W. 1, ON THURSDAY, MARCH 23RD, 1939, AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Miss Courtney (in the Chair for the business recorded in minutes 97 to 101), Lord Lytton (in the Chair for the business recorded in minutes 101 to 105), Sir Norman Angell, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, P. J. Noel Baker, F.M. Burris, Captain Cazalat, the Dean of Chichester, Miss Concoran, Lord Dickinson, Vice-Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss F. Fawcett, Miss M. Lloyd George, Lady Gladstone, J.A. Keysor, Dr. Kimmins, J. Macdonald, Dr. G. Murray, W.T. Pritchard, Miss Rathbone, H.E. Syrett, together with Major Freshwater.

97. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Vyvyan Adams, Mrs. Beale, Major Edixon, Lord Cranborne, Sir A. Haworth, Arthur Henderson, and R.R. Stokes.

98. MINUTES. The minutes of the Committee dated March 16th, 1939, were confirmed as circulated.

99. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 92 - 87 — National Youth Campaign, the Chairman reported that a conference had been held on the previous evening between the Officers of the Union and representatives of the Youth Groups. After certain points arising out of the discussion had been considered by the Youth Groups representatives, a further conference would be held and a report presented to the Executive.

On Minute 92 - 88 — HEADWAY, Sir Norman Angell made a confidential report on possible developments in the future relations between Focus and the Union in regard to HEADWAY. A formal report would be presented to the Executive at a later meeting.

100. BRANCH RESOLUTION. The Committee received a resolution from the Leytonstone Branch, and it was

RESOLVED: "That the Leytonstone Branch be thanked for submitting their resolution to the Executive before communicating it to the Prime Minister, and that they be informed that it has the support of the Committee."

101. CHRISTIAN ORGANISATIONS COMMITTEE. The Dean of Chichester reported on minutes 24 (Resolutions from Refugees Committee), 25 (Geneva Cathedral Service)

STATEMENT OF POLICY

S. 398  
20-2-39

203

Amendments drafted by the Chairman in the light of suggestions made at the Spring meetings of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies.

Text as approved and adopted by the General Council in December, 1938.

Suggested amendments for submission to Plenary Congress of International Federation.

Page 1 2nd paragraph

The League of Nations Union has, from the first, recognised that the Treaty of Versailles, like all treaties imposed by the victors upon the vanquished after a war, contained many injustices and the seeds of future conflicts, and it has consistently advocated their gradual removal by peaceful processes. But the Union emphatically rejects the contention that any nation is justified in resorting to force to remedy its grievances. It believes that there is no other effective measure of preventing disturbances of the peace than insistence upon the principles which underlie the Covenant of the League - e.g....

The International Federation of League of Nations Societies has, from the first, consistently advocated the collective examination of any features in existing treaties which are alleged to be unjust by any of the parties thereto, with a view to their amendment by negotiation and agreement. It emphatically rejects, however, the contention that any nation is justified in resorting to force to remedy its grievances. It believes that there is no other effective measure of preventing disturbances of the peace than insistence upon the principles which underlie the Covenant of the League - e.g.....

Page 2 sub-paragraph (4)

(4) That effective machinery should be provided for the ventilation of grievances and the removal of injustices, so that all conditions likely to impair the good understanding between nations should be remedied before they become acute and result in war.

That the existing machinery provided for the ventilation of grievances and the removal of injustices should be used and where necessary improved, so that all conditions likely to impair the good understanding between nations should be remedied before they become acute and result in war.

P.T.O

and 23 (Publicity for Committee) of the meeting held on March 15th.

On Minute 25 -- Geneva Cathedral Service, it was decided to ask the Dean of Chichester to write to the British Chaplain at Geneva, stating that in the opinion of the Union it was most desirable that the Geneva Cathedral Service should be continued, pointing out sources from which money might be raised for the purpose, and intimating the Union's willingness to consider what it could do in the matter if these sources did not produce an adequate amount. A suggestion was made that a Committee, representing different international organisations in Geneva and of which Mr. Bertram Pickard was Chairman, might be willing to help in defraying the expenses of the Service.

On Minute 26 -- Publicity for Committee, in support of the suggestion made by the Plymouth Branch and recorded in this minute, the Dean of Chichester reported on a recent conference he had addressed in Lichfield and which had been organised by a local Churches' Committee. The conference room had been filled to capacity, and the atmosphere of keenness and sense of alertness had been most impressive.

Sir Norman Angell suggested that the Christian Organisations Committee should prepare a memorandum dealing with the moral arguments of collective security and how these arguments could systematically be brought home to the Ministers of this country.

The Dean of Chichester agreed that the moral issue would be much before the public in the near future in view of the fact that the whole collective security issue had lately been raised in a new and vital form. He promised to ask the Christian Organisations Committee to consider what action it could best take in this matter.

RESOLVED: "That minute 26 be approved and adopted."

It was also

RESOLVED: "That minute 24 (Resolution from Refugees Committee) be approved and adopted."

(During the discussion on the above minute Lord Lytton took the Chair).

102. STATEMENT OF POLICY FOR SUBMISSION TO INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION. The Executive had before them amendments (S.395) to the Statement of Policy drafted by the Chairman in the light of suggestions made at the Spring meetings of the International Federation.

Page 3 1st paragraph

It was, indeed, partly the failure to deal with the Sudeten question by the League method and to deal with it in time, which gave the pretext for the attack on Czechoslovakia by Germany.

Humans

It was, indeed, partly the failure of the League to apply Article XIX to the Sudeten question and to explore in time the alleged grievances of the Sudeten/~~Government~~ which gave the pretext for the attack on Czechoslovakia by Germany.

Page 4 final paragraph

We believe that the proposals here made might give a new hope for civilisation, and thus the sacrifices of Czechoslovakia might not have been made in vain.

We are convinced that by giving effect to the principles on which the Covenant is founded and above all by making use of the existing machinery for safeguarding peace, happenings such as have profoundly modified the Central European political situation may be avoided in future

RESOLVED: "That the amendments be approved for incorporation in the Statement of Policy for submission to the Plenary Congress of the International Federation in New York."

103. REFUGEES. A memorandum on the Refugee Problem (S.378a) prepared in accordance with minute 77 of March 2nd, was considered.

Miss Rathbone suggested that a paragraph should be included in the paper, summarising the situation in Czechoslovakia. She reminded the Committee that the sum of £4 millions which was allocated for the migration of Czech refugees was still to be kept for that purpose. After discussion it was decided to leave it to Miss Rathbone and Mrs. Dugdale to prepare a paragraph on this subject for inclusion in the memorandum, and it was

RESOLVED: "That copies of the memorandum be made available for circulation in response to inquiries from speakers, Union Branches and others."

Miss Rathbone having referred to a book written by Sir Norman Angell in collaboration with Mrs. Roden Buxton, entitled YOU AND THE REFUGEES and published in the Penguin series, Sir Norman promised to send copies to members of the Executive for their information.

On the suggestion of Mr. Syrett it was agreed to send to the Editor of the Penguin books an expression of the Union's gratitude for the valuable service he is rendering by the publication, in so popular and convenient a form, of information on current international problems.

104. EUROPEAN SITUATION. The Executive discussed the speech made by Lord Halifax in the House of Lords on March 20th. A letter from Lord Cecil on the subject was read to the Committee.

The Chairman said that through HEADWAY, speeches, etc., the Union should make every possible use of Lord Halifax's speech as an indication that the tide was now turning definitely in the direction advocated by the Union. But he did not think the Executive could welcome the statement, which at present stood alone, as a definite decision on behalf of the Government to re-establish collective security under the League.

Mr. Noel Baker agreed with Lord Lytton and said that the Union had an urgent duty to perform in appealing to public opinion to support the full policy of collective security. He believed the public were more ready to support such a policy than ever before.

The Dean of Chichester read to the Executive a resolution adopted at a meeting of the Chichester Branch on the previous evening and communicated to the Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary. Recent events provided a great opportunity for giving a lead to, and rallying, public opinion for a policy which the 'man-in-the-street' was now demanding.

Captain Cazalet said there was a strong body of support among Conservatives for some definite action in the form of military alliances. There was a tendency to urge that such action should be taken through the machinery of Geneva; but in the minds of many people such machinery signified delay and excuses for evading obligations.

The Chairman thought that any action for collective defence would have a vastly greater effect if taken at Geneva. On the one hand it would be clear that the nations were combining to do something for the sake of a great international ideal and not merely that Great Britain was doing something for the defence of her own interests; and on the other hand the likelihood of parallel action being taken by the United States would be increased.

Sir Norman Angell suggested that the first step towards collective security should be the immediate summoning of a conference of the interested Powers.

Lord Dickinson agreed with the desirability of immediate negotiations, whether by conference or otherwise. But it would be a mistake, in his opinion, to ask for action by the League at the present time.

Miss Rathbone hoped the Government would press for strong economic and financial action to supplement the proposed military alliance.

Miss Courtney urged that a statement on the situation should be sent immediately to the Branches, referring to Lord Halifax's speech and urging them to adopt a policy for immediate collective action.

The Chairman stated that the April number of HEADWAY would, so far as possible, concentrate on the Government's return to the collective system.

Sir Norman Angell hoped that in any statement sent to the Branches they would be reminded that a signpost had been raised by Lord Halifax in the right direction, what was wanted now was that the direction should be made definite and done with the utmost speed, and that the Branches should do everything possible to support action on those lines.

After discussion it was



Branch Letter 153

24th March, 1939

Dear Secretary,

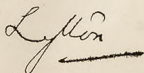
The speech of Lord Halifax in the House of Lords on March 20th is interpreted practically everywhere as indicating a change of policy on the part of the Government decisively in the direction of collective action. Discussing the balance of advantage and risk in the commitments involved in a policy of collective security the Foreign Secretary stated that the danger created by Germany's seizure of Czechoslovakia had tipped the scale in favour of such a policy, "if for no other reason than the necessity of self-defence".

The Executive Committee regard this statement of the Foreign Secretary as of the highest importance. The tide now seems to be running in our direction. Our organisation must give the widest publicity to this development and prepare our people to give wholehearted support to action on the lines indicated by Lord Halifax. That the Government is at last adopting a policy of collective action is welcome news, but we still want to know that the action will be of the right kind. Uncertainty is always dangerous. Mere consultation in the present grave situation is insufficient. The determination to resist aggression must be clearly stated, and stated immediately, if peace is to be preserved. Definiteness and speed are the needs of the moment.

It is not now a question of vague mutual obligations in certain hypothetical circumstances, but of specific joint action to resist aggression of a kind that has already been threatened.

I am sure that our Branches will not need any encouragement from the Executive Committee to support action by the Government of the kind that we have so consistently advocated. We are convinced that a policy of firmness and co-operation with other like-minded nations at this moment offers the greatest hope of avoiding war.

Yours sincerely,



RESOLVED: "That it be left to the Chairman to prepare a statement for communication to the Union's Branches."

Miss Lloyd George urged the necessity of a debate in Parliament at the earliest possible moment as a means of providing effective pressure on the Government, and suggested that an endeavour should be made to get the leader of the Opposition to raise the question on a motion for the Adjournment on the following day. Members of Parliament were asked to take such action as they considered desirable with a view to securing this result.

105. **BATLEY BY-ELECTION.** The Executive received a report on the recent BY-Election at Batley and congratulated Captain Beaumont who had made support for the League of Nations the keynote of his election campaign.

*Lyford*  
 CHAIRMAN,  
 March 30th, 1939.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD  
AT NO. 14 GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1, ON  
THURSDAY, MARCH 30TH, 1939, AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), P.J. Noel Baker, Mrs. Beale, Lord Cecil, Miss J. Corcoran, Miss A.D. Courtney, Lord Dickinson, Vice-Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Miss P. Fawcett, W. Arnold Forster, Miss H. Lloyd George, Lady Hall, Dr. Kimmins, Lady Layton, James Macdonald, Dr. Gilbert Murray, W.T. Pritchard, Miss E. Rathbone, H.S. Syrett, F.W. Weaver, Major Lawrence Wright, together with Major Freshwater.

106. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from F.M. Burris, Major Suxton, the Dean of Chichester, Lord Cranborne, Mrs. Dugdale, Lady Gladstone, Sir Arthur Haworth and R.R. Stokes.
107. MINUTES. The minutes of the Committee dated March 23rd, 1939, were confirmed as circulated.
108. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES

On Minute 99 - 92 - HEADWAY, the Chairman made a confidential report on suggestions which had recently been made concerning the future of HEADWAY, and a discussion followed.

On Minute 104 - European Situation, the Chairman stated that copies of his letter to the Union's Branches (No. 153) had been circulated to members of the Executive on March 24th. Mr. Arnold Forster said that he had used the letter extensively in a series of meetings in the north of England and had found it most valuable.

109. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Executive received resolutions from the Swindon and Withington Branches, and it was

RESOLVED: "That the Swindon and Withington Branches be thanked for their resolutions which are in line with the policy of the Executive Committee."

It was also reported that the Monmouth Town Branch and the Berkhamsted Branch had adopted resolutions in support of the Executive's Declaration of Policy of March 16th, and had been thanked.

Lord Cecil asked that when resolutions were communicated to the Executive from Branch Committee meetings as well as from public meetings an indication should, wherever possible, be given of the numbers present.

110. MR. BEAUMONT. The Chairman stated that he and Mr. Syrett were in favour of re-appointing Mr. Beaumont temporarily on a part-time basis to assist Mr. Hawkey to do work in connection with the Birthday Fund and Albert Hall Celebration. The advisability of having a Member of Parliament on the staff of the Union and of part-time employment having been questioned, the Chairman considered it necessary, before taking action, to ascertain the Executive's views. After considerable discussion, during which the appointment of a permanent second-in-command to Mr. Hawkey had been advocated, it was agreed that, as a general rule, Members of Parliament should not be members of the staff, and that a successor to Mr. Beaumont should be appointed as soon as one could be found. In view of the special work on which Mr. Beaumont had been engaged before his resignation it was agreed that, if he were willing, he should be temporarily re-engaged at half his former salary for so long only as might be necessary to make his successor acquainted with the work he had been doing.

111. REPORT ON ACTION TAKEN BY ADMINISTRATION COMMITTEE. A Report (S.405) on action taken by the Administration Committee was received.

112. OVERSICOM COMMITTEE. The Executive had before them MINUTE 14 (Union's Delegation to Plenary Congress) of the meeting of the Committee held on March 22nd, 1939.

Mr. Arnold Forster said that in the United States during the past month there had been a remarkable rally to the collective peace system, and a great service could be rendered to the American peace movement by a strong delegation from the Union to the Plenary Congress of the International Federation. He therefore hoped that one at least of the Union's leaders would accompany the delegation.

RESOLVED: "That minute 14 be approved and adopted."

113. NATIONAL YOUTH CAMPAIGN. The Chairman drew the Committee's attention to a leaflet recently published by the National Youth Campaign under the title of "A Peace Bloc Can Halt Aggression", and bearing the address of 15 Grosvenor Crescent. The leaflet demanded the resignation of Mr. Chamberlain's Government and the formation of a Government of the people. It had been widely circulated, together with a fly-sheet advertising a meeting organised by the Democratic Union with the same object. The Chairman considered that the issue of the leaflet from Grosvenor Crescent caused great embarrassment to the Union, and he had so informed the Secretary of the Youth Campaign. He reminded the Executive of the resolution adopted by the General Council in 1934 which precluded Branches of the Union from becoming formally associated with other organisations without the specific approval of the Executive in each case. There had been no

authority given for the Union's Youth Groups to become members of the National Youth Campaign although their participation in the Youth Pilgrimage had been reported to and approved by the Executive. He had suggested at the recent conference between the Officers of the Union and representatives of the Youth Groups that Youth Groups should in future be free to co-operate with other bodies in particular activities in keeping with the Union's policy but that they should not form part of any other organisation.

Miss Corcoran expressed regret that the Union should have been placed in an embarrassing position by the issue of the leaflet, and explained the circumstances in which the leaflet was drafted. She thought it asked for no more than did Mr. Eden in the House of Commons recently and it represented the view which the Youth Campaign held very strongly. The Youth Campaign found it difficult to understand the peculiar position of the Union who believed, with them, that a peace bloc was necessary and yet were not prepared to agitate against the Government. She added that the Campaign had now got an office of its own.

After some discussion Lord Cecil suggested, and it was agreed, that, having made its protest in regard to the issue of the leaflet, the Executive should defer further consideration of this matter until the negotiations between the Union's Officers and representatives of the Youth Groups had been concluded and a report made to the Executive.

114. **LOAD DICKINSON.** The Chairman, on behalf of the Executive, expressed warm congratulations to Lord Dickinson who would be celebrating his eightieth birthday on April 8th.
115. **OVERSEAS REPORT.** The Executive received the Overseas Report for March (S.380). Special reference was made to the Canadian Society.
116. **EUROPEAN SITUATION.** Lord Cecil referred to a recent speech in the House of Lords by Lord Hastings whose thesis seemed to be that B.M. Government had nothing to do with moral obligations: their only purpose was to promote the interests and prosperity of this country, and any talk about moral obligations was simply pernicious.

Mr. Eyrett spoke of the agreement recently concluded between Roumania and Germany. In his opinion Roumania, so far as her trade relations were concerned, had bound herself hand and foot to Germany, and he expressed surprise that very little notice had been taken of the matter in Parliament.

Mr. Noel Baker regarded the Roumanian-German treaty, which he felt was signed under the threat of an ultimatum, as a disaster. But the treaty was obviously of long-distance effect and during the interval this country had to decide whether Herr Hitler was to be allowed to dominate Europe or not. He deplored the absence of definite information from H.M. Government concerning the negotiations which were in progress with other Powers. He hoped the Union would immediately take action to encourage the Government to state plainly that this country's proposal was for a real security alliance to uphold international law.

Lord Cecil agreed that the Union should press strongly for a definite and precise agreement. He regretted that use was not being made of the League of Nations machinery for this purpose. Lord Halifax's recent speech constituted a definite advance on the part of H.M. Government. It was clear that the Foreign Secretary had come to the conclusion that collective security under the same conditions as the Covenant of the League was the only thing that could save this country.

Mr. Arnold Forster said that the Union had always stood, not for a closed alliance against private enemies, but for an open alliance against aggression. He hoped the Executive would once more re-affirm that point in a declaration. Lord Cecil thought that this point was clearly made in the letter sent by the Chairman to the Union's Branches a week earlier.

The Chairman considered that great danger lay in the fact that H.M. Government were merely marking time at a moment when a definite and specific statement of policy was essential. The Executive had expected that, in the week which had elapsed since its last meeting, action by H.M. Government for collective security would have matured. The Committee should consider therefore whether it wished to make any statement deploring the delay in definite action by the Government.

Mr. Noel Baker submitted a draft resolution for consideration by the Committee.

Lord Cecil supported Mr. Noel Baker's resolution and thought the Union had not merely to ask for a policy which would be most generally approved but, without being extravagant or unreasonable, to urge the policy which in its opinion was the right one. He hoped that quotations from Lord Halifax's speech would be included in the resolution.

Dr. Murray suggested that the resolution should state that the Union's policy was the full League of Nations policy: the redress of all grievances, and the peaceful settlement of all differences; but that,

at the moment, a crisis had arisen in which we had to face an immediate danger of war and for that an alliance of all peace-loving nations was needed.

After further discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That it be left to the Chairman and Lord Cecil to draft a resolution, in the light of the Executive's discussion, for immediate communication to H.M. Government and the press."

(Note. The text of the resolution reads as follows:-

X The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union has already expressed its welcome of the policy, announced by Lord Halifax in the House of Lords, in support of the "thesis expressed in the Covenant of the League of Nations" including the proposition that those States which were willing to accept such an obligation should agree "that an attack on one should be treated as an attack on all".

The Committee feels that prompt and public action by H.M. Government on the lines of this policy is essential if war is to be avoided, and regards with anxiety the absence of any statement by the Government as to the action it has taken in order to assure the co-operation of all peace-loving States in the policy announced by Lord Halifax.) X

117. DATE OF NEXT MEETING.

RESOLVED: "That the next meeting of the Committee be held on Thursday, April 20th, but that it be left to the Chairman to summon a special meeting in the interval if, in his opinion, such a meeting is desirable."

118. CLOSING OF OFFICE FOR EASTER.

RESOLVED: "That the office be closed from 1 p.m. on Thursday, April 6th, until 10 a.m. on Tuesday, April 11th."

*H. D. Coventry*  
CHAIRMAN

April 20th, 1939.

## LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 14 GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1. ON THURSDAY, APRIL 20TH, 1939, AT 11 a.m.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Miss Courtney, Vyvyan Adams, Sir Norman Angell, W. Arnold-Forster, Duches of Atholl, P.J. Noel Baker, Mrs. Beale, Captain Casalet, Iona Cecil, Miss Coocoran, Vice-Admiral Drury-Lowe, Miss Fawcett, Miss Lloyd George, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, J.A. Keyser, Dr. Kimmins, J. Macdonald, Dr. G. Murray, W.T. Pritchard, Miss Rathbone, H.P. Shaw, H.S. Syrett, F.W. Weaver, Major Lawrence Wright, together with Major Freshwater.

119. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Mr. Barris, Lord Cranborne and Mrs. Fugdale.

120. ISABEL MARCHIONESS OF ABERDEEN AND REMAIN. The Executive learned with deep regret of the death of Lady Aberdeen, who had been for many years a Vice-President of the Union and President of the North of Scotland District Council.

RESOLVED: "That the Chairman be asked to write to the Marquess of Aberdeen, expressing the sympathy of the Executive in his bereavement and their deep appreciation of the service rendered to the Union in particular, and the cause of peace in general, by Lady Aberdeen."

121. MINUTES. The minutes of the Committee dated March 30th, 1939 were confirmed as circulated.

122. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 108 - 99 - HEADWAY, Sir Norman Angell reported that a discussion had taken place on April 14th between Lord Lytton, Mr. Syrett and himself when agreement had been reached concerning the method by which the wishes expressed by the Executive at recent meetings might be carried into effect. Sir Norman was to see Sir Robert Waley Cohen that afternoon and would report further to the Executive at the next meeting. Sir Norman added that, since an important speech was to be made by Herr Hitler on April 28th which might change the whole international situation, it was felt that it would be wiser to defer any change in the editorial form of HEADWAY, such as had been discussed recently, until the June number.

Major Wright said that the Finance Committee, at their meeting on the previous day, had urged that the Union should resume control of HEADWAY as soon as possible; the present financial position of the Union was unsatisfactory and was being adversely affected by that of the paper.

The Chairman stated that it had been decided to inform Sir Robert Waley Cohen that the Union wished to resume control of the paper, and that, in order that this might be done on a friendly basis, to suggest that the £3,000 of paid-up shares in the Focus Company and which at present earned no dividend but gave control of the paper should be taken over by the Union and replaced by non-cumulative preference shares bearing interest at 3 per cent. but giving no control.

NOTES OF AN INFORMAL MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE  
HELD AT 15 GROSVENOR CRESCENT, S.W.1 ON THURSDAY,  
APRIL 13TH, 1939 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Sir Norman Angell,  
Captain V.A.Cazalet, Lord Cecil, Miss  
Corcoran, Miss Courtney, Miss Fawcett,  
Viscountess Gladstone, Lady Hall, Sir John  
Harris, Vice-Admiral Drury-Lowe, Dr. Murray,  
Mr. W.T.Pritchard, Major Lawrence Wright  
and the Secretary.

### Invasion of Albania and Collective Defence

Lord Lytton said that he had agreed to summon an informal meeting of the Executive in view of the persistent rumours that the Government was contemplating a further pact with Italy. Those rumours, however, had since been emphatically denied. He was nevertheless still disturbed that although the policy of appeasement had been abandoned in favour of collective defence yet all that had been accomplished during the fortnight or three weeks that had intervened was a qualified pact with Poland. The Government still seemed terribly shy of coming to an agreement with Russia.

Dr. Murray asked how far the Franco-Russian Treaty was still operative.

Lord Cecil was of opinion that it will still in force and Dr. Murray thought that if that were true it made a difference to the situation.

It was pointed out that strategically the Polish Pact put Britain in a weak position in the event of war unless Russia was brought in.

Sir Norman Angell asked what was the "stop" in the Cabinet that prevented an arrangement with Russia.

Lord Lytton thought there were two:

- (a) that certain members of the Government would prefer to resign rather than make an agreement with Russia, and
- (b) their view was strengthened by the reported objections of Poland.

Lord Cecil urged that Britain should conclude an agreement with Russia. This would partly overcome the suspicions of Poland and Rumania.

Sir Norman Angell thought that the question was urgent as it seemed now after her first efforts, Russia was in two moods as to whether she should come in or not. There was no real reason why she should come in at all.

The general view of the Committee was:

- (1) That we should have no further dealings or agreements with Mussolini.
  - (2) That we should denounce the invasion of Albania.
- P.T.O*



- (3) That Britain should immediately conclude an agreement with Russia and that the ensuing difficulties concerning Poland and Rumania be dealt with later.
- (4) That a general agreement of the kind needed could better be secured through the League machinery than by the individual efforts of Governments.

Lady Gladstone suggested that the time had arrived to consider the question of the operation of the Covenant in the light of experience. She thought that examination would prove that it needed strengthening, probably along the lines of the Geneva Protocol.

Lord Cecil agreed and said he would propose at the next meeting of the Executive that a Committee consisting of people like Sir Arthur Salter, Mr. H.B. Butler, General Temperly and others who had had practical experience of the working of the Covenant should be set up for this purpose.

On Minute 112 - Overseas Committee, a letter was reported from Professor Ruyssen, stating that the American League of Nations Association had informed the Federation that, in view of the prevailing critical situation, it would be inexpedient to hold the forthcoming Plenary Congress in New York, and urging that the Congress should be held instead in Europe. In spite of repeated appeals to Societies to secure strong and representative delegations for New York, no more than ten delegates had so far been notified to the Federation Secretariat. Professor Ruyssen had asked for the Union's views regarding the desirability of the Plenary Congress being held (1) in Switzerland and (2) in the autumn immediately before the Assembly of the League instead of in June.

Mr. Arnold-Forster stated that the American Union for Concerted Peace Efforts was likely to meet in September and, if this were so, it would prevent many influential American delegates from attending the Federation's Plenary Congress in Switzerland.

After further discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That, in principle, the Executive approves of the holding of the Plenary Congress of the Federation in Geneva during the week preceding the meeting of the League Assembly; that the American Society be asked by cable if this would hinder their sending a delegation; that Professor Ruyssen be so informed; and that it be left to the Union's Officers to take a final decision on behalf of the Executive in the light of the reply from the American Society."

123. RESIGNATION OF MR. G. CARRITT. It was reported that Mr. Gabriel Carritt had on April 12th resigned his appointment with the Union as Secretary of the National Youth Committee in order to contest the Abbey Division of Westminster in the forthcoming By-Election.

RESOLVED: "That Mr. Carritt's resignation be accepted."

124. VACANCIES ON COMMITTEE. After statements by the Chairman and Lord Cecil it was

RESOLVED: "That Dame Adelaide Livingstone and Dr. Maxwell Garnett be invited to join the Executive Committee."

125. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Executive received resolutions from the L.C.C. (Staff), Paddington, Chichester, Knebworth, Derby and Bedford Branches, and the East of Scotland District Council. It was

RESOLVED: (1) That the L.C.C. (Staff) Branch be thanked for their resolution, but with reference to the final paragraph be reminded of the decision of the General Council in June, 1934, that 'all resolutions, except such as are clearly within the terms of the declared policy of the Union, intended for submission to any of H.M. Ministers, shall first be submitted to the Executive Committee of the Union'.

- (2) That the Paddington, Chichester, Knebworth and Derby Branches, and the East of Scotland District Council be thanked for their resolutions which are in line with the policy of the Executive Committee.

- (3) That the Bedford Branch be thanked for their resolution and be reminded of the Statement of Policy adopted by the General Council at its December meeting, and of President Roosevelt's invitation of 14th April which has the support of H.M. Government.

126. SUPPLY OF RAW MATERIALS TO DICTATORSHIP COUNTRIES. The Executive considered the following resolution adopted by the Halifax Branch on March 29th:

"We, members of the Halifax Branch of the League of Nations Union, call upon our representatives in the House of Commons to do all in their power to stop the exportation from this country to Germany of those raw materials which she requires for the manufacture of armaments, including aircraft."

Mr. Arnold-Forster said that he had been present at the meeting when the above resolution was adopted, and referred to figures which the office had supplied to him showing the extent to which raw materials were at present being exported from Great Britain and the Dominions to the Dictatorship countries. He suggested that the Executive should carefully consider this matter, perhaps with a view to submitting a resolution on the subject to the annual meeting of the General Council.

Miss Rathbone suggested that questions might be asked in Parliament with a view to obtaining official information regarding the supplies of raw materials to Germany, Italy and Japan.

Lord Cecil hoped that in order to facilitate the supply of information, several Members of Parliament would ask questions on different aspects of the subject. In regard to Japan he felt that the only effective method of depriving her of supplies of raw materials was refusal to accept her exports.

Mr. Noel Baker suggested that information regarding exports from Canada could be obtained from Mr. Macleod of Toronto who was at present in Paris.

Sir John Harris stated that in the Colonial Empire there were a few items of raw material which were vital to armament manufacture but which were excessively scarce. He hoped that the importance of retaining the supply for use by the British Empire would be borne in mind when questions were asked in Parliament.

The Chairman suggested that Members of Parliament on the Executive should consult together regarding the method by which information on the subject could best be obtained from H.M. Government and action be taken, and after further discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That Mr. Arnold-Forster be asked to prepare, in consultation with the Chairman, a draft resolution for consideration at the next meeting of the Executive in the light of the information received in answer to the Parliamentary questions; and that Mr. Winston Churchill, Mr. Eden and Sir Arthur Salter be invited to attend the meeting or, if this is not possible, to send their observations in writing."

127. **RECONSTITUTION OF EDUCATION COMMITTEE.** The Chairman reported that a further meeting had been held between the Officers of the Union and representatives of the Education Committee. On the basis of that discussion the Chairman had prepared a draft agreement and, when this had been considered by the Education Committee, a further report would be made to the Executive.
128. **REFORM OF LEAGUE PROCEDURE.** Lord Cecil said that at the informal meeting of the Executive on April 13th he had suggested that a small sub-Committee should be appointed to study the question of what changes or modifications, if any, were desirable in the present circumstances either in the Covenant or the procedure of the League. He had in mind the restriction of any obligation to use coercive action to the Members of the League in the same Continent, and the development of a League corporate feeling which would provide a satisfactory basis for active policy by the League. He suggested that the sub-Committee should be a small one and consist of persons who had had actual experience of the working of the League, such as General Temperley, Sir Arthur Salter and Mr. H.B. Butler.

Reference was made to the Report on the Reform and Development of the League of Nations published by the Union in July 1936, and after discussion it was

**RESOLVED:** "That a small sub-Committee be appointed on the lines suggested by Lord Cecil, and that the composition of the Committee be left in the hands of the Chairman."

129. **EUROPEAN SITUATION.** The Committee discussed the debate in the House of Lords on the previous day. Arising out of a suggestion by Dr. Murray, Mr. Le Prevost stated that he proposed to use Lord Cecil's speech as the main feature in the May HEADWAY.

The Committee then considered President Roosevelt's message of April 14th. Lord Cecil thought it unfortunate that the impression had been created that President Roosevelt had recommended a general conference whereas, in fact, he had urged a series of discussions on (1) disarmament, (2) economic measures and (3) political measures. In Lord Cecil's opinion, a general conference at the present moment would inevitably end in disaster.

The Chairman thought the importance of the President's declaration lay in the fact that if the proposals were rejected America would join with the European countries in resisting the Dictators; if, on the other hand, they were accepted in any way, America would join in the attempt to secure a peace settlement.

Reference was made to a letter dated April 18th from Captain U.H. Cooke, suggesting a "colossal publicity effort" in the press and by radio to make known President Roosevelt's attempt to save civilisation. The Committee discussed the recent news bulletins broadcast by the B.B.C. in German. The Chairman agreed to write to the Director of the B.B.C. expressing the Committee's warm appreciation of the broadcasts and their hope that they would be continued daily if possible.

Mr. Noel Baker hoped that the Executive would adopt a resolution or memorandum suggesting the methods which, in their opinion, would prove most successful for H.M. Government's negotiations with Rumania, Bulgaria and other Powers.

Mr. Noel Baker was asked to prepare a draft memorandum on the subject for consideration by the Executive at its next meeting.

Lady Gladstone drew attention to the reference in Lord Halifax's recent speech in the House of Lords to an appeal having been made by Albania. She suggested that a question might be asked in Parliament with a view to ascertaining to whom the appeal had been addressed.

130. OVERSEAS REPORT. The Overseas Report for April (S.452) was received.

131. CHRISTIAN ORGANISATIONS COMMITTEE. Admiral Drury-Lowe reported, as a matter of urgency, on minute 36 (President Roosevelt's Message) of the meeting of the Christian Organisations Committee held on the previous day, and it was

RESOLVED: "That this minute be approved."

132. PARIS CONFERENCE FOR THE DEFENCE OF PEACE AND HUMANITY. A communication was reported from the I.P.C. inviting the Union to send delegates to a conference for the Defence of Peace and Humanity to be held in Paris on May 13th and 14th. After it had been reported that the French Committee of the I.P.C. were not supporting the conference, no action was taken.

*H. D. Gough*  
CHAIRMAN.

April 27th, 1939.

## LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 12 GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W. 1. ON THURSDAY, APRIL 27TH, 1939 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Sir Norman Angell, W. Arnold-Forster, P.J. Noel Baker, Captain Cazalet, Lord Cecil, Miss Coreoran, Miss Courtney, Lord Cranborne, Vice-Admiral Drury-Lowe, Miss Fawcett, Dr. Garnett, Lady Gladstone, Sir John Harris, A. Henderson, J.A. Keyser, Dr. Kimmins, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Gale R. Pender, Dr. G. Murray, W.T. Pritchard, Miss Rathbone, H.F. Shaw, H.S. Syrett, E. Wallis-Jones, Major Lawrence Wright, together with Major Freshwater.

133. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Mrs. Corbett Ashby Mrs. Beale, Mr. Burris, Major Suxton, Dean of Chichester, Mrs. Dugdale, Sir Arthur Haworth, Mr. MacDonald.
134. MINUTES. The minutes of the Committee dated April 20th were confirmed as circulated.
135. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 122 - 109 - HEADWAY, Sir Norman Angell reported that negotiations regarding the future of HEADWAY were proceeding satisfactorily. Most of the conditions laid down by the Executive concerning the severance of the Focus Company from any kind of future control over the paper had been agreed to. He hoped that early in May it would be possible to make a report to the Executive concerning the editorial aspect of the paper, as from the June number. Sir Norman was asked to keep the Secretary informed of the progress of negotiations in order that arrangements might be made, in advance, for providing office accommodation.

Mr. Syrett urged that before any definite decision was reached in the matter of HEADWAY, the Executive should satisfy itself that the Focus Company was financially solvent, and that the Union should be furnished immediately with the accounts of the Company, and particulars of its liabilities and commitments. The Chairman assured Mr. Syrett that no agreement would be entered into until the Union's representatives were satisfied concerning the financial position; and Sir Norman Angell said he had received a promise from the Company's auditor that a complete balance sheet would be submitted to the Union forthwith.

On Minute 122 - 112 - Overseas Committee: Plenary Congress, it was reported that communications had been sent as directed to the American League of Nations Society and to Professor Huyssen, but their replies had not yet been received.

On Minute 124 - Vacancies on Committee, the Chairman welcomed Dame Adelaide Livingstone and Dr. Garnett, both of whom had accepted the invitation to join the Committee.

On Minute 128 - Reform of League Procedure, the Chairman stated that a report would be made to the next meeting of the Executive concerning the composition of the sub-Committee.

13c. MINUTES OF COMMITTEES.

- (a) Finance. Mr. Syrett reported on the minutes of the Committee held on 19th April, 1939 and called attention to unsatisfactory financial position.

On Minute 26 - Report of Director of Appeals.  
The Executive asked that a letter of thanks should be sent, on their behalf, to Sir Pontague Burton for his generosity in defraying the cost of 10,000 albums for the Birthday Stamps.

Lady Gladstone stated that the scheme for the Birthday Fund had been reported to the Women's Advisory Council at their meeting on the previous day, and had been received with great interest.

On Minute 27 - National Peace Fund, it was agreed that the matter of the National Peace Fund should be referred for discussion by the Chairman, Lord Cecil and Mr. Syrett.

- (b) Christian Organisations. Admiral Drury-Lowe reported on minutes 37 and 40 of the meeting held on April 19th, 1939.

On Minute 37 - Geneva Cathedral Service, Sir John Harris expressed his readiness to communicate with a lady in Scotland whom he suggested might be willing to help in defraying the expenses of a preacher for the Geneva Cathedral Service, and it was

RESOLVED: "That consideration of this minute be deferred pending a report from Sir John Harris".

On Minute 40 - Co-optations to General Council,  
on the motion of Dr. Garnett it was

RESOLVED: "That subject to the inclusion of the Provost of Portsmouth in the list of co-optations, this minute be approved and adopted".

- (c) Refugees. Miss Courtney reported on the minutes of the meeting held on 21st April, 1939.

On Minute 28 - Parliamentary Debate on the subject of Refugees. It was

RESOLVED: "That the Executive warmly approves of the proposal for a debate in the House of Lords on the subject of refugees".

On Minute 29 - Resolution for General Council of the Union. SIR NORMAN ANGELL drew attention to recent articles by Professor Maynard Keynes on the economics of the refugee problem. He also referred to a proposal, supported by Dr. Duif Cooper, for a Foreign Legion: Great Britain was lamenting its shortage of a trained army when trained men were waiting on the Continent for admission to this country.

Captain Cazalet spoke of a meeting held in the House of Commons on April 25th when Lord Hailey had stated that it was the Government's intention to hand over the £4,000,000 for the Czechs to trustees, one of whom would be appointed by the Treasury and

the Home Office. When this had been done the Trustees would be free to dispose of the money in whatever way they thought best.

Mr. Arnold Forster reminded the Committee that in the case of the Greek refugees an international loan had been found the best means of dealing with the matter on international lines. He suggested that the question of an international loan in the present case should be discussed with Sir Herbert Emerson when the resolution for the General Council was put before him.

Lady Gladstone said that, at the meeting of the Women's Advisory Council on the previous day, Sir Herbert Emerson had expressed the opinion that a "corporation" loan would be preferable to an international loan.

After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That this minute be approved and adopted; that Miss Courtney be asked, when discussing the resolution for the General Council with Sir Herbert Emerson, to raise the question of an international loan; and that, if Sir Herbert Emerson agrees, an additional paragraph on such lines as he may approve be included in the resolution".

137. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Executive received resolutions from the Beddington, Carshalton and Wallington Branch, and the Wilmslow, Godalming and Bishop Auckland Branches.

- RESOLVED: (1) "That the Beddington, Carshalton and Wallington Branch be thanked for their resolution and be informed of the Executive's decision to appoint a sub-Committee to consider what changes or modifications, if any, are desirable in the present circumstances either in the Covenant or the procedure of the League".
- (2) "That the Wilmslow Branch be thanked for their resolution and be informed that the Executive Committee shares their hope that H.M. Government will pursue their new policy with firmness".
- (3) "That the Godalming Branch be thanked for their resolution; be reminded of the resolution adopted by the General Council at its last meeting; and be informed of the resolution contained in minute 139 below".
- (4) "That the Bishop Auckland Branch be thanked for their resolution, and be reminded of the resolution adopted by the General Council at its last annual meeting in June, 1936, on the subject of international police action".



S.459  
25.4.39

GERMAN IMPORTS OF WAR MATERIALS

in thousands of tons

(Figures from official German trade returns)

	TOTAL IMPORTS				From British Empire 1928	From U.S.A. 1928
	1929	1930	1937	1938		
Petroleum	2,755	3,476	4,335	4,986	26	1,183
Iron Ore	16,953	13,890	20,620	21,928	1,596	-
Nickel Ore	not listed separately	not listed separately	20	34	16	-
Copper Ore	438	442	556	654	193	-
Manganese Ore	390	336	554	426	288	-

N.B. Germany's total imports were almost three times as great in 1929 as in 1937. The proportion which her imports of war materials bear to her total purchases from abroad, has, therefore increased much more than their absolute quantity.

138. RESOLUTIONS OF NATIONAL YOUTH GROUPS COUNCIL. The Executive had before them the policy Resolutions adopted by the Fourth National Youth Groups Council held at Oxford from April 7th to 10th (S.439). Miss Corcoran stated that the resolutions had received support from a very large majority of the delegates present and therefore might be taken to represent the opinion of the Youth Groups at the present time.

In regard to resolution 2 (National Service) Miss Corcoran urged the Executive carefully to consider the attitude of the Youth Groups on the question of National Service and Conscription. There was an almost unanimous feeling inside the Youth Groups that conscription at the present time was not necessary and they wished to oppose it publicly. She added that she had been asked to write an article for publication in the press on the opinion of the Youth Groups on this matter.

The Chairman held that it would not be proper for the Union to express an opinion on the subject of National Service or Conscription any more than on any other item of domestic policy.

Dr. Murray thought this was a matter in which the greatest caution was needed. If there were any strong refusal to allow conscription to work in this country, it would produce a most acute political controversy and if the Union were in any way associated with such a movement, it would be false to its ideals of collective security and would suffer tremendous damage in public opinion. He thought that many Branches of the Union would be looking to the Executive for guidance in this matter, and suggested that a statement should be prepared on the subject.

Miss Rathbone asked that the Youth Groups should consider, not only their relation to the Union but also the likely effect on our potential allies and our potential enemies.

In regard to the other resolutions of the Youth Groups Council, the Chairman reminded the Executive that the Officers of the Union were at present discussing with representatives of the Youth Groups their future relation to the Union and, in particular, the form which resolutions of the Youth Groups Council should take. He suggested that the present resolutions required a considered reply from the Executive and, after discussion, it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Chairman be asked to prepare, for consideration at the next meeting, a reasoned reply to the various resolutions of the Youth Groups Council.

(2) "That the Chairman be also asked to prepare a statement for circulation to Branches explaining why, in the Executive's view, the question of National Service and Conscription is not one on which the Union ought to express an opinion."

139. EXPORT OF RAW MATERIALS TO DICTATORSHIP COUNTRIES. The Committee had before them a draft resolution and Explanatory Note (S.45c and 45ca) prepared by Mr. Arnold Forster in accordance with minute 126, together

with a statistical table (S.409) showing the German imports of war materials in 1922, 1926, 1927 and 1928. Information supplied in answer to questions in Parliament was also given to the Committee.

The Chairman reported that the draft resolution, together with an invitation to attend the present meeting or, alternatively, to send comments in writing, had been sent to Mr. Eden, Mr. Churchill and Sir Arthur Salter. Mr. Eden had written, expressing his inability to be present. The Chairman had, however, had a conversation with him on the subject when he had pointed out the difficulty of separating economic action and the ability, from a military point of view, to enforce it if necessary. No reply had been received from Mr. Churchill or Sir Arthur Salter.

Lord Cecil thought that a regular principle should be laid down that immediately there was an appreciable danger of war with any country Great Britain should cut off automatically all supplies of raw materials.

Mr. Henderson expressed the opinion that it would not be a breach of international law if a particular government were to prohibit export of certain articles for purposes of self defence or for its own economic security.

Mr. Wallis Jones said that during the past year over half a million tons of mercantile shipping had been transferred to foreign countries. Questions had been asked in Parliament on the subject but no satisfactory reply had been forthcoming. He suggested that a reference to shipping should be included in the resolution.

Captain Cazalet reminded the Committee that under the present regulations all shipping for sale had first to be offered to the Board of Trade.

After further discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union,

Noting Japan's aggression in the East and the manifest danger that Germany and Italy may continue their series of aggressive blows in the West; and

Noting that huge quantities of raw materials, required for war purposes, have been imported lately by these countries from the British Empire;

Re-affirms the Union's often repeated demand for concerted measures to withhold purchasing power and war supplies, including oil, from Japan; and

Urges that immediate action should be taken, by Governmental purchases or otherwise, to stop exports of war material from British Empire sources to Germany and Italy. Every effort should be made to secure the co-operation of France, Russia, the United States and the Netherlands".

(2) "That the above resolution be immediately communicated to H.M. Government and the press."

(3) That the resolution, mutatis mutandis, be included in the Agenda for the Annual Meeting of the General Council.

140. EUROPEAN SITUATION: MEMORANDUM BY MR. NOEL BAKER. The Executive had before them a memorandum by Mr. Noel Baker (S.4c1) prepared in accordance with minute 129 of the last meeting.

Lord Cecil suggested that the memorandum should be referred to the sub-Committee appointed at the last meeting to examine what, if any, alterations were desirable in the present circumstances either in the Covenant or the procedure of the League.

Dr. Garnett suggested that the sub-Committee might also consider drawing up a practical plan for rebuilding the League if, unfortunately, war came in the near future. The Executive accepted with thanks Dr. Garnett's offer to prepare a paper on this subject to supplement Mr. Baker's memorandum.

Mr. Noel Baker said that his memorandum had been prepared hastily and he would like an opportunity of adding a further section dealing with the reconstruction which must necessarily follow since the collective system had been almost totally destroyed. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That Mr. Noel Baker's memorandum, as finally drafted, be submitted for consideration by the sub-Committee on Reform of League Procedure".

Miss Courtney drew attention to the movement for a Federal Union as outlined in Mr. Clarence Streit's book UNION NOW, and asked what would be the relation of the League of Nations Union to the movement.

Dr. Murray said he had prepared a memorandum dealing with Mr. Streit's plan from the Union's point of view which he would be glad to submit to the Committee. The Chairman asked that copies should be circulated to the Executive for their next meeting.

*Lyller*  
CHAIRMAN  
May 4th, 1939.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 14 GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1. ON THURSDAY, MAY 4TH, 1939, AT 11 a.m.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Mrs. Beale, F.M. Burris, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Lord Cecil, Miss Corcoran, Miss Courtney, Lord Cranborne, Miss P. Fawcett, W. Arnold-Forster, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, Sir Arthur Haworth, P. Wallis-Jones, J.A. Koyser, Dr. Kimmins, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Vice-Admiral Drury-Lowe, J. Macdonald, G. de M. Maeder, Dr. G. Murray, W.T. Pritchard, Major L. Wright, together with Major Freshwater.

141. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Vyvyan Adams, Major Buxton, Dean of Chichester, Mrs. Dagdale, Dr. Maxwell Garnett and H.S. Syrett.

142. MR. CHIPMAN AND MISS DAUGAARD. The Chairman, on behalf of the Committee, welcomed Mr. Chipman, Chairman of the Canadian League of Nations Society, and Miss Daugaard of the Danish League of Nations Society, who attended the Executive's meeting by invitation.

143. MR. BOYD-CARPENTER. After a statement by the Chairman and by Lord Cecil it was

RESOLVED: "That, subject to anything arising from the Chairman's conversation with Miss Edith Ellis which might, in his opinion, render reconsideration of the matter advisable, the resignation of Mr. Boyd-Carpenter (the Union's Regional Representative for Yorkshire) be accepted from August 1st and that he be given three months' leave of absence immediately".

144. MINUTES. Subject to the following report on minute 139, the minutes of the meeting held on April 27th were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 139 - Export of Raw Materials to Dictatorship Countries, Mr. Macdonald referred to the sixth paragraph and said that there were no regulations requiring all shipping for sale to be offered first to the Board of Trade. But when a shipping company desired to sell a vessel, application had to be made to the Board of Trade for the transfer of its registration.

Reference was made to the statement by Mr. Oliver Stanley in the House of Commons on May 2nd to the effect that legislation would be introduced as soon as possible to require that any vessels which owners wished to scrap or sell abroad should be offered to the Government as part of the scheme for a reserve of tonnage.

145. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 135 - 122 - HEADWAY, the Chairman reported that negotiations concerning HEADWAY were being continued, and that Mr. Syrett had had a satisfactory talk with Sir Norman Angell on the subject. The Chairman would be meeting Sir Norman and Mr. Wickham Steed on the following day in order to discuss the future policy of the paper.

P.T.O.

Sir Norman Angell had suggested that plans should be prepared to effect economies in the administration of HEADWAY with the least possible delay.

On Minute 125 - 128 - Reform of League Procedure, the Chairman reported that the following had been invited to serve on the sub-Committee: Mr. H.B. Butler, Major Buxton, Lord Cecil, Lord Cranborne, Sir Cecil Hurst, Dr. Murray, Mr. Noel-Baker, Lord Perth, Sir Arthur Salter, General Temperley and Professor Webster.

On Minute 136(b) - Geneva Cathedral Service, no information had yet been received from Sir John Harris concerning the result of the inquiries he had offered to make.

#### 146. MINUTES OF COMMITTEES.

- (a) Industrial Advisory Committee. Lady Hall reported on minutes 27 (I.L.O. Economics), 30 (International Federation of League of Nations Societies) and 31 (General Council, Birmingham).

RESOLVED: (1) "That minute 27 be approved and adopted; and that the Chairman be asked to write to the Minister of Labour on the lines of his recent letter to Lord Halifax."

(2) "That minutes 30 and 31 be approved and adopted."

- (b) Women's Advisory Council. Lady Gladstone reported on minute 715 (The International Situation) of the meeting held on April 26th, 1939. It was

RESOLVED: "That the resolution contained in this minute be approved for communication to the societies represented on the W.A.C; and that, mutatis mutandis, it be submitted in the name of the Executive Committee to the Annual Meeting of the General Council in Birmingham."

147. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Executive received resolutions from the Torquay Branch and the North Staffordshire District Council, and it was

RESOLVED: "That the Torquay Branch and the North Staffordshire District Council be thanked for their resolutions with the terms of which the Executive Committee are in accord."

148. NATIONAL YOUTH GROUPS COUNCIL. The Executive gave further consideration to the resolutions of the National Youth Groups Council of April 7/10th, and had before them a draft, prepared by the Chairman, for the Executive's reply to the resolutions (S.469). After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the following be communicated to the National Youth Groups Council as the reply of the Executive to their various resolutions:

The Executive Committee of the I.N.U. has received with interest and appreciation the Report of the Fourth Annual Youth Groups Council held near Oxford at Easter. It congratulates its Youth Groups on the enthusiasm of their members and their zeal in the cause of organised peace through the League of Nations.

It submits the following answers to the resolutions submitted to it by the Council:

1. **Foreign Policy.** The Executive Committee recognises this resolution to be in line with its own repeatedly declared policy, but it cannot accept the resolution as naturally it prefers its policy to be stated in the form carefully prepared by itself and approved by the General Council rather than in the more controversial form in which it has been re-stated by the Youth Groups of the Union.

All the activities of the Union are directed towards securing the kind of Foreign Policy indicated in this resolution and the Executive Committee looks to the Youth Groups for co-operation and assistance in the pursuit of this object.

2. **National Service.** The Executive Committee takes note of the attitude adopted by the Youth Groups Council on the subject of conscription but it does not submit any reasoned reply to this resolution on the ground that it is not within the scope of the activities of the Union. Individual members of the Union are, of course, at liberty to express their personal opinions on the subject.
3. **China.** The Executive Committee accepts this resolution as in line with its own policy.
4. **The Colonial Question.** The Executive Committee approves the preamble to this resolution but cannot accept the resolution itself which goes beyond the requirements of the case and contains recommendations which in the opinion of the Executive Committee are not suited to the conditions in most tropical colonies.
5. **World Conference.** The Executive Committee has no objection to this resolution, but it maintains its own attitude towards the subject of a World Conference as defined in the Statement of Policy adopted by the General Council in December, 1938.
6. **Racial Persecution and Prejudice.** The Executive Committee accepts and heartily endorses this resolution.
7. **Ratification of the Vassar Pact.** The Executive Committee notes the resolution; congratulates the Youth Groups on the part they played in the World Youth Congress held in New York; and commends a study of the Vassar Pact to all Youth Groups.
8. **National Youth Campaign.** The Executive notes the views of the Youth Groups Council contained in this resolution and calls their attention to the answer given to No. 2.
9. **I.L.O. and Youth Charter, 10. Unemployment, Youth Charter and I.L.O., 11. B.V.P.A. and Refugees, 12. Refugees, and 13. Refugees and the League.** The Executive Committee accepts these resolutions.

14. Aid for Spanish People, 15. Youth Parliament and Peace Bill, and 16. YOUTH. The Executive Committee notes these resolutions.
17. Branches with Youth Groups, 18. Membership, 19. Co-operation with Other Organisations, and 20. Co-operation. The Executive Committee accepts these resolutions.
21. The Fighting Fund. The Executive Committee refers this resolution to the Finance Committee.
22. Chairman of National Council and Committee, 23. President and Vice-Presidents. The Executive Committee notes these resolutions.
149. ANNUAL MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL. The Executive had before them motions for submission to the Annual Meeting of the General Council in Birmingham (S.468.)
- (a) Refugees. After Miss Courtney had reported a discussion which she and Mr. Porter Goff had had with Sir Herbert Emerson, it was

RESOLVED: (1) That the draft resolution referred to in minute 136 of the last meeting, be approved and adopted for submission to the General Council in the following form:

REFUGEES.

The General Council of the Union

WELCOMES the union of the office of the League of Nations High Commissioner for Refugees with that of the Director of the Inter-Governmental Committee;

URGES

- (1) That in framing regulations for entrance for refugees into this country and for their emigration to other parts of the Empire, the Government should recognise
- (a) that refugees constitute a potential asset which if used aright will strengthen any country in which they are received, and
- (b) that their migration should be linked up with schemes of colonial development;
- (2) that, since the problem is beyond the unaided resources of private organisations, the various governments concerned should assist these organisations financially either by direct subsidy or by a guarantee of an international loan;
- (3) that, having regard to the great value of a travel document such as the Nansen Passport, efforts be made to persuade the various governments concerned to adopt the relevant provisions of the League Convention of February 10, 1933.
- (4) that the Government should authorise its diplomatic and consular representatives abroad to do all in their power to assist refugees and to facilitate their emigration to other countries.

On the motion of Lady Hall it was further

RESOLVED: (2) That the following motion be also submitted by the Executive to the General Council:

"The General Council of the L.N.U.

In view of the fact that the problem of the Spanish Refugees is not at present within the province of the Office of the League of Nations High Commission for Refugees,

Requests His Majesty's Government to submit proposals at the next assembly of the League to enable these refugees to be included within the scope of the activities of the League."

(b) United Services in Celebration of 21st Birthday.

RESOLVED: (3) That the following motion be approved and adopted for submission to the General Council:

"The General Council of the Union

Welcomes the fact that United Services are being arranged in December in Westminster Abbey and the Central Hall, Westminster, in connection with the 21st Birthday Celebrations of the Union; and

Recommends that the local organisations of the Union should wherever possible arrange similar United Services in their own locality about the same time."

(c) Affirmation of Christian Faith. The general opinion was expressed that, in view of the varied composition of the General Council, the draft resolution was not a suitable one for submission to that body.

Reference was made to two statements in the resolution: (1) concerning the recognition of a "Christian" principle in any organisation of peace-loving nations against aggression; the question was asked whether a Mahomedan country could not, for instance, be included among peace-loving nations that would withstand aggression; and (2) the accuracy of stating that "peace-loving nations cannot be encircled" was questioned. After further discussion it was

RESOLVED: (4) That the draft motion be not submitted to the General Council; but that the Christian Organisations Committee be asked to reconsider the wording in the light of the above; and that the resolution in its amended form be submitted later to the Executive for approval as defining the basis of the Christian Organisations Committee's work.



## FOR CONSIDERATION UNDER ITEM 7

3-472  
4.5.39

Draft resolutions for submission by the Executive Committee and the New Commonwealth to General Council.

## I. THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

BELIEVING that in the absence of some satisfactory procedure for the redress of grievances and the removal of injustices no system of collective security will of itself suffice to ensure the maintenance of a just and lasting peace,

REAFFIRMS the proposals enunciated in its resolution on this subject adopted at Scarborough in June, 1936,

AND URGES the adoption of a procedure whereby all law abiding nations, while expressing their determination collectively to resist all attempts to secure the revision of the status quo by methods of violence, would set up machinery for the impartial and equitable settlement of such international disputes as had proved incapable of solution by negotiation and conciliation and which by their non-judicial character were unsuitable for reference to the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague.

THE COUNCIL CONSIDERS that the object indicated in the preceding paragraph could best be achieved either by the appointment of a Permanent Tribunal or Commission consisting not of government representatives but of individuals who "appear to offer the highest guarantees of competence and impartiality", or alternatively by the nomination of a Panel of such persons from among whom Commissions could be constituted ad hoc as necessity required: it being understood that in either event the report of the Commission or Tribunal would be submitted as a recommendation to the Assembly of the League.

P.T.O.

## (d) Urgency Motions. It was

RESOLVED: (5) "That the following notice be included in the Preliminary Agenda for the Council:

"The Executive Committee gives notice that it may ask for 'urgency' to propose motions on current aspects of international affairs. Owing to the rapidity of change in the international situation, it is not practicable to include the text of such motions in this Preliminary Agenda."

150. LIAISON COMMITTEE WITH THE NEW COMMONWEALTH. The Chairman reported that on the previous day the Liaison Committee with the New Commonwealth had met when the question of resolutions for submission to the General Council had been discussed. The Liaison Committee had asked the New Commonwealth representatives to prepare two draft motions for consideration by the Executive with a view to their being submitted to the Council jointly by the Union and the New Commonwealth. The text of these motions (3-472) was then considered by the Executive.

It was suggested that in view of the recent appointment by the Executive of a sub-Committee to discuss possible reforms in League procedure it would be premature for the Executive to adopt at the present time the first motion dealing with the Tribunal in Equity.

Mr. Arnold-Forster suggested that the motion should include some reference to the General Act. The Council had already affirmed its support of that policy and H.M. Government had recently re-affirmed its adhesion to the General Act subject to an important reserve. He also reminded the Executive of the findings of the Bratislava Congress of the International Federation concerning the action which should be taken if a recommendation were made and the country in question refused to accept it. He suggested that some reference to this also should be included in the motion.

Lord Cecil expressed regret that the motion did not refer to the suggestion for European and other 'Chambers' of the League which would deal with a particular geographical section; the real difficulty about working the League system at the present time lay in the fact that there was no sufficient corporate feeling in the League to override individual nationalistic tendencies. He also referred to the resolution on 'Prevention of War' adopted by the General Council at Torquay stating that no absolute obligation should rest on any country to take military action against an aggressor, and he drew attention to the impossibility of asking Luxemburg, for example, to declare war against Germany. He hoped that this point would not be lost sight of in any resolution submitted to the Council.

Mr. Wallis Jones hoped the motion would include some reference to a body, such as the Council of the League, which would decide whether or not a question was suitable for legal interpretation or modification of the existing law. Such questions should be decided by a political body and not by a court of law.

Lord Cecil did not believe it would ever be possible to set up a body which would have sufficient authority to make recommendations as to the settlement of a political dispute to the Assembly. He thought that such questions demanded a method of bargaining between the parties and could not be dealt with by judicial or semi-judicial action.

II. THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION --

Whilst welcoming the steps recently taken by H.M. Government in the direction of assuming, in conjunction with other countries, wider mutual obligations for resistance to aggression,

Considers that unilateral or bilateral guarantees can only be regarded as satisfactory in so far as they represent preliminary measures to the establishment of a system of collective security in which all law-abiding nations would be pledged to join in resisting an attack upon any one of their number.

The Council therefore reiterates the terms of its resolution adopted in June 1938, urging (a) an international agreement to abolish all national military aviation, to place civil aviation under international control, and to establish an International Air Police Force in order to prevent the misuse of civil aviation, and (b) the vital necessity of taking all possible preliminary steps to facilitate sanctions, both economic and military, as a means of enabling the States Members of the League to contribute to a system of international policing.

The Chairman reminded Mr. Mander that it had been understood at the meeting of the Liaison Committee that the proposal was for a permanent body to be set up by the League, but that it would operate only between those countries that had accepted the procedure — a kind of optional clause. He hoped some words would be added to the motion in order to make this clear and that the motion would also include a reference to the General Act and to the Committees of Conciliation set up under Locarno.

After further discussion, it was decided to refer the draft motion to the sub-Committee recently appointed on Reform of League Procedure; to ask Mr. Mander to report to his colleagues on the New Commonwealth the sense of the Executive's discussion; to inform them that, before expressing an opinion on this subject at the Council, the Executive would wish to have the advice of its sub-Committee, but that the Executive would welcome a discussion by the Council if the New Commonwealth would submit a motion in its own name.

Mr. Mander agreed with the decision to refer the motion to the sub-Committee and would suggest to the New Commonwealth that they should put down an amended motion in their own name. But he expressed the hope that an early report from the sub-Committee would be obtained.

The Executive then considered the second draft motion dealing with an International Air Police Force.

Lord Cecil thought the proposal impractical at the present time, and, in connection with the second paragraph of the motion, referred again to the resolution adopted by the General Council at Torquay.

Miss Courtney suggested that in the third paragraph the summary of the London resolution of the General Council (June 1938) should be replaced by the complete text.

The Chairman suggested that if the motion were included in the name of the New Commonwealth, the Liaison Committee might have a further meeting before the General Council and perhaps agree to move the motion in an amended form acceptable to both bodies.

Mr. Mander thought the New Commonwealth would probably be ready to deal with this motion on the same lines as the Tribunal in Equity motion.

151. I.P.C.: VISIT OF FRENCH SPEAKERS. Mr. Arnold-Forster said a suggestion had been made to the I.P.C. that some prominent French speakers might be invited to address one or two meetings in this country, say at the end of May, and that a return visit of English speakers to France might also be arranged. M. Delbos, M. Paul Boncour, M. Rivolet and other well-known Frenchmen would probably be willing to accept such an invitation to visit this country. The I.P.C. would be responsible for defraying the travelling expenses of the speakers, but Mr. Arnold-Forster suggested that the Union might see its way to make a 'token' contribution, of say, 25. If such a visit were arranged it was suggested that the French speakers should address a meeting in the House of Commons and one or two meetings in large provincial towns, if the Union would be willing to take charge of the organisation of such meetings.

Sir Arthur Haworth thought it would be very difficult to organise any large meeting in Manchester unless a really outstanding French speaker were present. Mrs. Beale doubted the possibility of obtaining an adequate audience in Birmingham for French speakers.

After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the Executive Committee approves in principle of the proposal to invite prominent French speakers to address a meeting in London, provided the organisation of such a meeting by the Union is found to be practicable; and that the Executive undertakes to do all in its power to assist in obtaining speakers for a return visit to Paris if an invitation to do so is received from France."

152. REBUILDING WORLD ORDER. The Executive had before them a memorandum by Dr. Maxwell Garnett on 'Rebuilding World Order' (S.466) and it was

RESOLVED: "That the Executive invites the new sub-Committee on Reform of League Procedure to consider the paper on "Rebuilding World Order".

*Lyllin*

*Lyllin* 11/5/39

## LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 14 GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1. ON THURSDAY, MAY 11TH, 1939 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams, P. J. Noel Baker, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Captain Cazulet, Lord Cecil, Dean of Chichester, Miss Concoran, Miss Courtney, Lord Cranborne, Lord Dickinson, Vice-Admiral Drury-Lowe, Miss P. Fawcett, W. Arnold-Foster, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, J. A. Keyser, Dr. Kimmins, Lady Layton, G. le M. Mander, Dr. Gilbert Murray, W. T. Pritchard, Miss Rathbone, Brig.-General Spears, F. W. Weaver, Major L. Wright, together with Major Freshwater.

153. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Mrs. Corbett Ashby, F. Burris, Mrs. Dugdale, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, J. Macdonald, H. F. Shaw, H. S. Syrett and A. Henderson.

154. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on May 4th, 1939, were confirmed as circulated.

155. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 145 - 135 - HEADWAY, the Chairman reported a discussion with Mr. Wickham Steed and Sir Norman Angell regarding the editorial arrangements for the June issue of HEADWAY. Referring to the negotiations with the Focus Company, he said that the statement of the Company's accounts had not yet been received and it was not possible to take any practical step until such a statement was available and the nature of the Company's existing contracts ascertained. All that the Union could do at the moment was to endeavour to enlarge the circulation of the paper and reduce its expenses as far as possible until such time as it was finally decided how and on what terms HEADWAY could be restored to the Union. The Chairman added that consideration was being given to a suggestion for improving the appearance of the journal by printing it on paper of a better quality but with a smaller number of pages.

Mr. Arnold Forster hoped that members of the Executive would do what they could to popularise HEADWAY when addressing meetings of Union Branches.

On Minute 145 - 136 - Geneva Cathedral Service, Sir John Harris reported a conversation with the Provost of Glasgow, Mr. Cecil Weir, who had generously offered to take responsibility for defraying the expenses of the preacher for the Geneva Cathedral Service.

On Minute 149 (c) Affirmation of Christian Faith, the Dean of Chichester reported that the Christian Organisations Committee, at their meeting on the previous day, had re-considered their resolution for the General Council in the light of the Executive's discussion on

May 4th, and wished to submit it to the Council in the following amended form:

"The General Council welcomes the following resolution recently adopted by the Christian Organizations Committee, and is glad to know that this is the basis of the work of the Committee, and that it has received very considerable support amongst Church leaders:

RESOLVED: 1. The Committee

REJOICES that President Roosevelt has called nations to abandon the use of force, adopt the method of conference, and recognise the necessity of dealing with pressing economic problems:

RECOGNISES that underlying the President's policy is the recognition of the principle which we as Christians hold, that mankind forms one human family, and that no nation can live or die to itself:

BELIEVES that without recognition of this principle the organisation of nations for purposes of common defence may harden into alliances of the old type and so forfeit the advantage of collective security as envisaged in the Covenant of the League, which also provides for the peaceful discussion of such territorial and other changes as the common well-being may from time to time require.

The Committee therefore

REAFFIRMS, notwithstanding the events of the last six years, its conviction

- (1) That God at this time is calling the nations of the world to learn to live as one family;
- (2) That the machinery of international co-operation provided by the League of Nations, while not yet perfect, affords the best available means of applying the principles of the Gospel of Christ to stop war, to provide justice, and to organise peace;
- (3) That the application of these principles constitutes the only practical politics at the present time;
- (4) That Christian people should pray and resolve that by these means, faith shall be kept, confidence restored, and there shall be no more war.

It was

RESOLVED: "That the above motion be approved for submission to the Annual Meeting of the General Council".

On Minute 150 - Liaison Committee with the New Commonwealth, Mr. Bander reported that, while the New Commonwealth would have been willing to join the Executive in a compromise resolution on the lines discussed at the last meeting, they were not disposed to submit such a resolution to the Council in their own name. They would therefore prefer to support the motion submitted by the Dunstable Branch unless by the time the Council met a report had been received from the sub-Committee on Reform of League Procedure and an agreement reached between the Union and the New Commonwealth on an amendment which they could submit jointly.

Dr. Murray drew attention to the formation of a new society known as the Federal Union, whose policy was based on Mr. Clarence Streit's book, UNION NOW.

On Minute 151 - I.P.C. Visit of French Speakers, the Chairman reported the dates on which the Albert Hall and Queen's Hall were available in the near future. He spoke of a letter he had received from Mr. Syrett on the financial position of the Union, and expressed doubt whether the Union ought at the present moment to shoulder responsibility for an Albert Hall meeting. He felt also that, if the proposed meeting were to be a success, it was essential that the speakers from France should not be of one political party.

Mr. Arnold Forster said that he had sent to Paris the dates on which the halls were available and had suggested a meeting in the Queen's Hall rather than the Albert Hall. He hoped that, in addition to a London meeting, it would be possible to organise another gathering, say in Edinburgh.

After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That approval be given in principle to the holding of a meeting in the Queen's Hall, provided that the presence of two prominent French speakers of the calibre of M. Herriot could be assured, and subject to further consideration being given to the proposal when the names of the possible French visitors were available."

156. THE FAR EAST. Lord Cecil said that it was likely that the Chinese Government would make a further appeal to the League at the forthcoming meeting of the Council for action by States Members to weaken the war power of Japan by depriving her of supplies of minerals and, if possible, of oil, and by refusing to accept her exports. A proposal might also be made for direct help to the Chinese. Lord Cecil understood that the Government were in process of arranging for an export credit of some £2 millions to China and referred to the difficulties in the way of transporting arms to China, even if the Chinese were in a position to pay for them. In view of the likely approach to the League he suggested that the Union should do all it could to support the appeal by urging its Branches to take all possible steps to induce their Members of Parliament to seize every opportunity of pressing for action by H.M. Government. He thought a letter might perhaps be sent to the

Branches over the joint signatures of the two Presidents and the Chairman.

Sir John Harris drew attention to the large quantities of tin, rubber and iron which were being supplied to Japan and asked whether H.M. Government could not be urged to take action with a view to withholding supplies.

After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That a letter on this subject be sent immediately to the Union's Branches, and that Lord Cecil be asked to draft the letter for signature by himself, Dr. Murray and Lord Lytton."

157. ANNUAL REPORT. The Executive had before them the draft ANNUAL REPORT for 1938. Several small amendments were suggested, and members of the Committee were asked to send in writing to the Secretary, not later than Monday, May 16th, any further amendments they wished to see made in the Report.

RESOLVED: "That the Annual Report, as finally settled by the Chairman in the light of such amendments as may be received from Members of the Committee, be approved and adopted for submission to the General Council at its annual meeting."

158. NOMINATION OF OFFICERS. The Executive considered the names of OFFICERS for nomination by the General Council for the year 1939/40, and had before them the list (S-474) of those elected by the Council at its last meeting together with additional names approved by the Executive on March 16th (minute 93).

RESOLVED: "That letters be written to those named in S. 476, informing them that they would be proposed for re-election (or election) unless by a specified date they informed the Secretary that they were unwilling to be elected and that the drafting of the letter be left to the Chairman and Secretary."

159. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Executive received resolutions from the Lytham and Mere Branches, and it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Lytham Branch be thanked for their resolution."

(2) "That the Mere Branch be thanked for their resolution, and that it be referred to the Economic Committee for consideration and report."

160. REFUGEES. The Chairman reported a meeting he had had on the previous day with representatives of various organisations working for refugees concerning the proposed debate in the House of Lords. He had agreed, on the basis of the discussion, to prepare a draft of his proposed speech in the House and to circulate it to the persons present at the meeting for their comments. When the Chairman was satisfied that he could speak in the name of the various organisations he would choose a suitable date for proposing his motion in Parliament. He added that it was likely that H.M. Government's policy for Palestine would be announced during the coming week and, if that were so, the relation of Palestine to the whole refugee question would probably be discussed.

Lord Cecil suggested that it would be well to fix the date for the Refugees debate in consultation with the Archbishop of Canterbury in order that he might be present.

Captain Cazalet referred to the four new settlements which had recently been made in Galilee.

Miss Rathbone felt that if a debate took place in the House of Lords on the merits or demerits of particular proposals for general settlement, it would merely provide the Government with an excuse for evading the broad issue. Until the Government definitely accepted responsibility for raising the money and undertaking the supervision of settlement schemes, no progress would be made.

Mr. Noel Baker, Lord Cecil and Lord Cranborne agreed with the necessity for an expert international committee to consider the whole problem and prepare a scheme for dealing with the matter partly by infiltration and partly by settlement. Lord Cecil reminded the Executive of the successful operation of the League's machinery for selecting expert committees drawn from all parts of the world, and mentioned, in particular, the Opium Committee.

Sir John Harris suggested the possibility of asking a number of business men, with special knowledge of certain parts of the world, to prepare a scheme for sending refugees to different areas where labour would be welcomed.

After discussion it was, on the motion of Miss Rathbone,

RESOLVED: "That the word 'instruct' be substituted for the word 'authorise' in paragraph 4 of the resolution approved by the Executive at its last meeting for submission to the General Council."

161. RUSSIA. The Executive discussed recent developments in regard to H.M. Government's negotiations with Russia.

Miss Rathbone asked whether the Union could take any action with a view to pressing for a definite military alliance with Russia. Could the Government, for instance, be urged to give a guarantee against aggression, if not generally, on any of the Baltic States provided Russia gave a similar guarantee?

The Chairman reminded the Committee that it was apparently H.M. Government's intention to clear up any possible misunderstandings with the Russian Government by the Foreign Secretary's personal interviews at Geneva during the meeting of the League Council.

Lord Cecil thought it difficult for the Executive to take action without more precise information. He would have liked personally to press for Staff talks between this country and Russia, when the dangers to each country and the steps which should be taken from a military point of view to meet them, could be discussed. The urgent thing, however, was for a simple agreement with Russia and France that they would combine with Great Britain to resist aggression. But if there were a chance of an agreement less satisfactory but still sufficient it would be unwise for the Union to pass any resolution which might defeat the very object it had in view.

General Spears felt that if an understanding was not quickly reached, Russia would go back into isolation.



- 6 -

After further discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That this matter be adjourned for further consideration at the next meeting of the Executive, and that it be given an early place on the agenda."

*Lyle*

CHAIRMAN

May 18th, 1939

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE  
HELD AT NO. 15 GROSVENOR CHESHAM, LONDON, S.W.1  
ON THURSDAY, MAY 18TH, 1939 AT 11 a.m.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), W. Arnold-Forster, Duchess of Atholl, P. Noel Baker, F.M. Currie, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Captain Caszala, Lord Cecil, Miss Corcoran, Miss Courtney, Lord Dickinson, Vice-Admiral Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dugdale, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, J.A. Keyser, Dr. Harriss, Lady Layton, J. Macdonald, G. Le M. Mender, Dr. G. Murray, W.T. Pritchard, Miss Rathbone, H.P. Shaw, H.S. Syrett, E. Wallis-Jones, Major L. Wright, together with Major Freshwater.

162. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Mrs. Beale, Dean of Chichester, Miss Fewcett, Dr. Garnett, Arthur Henderson and Dame Adelaide Livingstone.

163. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on May 11th, 1939 were confirmed as circulated.

164. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 155 - 151 - I.P.C. Visit of French Speakers, receipt of a telegram from M. Polivet was reported, asking for invitations to speak in this country to be sent to M. Blum and M. Herriot, and stating that, if they were unable to accept, other speakers would be assured. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That Lord Cecil, Dr. Murray and the Chairman be asked to sign letters to M. Blum and M. Herriot, inviting them to address a meeting in the Queen's Hall and asking which of the available dates would be preferred by each of them."

On Minute 156 - The Far East, copies of the letter sent to the Union's Branches over the signatures of Lord Cecil, Dr. Murray and Lord Lytton, were communicated to the Committee.

165. RUSSIA. The Executive considered a draft resolution prepared by the Chairman, who explained the circumstances in which his draft was submitted to the Committee in substitution for that already circulated by Mr. Arnold Forster.

Lord Cecil and Mr. Arnold Forster proposed the addition of a paragraph dealing with the Far East, and, after some discussion, it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union is of opinion that at the next meeting of the Council of the League of

Nations the following action should be taken:

(1) The Council of the League should be informed of the specific acts of aggression which have taken place since its last meeting.

(2) The Council should be informed of the agreements which have been made between certain countries in the hope of preventing further acts of aggression.

(3) The presence in Geneva on this occasion of representatives of Russia and the Western Powers should be utilized to secure, if it has not been secured previously, the adhesion of Russia to a reciprocal treaty of mutual support in resisting aggression in Eastern or Western Europe.

The Executive Committee hopes that the representatives of those countries which have entered into the recent agreements will make it clear that their sole object is the prevention of aggression, which is in fact the very purpose of the Covenant itself, and that they will welcome the co-operation of other States Members of the League, especially the European Members.

The Executive Committee also feels that the European situation cannot be dissociated from the war still raging in the Far East. They hope therefore that the Council of the League will at this forthcoming Session take effective steps to help China, and to withhold war supplies and purchasing power from Japan."

- (2) "That the resolution be communicated personally to Lord Halifax by the Chairman, and that it be also circulated to the press."

166. **SUPPLY OF RAW MATERIALS.** The Chairmen reported on conversations which had recently taken place between some members of the Executive Committee and Mr. Chipman of the Canadian Society concerning the desirability of the Union discussing with experts the question of the restriction of supplies of essential raw materials in certain circumstances to the totalitarian States. At

the suggestion of Sir Arthur Selter the Chairmen had talked on the matter with Captain Oliver Lyttelton who had intimated his readiness to meet members of the Executive Committee, but who was nevertheless of opinion that action in this matter was rendered almost impossible by the difficulty of distinguishing between the use of metals for purposes of war and for ordinary peace time purposes.

Lord Cecil suggested that before discussing the matter with experts the Executive should itself consider and recommend the lines on which it thought action might be taken.

After the Executive had been reminded of the Report of the Mineral Sanctions sub-Committee which had been published in November 1936, it was

RESOLVED: "That a small sub-Committee be appointed to consider and prepare, in the light of the material already available, a plan for restricting the supply of minerals to Japan and controlling supplies to other totalitarian States; that Mr. Noel Baker, Lord Cecil, Miss Courtney, Mr. Arnold Forster, Dr. Gilbert Murray, Sir Arthur Selter and Mr. Syrett, be invited to serve on the sub-Committee; and that, when a plan has been prepared, the advice of technical experts be sought concerning the practical steps to be taken.

Lady Layton suggested that Mr. Geoffrey Crowther, the Editor of the *ECONOMIST*, might be consulted in this matter.

167. **REFUGEES.** The Chairmen reported communications he had had with representatives of refugee organisations who had been present at the meeting recorded in minute 100. After discussion the Chairmen agreed to table the following motion for discussion in the House of Lords on June 28th:

"To call attention to the nature and magnitude of the Refugee problem created by the political conditions in some countries and to the opportunities for its alleviation afforded by the economic needs of certain other countries.

168. **PALESTINE.** The attention of the Committee was drawn to the White Paper (Commend 6019) containing H.M. Government's proposals in regard to Palestine. The Chairmen thought the Executive would wish to consider the question from a League point of view, having regard to the fact that the Palestine Mandate had been approved by the League; but since many members of the Executive had not had an opportunity of studying the proposals he thought it undesirable for the Executive to discuss in detail the merits of the question at the present meeting.

Mrs. Dugdale urged that the Government's proposals ought not to be discussed by Parliament until the Mandates Commission of the League had had an opportunity of considering them, and she moved a resolution on those lines.

Captain Cozelet supported Mrs. Dugdale and read to the Executive the terms of a motion which he proposed to move in the House of Commons on the subject.

A telegram from the Palestine League of Nations Society was read and after further discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "In view of the necessity that the efforts of H.M. Government to secure peace and justice in Palestine should command the greatest possible measure of moral support throughout the civilised world.

The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union urges that, before Parliament is asked to sanction the proposals contained in White Paper, Cmd. 6019, these should be submitted for consideration by the Mandates Commission and other appropriate organs of the League, and, further, that the Permanent Court of International Justice should be asked for an advisory opinion on any disputed interpretations of the Mandate and the McMahon correspondence."

(2) "That the above resolution be communicated to H.M. Government and to the press."

169. **EDUCATION COMMITTEE.** The Executive considered minute 52 of the meeting held on May 8th, containing proposals for the reconstitution of the Education Committee. The Chairman stated that the proposals were the result of prolonged discussions between representatives of the Education Committee and the Officers of the Union, and expressed the hope that they would be approved by the Executive subject (1) to his discussing further with the Education Committee a drafting amendment in regard to the reference to "other educational organisations" in paragraph 2; and (2) to the adjournment of a decision in regard to the proposals in paragraph 3 until he had had an opportunity of discussing them with Miss Tynan who was at present abroad.

Miss Courtney said that originally she had been opposed to the reconstitution of the Education Committee but, on the understanding that the Education Council was to be definitely part of the Union and that the delegation of work to

the Council was to be in schools and colleges and in organisations within the public system of education, she recommended the Executive to adopt the proposals. Mr. Curtt also had, in the first place, been opposed to the proposals but was now in favour of them.

Miss Charlesworth and Mr. Cameron, who were present at the invitation of the Chairman, answered a number of questions from members of the Executive.

Mr. Arnold Forster urged that the word 'particularly' should be inserted before 'the aims and activities of the League of Nations...' in paragraph 2. Miss Charlesworth was not able to accept this proposal.

After Lord Cecil and Dr. Murray had strongly recommended the adoption of the agreement which they were satisfied would be in the best interests of the educational work of the Union, it was

RESOLVED: "That, subject to the two conditions outlined above, the proposals for the reconstitution of the Education Committee contained in minute 32 of the meeting of May 8th be approved and adopted."

(Note. Mr. Arnold Forster, Lady Hall, Mr. Macdonald and Mr. Shaw abstained from voting on the resolution.)

The Chairman stated that the constitution of the Education Council would be submitted to the Executive so soon as it had been drafted.

*Lyleon*

CHAIRMAN.

May 25th, 1939.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD  
AT 15 GROSVENOR GARDENS, LONDON, S.W.1, ON THURSDAY,  
MAY 25TH, 1938, AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), W. Arnold-Forster, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, P.J. Noel Baker, F.Burris, Captain Cazalet, Lord Cecil, Dean of Chichester, Miss J. Corcoran, Miss K.D. Courtney, Lord Cranborne, Vice-Admiral Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dagdale, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Miss M. Lloyd George, Sir John Harris, A. Henderson, J. A. Keyser, Dr. Kimmins, Lady Layton, G. le M. Mander, Dr. G. Murray, W. T. Pritchard, Miss E. Rathbone, H.S.Syrett, E. Wallis-Jones, together with Major Freshwater.

170. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Vyvyan Adams, Mrs. Beale, Miss Fawcett, Lady Gladstone, Sir Arthur Haworth and J. Macdonald.
171. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on May 18th, 1938, were confirmed as circulated.
172. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 164 - 155 - I.P.C. Visit of French Speakers, it was reported that letters of invitation had been sent to M. Blum and M. Herriot, but their replies had not yet been received.

On Minute 165 - Russia, the Chairman reported the interview he had had with Lord Halifax when presenting the Executive's resolution on May 16th.

On Minute 166 - Supply of Raw Materials, it was stated that, inadvertently, an invitation to attend the first meeting of the sub-Committee held on May 23rd had not been sent to Mr. Arnold Forster, and that the draft report of the Committee would be communicated to all the members of the sub-Committee for their observations before being presented to the Executive.

173. COMMUNICATIONS TO OVERSEAS SOCIETIES. Mr. Arnold Forster asked whether, in addition to communicating Executive resolutions to the International Federation and to individual League of Nations Societies on the Continent, they could also be sent to the Societies in the Dominions; and, after discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That for the future it be a regular practice for important resolutions on policy adopted by the Executive to be communicated to the League of Nations Societies in the Dominions and in the United States for information."

It was further, on the motion of Mr. Arnold-Forster, 189

RESOLVED: (2) "That the following message, over the signatures of Lord Cecil, Mr. Murray and Lord Lytton, be sent by cable to the Canadian League of Nations Society:

'Recent speech of Lord Halifax at League Council indicates that policy of H.M. Government is turning towards a real Collective Security system properly safeguarded by the Covenant. We are confident that such a policy will have the support of the Canadian League of Nations Society. In the Far East, Japanese invasion is part of the general attack on international justice and security. One of the surest methods of assisting China would be to withhold war supplies and purchasing power from Japan. We welcomed the speech of your Chairman last April; we were very glad indeed to meet him during his visit to our country. We send to all officers and members of Canadian League of Nations Society our appreciation of the work they are doing and wish them every success.'

#### 174. MINUTES OF COMMITTEES

(a) Finance Committee. Mr. Syrett reported on the MINUTES of the meeting held on May 18th. He drew attention to the present unsatisfactory financial position of the Union and to the necessity of further economies being made in the Union's budget unless a substantial increase were forthcoming in subscriptions and donations.

The Chairman reminded the Executive that the full effect of the economies made by the Executive last year would not be realised until the end of the present month. Moreover, owing to a number of circumstances outside the control of the Union, the scheme for raising money by means of the Birthday Fund stamps had not yet begun to operate. But unless the Birthday Fund when launched proved likely to produce a large financial result and unless the membership increased considerably, he agreed with Mr. Syrett that the Union's expenditure would have to be reduced to the level of its income.

RESOLVED: (1) "That the minutes of the Finance Committee be approved."

It was further, on the motion of Mr. Syrett,



RESOLVED: (2) "That further negotiations regarding the future of HEADWAY be left in the hands of the Union's Officers with power to take such action as they may consider advisable."

- (b) Economic Committee. Dr. Murray reported on the minutes of the meeting held on May 4th, and it was

RESOLVED: "That these minutes be approved and adopted."

- (c) Refugees Committee.

RESOLVED: "That the minutes of the meeting held on 12th May, 1939, be approved and adopted."

- (d) Mandates Committee. Dr. Murray reported on the minutes of the meeting held on May 18th, 1939, and it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That, subject to reconsideration of the wording of sub-paragraph 2 and to the deletion of sub-paragraph 3 in minute 3, these minutes be approved and adopted."

Mr. Mander drew attention to the appointment announced on the previous day of Lord Hankey to succeed Lord Hailey as British member of the Mandates Commission. He criticised the appointment on the ground that the present member had little experience of colonial administration. After discussion it was, on the motion of Mr. Mander, seconded by Mr. Noel Baker,

RESOLVED: (2) "That the Mandates Committee be asked to consider and report whether, and if so in what respect, the appointment of Lord Hankey as a member of the Mandates Commission raises any constitutional difficulty."

Mr. Noel Baker suggested that Members of Parliament might be asked to raise the subject in the House of Commons.

175. MR. CARRITT. It was reported that Mr. Gabriel Carritt, who had resigned his appointment with the Union in order to contest the Abbey Division of Westminster, had applied to be re-instated on the Union's staff.

RESOLVED: "That Mr. Carritt be re-instated as Secretary of the National Youth Committee as from May 22nd, 1939."

176. PALESTINE. At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. M. Shertok, Political Officer in Jerusalem of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, attended the meeting. He criticised H.M. Government's proposals contained in the White Paper (Cmd. 8019) from the Jewish standpoint, and answered a number of questions from members of the Committee.

The Chairman thought it desirable that the Executive should also, at a later meeting, hear a statement from someone who could speak with knowledge and authority from the Arab point of view. Members of the Committee were asked to send to the Chairman suggestions concerning a suitable person to be invited for that purpose.

Lord Cecil suggested that the Egyptian Ambassador might be consulted.

177. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Executive received resolutions from the North Staffordshire District Council and the East Anglian District Council, and it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the North Staffordshire District Council be thanked for their resolution which has the warm support of the Executive Committee."

(2) "That the East Anglian District Council be thanked for their resolution."

178. ABYSSINIA. Sir John Harris drew attention to a report appearing in THE TIMES of May 24th of a speech by the Italian Minister of Finance quoting figures which showed that, by the annexation of Abyssinia, Italy had involved herself in an expenditure approaching £500,000,000 and the administration of the country had resulted last year in a deficit of £80,000,000. He hoped that members of the Executive would read carefully the TIMES report.

It was suggested that Sir John Harris might see his way to write a letter for publication in THE TIMES on the subject. Mr. le Prevost spoke of the possibility of including an article in the July number of HEADWAY.

Captain Cazalet reported conversations he had had with friends who had lately visited Abyssinia.

In reply to a suggestion that the attention of the B.B.C. might be directed to this matter, the Chairman said that, if Sir John Harris and Captain Cazalet would send him any facts they wished brought to the notice of the B.B.C., he would communicate them to Mr. Ogilvie.

179. THE UNION'S PRESENT TASK. The Executive had before them a memorandum by Mr. Arnold Forster (S.498). After discussion it was

RESOLVED. "That the memorandum be referred for discussion by a sub-Committee; and that it be left to the Chairman in consultation with Mr. Arnold Forster to decide which Committee would be most suitable for the purpose."

The Chairman said he would refer to the subject at the conference he was attending with the Regional Representatives that afternoon.

180. DATE OF NEXT MEETING.

RESOLVED: "That the next ordinary meeting of the Committee be held on Thursday, June 8th; but that it be left to the Chairman to summon a special meeting in the interval if in his opinion such action seemed desirable."

181. CZECHOSLOVAKIA. Attention was drawn to the questions and answers in the House of Commons on the previous day concerning possible action by H.M. Government in regard to the recognition of the German annexation of Bohemia and Moravia, and in particular the question of the transfer of Czech gold held on the account of the Bank for International Settlements in London to the Reichsbank account.

After discussion it was, on the motion of Mr. Arnold Forster,

RESOLVED: (1) "The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union

Urges His Majesty's Government to make clear that it is not willing to accord de jure recognition to the German annexation of Bohemia and Moravia, and is therefore opposed to the acceptance of German claims to Czechoslovak property outside the borders of Czechoslovakia.

It calls on His Majesty's Government to take steps to prevent transfer directly or indirectly to Germany of monies contributed for the relief of Czechoslovak refugees, etc., and

Affirms its own determination to press for a fair deal for Czechoslovakia in any future general settlement."

- (2) "That the above resolution be communicated to H.M. Government and to the press."

122. SIR NORMAN ANGELL AND DAME ADELAIDE LIVINGSTONE. After letters had been reported from Sir Norman Angell and Dame Adelaide Livingstone, it was

RESOLVED: "That leave of absence be granted to Sir Norman Angell and Dame Adelaide Livingstone, and that the best wishes of the Committee be conveyed to them for a speedy and complete recovery."

123. CHINA CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE. A letter was read from the China Campaign Committee inviting the help of the Union in obtaining publicity and financial support for the National China Week to be held from July 1st to 8th.

The opinion was expressed that, in the present financial situation, all the efforts of the Union's Branches were needed to raise funds and secure members for the Union. The Chairman said he would make reference to the matter when he met the Regional Representatives that afternoon.

124. NEW YORK FAIR. A cablegram from the American League of Nations Association was read, asking if the Union could take any action with His Majesty's Government with a view to persuading Their Majesties to visit the League Pavilion during their visit to the New York World's Fair. It was agreed to send the cable to H.M. Government when communicating the resolution in minute 161 above.

*L. Lyell*

CHAIRMAN.

June 8th, 1939

ARTICLES FOR AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE EXECUTIVE AND EDUCATION COMMITTEES THE BETTER TO ENABLE THE EDUCATION COMMITTEE TO CARRY OUT ITS WORK

Final Draft approved by the Executive Committee, 8.6.39

1. The Executive shall empower its Education Committee to reconstitute itself as a self-governing council to carry out on behalf of the Executive the work delegated to it, including the responsibility for and direction of School Branches of the Union; the organisation of such activities as summer schools, camps and conferences for teachers and pupils; and the preparation of educational pamphlets and papers for teachers and children and "League News".

The composition of the Council shall be on the same lines as that of the present Education Committee. It shall be free to appoint a Treasurer and a Finance Committee, to have its own banking account and to draw up its own constitution provided that such constitution shall be in accordance with this Agreement and approved by the Executive.

2. The Executive shall delegate to its Education Council the furtherance in schools and colleges, and in other educational organisations within the public system of education, of the second of the Union's Objects as set forth in its Charter:

"To foster mutual understanding, goodwill and habits of co-operation and fair dealing between the peoples of different countries",

and the taking of necessary steps to ensure that students in those schools, colleges and other educational organisations are trained in the knowledge and principles of international co-operation including the aims and activities of the League of Nations and the terms of its Covenant.

3. As local organisations and certain officials of the Union are, and have been since the formation of the Union, engaged in work in schools, colleges and other educational organisations and in that work have received help and guidance from the Education Committee, (1) and (2) above shall not limit the functions of those local organisations or officials.

Similarly, since the Education Committee has co-operated in the past with certain organisations not within the public system of education, (1) and (2) above shall not limit the co-operation of the Educational Council with such bodies.

4. The Executive will endeavour to provide its Council with "services" (e.g. staff, accommodation, shorthand writing and typing, stationery, postages, fees, travelling expense and other such) as it provides for the Education Committee. The Council will, from time to time report to the Executive on its work and,

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 15 GROSVENOR GREEN, LONDON, S.W.1 ON THURSDAY, JUNE 8TH, 1939 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams, Duchess of Atholl, P.J. Noel Baker, Mrs. E.P. Beale, F.V. Burris, Major Buxton, Captain Cazalet, Lord Cecil, Miss Judith Corcoran, Miss K.D. Courtney, Vice-Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss P. Pawcett, W. Arnold Forster, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Miss M. Lloyd George, Lady Gladstone, Sir John Harris, Dr. C.W. Kimmins, James Macdonald, G.I. H. Mander, Dr. Gilbert Murray, W.T. Pritchard, Miss E. Rathbone, E. Wallis-Jones, F.W. Weaver, Major Lawrence Wright, and Major Freshwater.

185. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Sir Norman Angell, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Lady Layton, Dame Adelaide Livingstone.

186. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on May 25th, 1939 were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 172-164 - I.P.C.: Visit of French Speakers, It was reported that, owing to an error in the form of address, the letter of invitation intended for M. Herriot had been delivered to M. Deladier. A provisional acceptance of the invitation had been received from M. Blum, and M. Dollivet had telegraphed, stating his intention of seeing M. Herriot on the following day.

It was agreed to send immediately by air mail a formal invitation to M. Herriot and, if he and M. Blum were able to address a meeting in the Queen's Hall on one of the available dates towards the end of June, to endeavour to find a prominent Englishman to speak on the same platform.

On Minute 173 - Communications to Overseas Societies, a reply from the Canadian League of Nations Society to the Union's message was read to the Committee.

On Minute 178 - Abyssinia, Sir John Harris said that he had now received information which showed that the cost to Italy of the Abyssinian campaign, to date, amounted to £450 millions sterling, and that this sum would be greatly increased by the end of the year.

On Minute 179 - The Union's Present Task, the Chairman reported that the sub-Committee had been appointed and had held a meeting on the previous day.

On Minute 181 - Czechoslovakia, the Chairman drew attention to a paper (S.510) which had been placed on the table and which contained facts recently brought to his notice concerning the position in regard to the Czechoslovakian gold. Mr. Arnold Forster suggested that, in view of the paragraph on this subject appearing in the current number of HEADWAY, a further statement on the lines of Lord Lytton's note should be included in the next issue.

to this end, will communicate its minutes and those of its Finance Committee, if one is set up, to the Executive. The Council will not engage in activities involving expenditure other than normal, except by agreement with the Executive which shall be free to withdraw any or all of the "services" or terminate the agreement if it is not satisfied with the Council's work or financial position.

5. The Council shall appoint for its work the Union's Education Officer and his two assistants who at present are engaged in the work with which the Education Committee is concerned. That officer and his two assistants will continue in their present appointments with their existing responsibilities and privileges as members of the Union's secretariat, and while engaging primarily and principally in the work of the Council, for which they will be responsible to the Council, will continue to exercise functions and carry out work which does not come within the jurisdiction of the Council, provided that such work is not inconsistent with the work of the Council. Any vacancy in the staff engaged as above in the work of the Council shall be filled by agreement between the Council and the Executive.

6. The Council shall have power to accept as National or Local Co-operating Organisations at annual subscriptions of 55 5s.0d. or 21 respectively (which amounts shall not be altered without the consent of the Executive) National and Local organisations of teachers or Educational Bodies which are at present Affiliated or Corporate Members of the Union or are qualified to become Affiliated or Corporate Members but which do not wish to continue as or become such. The Council shall pay to the Union half of the subscriptions received from these bodies which shall, if they so desire, have the same privileges as Affiliated and Corporate Members of the Union.

The Council shall have power to accept financial support from individuals or bodies but not to appeal publicly or privately for money without the consent of the Union's Finance Committee. Such financial support shall not confer any kind of membership of the Council.

7. The Council shall be free to attach to itself on a paying basis and to give advice and guidance to societies or groups of boys and girls which, though having the same general objects as the Council, are not and do not wish to become School Branches of the Union. The Council may take steps to secure correspondents in schools, colleges, etc., to keep in touch with their work.

On Minute 184 - New York Fair, a letter was reported from Lord Halifax's secretary, stating that immediate consideration was being given to the suggestion contained in the telegram from the American League of Nations Society.

At the request of the Chairman, Miss Tynan reported on the recent party which the Union had taken to the United States.

187. CONFERENCE OF ASSOCIATED COUNTRYWOMEN OF THE WORLD. The Executive expressed their cordial thanks to Mrs. Lawrence Wright for the very successful party which she had generously given, on the Union's behalf, for the delegates attending the Triennial Conference of the Associated Countrywomen of the World.

188. RECONSTITUTION OF EDUCATION COMMITTEE. The Chairman reported that a further meeting had been held with representatives of the Education Committee and with Miss Tynan, when it had been agreed to recommend the amendment of sections 2, 3 and 8 of the Articles for Reconstitution of the Education Committee (the remainder of which had been approved by the Executive on May 18th) to read as follows:

Section 2. "The Executive shall delegate to its Education Council the furtherance in schools and colleges, and in other educational organisations within the public system of education, of the second of the Union's Objects as set forth in its Charter ..... Covenant"

Section 3. "As local organisations and certain officials of the Union are, and have been since the formation of the Union, engaged in work in schools, colleges and other educational organisations and in that work have received help and guidance from the Education Committee, (1) and (2) above shall not limit the functions of those local organisations or officials. Similarly, since the Education Committee has co-operated in the past with certain organisations not within the public system of education, (1) and (2) above shall not limit the co-operation of the Educational Council with such bodies"

Section 8. "In organising such activities as summer schools camps and conferences for teachers and pupils, the Council shall make use of the Union's Travel Agents for the purchase of tickets."

Where profits in the past have been credited to the "Pioneers A/C" that practice shall continue. All other profits on activities new or old organised by the Council shall, if the Council so desire, be paid into the Council's A/C. The Council will pay over to the Union profits that accrue from the Junior Summer School and the Young Teachers' Conference (which have always formed part of the Union's income) and will undertake that this amount is not diminished by their deliberate action ..... etc."

Subscriptions of such societies or groups as well as of Junior Branches, Sections and Members of the Union shall be paid into the Union's banking account as part of the separate fund called the "Pioneers" A/c, out of which is paid the salary of one of the two assistants of the Education Officer and the cost of sundry services rendered by the Union to Junior Branches and Members. The Council shall, if it so desires, undertake the administration of the "Pioneers" A/c, which shall continue in the Union's banking account and shall continue to provide the salary referred to above and the cost of services properly met out of that A/c. The present practice of inviting school-leavers to become members of the Union and of the British Universities League of Nations Society shall be applied to the International Affairs Clubs, etc., attached to the Council as well as to the Junior Branches.

8. In organising such activities as summer schools, camps and conferences for teachers and pupils, the Council shall make use of the Union's Travel Agents for the purchase of tickets.

Where profits in the past have been credited to the "Pioneers" A/c that practice shall continue. All other profits on activities new or old organised by the Council shall, if the Council so desire, be paid into the Council's A/c. The Council will pay over to the Union profits that accrue from the Junior Summer School and the Young Teachers' Conference (which have always formed part of the Union's income) and will undertake ~~to ensure~~ that this amount is not diminished by their deliberate action.

The Council will at all times give any help for which it may be asked in the organisation of similar activities for members of the Union or the general public.

9. The Executive will not raise any objection to the B.U.L.N.S. affiliating to the Council provided that its existing connection with the Union is continued.
10. The Executive will consult its Council and treat its advice as it has hitherto treated that of its Education Committee. The Executive will endeavour to secure that its Council shall take the place hitherto occupied by its Education Committee on the International Federation of League of Nations Societies.

RESOLVED: "That sections 2, 3 and 8 of the Articles for the Reconstitution of the Education Committee be approved and adopted in the above amended form."

189. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Executive received resolutions from the Shropshire District Council and the Auckland (New Zealand) Branch. It was

RESOLVED: (1) That the Shropshire District Council be thanked for their resolutions and be reminded of the resolution adopted by the Executive Committee on May 16th and communicated to H.M. Government.

(2) That the Auckland Branch be warmly thanked for their resolution.

190. SUPPLY OF RAW MATERIALS. Lord Cecil reported on the minutes of the sub-Committee on the Supply of Raw Materials appointed by the Executive on May 18th. (minute 166)

He also reported on a conversation he had had with Lord Halifax concerning the possibility of an embargo being placed on the supply of petrol and certain raw materials to Japan.

It was suggested that, in the preparation of the general statement proposed in minute 2, the advice of General Temperley, Captain Liddell Hart, Admiral Drury Lowe, General McNeese Forster, and Sir Thomas Holland should be sought. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the minutes of the sub-Committee be approved and adopted; and that it be left to Lord Cecil to invite the assistance of such persons as he thinks desirable in the preparation of the statement mentioned in minute 2."

191. REFORM OF THE LEAGUE. The Executive had before them the draft Report (S.494E) of the sub-Committee on the Reform of League Procedure appointed by the Executive on April 20th (minute 153) together with comments on the draft Report submitted by Mr. Arnold Forster (S.513)

It was reported that Lord Perth, although unable to join the sub-Committee, had expressed his readiness to make a statement to the Committee if desired, and a copy of the draft report had been sent to him for his observations with an intimation that his kind offer to make a statement would be reported to the Executive. A letter dated June 5th from Lord Perth was read to the Committee, stating that the draft Report contained various statements and views with which he was unable to agree but that, since the proceedings of the sub-Committee had now closed, he did not feel that any useful purpose would be served by a statement on his part to the Executive or by the submission of observations or amendments to the draft Report.

After discussion it was decided to adjourn consideration of the draft Report until the next meeting and, in the meantime, to inform Lord Perth and to invite him to attend the meeting or, if he preferred, to submit his observations on the Report in writing.

## THE WORLD'S PEACE

The I.P.C.'s Questionnaire to Members of Parliament and prospective Parliamentary Candidates

### QUESTIONS

#### AN OPEN ALLIANCE AGAINST AGGRESSION

Do you consider that every effort should be made to secure the fullest co-operation of France and Russia, and of Poland, Rumania and other States, in an alliance for Collective Defence against Aggression, open to adhesion by all peace-keeping States, and including specific undertakings as to military action?

#### CO-OPERATION WITH THE U.S.S.R.

Do you consider that in view of recent international obligations undertaken by Great Britain and France, no system of mutual guarantees can achieve collective security without explicit co-operation with Russia, who, alone, of the Great Powers, is in a strategic position to render immediate military assistance to a victim of aggression in Eastern Europe?

#### ECONOMIC RESTRAINT OF AGGRESSION

Do you consider that the British Government should press for concerted action for withholding war supplies and purchasing power from States committing, or manifestly preparing, aggression?

#### AMERICAN SUPPORT

Do you consider that support by the United States is of cardinal importance; do you recognise that such support cannot be expected unless Britain and France make a reality of the democracy they profess, and use their powers for the immediate protection of the rule of law in international relations?

#### OUR CONTRIBUTION TO PEACEFUL CHANGE

Do you consider that the British Government should offer to its partners in the Peace Alliance agreements for mutual advantage in economic and other fields?

#### PEACE THROUGH A STRONG LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Do you consider that through these essential first steps, the British Government should persistently seek to create conditions in which a revived and strengthened League of Nations can work effectively?

### ANSWERS

(This space is for the use of M.P.'s and prospective Candidates)

192. **PALESTINE.** At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Musa Husini attended the meeting. He discussed from the Arab standpoint the proposals of H.M. Government contained in White Paper (Cmd. 6019) and answered a number of questions from members of the Committee.

193. **NEGOTIATIONS WITH RUSSIA.** The Executive discussed the present situation in regard to H.M. Government's negotiations with Russia. The Chairman drew attention to the evidence which the negotiations were producing of the impossibility of setting up a collective system on a basis of conflicting national interests. Many difficulties had been created by departing from the machinery of the League in the attempt to provide collective guarantees against aggression, for the purpose of which the Government had been drafted.

Miss Rathbone expressed the hope that in the present situation, when public opinion was exceedingly perplexed, the Union would continue to press for an immediate agreement with Russia by letters to the press, Branch resolutions and the like. She suggested, in particular, that the Officers of the Union should write a letter for publication in the national press.

Lord Cecil thought the Union had already made its attitude on this subject perfectly clear both by resolutions and in the June HEADWAY, and that no useful purpose would be served by a further letter to the press.

After discussion it was agreed that efforts should be made through the Press department for letters to appear in as many local papers as possible.

#### 194. I.P.C. QUESTIONNAIRE TO PARLIAMENTARY CANDIDATES.

Reference was made to an article appearing in the DAILY TELEGRAPH of June 6th, stating that the Conservative Party organisation took exception to a questionnaire "issued by the League of Nations Union with a view to the general election" on the ground that it contained "trap questions" calculated to put Government candidates at a disadvantage.

The Executive were informed that some two months ago the I.P.C. had prepared a questionnaire for submission by representative organisations to Parliamentary Candidates and that (as provided by the resolution adopted by the Union's General Council at Bournemouth in 1934) a number of the Union's local Branches were participating in this effort, although the Questionnaire had not been submitted to or discussed by the Executive Committee.

In April last, the London Regional Federation of the Union had issued a circular to Branches in the London area outlining a plan of campaign for use at a General Election, but containing no specific questions for submission to candidates. The statement in the DAILY TELEGRAPH appeared to be based on the erroneous assumption that the Union was responsible for the issue of both documents.

Captain Cazale reported that he had spoken to Sir Douglas Hacking on the subject, and asked that the Secretary should explain the position to him. Mr. Wryman Adams stated that reference to the Questionnaire had been made in a circular recently issued by the Conservative Central Office.



After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That Lord Cecil and Dr. Murray be asked to write a letter for publication in the DAILY TELEGRAPH, stating briefly the facts in regard to the Union's position in this matter; and that a letter be also sent to Sir Douglas Hacking.

(Note. During the discussion on the above item Lord Lytton left the meeting and the Chair was taken by Miss Courtney.)

195. THE FAR EAST. A letter dated May 26th from the International Peace Campaign was reported to the Executive, stating that the Franco-Chinese Group in the French Parliament, formed by the I.P.C. in France, was making representations to the French Minister of Health concerning the need for substantial aid to China in accordance with the League Council's resolutions, particularly in regard to medical supplies. The I.P.C. in Belgium were planning to make representations to the Belgian Minister of Health on the same lines.

It was agreed that the League of Nations Societies in France and Belgium should be informed of the action taken by the I.P.C. and be invited to co-operate in making similar representations to their respective Governments, urging that at the next meeting of the League Assembly the budget for China should not be reduced.

*K. D. Courtney*

CHAIRMAN

June 15th, 1939

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD  
AT NO. 15 GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1 ON THURSDAY,  
JUNE 15TH, 1939 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Miss K.D. Courtney (in the Chair), Mrs. Corbett Ashby, P.J. Noel Baker, Mrs. E.P. Beale, F.M. Burris, Lord Cecil, Miss Judith Corcoran, Vice-Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dogdale, Miss Philippa Rawcett, W. Arnold Forster, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Miss M. Lloyd George, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, Sir Arthur Haworth, A. Henderson, J.A. Keyser, Lady Layton, G. le M. Mander, Dr. Gilbert Murray, W.T. Pritchard, Miss Eleanor Rathbone and Major Freshwater.

196. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Wyvyan Adams, Major Buxton, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Captain Cazalet, J. Macdonald and H.S. Syrett.

197. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on June 8th, 1939, were confirmed as circulated.

198. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 186 - 172 - I.P.C. Visit of French Speakers, it was reported that M. Blum was not now able to accept the invitation to address a meeting in the Queen's Hall. A reply had not yet been received from M. Herriot. It was suggested that M. Paul Boncour might be invited to address the meeting and that, if H.M. Government's negotiations with Russia were satisfactorily concluded, Mr. Maiski might also be asked to speak. It was pointed out that, if the latter suggestion were adopted, the meeting would have to be postponed until after the General Council had met in July, and it was decided further to consider this matter at the next meeting of the Committee. If however M. Herriot should accept the invitation already sent to him, Mr. Winston Churchill should be asked also.

199. DAME ADELAIDE LIVINGSTONE. It was

RESOLVED: "That the cordial thanks of the Executive Committee be conveyed to Dame Adelaide Livingstone for the party which she had generously given for the delegates attending the Triennial Conference of the Associated Countrywomen of the World."

200. MRS. TALBOT. The Executive were grieved to learn of the sudden death of Mrs. Talbot, and it was

RESOLVED: "That the Chairman be asked to write to Dame Adelaide Livingstone, expressing the Executive Committee's profound sympathy with her and their deep appreciation of Mrs. Talbot's services to the Union."

## 201. RESOLUTIONS.

(a) Welsh National Council. The Executive received resolutions adopted by the Welsh National Council of the Union at its annual meeting held from June 3rd.

RESOLVED: "That the Welsh National Council be thanked for their resolutions which the Executive has read with interest; that they be informed that the Executive Committee notes with much pleasure the action taken in resolution A and trusts that it will meet with a wise response; and that they be supplied with such documents as will indicate the attitude of the Executive on the subject of certain of their resolutions."

(b) District Council. The Executive also received a resolution from the Tyne District Council Executive Committee, and it was

RESOLVED: "That the Tyne District Council be thanked for their resolution, and be reminded of the resolution adopted by the Executive Committee on May 18th and of the editorial discussion on the subject appearing in the current number of HEADWAY."

202. REFORM OF THE LEAGUE. The Executive resumed consideration of the draft Report (S.494a) of the sub-Committee on the Reform of League procedure, together with comments by Mr. Arnold Forster (S.513) which had been adjourned from the previous meeting.

It was reported that Lord Perth was unable to attend the present meeting or to submit his comments in writing on the report.

after discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That members of the Executive be asked to send in writing to the Secretary any comments or amendments they wished to see made in the draft Report; and that the Report, together with such comments and amendments as may be received, be referred back for further consideration by the sub-Committee."

Dr. Garnett hoped the sub-Committee would consider whether the turning point of the League's failure was not H.M. Government's handling of the Manchurian dispute rather than the Abyssinian conflict. The latter issue, to his mind, had afforded a fresh opportunity for the League to recover the ground it had lost by the Manchurian episode.

Dr. Murray, Lord Cecil and the Chairman suggested the redrafting of paragraph 14 in its reference to Federal Union.

### 203. COMMITTEES.

(a) Economic Committee. The Executive had before them the minutes of the Economic Committee dated June 6th, 1939.

On Minute 9 - Amendment of the Merchandise Marks Act, Lord Cecil reminded the Executive that complete machinery already existed for indicating the country of origin of all goods imported into this country, and after discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) That the resolution of the Economic Committee be not accepted; and that, since a motion on the subject had been tabled for the Annual Meeting of the General Council, inquiries be made both of the Board of Overseas Trade and of the China Campaign Committee with a view to further information being available for the Council meeting.

(2) That when the re-election of sub-Committees takes place at the end of the year, the Chairmanship and composition of the Economic Committee be carefully considered.

(b) Refugees Committee. Mrs. Dugdale presented minutes 46 and 48 of the Refugees Committee held on 9th June, 1939.

RESOLVED: (1) That paragraphs (2) and (3) of minute 46 (Resolutions at Union's General Council) be approved and adopted; but that the question of a mover and seconder for the motion on Refugees already tabled by the Executive be adjourned for consideration at a later meeting.

(2) That minute 48 (Government's policy on Palestine and its Bearing on the General Refugee Problem) be approved and adopted;

That the following motion be approved for submission to the General Council as a matter of urgency:

In view of the fact that large numbers of Jewish families already settled in Palestine are able and anxious to undertake the support of aged relatives desirous of escaping from countries under Nazi domination;

In view of the fact that admission into Palestine of this class of refugee can have no permanent effect upon the economic or political future of the country:

The General Council of the League of Nations Union urges His Majesty's Government to allow these old people to rejoin their families without further delay, counting them as outside the numerical quota of immigrants to Palestine envisaged in the White Paper of May, 1939.

That Mrs. Dugdale be invited to propose the motion at the General Council; and

That the memorandum prepared by Mrs. Dugdale on the Palestine White Paper and its effect upon the Problem of Refugees (S.504) be printed as an Appendix in the Final Agenda for the Council Meeting for the information of delegates.

204. ANNUAL MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL. The Executive had before them the Preliminary Agenda for the Annual Meeting of the General Council, together with draft urgency motions for submission by the Executive (S.525) and the text of amendments to motions in the Preliminary Agenda received from Branches by June 12th (S.522).

In regard to the 'urgency' motions it was, after discussion,

RESOLVED: (1)  
*(Rebuilding words)*  
*(Dm)*

"That the draft urgency motion on a General Settlement with Germany be adjourned for consideration at a later meeting of the Executive when other urgency motions dealing with the political situation are being discussed; and that, in the meantime, it be left to Dr. Garnett to redraft the motion in the light of the Executive's discussion if he so desires."

(2) "That the following motion on 21st Birthday Celebrations be approved and adopted for submission to the General Council as a matter of urgency:

The General Council of the League of Nations Union

Commends to the Branches and Members of the Union the opportunity afforded by the Union's 21st Birthday Celebrations for

- (a) Raising a substantial sum of money so as to put the Union's finances on a firmer basis;
- (b) Re-awakening interest in and support for the League of Nations;

(c) Increasing the membership of the Union; and

Urges Branches and members during the coming months

(1) To do all in their power to organise the sale of Birthday Stamps; and

(2) To arrange other money-raising activities such as garden parties, whist drives, concerts, etc.

so that at the Albert Hall Demonstration on December 2nd the fund raised by these means will bear witness to the Union's vigorous health and to the esteem in which Lord Cecil is held by his fellow-countrymen."

At Lord Cecil's suggestion the Executive gave further consideration to the draft motions prepared by the Liaison Committee between the Union and the New Commonwealth (S.472) the first of which had been referred for consideration by the sub-Committee on the Reform of League Procedure but the subject of which had not been included in the draft Report. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: (3) "That, subject to the replacement of the third paragraph of the second resolution dealing with an International Air Force by the complete text of the resolution adopted by the General Council in June, 1938, the two resolutions prepared by the Liaison Committee be approved and adopted for submission as urgency motions jointly by the Union and the New Commonwealth to the General Council."

The Executive Committee expressed the hope that, in view of the above decision, the Procedure Committee would endeavour to persuade the Dunstable and Montague Burton Branches to withdraw the motion they had already tabled.

The motions contained in the Preliminary Agenda were then considered.

On Motion 12 - Humanitarian, Educational and Cultural Work of the League, the hope was expressed that members of the Executive, in speaking on this motion, would lay emphasis also on the political activities of the League.

On Motion 27 - Raw Materials for War Purposes, it was agreed that the memorandum on this subject prepared by the intelligence department should be printed as an appendix in the Final Agenda.

On Motion 31 - League Economics, Mr. Noel Baker was asked to draft an amendment (which after being approved by Dr. Murray, should be submitted by the Executive) to include a reference to the curtailment of the League's political activities as well as those in the social and humanitarian field.

On Motion 32 - I.L.O. Budget Reductions, it was

RESOLVED: (4) That, in the second paragraph of the Executive's motion the words 'the one Branch' should be replaced by 'one of the Branches'.

On Motion 33 - World Economic Conference, Lord Cecil was asked to draft an amendment for submission to the Executive Committee.

205. PALESTINE. The Executive had before them the text of a resolution adopted by the Welsh National Council on June 3rd (see minute 201(a) above).

Mrs. Dugdale thought it might be desirable to press for publication of the opinion of the Mandates Commission before the report was presented to the League's Council.

Mr. Noel Baker said that, so soon as the Mandates Commission had terminated its work on any given report, the minutes and conclusions were published and circulated to Members of the League in the month of August. But the Government were already beginning to apply their policy in regard to Palestine, and it therefore seemed important that the Report of the Mandates Commission should be published in advance of the normal date in order that Parliament might have an opportunity of discussing it before the policy was put fully into effect.

Lord Cecil was opposed to the Union sending resolutions directly to the League or to Committees of the League; it was the business of the Union to work through the Government of this country. Mr. Arnold Forster hoped that the Executive would adopt a resolution for submission to the General Council and to the International Federation, and after discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That Mrs. Dugdale be asked to draft a resolution for consideration by the Executive at its next meeting."

206. THE FAR EAST. The Executive discussed recent events in the Far East, and it was

RESOLVED: (1) "The Executive Committee

Regards the continuance of the Japanese invasion of China as fraught with the gravest peril for the British Empire and for the interests of established peace.

It learns with horror of the renewed atrocities resulting from Japan's aggression in Chung-king and elsewhere.

It repudiates the systematic action against the foreign and international settlements by Japan, in violation of international treaties.

It protests against the murder of British subjects, the interference with British trade and the illegal stoppage of British ships:

And calls upon His Majesty's Government immediately to take whatever measures may be most effective to put an end to these continued violations of international law and justice; to consult with other Powers as to further steps; and to lay the whole matter forthwith before the League of Nations."

Note. The wording of the resolution was left to Lord Cecil who drafted it as above after the meeting.

(2)"That the resolution be immediately communicated to H.M. Government and to the press:

*Lyller*

CHAIRMAN

June 22nd, 1939



MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD  
AT NO. 15 GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1., ON  
THURSDAY, JUNE 22ND, 1939 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), P.J. Noel Baker,  
Lady Violet Bonham Carter, F.M. Burris,  
Captain V. Cozalel, the Dean of Chichester,  
Miss J. Corcoran, Miss K.D. Courtney, Vice-  
Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Diggale, Miss  
Philippa Fawcett, W. Arnold Forster, Dr.  
Maxwell Garnett, Miss Megan Lloyd George,  
Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris,  
G. le M. Mander, Dr. Gilbert Murray, W.T.  
Pritchard, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, H.S. Syrett,  
E. Wallis-Jones, Major Lawrence Wright and  
Major Freshwater.

207. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Mrs. Beale,  
Major Buxton, Lord Cecil and J. Macdonald.
208. MR. ERIC STANGROOM. The Chairman, on behalf of the  
Committee, welcomed Mr. Eric Stangroom, a member of  
the Canadian League of Nations Society, who attended  
the Executive's meeting by invitation.
209. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on June 15th,  
1939 were confirmed as circulated.
210. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES

On Minute 198 - 196 I.P.C. Visit of French Speakers,  
receipt of a letter from M. Herriot was reported,  
regretting his inability to speak at a meeting in  
the Queen's Hall, and it was

RESOLVED: "That the proposal to hold a meeting in  
the Queen's Hall be now abandoned since  
neither M. Blum nor M. Herriot are able  
to speak."

211. AMENDMENT OF MERCHANDISE MARKS ACT. The Executive  
had before them a report of conversations which Mr.  
White had had with representatives of the Board of  
Trade and the London Chamber of Commerce (S:537) with  
regard to the proposal that all imported goods, manu-  
factured or semi-manufactured, should be distinctly  
marked with the name of the country of their origin  
in order to facilitate the boycott of goods from  
aggressor nations.

Dr. Garnett expressed the hope that the Executive  
would propose to the General Council a resolution on  
the lines suggested in the penultimate paragraph of  
Mr. White's paper.

Mr. Arnold Forster hoped that members of the Executive, when speaking to the motion already tabled in the Agenda for the General Council, would urge the desirability not only of imported goods being distinctly marked with the country of origin, but also of governmental action being taken with a view to an embargo being placed on the import of goods from Japan.

After further discussion it was decided, in the absence of Lord Cecil, to adjourn consideration of this matter until the next meeting.

212. BRANCH RESOLUTION. The Executive received a resolution adopted by the Church End Finchley Branch Committee on May 23rd, and it was

RESOLVED: "That the Church End Finchley Branch be thanked for their resolution; that they be informed in regard to paragraph (a) of the resolution adopted by the Executive in minute 214 below, and, in regard to (b) that the situation in Danzig will be considered by the Executive at its next meeting."

213. MINUTES OF COMMITTEES.

- (a) Education Committee. The Executive had before them minutes 60 (Reconstitution of the Committee), 61 (Deputation to the President of the Board of Education) and 77 (Education in the U.S.S.R.) of the meeting held on June 12th, 1939.

RESOLVED: "That paragraphs (4) and (5) of minute 60, and minutes 61 and 77, be approved and adopted."

In reply to a question from Mr. Arnold Forster, the Chairman said that he would take the opportunity, when presenting the Annual Report for 1938 to the General Council, to inform them of the reconstitution of the Education Committee. It was further suggested that a circular letter on the subject should be sent to the Union's Branches, referring in particular to paragraph (3) of the Articles for the Education Committee's Reconstitution.

- (b) Christian Organisations Committee. The Dean of Chichester reported on minute 62 (The Moral Argument for Collective Security; Memorandum by Chairman) of the meeting held on 14th June, 1939. The Executive were reminded that the memorandum had been prepared in response to a suggestion made at their meeting on March 23rd.

Dr. Garnett suggested an amendment of the first sentence on page 2 by the omission of the words "through the selfishness of the human heart". He thought there was great danger of confusing personal

selfishness with collective selfishness. After discussion, the Dean of Chichester expressed his willingness to redraft the sentence and to submit it to Lord Lytton for approval.

Dr. Carnett also suggested an alteration in the last paragraph of the memorandum, and Miss Courtney proposed the addition of the words 'involving as it does collective responsibility' after the words 'collective defence'. The Dean of Chichester accepted this amendment.

After further discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That, subject to the redrafting of the first sentence at the top of page 2 and to the amendment in the last paragraph referred to above, the paper be approved for publication as a Memorandum by the Dean of Chichester on the Moral Argument for Collective Security from a Christian Standpoint; and that copies be circulated to the Union's Branches, etc., and to the religious press."

214. PALESTINE. The Executive had before them a draft motion (S.538) prepared by Mrs. Duddale in response to the request of the Committee at its last meeting. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union,

In view of the opinion, widely expressed in Parliament and elsewhere that the policy of the Government with regard to Palestine, as laid down in the White Paper of May 17th, 1939, is not in accordance with British obligations under the Mandate,

Urges:

(1) That the Mandatory Power shall refrain from putting into execution any steps towards implementing the new policy envisaged in the White Paper before the Permanent Mandates Commission and the League Council have reached their conclusions on the compatibility of this policy with the Mandate.

(2) That the Report of the Permanent Mandates Commission be published before the end of July, in order that Parliament may have full information, before adjourning, on a matter which so vitally affects the honour of this country."

- (2) "That the resolution be immediately communicated to H.M. Government and to the press."
- (3) "That copies of the resolution be sent to the Secretary of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies with the request that he should communicate them to the members of the Permanent Mandates Commission now sitting at Geneva."
- (4) "That mutatis mutandis the resolution be included in the Final Agenda for submission as a matter of 'urgency' to the Annual meeting of the General Council at Birmingham."

215. COLONIES. The following resolution adopted by the Bradford District Council was laid before the Executive:

"That in view of Herr Hitler's repeated statement that the only matter in dispute between Germany and England is the question of the former German Colonies, and that in his opinion this is one which ought to be settled without recourse to force, it is highly desirable that H.M. Government should give the problem early and earnest consideration with a view to devising a scheme which might form the basis for conference and discussion, in the hope that by such means a peaceful settlement may be arrived at in conformity with the principles of the League of Nations."

On the motion of Sir John Harris, it was

RESOLVED: "That the resolution be referred to the Mandates Committee for consideration and report."

Mr. Noel Baker expressed the hope that the Mandates Committee, in considering the resolution, would start from the League's point of view, viz: that the control and government of subject peoples is a sacred trust for civilisation and that the fate of such peoples must not be made a matter of political bargaining.

216. THE FAR EAST. The Executive discussed recent developments in the Far East.

Fears were expressed that the incidents at Tientsin would be followed by similar action in Shanghai and that H.M. Government, by showing no disposition to act firmly in opposition, were merely encouraging Japan to continue. Reference was made to Lord Halifax's speech on the subject on the previous day and doubts were expressed concerning the likelihood of Great Britain obtaining support from the United States in any action it decided to take, merely for the defence of national

interests. A suggestion was made that, following the Russian precedent, the British Ambassador should be withdrawn and an immediate embargo be placed on all trade with Japan.

Admiral Drury-Lowe spoke of the British naval position in the Far East; and Miss Rathbone suggested that, since the situation in the Far East could not be divorced from that in Europe and since economic action in Japan might have to be followed by military and naval action, the weak attitude adopted by H.M. Government might be attributed to the fact that they were not yet certain of the support of Russia.

Several members of the Committee thought that the proper procedure for H.M. Government was to ask for a meeting of the Council of the League under Article 11. The Chairman recalled that the Union had at all times urged upon H.M. Government the necessity of taking collective action with a view to resisting Japan's aggression on China. But having regard to the fact that H.M. Government had not taken such action it was, in the present situation, undesirable for the Executive Committee to ask for a meeting of the Council of the League merely because Great Britain's interests were involved at Tientsin.

It was reported that the China Campaign Committee were proposing to arrange a public meeting in the Queen's Hall on Friday, June 30th, and hoped that Lord Lytton would speak and that the meeting would have the support and co-operation of the Union.

The Chairman said that, if the terms of the resolution to be put to the meeting were such as the Union could endorse, he would gladly speak at the meeting and the Union would do all it could, by circularising its Branches, etc., to ensure the success of the gathering.

*K. D. Courtney*  
CHAIRMAN

June 29th 1939.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 15 GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1. ON THURSDAY, 29TH JUNE, 1939, AT 11 a.m.

PRESENT: Miss Courtney (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams, P.J. Noel Baker, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Captain Cozale, Lord Cecil, Vice-Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Philippa Fawcett, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, Arthur Henderson, Dr. C.W. Kimmins, Lady Layton, J. Macdonald, Dr. Gilbert Murray, W.T. Pritchard, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, H.S. Syrett, E. Wallis-Jones, F.W. Weaver, Major Lawrence Wright and Major Freshwater.

217. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Lord Lytton, Mrs. Beale, Major Buxton, F. Burris, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Sir Arthur Haworth.
218. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on June 22nd, 1939 were confirmed as circulated.
219. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 211 - amendment of Merchandise Marks Act,  
The Executive gave further consideration to a report of conversations between Mr. White and representatives of the Board of Trade and the London Chamber of Commerce with regard to the proposal that all imported goods, manufactured or semi-manufactured, should be distinctly marked with the name of the country of their origin. The Executive also had before them a motion by the Maldon Branch for consideration by the General Council at its forthcoming meeting in Birmingham. After discussion it was left to Lord Cecil to draft an addendum for submission by the Executive to the Maldon motion which would urge H. K. Government to pass the necessary legislation to ensure that at least all imports from Japan are clearly marked 'Japanese' or 'with Japanese parts'.

Reference was made to statements appearing in the press concerning a large scale purchase of Japanese salmon by the Co-operative Society. Lady Gladstone stated that at a meeting of the Women's Advisory Council, Mrs. Pavitt, the representative of the Women's Co-operative Guild, had said that goods of Japanese origin were no longer being purchased by the Co-operative Society. Lady Gladstone was asked to write to Mrs. Pavitt on the subject and to report later to the Executive.

On Minute 216 - The Far East: China Campaign Committee,  
It was reported that arrangements for the China Campaign Committee's meeting had now been changed and that the meeting would take place on Wednesday, July 5th in the Friends' Meeting House. The general outline of the resolution to be submitted to the meeting had been approved by Lord Lytton, and the speakers would be Lord Lytton, Mr. Victor Gollancz, Dr. Anderson (Professor of Medicine in the West China University) and Mr. Barnes, Chairman of the Co-operative Party. An inquiry from the China Campaign Committee was reported concerning the co-operation of the Union in the meeting, and it was agreed that the Union should do all it could to make the meeting known among its London Branches but that the meeting should not be advertised as being organised in co-operation with the Union nor should the Union undertake the distribution of tickets.

220. Mrs. TALBOT. Lord Cecil read to the Committee a letter from Dame Adelaide Livingstone, thanking the Executive for their message of sympathy.

221. MINUTES OF COMMITTEES.

(a) Industrial advisory Committee. Lady Hall reported on Minutes 39 (I.L.O. Economics), 43 (General Council, Birmingham), 44 (Regulation of Contracts of Employment of Indigenous Workers) and 46 (Constitution of Executive Committee) of the meeting held on June 15th. It was

RESOLVED: "That minutes 43(t) and 44 be approved and adopted."

"That minute 46 be approved; and that it be left to Lady Hall and Mr. Syrett to make inquiries concerning a suitable Trade Unionist to be invited to join the Executive Committee."

(b) Finance Committee. Mr. Syrett reported on the minutes of the meeting held on June 21st, and drew attention to the unsatisfactory financial position of the Union.

Sir John Harris referred to the vast improvement which, after many years work, had now taken place in the conditions of employment of native labour, and which would not have been possible but for the activities of the League of Nations. He suggested that an appeal for financial support for the Union might meet with a ready response from British firms concerned with tropical products, and asked that Mr. Hawkey should discuss with him how such an appeal could best be made. Mr. Syrett thanked Sir John for his suggestion.

Mr. Macdonald suggested that, in preparation for the Treasurer's statement to the General Council, a brief note of the present financial position should be circulated to the Branches. It was agreed that such a statement should be prepared for circulation at the Birmingham meeting to members of the Council.

On Minute 43 - HEADWAY, Mr. Syrett reported that a basis of agreement with the Pocus Company had now been reached by which the Union would take over the Company and obtain complete control of HEADWAY in the near future.

Dr. Murray expressed the hope that, under the new arrangement, the degree of independence which HEADWAY had lately enjoyed would be preserved. Mr. Syrett said that no change was proposed in the composition of the Editorial Board on which the Union already had a majority, and that, apart from the question of expense, there would be no difficulty in continuing the use of the Devereux Court address if that was desired.

222. APPOINTMENT OF SECRETARY TO CHRISTIAN ORGANISATIONS

COMMITTEE. Lady Madstone reported on a joint meeting between the Office Committee and representatives of the Christian Organisations Committee held on June 22nd to consider the appointment of a Secretary to the Christian Organisations Committee in succession to Mr. Porter Goff who, on being appointed Provost of Portsmouth, had resigned as from the end of July. The Committee recommended the appointment of the Reverend R.S. Lound, Vicar

of St. Peter's, Vere Street. Mr. Lound was prepared to do a certain amount of travelling on behalf of the Committee. He did not ask for a salary but an allowance of £50 a year would be made to him. Admiral Drury-Lowe, who was personally acquainted with Mr. Lound, strongly supported the Committee's recommendation, and it was

RESOLVED: "That the Reverend R.S. Lound be appointed Secretary of the Christian Organisations Committee, in succession to the Provost of Portsmouth, on the conditions outlined above".

Dr. Garnett expressed the hope that the Christian Organisations Committee would invite the Provost of Portsmouth to serve on the Committee.

The question of the Secretaryship of the Refugees Committee was then discussed, and it was agreed to authorise Mrs. Dugdale, on behalf of the Executive, to invite Mr. Porter Goff to continue to act as Honorary Secretary of the Refugees Committee on the understanding that the Union would defray the cost of travel from Portsmouth whenever he came to London specially for the Committee's business.

223. ANNUAL MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL. The Executive had before them the Final Agenda for the Annual Meeting of the General Council to be held in Birmingham from July 7th to 10th. It was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the members named below be invited to take charge of the following items in the Council's Agenda, and that the following decisions be taken in regard to those items:

Item 2(a) - Minutes: Lord Cecil (from the Chair)

" 2(b) - Report on Action: Lord Lytton.

" 3 - Presentation of Annual Report: Lord Lytton

" 4 and 5 - Election of Officers and Election of Executive Committee: to be moved from the body of the hall.

" 6 - Co-optations: Lord Cecil (from the Chair)

" 7 - Presentation of Balance Sheet: Mr. Syrett

" 8 - Subscription Allocation: to leave to Council's discretion.

" 10 - Motion to Grant Urgency: Lord Cecil (from the Chair)

" 11 - United Services in Celebration of 21st Birthday: Admiral Drury-Lowe to move.

" 12 - Humanitarian, Educational and Cultural Work of the League: Mr. Noel Baker to support and to emphasise the political activities of the League.

" 13 - International Peace Campaign: Lord Cecil to move (Dr. Murray in Chair)

" 14 - Refugees: Lord Lytton to move

" 15 - Spanish Refugees: Miss Rathbone to move



- 224  
197
- Item 16 - Jewish Refugees: Mrs. Dugdale to move.
- " 17 - Palestine: Captain Cazalet or Mr. Mander to move.
- " 18 - Equitable Settlement of International Disputes: Dr. Murray to move.
- " 19 - International Air Police Force: Miss Courtney to move.
- " 21 - Reform of the League: the Executive to consider at their next meeting whether the urgency motion referred to in minute 224 below should be submitted to the Council as an amendment to this motion.
- " 22 - Rule of Law: The Executive were informed that, having spoken to his motion, Mr. Keen would probably withdraw in favour of the amendment of the Surrey Federation.
- " 23 - Work of the Youth Movement: Lord Lytton to take charge of the motion on behalf of the Executive and to support it, subject to the final paragraph being amended to read as follows:
- 'Hopes that the League of Nations Youth Groups will continue to participate in these activities of the youth movement and to give leadership to that movement in all matters concerned with foreign policy of special concern to youth.'
- " 24 - League Economies: to endeavour to persuade the Edinburgh Branch to withdraw their motion in favour of the Executive's amendment and, if that is done, to invite Miss Corcoran to second the amendment.
- " 25 - I.L.O. Budget Reductions: Mr. Patrick Early to move.
- " 26 - Limitation of Armaments Profits: to ask the Balham and Tooting Branch to withdraw their amendment since, in the opinion of the Executive Committee, it is not in order; and to leave members of the Executive free to support the motion or otherwise at their discretion.
- " 27 - Country of Origin of Imported Goods: to ask the Edinburgh Branch to withdraw their amendment since, in the opinion of the Executive, it is not in order; and to ask Miss Courtney to move the amendment to be drafted by Lord Cecil /see minute 219 (211) above/.
- " 28 - Intellectual Co-operation: to support.
- " 29 - Maintenance of the Principles of the Covenant: Lord Lytton to move and to accept the three amendments.
- " 30 - Third Party Judgment: to support
- " 31 - Raw Materials for War Purposes: to ask Lord Cecil to redraft the last paragraph of the motion for consideration by the Executive at its next meeting; and to ask Mr. Arnold Forster to propose the motion in its amended form.

- Item 32 - Work of the Christian Organisations Committee:  
Admiral Drury-Lowe to move.
- " 33 - Washington Trade Treaty: to support
- " 34 - World Economic Conference: to invite the Balham and Tooting Branch to withdraw their amendment in favour of the Executive's motion; and to ask Miss Fawcett to move (or second) the amendment.
- " 35 - 21st Birthday Celebrations: Mr. Pritchard to move.
- " 36 - Supply of Literature: Dr. Garnett said that if, as was likely, the pamphlets which the Oxford Branch had proposed to publish were published instead by the Oxford University Press in their threepenny series, his amendment would need to be submitted to the Council in a revised form. In response to a suggestion from the Chairman he expressed his willingness to include in his amendment the deletion of the words following 'publicity' in the Edinburgh Branch's motion.
- " 37 - Mein Kampf: the Executive recommended that on this motion the 'previous question' should be moved.

It was further

RESOLVED: (2) "That urgency motions on the current political situation for submission by the Executive be considered at the next meeting."

- 22A. REBUILDING WORLD ORDER. The Executive considered a revised draft (S.547) of a motion (see minute 204) by Dr. Garnett for submission by the Executive to the General Council as a matter of urgency.

Mr. Vyvyan Adams read to the Committee a letter from the Duchess of Atholl commenting on the motion.

Lord Cecil expressed doubts concerning the policy outlined in the draft, and Miss Rathbone suggested an addition to the third paragraph dealing specifically with the guarantees Great Britain and France should give to Russia.

After some discussion it was left to Dr. Garnett, in consultation with Dr. Murray, to prepare a further revised draft for consideration by the Executive at its next meeting.

The Executive then considered a motion drafted by Mr. Arnold-Forster for adoption by the Executive and for immediate communication to H.M. Government. Letters from Sir Arthur Salter and Mr. Harold Nicolson supporting the draft were reported.

Lord Cecil said that he had talked with Mr. Arnold-Forster on the subject of the resolution, and had expressed the opinion that a public resolution would not serve any useful purpose. It might, however, be desirable for a carefully worded letter to be written to the Government on the subject. In his opinion it was essential to emphasise that the urgent thing at the present time was to get a "Peace front" thoroughly into working order with the greatest strength possible. When Germany then saw that aggressive action was no longer practicable the opportunity might arise for a definite offer to be made by the British Government.

196

Mr. Henderson stressed the importance of close consultation with the Dominion Governments on this matter; and if any plans on the lines suggested in Mr. Arnold-Forster's motion were to be made, they should, in his opinion, be made by the British and French Governments jointly.

Mrs. Dugdale was opposed to a communication being sent to H.M. Government at the present time, and, after discussion, it was decided to adjourn consideration of the action to be taken until after the meeting of the General Council.

225. REFORM OF THE LEAGUE. It was

RESOLVED: "That the report of the sub-Committee on Reform of the League (revised as requested in minute 208) be adjourned for consideration at the next meeting of the Executive".

226. THE FAR EAST. The Executive had before them some notes on the Naval Situation in the Far East prepared by Admiral Drury-Lowe (S.549).

227. DANZIG. A resolution from the Church End Finchley Branch was considered 'pressing H.M. Government to bring the dangerous situation at Danzig before the League Council under Article 11 of the Covenant'. Lord Cecil suggested, and it was agreed, that the Branch should be informed that the Executive is strongly in favour of the utilisation of the machinery of the League wherever it is practicable, but that it is difficult to specify one particular case in which action by the League should be taken unless the Governments of States Members are prepared to act generally in accordance with the League system.

228. DATE OF NEXT MEETING.

RESOLVED: "That the next meeting of the Committee be held at 11 a.m. on Thursday, July 6th."

*Lyle*  
CHAIRMAN

July 6th, 1939.

## LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 15 GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1. ON THURSDAY, JULY 6TH, 1939 AT 11 a.m.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams, P.J. Noel Baker, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Captain Cazalet, Lord Cecil, Miss K.D. Courtney, Vice-Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Miss Philippa Fawcett, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Lady Gladstone, Sir John Harris, G. le M. Mander, Dr. Gilbert Murray, W.T. Fritchard, Major Lawrence Wright, and Major Freshwater.

229. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from the Duchess of Atholl, Major Buxton, Mrs. Beale, Mrs. Dugdale, Sir Arthur Haworth, H.S. Syrett.
230. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on June 29th, 1939 were confirmed as circulated.
231. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 219 - 211 - Amendment of Merchandise Marks Act, Lady Gladstone read to the Committee a letter she had received from Mrs. Pavitt, stating that when she had made her statement to the Women's Advisory Council in October, 1937, she was speaking of the London Co-operative Society and not the Co-operative Wholesale Society. She had found the whole of the cheap salmon trade had been transferred to Canada and that the boycott of Japanese goods still existed, with the exception of Mandarin oranges of which there was no other source of supply; but Branch managers had been instructed to keep these goods in the background and to supply them only when asked for.

On Minute 221(b) - Finance Committee, Lord Cecil spoke of a conversation he had recently had with some Youth representatives concerning the proposal for a national Peace Fund. He expressed the opinion that the next few months provided an excellent opportunity for using, for the benefit of the Union's finances, the revival of interest in the whole conception of collective security.

Lord Lytton reminded the Committee that it was the Union's intention during the present year to concentrate on making the Birthday Fund a success, and that at the end of the year the whole question of the Union's future finances and the method of raising funds would be carefully examined.

Sir John Harris recalled the conversation he had recently had with the Provost of Glasgow who had undertaken to defray the expenses of a

preacher for the Geneva Assembly Service, and suggested that other civic authorities might be willing personally to help the Union in raising funds.

On Minute 222 - Appointment of Secretary to Christian Organisations Committee. In reply to a question from Admiral Drury-Lowe it was reported that the Reverend R.S. Lound had not, to date, formally accepted the appointment of Secretary to the Christian Organisations Committee.

On Minute 223 - Annual Meeting of General Council, it was reported that, for reasons of ill health, Miss Rathbone would be unable to attend the meeting of the General Council in Birmingham, and it was

RESOLVED: "That Lady Hall be asked to propose the adoption of the Executive's motion on Spanish Refugees (item 15 in the Agenda)".

232. DAME MARIA OGILVIE GORDON. The Executive learned with deep regret of the recent death of Dame Maria Ogilvie Gordon who was a Vice-President of the Union, the first Chairman of its Women's Advisory Council and at one time a member of the Executive Committee. The Chairman reported that a letter of condolence had already been sent, on the Union's behalf, by the Secretary and, on the motion of Lady Gladstone, seconded by Lord Cecil, it was

RESOLVED: "That the Chairman be asked to write to Dame Maria Ogilvie Gordon's daughter, expressing the Executive's deep appreciation of the service rendered to the Union by Dame Maria."

233. OVERSEAS COMMITTEE. Lady Gladstone reported on minutes 19, 20 and 21 of the meeting held on June 28th, 1939. It was, subject to the following,

RESOLVED: "That these minutes be approved and adopted."

On Minute 19 - Plenary Congress, Sir John Harris expressed the hope that a resolution dealing with the Mandatory system would be submitted by the Union to the Plenary Congress and undertook, at the Chairman's request, to prepare a draft.

On Minute 20 - Place of Meeting of Plenary Congress In 1940, the hope was expressed that, if the invitation from Oxford were accepted, the Plenary Congress would meet in July rather than at Whitsuntide.

On Minute 21 - Letter from Dr. Kunosi of the Czechoslovak League of Nations Society, it was understood that if and when recognition was accorded to Germany's annexation of Czechoslovakia, the decision recorded in this minute would be reconsidered.

234. REFORM OF THE LEAGUE. The Executive considered the Report of the sub-Committee on the Reform of the League (S.494b) revised in accordance with the request contained in minute 202.

A letter from Lord Cranborne, suggesting certain amendments in the Report, was read to the Committee.

It was suggested that since the subject of the Report would be discussed by the General Council at Birmingham, copies of the Report should be made available for members of the Council.

After discussion, during which drafting changes were proposed in paragraphs 3 and 14, it was

RESOLVED: "That members of the Committee be asked to send to Lord Cecil that afternoon any suggestions they might wish to make for amending the Report; that in the light of such suggestions Lord Cecil be asked to amend the Report for communication to those attending the General Council meeting as a draft Report of a special sub-Committee; and that the sub-Committee be asked to meet again after the General Council in order further to consider the Report in the light of the Council's discussion."

Lady Gladstone stated that Lord Cecil had promised to address the next meeting of the Women's Advisory Council on the Reform of the League, and it was agreed that copies of the draft Report should be circulated to members of the W.A.C. for their information.

235. ANNUAL MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL. The Executive considered amendments, drafted by Lord Cecil in accordance with minute 223 of the last meeting, for submission by the Executive to motions 27 and 31 in the General Council Agenda.

On Motion 27 - Country of Origin of Imported Goods, the Executive were reminded of the statement made by Mr. Oliver Stanley on the previous day, and it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the following amendment be submitted by the Executive to motion 27:

The General Council of the League  
of Nations Union

Welcomes the decision of H.M. Government to require that all imported goods should bear the specific name of the country of origin so that those who wish to do so may use their purchasing power to support those who support peace; and

Trusts that no delay will take place in effectively enforcing this regulation in the case of imports from Japan and those districts of China now controlled by Japan.

(Note: The wording of the amendment was left to Lord Cecil who drafted it as above after the meeting.)

On Motion 31 - Raw Materials for War Purposes,  
it was

RESOLVED: (2) "That the motion standing in the name of the Executive Committee be submitted to the Council in the following amended form:

The General Council of the League  
of Nations Union

Noting Japan's aggression in the East and her outrageous conduct at Tientsin and other Treaty Ports, and the manifest danger that Germany and Italy may continue their series of aggressive blows in the West: and

Noting that huge quantities of raw materials, required for war purposes, have been imported lately by these countries from the British Empire;

Re-affirms the Union's often repeated demand for concerted measures to withhold purchasing power and war supplies, including oil, from Japan; and

Urges that immediate action should be taken, by Governmental purchases or otherwise, to stop, as far as possible, exports of armaments, or minerals required for their manufacture or use, from British Empire sources to Germany and Italy, and that every effort should be made to secure the co-operation for this purpose of France, Russia, the United States and the Netherlands.

The Executive then considered a revised draft of the urgency motion on 'Rebuilding World Order' prepared by Dr. Murray and Dr. Garnett, as well as alternative drafts by Lord Cecil and Dr. Murray (S.559). After discussion it was

RESOLVED: (3) "That the following motion be submitted by the Executive, as a matter of urgency, to the General Council:

The General Council of the League of Nations Union

Convinced of the need for applying the principles of the League of Nations to prevent aggression and to rebuild world order,

Welcomes the recent declaration of Lord Halifax that our immediate task is to resist aggression and that if international law and order is to be preserved we must be prepared to fight in its defence,

Holds that the first necessity for the peace of the world is the formation of a Peace Front too formidable to be challenged, which will 'preserve against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence' of all nations concerned; and when that object is attained, that the next necessity is to make to the Axis Powers definite proposals of friendly collaboration on equal terms,

Believes that the League machinery and procedure, including publicity, should henceforth be used as far as possible for the settlement of all international questions such as those dealing with boundaries and other territorial matters, economics, refugees, social and humanitarian questions and generally any question which threatens to disturb peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends,

Welcomes and supports the 'wider application of the principles which now obtain in the mandated territories' in colonial matters, as suggested by Lord Halifax, but

Considers that no progress can be made towards an enduring peace until all Powers have definitely abandoned the use of war as an instrument of policy except for self-defence and have agreed to effective provisions for the reduction and limitation of armaments."



It was further

RESOLVED: (4) "That the motion on the Reform of the League, tabled by the Green Street Green Branch (item 21 in the Agenda) be not supported on the ground that the subject is covered more fully by the Executive's motion above; and that, if the above motion is carried, the Executive's motion on the Maintenance of the Principles of the Government (item 29 in the Agenda) be withdrawn."

The Committee then considered the question of urgency motions dealing with the current international situation for submission by the Executive, and it was

RESOLVED: (5) "That an urgency motion dealing with H.M. Government's negotiations with Russia be submitted to the General Council and that the drafting of this motion be left in the hands of Lord Cecil."

(Note: The motion as drafted read as follows:

'The General Council of the L.N.U.

Regards it as of the first importance for the cause of peace that Russia should co-operate unreservedly with the other members of the Peace Front in resistance to aggression wherever it may take place in Europe;

Regrets that so much delay has taken place in bringing about an agreement with this object.'

#### 236. CO-OPTIONS TO EXECUTIVE FOR 1939/40.

It was

RESOLVED: "That a sub-Committee, consisting of the Chairman, Lady Gladstone, Mr. Vyvyan Adams and Mr. Noel Baker, be appointed to consider and make recommendations for the co-optation of not more than twenty additional members of the Executive for the year 1939/40; that the sub-Committee meet at 11 a.m. on Thursday, July 13th; and that the first meeting of the elected members of the Executive be held at 12 noon on the same day for the purpose of considering the recommendations of the sub-Committee."

237. THE FAR EAST. The Executive discussed the situation arising from recent events at Tientsin, and particularly the demands made by Japan of Great Britain at the Tokio Conference. The Chairman hoped that members of the Committee would take every opportunity of emphasising the significance of these demands and of urging H.M. Government to resist them.

238. DANZIG. Dr. Carnett asked what was the kind of thing which might happen in Danzig which the Poles would regard as a threat to their independence and would cause them to resort to arms. The Chairman considered that any action taken locally in Danzig or demanded by the Germans with a view to Danzig becoming part of the Reich would be regarded by the Poles as a threat to their independence and would be resisted. Dr. Murray reminded the Committee that it was the High Commissioner's duty to give notice to the League if the Treaty position was broken in any respect.

*Lylem*

CHAIRMAN

July 20th, 1939.

## LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD  
AT NO. 15 GROSSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1. ON  
THURSDAY, JULY 18TH, 1939 AT 12 NOON.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), P.J. Noel Baker,  
Lady Violet Bonham-Carter, Captain Czeizel,\*  
Lord Cecil, Kiss K.D. Courtney, Vice-Admiral  
S.R. Drury-Lowe, Lady Gladstone, Sir John  
Harris, Arthur Henderson,\* J.A. Keyser, Lady  
Layton, General Milnes, Dr. Gilbert Murray,  
Harold Nicolson, W.T. Pritchard, Miss Eileenor  
Rothbone, W. Roberts, H.S. Spry, Lt. Hon.  
Lawrance Wright and Major Freshwater.

\* *In the absence of Mr. 247/45*  
239. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Sir Norman  
Angell, Mrs. Beale, Lord Davies, Sir Arthur Eaworth,  
Professor Paton.

240. LEAGUE ASSEMBLY. Mr. Chipman, Chairman of the Canadian  
League of Nations Society, being present at the in-  
vitation of the Chairman, recalled the representations  
which the Union had made to H.M. Government immediately  
before the meeting of the League Council in May last.  
He suggested that similar action should, in the near  
future, be taken with a view to laying before H.M.  
Government proposals whereby the security pacts recently  
concluded by Great Britain and other countries might  
be recognised by the League at the Assembly in Sep-  
tember and an invitation extended to other States to  
join in such pacts. He suggested that the Executive  
might see its way to appoint a sub-Committee to draft  
a specific resolution on this subject for communication  
to H.M. Government and for subsequent publication, and  
said that the Canadian Society would be ready to set  
up a similar Committee to collaborate with the Union  
in formulating proposals.

The Executive welcomed Mr. Chipman's suggestion  
and it was agreed that a special sub-Committee should  
be appointed for this purpose. At the request of  
Lord Cecil Mr. Chipman expressed his readiness to  
draft definite proposals for consideration by the sub-  
Committee.

241. CO-OPERATIONS TO EXECUTIVE FOR THE YEAR 1939/40. The  
Chairman presented to the Committee the recommendations  
of the Co-operations sub-Committee which had met earlier  
that morning. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) That the following be invited to serve  
on the Executive Committee for the  
year 1939/40:

H.B. Butler (Warden of Muffield College)  
Captain Victor Czeizel M.P.  
Very Rev. the Dean of Chichester.  
Miss Judith Corcoran.  
Lt. Hon. the Lord Dickinson.  
Mrs. E. Dugdale.  
Miss P. Fawcett.  
Dr. Maxwell Garnett, C.B.E.  
Miss M. Lloyd George M.P.

Sir Derrick Gunston Bt., M.P.  
 Lady Hall.  
 Arthur Henderson K.C., M.P.  
 Dame Adelside Livingstone, D.B.E.  
 James Macdonald.  
 Mark Patrick M.P.  
 Brig. Gen. E.L. Spears C.B., C.B.E.,  
 M.P.

- (2) "That Capt. in Liddell Hart, Sir Arthur Salter and Major-General Temperley be not co-opted on to the Executive, but be invited to continue to receive the Executive's papers and to attend the Committee's meetings in an advisory capacity whenever subjects about which they have specialised knowledge are being considered."
- (3) "That the Co-optations sub-Committee be asked to meet again for the purpose of making recommendations concerning the four vacancies at present existing on the Executive, and, in this connection, to consider the names of

Miss Gertrude Ward  
 Professor S. Brodetsky.  
 E. Wallis Jones (or some other representative of Youth).

A Trade Unionist.  
 A Conservative Member of Parliament who is a supporter of Mr. Chamberlain and of the League of Nations. (Captain Cozalet was asked to send to the Chairman suggested names).

The Chairman was asked to write to Lord Dickinson expressing the sympathy of the Committee with him in his illness.

242. **RESOLUTIONS OF GENERAL COUNCIL.** Copies of the resolutions adopted by the General Council at the Birmingham meeting were placed on the table. It was agreed that they should be considered at the next meeting of the Executive, and that, in this connection, the question of resolutions to be submitted by the Union to the Plenary Congress of the International Federation in September should be also discussed.
243. **YOUTH.** Lord Cecil read to the Executive a letter he had received from the Prime Minister criticising certain passages in the June number of YOUTH, and the reply which he proposed to send. He also suggested that, since YOUTH was not published by the Union or from the Union's office, the words 'the magazine of the Youth Groups of the League of Nations Union' should not in future appear on the cover of YOUTH. The Executive approved the terms of Lord Cecil's reply to the Prime Minister's letter.
244. **LIBRARIAN.** It was reported that the Librarian, Miss D. Gegg had resigned her appointment with the Union as from October 1st on being appointed Assistant Librarian at Belfast University. On the recommendation of the Library Committee it was

RESOLVED: "That the post of Librarian to the Union at a salary of £200 per year be advertised immediately in the office and in THE TIMES, and be communicated to the London University Appointments Board and the Director of the School of Librarianship; and that authority be given to the Office Committee jointly with the Library Committee to make the appointment."

245. PEACE FUND. Lord Cecil proposed that consideration should be given to the finances of the Union in relation to the creation of a Peace Fund and how best such a fund could be combined with the Birthday Fund. It was decided to refer this matter to the Officers for consideration and report.

*L. J. J.*  
CHAIRMAN

July 20th, 1939.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE  
HELD AT NO. 15 GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1  
ON THURSDAY, JULY 20TH, 1939 AT 11 a.m. A

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Duchess of Atholl, Mrs. E.P. Beale, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Captain Cazalet, Lord Cecil, Miss K.D. Courtney, Vice-Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Philippa Fawcett, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Lady Gladstone, Sir Derrick Gunston, Sir Arthur Haworth, J.A. Keyser, J. Macdonald, General Milman, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, Brig-General Spears, H.S. Syrett, Major Lawrence Wright and Major Freshwater.

246. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Mr. Vyvyan Adams, Sir Norman Angell, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Dr. Gilbert Murray, Professor Paton and W.T. Pritchard.
247. MINUTES. The minutes of the meetings held on July 6th and July 13th, 1939 were confirmed as circulated.
248. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 231 - 222 - Appointment of Secretary to Christian Organisations Committee, it was reported that the Reverend R.S. Lound had accepted the appointment as from August 1st, 1939.

On Minute 241 - Co-optations to Executive for the year 1939/40, the Chairman welcomed Sir Derrick Gunston who was attending the Committee for the first time.

It was reported that, owing to pressure of other duties, neither Mr. H.B. Butler nor Mr. Mark Patrick was able to accept the invitation to join the Committee. It was agreed that the Co-optations sub-Committee should be asked to consider and make recommendations for filling the additional vacancies thus created.

On Minute 243 - YOUTH, the Chairman reported that at a meeting of the Officers held on the previous day, the question of the magazine YOUTH had been discussed, and Lord Cecil read to the Executive a further letter which he had received from the Prime Minister on the subject.

After discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the words 'the magazine of the Youth Groups of the League of Nations Union' and the Union's address, 15 Grosvenor Crescent, be omitted from any future number of YOUTH;

See minutes 259

and 275

That the Youth Committee be informed: that, if the publication of the magazine is continued, it should be undertaken by a body, such as the National Youth Campaign, for which the Union's Youth Groups have no responsibility, and without financial assistance from the Union either direct or indirect; and

That the Executive would prefer that there should be no separate publication dealing with Youth Group news but that such news should instead be included each month in a special section of HEADWAY devoted to this purpose.

Lord Cecil said that he would postpone replying in detail to the Prime Minister's letter until the view of the Youth Committee had been ascertained on the above resolutions.

It was further, on the motion of Lord Cecil,

RESOLVED: (2) "That all publications issued by organisations of which Headquarters' Committees or sections are co-operating members, be brought to the notice of the Secretary of the Union who will, if he thinks it desirable, refer them to the Chairman for any action that he may consider necessary."

#### 249. MINUTES OF COMMITTEES.

- (a) Education Committee. The Executive had before them minutes 87 (Report of the Junior Branches Sub-Committee), 91 (Geneva Summer School) and 97 (Dr. Kimmins), of the Education sub-Committee held on July 10th, 1939.

RESOLVED: "That minutes 91 and 97 be approved and adopted."

Dr. Garnett suggested and it was agreed that, since Dr. Kimmins had ceased to be a member of the Executive, the Co-optations sub-Committee should be asked to consider the desirability of providing closer liaison than at present exists between the Executive and the educational work of the Union.

- (b) Refugees. Mrs. Dugdale reported on the minutes of the Refugees Committee held on July 14th, 1939.

RESOLVED: "That minute 54 (Resolutions for the International Federation of League of Nations Societies) be approved in

principle, but that the actual text of the resolutions to be submitted to the Federation be left to the Union's delegation to determine in the light of the then situation."

On Minute 57 - Palestine, Mrs. Dugdale drew the Executive's attention to the Government's proposals to restrict immigration into Palestine in view of the 'illegal' immigration which had taken place. After discussion it was left to Mrs. Dugdale, in consultation with Captain Cazalet, to propose a definite motion for consideration by the Executive at its next meeting.

250. BRANCH RESOLUTION. The Executive received a resolution from the L.C.C. (Staff) Branch and it was

RESOLVED: "That the L.C.C. (Staff) Branch be thanked for their resolution in paragraph (1) and be informed of the relevant resolutions adopted by the General Council at Birmingham; and that in regard to (2) they be reminded of the decision taken by the Executive on May 4th, 1939 on the subject of National Service."

Dr. Garnett suggested that, in replying to the L.C.C. (Staff) Branch the Secretary should take the opportunity of bringing to their attention Sir Arthur Salter's book SECURITY.

251. ANNUAL MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL. The Executive had before them the resolutions adopted by the General Council at its annual meeting in Birmingham from July 7th to 10th. It was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the following resolutions be communicated to H.M. Government:

Rebuilding World Order; Russia; Raw Materials for War Purposes; Country of Origin of Imported Goods; Czechoslovakia and Albania; Reduction of Armaments and Remedying of Economic Grievances; Refugees; Spanish Refugees; Jewish Refugees; Palestine; Equitable Settlement of International Disputes; International Air Police Force; Intellectual Co-operation; Washington Trade Treaty; Third Party Judgment; League Economies; I.L.O. Budget Reductions; Limitation of Armaments Profits and Government Control of Arms Production;



- (2) "That Branches be asked to communicate the resolution on Raw Materials for War Purposes, together with the explanatory memorandum, to their local Members of Parliament."
- (3) "That resolution 16 (Rule of Law) be referred to the Political Committee for consideration and report; and that resolution 26 (Supply of Literature) be referred to the Administration Committee."

On Resolution 27 (Mein Kampf) it was decided to direct the attention of the Branches to the pamphlet on MEIN KAMPF by C.K. Ensor, recently published by the Oxford University Press.

252. PLENARY CONGRESS OF INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION. The question of resolutions for submission by the Union to the forthcoming Plenary Congress was considered, and it was

RESOLVED: " That it be left to a sub-Committee, consisting of the Union's Officers and the Chairman of the Overseas Committee, to decide the resolutions to be submitted by the Union to the Plenary Congress and, in that connection, to consider, with such modifications as might be necessary, the following resolutions adopted by the General Council:

Rebuilding World Order; Raw Materials for War Purposes; Czechoslovakia and Albania; Reduction of Armaments and Remedying of Economic Grievances; Intellectual Co-operation; League Economies; I.L.O. Budget Reductions;

and further to consider

a motion dealing with Minorities;

a motion dealing with the Procedure for appointing Chairmen of the League Council;

and the following resolutions dealing with (a) Support for the International Labour Organisation and (b) Mandates:

(a) SUPPORT FOR THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION.

(1) "The XXIIIrd Plenary Congress of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies

Congratulates the International Labour Conference on the successful conclusion of its work for the development of vocational training and the regulation of apprenticeship in each country and

Calls on the Governments to carry out fully the provisions of the two Recommendations on vocational training and apprenticeship adopted by the XXVth Session of the Conference."

- (ii) "The XXIIIrd Plenary Congress  
Considering that the present inability to re-absorb the unemployed into productive employment is largely due to lack of training and adaptation to the changing demand for labour

Requests that the problems of Vocational Retraining of the Unemployed and Vocational Guidance be placed on the Agenda of the International Labour Conference at the earliest possible opportunity in accordance with a resolution to that effect adopted at the 1938 Conference."

(b) MANDATES

The Plenary Congress

affirms its faith in the mandatory system of government of peoples not yet able to stand by themselves.

It holds that the willing collaboration of the Mandatory states and the expert and impartial supervision of the Permanent Mandates Commission have increased knowledge of colonial problems, set at a high level the standard of government required from rulers and furthered the prospects of freedom of races now subject.

It believes that the political and economic principles applied in the mandatory system should be extended to other colonial territories to which they may be suited.

253. LEAGUE ASSEMBLY. The Executive had before them a draft resolution (S.585) for adoption by the League Assembly prepared by Mr. Chipman in accordance with minute 240 of the last meeting, together with an alternative draft prepared by Dr. Murray (S.586).

After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the following be approved as a proposal for submission to the Assembly of the League, and that the Chairman be asked personally to discuss with Lord Halifax the possibility of H.M. Governments

delegation moving a resolution on such lines at Geneva, and to inform him of the support of the Canadian League of Nations Society for the proposal."

The Assembly

Having noted the violation of the territorial integrity and political independence of two of the European Members of the League, and the possibility of further aggression;

Having heard from the Governments of..... of the steps they have taken for collective defence against aggression and of the agreements that they are concluding in that regard, and that they intend to register as soon as concluded;

Having been informed that these agreements are in consonance with the Covenant;

Welcomes the statements that have so been made, and

Decides to refer the whole matter to the..... Committee for a prompt report upon

- (1) the tenor of these agreements;
- (2) the possibility of their extension in the interests of peace to any other Members of the League who may desire to join in them;
- (3) the possibility of further action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace.

It was agreed that the question of publicity for the above resolution should be deferred for consideration in the light of the Chairman's talk with the Foreign Secretary.

It was further suggested that, if N.M. Government were unwilling to move a resolution on the lines suggested, the New Zealand or South African delegation might be asked to do so.

254. **ACTION IN CASE OF WAR.** The Chairman reported that the Officers had been considering the question of action by the Union in case of war, and a memorandum on the subject would be communicated to the Executive at the next meeting.
255. **GERMANY.** A member of the staff who had recently returned from a fortnight in Germany gave the Committee his personal impressions and answered a number of questions.

*L. J. L.*  
CHAIRMAN  
July 27th 1939.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 15 GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1 ON THURSDAY, JULY 27TH, 1939  
AT 11 a.m.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams, P.J. Noel Baker, Mrs. E.P. Beale, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, F.M. Burris, Lord Cecil, Miss K.D. Courtney, Vice-Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Philippa Fawcett, W. Arnold Forster, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Lady Gladstone, Sir Derrick Gunston, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, J.A. Keyser, James Macdonald, G. le M. Mander, W.T. Pritchard, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, W. Roberts, H.F. Shaw, H.C. Syrett, Major Lawrence Wright, and Major Freshwater.

256. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Sir Norman Angell, Duchess of Atholl, Sir Arthur Haworth, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, General Milman, Dr. Gilbert Murray, Professor Paton.
257. DR. CHARLES FENWICK. The Chairman on behalf of the Committee welcomed Dr. Fenwick, a member of the Board of the American League of Nations Association and of the Board of the American Union for Concerted Peace Efforts, who was attending the meeting by invitation.
258. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on July 20th, 1939 were confirmed as circulated.
259. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 248 - 241 - Co-optations to Executive, the Chairman reported letters he had received from Sir Arthur Salter, Captain Liddell Hart and General Temperley, accepting the invitation to become advisory or consultative members of the Executive, on the understanding that they would be entitled to receive the papers for the meetings of the Executive and to attend the meetings but, like the Joint Presidents and the Chairman, would not have votes.

The Chairman further reported that the Co-optations Committee had met on the previous day and, on their recommendation, it was

RESOLVED: "That the following be invited to serve on the Executive for the year 1939/40:

Miss Gertrude Ward  
Professor S. Brodetsky  
Mr. E. Wallis Jones;

That places on the Executive be reserved for

A Trade Unionist, and  
A Conservative Member of Parliament (who is  
a supporter of Mr. Chamberlain and of the  
League of Nations); and

That the remaining vacancy be not filled at the  
present time."

The Chairman also stated that the sub-Committee had considered the desirability of providing a closer liaison than at present existed between the Executive and the educational work of the Union, and were of opinion that, if desired, this could best be done by an additional member, or members, of the Executive being invited to join the new Education Council.

On Minute 246 - 243 - YOUTH, Lord Cecil reported a discussion he had had with representatives of the National Youth Committee concerning the resolution adopted by the Executive at its last meeting, and the Executive had before them a memorandum (S.609) submitted by those representatives of the Youth Committee proposing alternative arrangements for the future conduct of the magazine. After statements by Mr. Syrett, the Chairman, the Secretary of the National Youth Committee and others, it was

RESOLVED: "That discussion of this matter be adjourned until the next meeting, and that in the meantime further action on resolution I in minute 246 be suspended; that Lord Cecil be asked to prepare alternative proposals for the future conduct and responsibility of YOUTH; that this item be included on the agenda for discussion at 12 noon; and that members who are unable to be present be asked to send to the Chairman in writing any comments they may wish to make on Lord Cecil's proposals."

260. FINANCE COMMITTEE. Mr. Syrett reported orally on the meeting of the Finance Committee held on the previous day.

The Bank overdraft at the end of June was £18,845 (£4,000 more than the previous year); payments on Expenditure Account were £3,260 lower than in 1936 but Receipts were £7,350 less. The number of bookings for the Junior Summer School at Geneva was about half the size of last year, overheads could not be reduced in proportion, profit would consequently be much smaller.

The financial position of the Manchester District and the appointment of a successor to Mr. Boyd Carpenter had been reviewed, and the possibility of effecting an economy had been considered. An appeal to certain members for the

birthday fund had been approved and consideration given to the Union's financial responsibility as regards the magazine YOUTH. Fresh heating and tabling arrangements had been authorised for the Board Room. There had been a discussion on the methods of raising money for the Union. The negotiations for the return of HEADWAY to the Union had been considered: in order to provide security for the preference shareholders and to give the Union complete freedom from any outside control, it was proposed that the new agreement should include provision, if necessary, for repaying the preference share capital over a period of, say, fifteen years by yearly instalments of £200.

261. HEADWAY. The Executive had before them a memorandum (S.597) concerning the agreement which, in accordance with the Executive's decision of May 25th (minute 174a) was being negotiated in order to give the Union control of the Focus Company and HEADWAY.

- RESOLVED: (a) "That the Finance Committee's proposal for the redemption of the preference share capital (see above minute) be approved; and, as proposed in paper S597
- (b) That the Board of Directors of the Focus Company consist of the Presidents of the Union, the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Executive Committee, and the Treasurer.
- (c) That the Editorial Board, on which the Union's representatives are in a majority, be asked to appoint the following as the Management Committee of the Editorial Board:
- Sir Norman Angell, Mr. Wickham Steed, the Earl of Lytton (in place of Sir Robert Waley Cohen), and Mr. Syrett (in place of Mr. Beddington.)
- (d) That the Secretary of the Union be the Secretary of the Company and that the Registered Office of the Company be 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1.
- (e) That the new Board of Directors be requested to take such action as they consider necessary to reduce the Company's expenditure to a minimum and to limit its "profit" and its consequent liability in respect of Income Tax."

262. ACTION BY THE UNION IN CASE OF WAR. The Chairman reported that this matter had been considered by the Officers and that a draft memorandum on the subject had

been prepared, but on reflection he felt that it was not possible, in the existing uncertain conditions, to arrive at any definite decision concerning action by the Union in the event of war. He considered it highly desirable that, in the event of war breaking out, the Union should be kept in being so that action could be taken during the war period as opportunities offered and so that it could be revived at the end of hostilities. Conditions might, however, be such that it would be impossible for the Union to continue its regular work at Grosvenor Crescent, and he therefore proposed:

"That in the event of the Executive not being able to meet after a war had broken out, the powers of the Executive, including the use of the seal of the Union, be hereby delegated to an Emergency Committee consisting of the two Presidents, the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Executive, and the Treasurer, two (one of whom should be the Chairman of the Executive or the Treasurer) to form a quorum."

The Chairman further said that, in order to relieve the anxiety of the staff, he would like authority to tell them that, if war should come and if the conditions were such that they could continue their work at Grosvenor Crescent, they would be expected to do so; but, if other conditions prevailed, those members of the staff whose services were not retained or who were not taken into other employment, would each receive a one month's salary.

The making over of superannuation policies to members of the staff could, if the need arose, be done by the Emergency Committee.

Mr. Arnold Forster and Mr. Noel Baker felt that there were many useful functions which the Union could perform during the period of a war, and that therefore the life of the Union should be maintained as far as possible. Mr. Noel Baker recalled the action which League or Nations Societies had been able to take with great success, both in this country and abroad, during the last war.

The Chairman repeated that everything possible would be done to ensure the continuance of the corporate existence of the Union, but that the precise activities must depend to a large extent on the finances and staff available. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the Chairman's proposals outlined above be approved and adopted."

263. PEACE FUND. The Executive considered a memorandum by Lord Cecil (£800) suggesting the formation of a Peace Fund for the advocacy of organised peace in which all societies which existed to support the

principles of the Covenant, and especially collective security, might share. He suggested that a conference should be held in the early autumn to consider this idea, to be organised by a small committee presided over by Miss Courtney. If the Conference were successful it would then be necessary to have a committee on the lines of that which conducted the Peace Ballot so that practical operations could be begun early next year. There was no question of competition with the Birthday Fund since the proposed Peace Fund would not come into existence until the Birthday Fund had been brought to a close.

The Chairman said that he had already discussed with the Finance Committee a quite different method of raising money in the future for the Union, and a meeting of the Committee was to be held to consider it after the summer vacation. His proposal was that the Union's local organisations should be responsible in each area for providing a certain sum of money for the use of Headquarters, and this method would not require the co-operation of any other organisation. If, as was suggested, money was to be raised for other bodies doing the same work as the Union it was very desirable that there should be one fund, but it was also necessary to be quite clear as to which bodies, if any, were in fact doing the Union's work.

Miss Courtney thought there was at present great dissemination of effort in the country, and the Union was consequently losing support which it ought to get from individuals and organisations. If the question of how the organisation of support for collective security in this country could first be discussed, the question of finance would naturally follow.

Mr. Arnold Forster welcomed Lord Cecil's proposal and recalled the similar proposal which he had submitted to the Executive on 25th Jan. 1919. But he hoped that the question of finance would not be discussed at the initial conference with other societies.

Sir John Harris suggested that a small committee should first meet under the Chairmanship of Miss Courtney to discuss the practical possibilities of a common peace fund. He was of the opinion that the Union would be better advised to make its own separate appeal for funds.

Mr. Syrett expressed the hope that before my decision was taken, the Finance Committee would have an opportunity of considering the matter and, after further discussion, it was

RESOLVED: "That a sub-Committee, presided over by Miss Courtney, be appointed to consider the proposals contained in the first two paragraphs of Lord Cecil's memorandum (S.800) and if desirable to recommend that there should be a conference on the subject."



264. MINORITIES. A memorandum on Minorities by Mr. C.A. McCarthy was adjourned for discussion at the next meeting.
265. LEAGUE ASSEMBLY. Lord Lytton reported on the talk he had had with Lord Halifax when presenting to him the resolution adopted by the Executive at its last meeting. The Foreign Secretary had said that he intended to make a statement to the Assembly of the League concerning the steps which H.M. Government had recently taken and the agreements it had entered into. He thought it likely that the head of the French delegation would make a similar statement. With regard to the actual resolution of the Executive the Foreign Secretary had asked for time to consider it, and had promised to communicate further with the Chairman before the meeting of the Assembly. Lord Lytton had added that, if H.M. Government could not see their way to propose such a resolution, the Executive contemplated bringing the matter before the International Federation of League of Nations Societies. The Foreign Secretary saw no objection to this being done.
266. THE FAR EAST. The Chairman further reported a conversation he had had with Lord Halifax on the position in the Far East. The Foreign Secretary had authorised Lord Lytton to tell the Executive that there was not the slightest intention on the part of H.M. Government to alter their policy towards China in any way. The Conference at Tokio would be confined to local issues. The Government's view was that any question of currency in Tientsin was an international matter, since it concerned also France and the United States, and as such could not be discussed as a local issue. The Chairman felt that, although this explanation so far as it went was satisfactory, it did not alter the fact that recent action had seriously alarmed the Chinese and perhaps even alienated them.

Cablegrams received by Lord Cecil and Lord Lytton from Singapore and Penang were laid before the Committee.

Lady Gladstone felt that the opinion was widely held that Great Britain should adopt a neutral attitude in regard to the Far East and that many people had completely forgotten this country's obligations under the Covenant of the League and the Nine-Power Treaty. She suggested that the Union should issue a statement in order to clarify public opinion.

The Chairman stated that he had already written a letter on the subject for THE SUNDAY TIMES. The hope was expressed that Lord Cecil and Lord Lytton would jointly write a letter for publication in other papers and instructions were given to prepare extracts from Lord Halifax's speech of June 29th, from resolutions passed by the Assembly and from the Nine-Power Treaty for use in this connection.

Mr. Arnold Forster suggested that the Union should organise a public meeting, but the general opinion was that the present time was not a suitable one for such an activity.

Reference was made to a procession and meeting which was being organised by the China Campaign Committee that day.

Dr. Fenwick spoke of the United States' decision to denounce their commercial treaty with Japan, and said that similar action on the part of the British Government would have a tremendous effect in America.

After further discussion, it was, on the motion of Lord Cecil,

RESOLVED: "That the Executive Committee

- (1) Believes that in the interests of World Order and lasting peace, it is of the utmost importance that the Japanese invasion of China should be repelled, and

Calls upon the Government to take every possible step to secure this result, and in particular to follow the lead of the United States in giving notice for the abrogation of our commercial treaty with Japan."

- (2) "That the above resolution be immediately communicated to the press, to the B.B.C. and to foreign societies; and that it also be sent to the Union's Regional Representatives and County Secretaries with the request that they should make it widely known in their areas."

(During the discussion of the above item Lord Lytton left the meeting and the Chair was taken by Miss Courtney.)

287. PALESTINE. The Executive considered a draft letter prepared by Mrs. Dugdale (S.599) in accordance with minute 249(b) of the last meeting for communication to Mr. Malcolm MacDonald. It was

RESOLVED: "That Lord Lytton be asked to sign the letter to Mr. Malcolm MacDonald; and that it be left to him, in consultation with Mrs. Dugdale, to decide the form the letter should take."

288. DATE OF NEXT MEETING. It was

RESOLVED: "That the next meeting of the Committee be held at 11 a.m. on Thursday, August 3rd."

*M. S. Courtney*  
CHAIRMAN  
August 3-2, 1939.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD  
AT NO. 18 GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1 ON  
THURSDAY, AUGUST 3RD, 1939 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Miss Courtney (in the Chair for the business recorded in minutes 269 to 273), Lord Lytton (in the Chair for the business recorded in minutes 273 to 279), Professor Brodetsky, Lord Cecil, Miss Corcoran, Mrs. Dagdale, Miss Philippa Fawcett, Sir Derrick Gunston, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, Sir Arthur Haworth, Lady Layton, General Milman, W.T. Pritchard, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, H.S. Syrett, E. Wallis-Jones, F.W. Weaver and Major Freshwater.

269. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Vyvyan Adams, Mrs. Beale, Captain Cazalet, Dean of Chichester, Dr. Garnett, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Professor Paton and Major Lawrence Wright.
270. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on July 27th, 1939 were confirmed as circulated.
271. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 259 - 248 - Co-optations to Executive, the Chairman welcomed Professor Brodetsky and Mr. Wallis Jones.

It was reported that Miss Gertrude Ward was unable to accept the invitation to serve on the Committee.

After considering the names of Conservative Members of Parliament, suggested by Captain Cazalet in accordance with minute 241(3), it was

RESOLVED: "That Mr. D.L. Lipson M.P. be invited to join the Executive Committee; and that, if he is unable to accept, an invitation be sent to Mr. A.C. Bosson M.P."

Correspondence was reported between Mr. Syrett and Mr. Charles Dukes with regard to certain Trade Unionists who might be invited to serve on the Executive.

272. RESOLUTIONS FROM AUSTRALIAN L.N.U. The Executive received resolutions (S.616) adopted by the Victorian Branch of the Australian L.N.U. on July 12th. It was

RESOLVED: "That the Victorian Branch be thanked for their resolutions and be informed of the relevant resolutions adopted by the General Council of the Union at Birmingham."

273. MINORITIES. The Executive had before them a memorandum on Minorities (S.594) by Mr. C.A. Macartney which it had been proposed might be sent to the Minorities Committee of the International Federation as a contribution to their discussion of the subject. The Executive were reminded that at the Plenary Congress at Copenhagen in 1938 National Societies had been invited "to undertake and to submit to the Secretariat for the consideration of a future Congress a study on the advantages and disadvantages which might result from the granting of collective rights to Minorities in States, the inquiry taking into consideration the interests

alike of States, of Minorities as a whole, and individual members of Minorities."

Mrs. Dagdale and other members hoped that in the present difficult international situation this matter would not be considered by the Federation at the forthcoming Plenary Congress. She pointed out that the resolution adopted at Copenhagen did not stipulate that a discussion should take place this year, but 'at a future congress'.

Professor Brdetsky drew attention to the Jewish minority which was different from and could not be classified with the other minorities. Although this aspect of the problem was mentioned in Mr. Macartney's memorandum, he considered that the paper ought to be expanded in order to deal with the matter more fundamentally.

After further discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That Mr. Macartney's memorandum be referred for consideration by the Minorities Committee of the Union, and that they be asked to submit to the Executive the draft of a memorandum or resolution for communication to the International Federation on the subject of Minorities."

(2) "That the Secretary of the International Federation be informed that the Executive has not yet completed its study of this matter, but that it hoped to submit, in time for the Plenary Congress in 1940, a contribution to the Federation's discussion of the subject."

(During the discussion on the above minute Lord Lytton took the Chair)

274. REFUGEE AND OTHER RELIEF WORK BY BRANCHES. The question of the employment of Branch funds for refugee and other relief work, which had been raised at the Conference of Branch Secretaries at Birmingham, was discussed. The Chairman reported that the matter had also been considered by the Administration Committee at their last meeting.

After discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That a Branch of the Union may use its machinery to organise or help to organise collections for refugees;

If a meeting on behalf of refugees is called in which a Branch participates, the expenses of that meeting should not be provided out of Branch funds;

A Branch may organise a meeting for the discussion of refugee questions and during the meeting, or after it, take a collection for refugees. The expenses of the meeting need not necessarily be a first charge on such a collection.

A meeting called for general Union purposes should normally be paid for by Union funds. If at such a meeting a collection is taken avowedly for refugees, the whole of the collection may be applied to that purpose;

A Branch may not, out of its funds, make a contribution to a refugee fund or use any part of its funds for helping refugees;

The above decisions shall apply also to work for relief in China, Spain and elsewhere.

- (2) That a Branch may, out of its funds, award scholarships or bursaries for L.N.U. Summer Schools, camps and conferences, but such money should be raised, if possible, by means of special appeals.
- (3) That a Branch may, out of its funds, pay for, or contribute towards the cost of members going to Geneva to see something of the League Assembly or Council at work.
- (4) That action by a Branch in the above matters must be dependent on its financial position; and that it is not desirable for a Branch to expend its funds in subsidiary interests, however worthy, if, by so doing, it is unable to perform its proper function as a Branch of the Union."

It was further

RESOLVED: (5) That the Secretary be asked to draft a letter which, after approval by the Treasurer, should be sent to all Branches, informing them of the decisions set out above.

275. YOUTH. The Executive considered a memorandum by Lord Cecil (S.617) containing proposals for the future conduct of YOUTH. Lord Cecil and the Chairman reported letters which they had received on the subject from Youth representatives in different parts of the country.

Mr. Wallis Jones thanked Lord Cecil and the Executive for the patience and consideration which they had shown the Youth Committee in this matter, and suggested an alternative method of control. Lord Cecil replied to questions from Miss Corcoran concerning certain passages in the memorandum and gave reasons why his proposals for control should be adopted.

A letter from Admiral Drury-Lowe, who was unable to be present, was read, urging that the Executive should adhere to its decision recorded in minute 248. After considerable discussion it was

- RESOLVED: (1) "That YOUTH should continue to be the organ of the Youth Groups of the League of Nations Union;
- (2) That, for the future, YOUTH should be directly under the supervision of the Secretary of the Union, and that the following paragraphs of S.617 be approved;

"Before any number of YOUTH is published, its whole contents would be submitted to the Secretary, not as Editor but rather as censor. He would be entitled to require the omission or modification of any contribution, on the ground that it is inconsistent with the objects and policy of the Union. In particular, it would be his duty to see that the Editorial columns of the magazine contained nothing which did not support the policy of the Union. Those columns should be confined to topics within the sphere of action of the League and should in no case adopt a "party" political attitude.

To signed articles rather more liberty might be conceded, since they may be regarded as involving only a certain measure of editorial responsibility. Nevertheless, they should not contain anything contrary to the policy of the Union or any personal attacks on party leaders. Generally speaking, they should avoid other subjects exciting strong controversy. At the least, care should be taken to see that if such subjects are dealt with both sides are fairly stated.

Letters to the Editor embody only the views of the writers and in that aspect do not require control. Even so, the Secretary of the Union should object to the publication of any letter so worded as to be likely to do harm to the Union.

In case the Editor should be of opinion that the objections of the Secretary to any contribution are ill-founded, the matter should be referred to the Chairman of the Executive Committee, or some person appointed by him, whose decision should be final.

There should be plainly printed in every number of YOUTH a clear statement that the Editor disclaims any responsibility for the language or opinions of any signed article or letter.

Appropriate measures must be taken to avoid any undue delay occasioned by the supervision of the Secretary.

- (3) That should those who have undertaken the production and distribution of YOUTH default in their payments, thereby making it necessary for the Union to meet the liabilities, the payments made by the Union shall be met out of the amount allocated in the Budget each year to the National Youth Committee, and that no additional financial liability be thrown upon the Union in connection with the Magazine."

Miss Corcoran gave her assurance that no such additional financial liability should fall on the Union.

It was agreed that the above should not be published in YOUTH but that, if it was considered necessary, a note should be included to the effect that YOUTH would continue to be the organ of the I.N.U. Youth Groups and that arrangements had been made for the Executive to be kept informed of what was proposed to be printed in the Magazine.

276. **LEAGUE ASSEMBLY.** Following upon the report made at the last meeting (minute 265) the Chairman read to the Committee a letter which he had received from Lord Halifax concerning the resolution which it had been suggested the British delegation might propose at the forthcoming Assembly of the League. The Foreign Secretary was averse to moving a resolution on the lines proposed in minute 253 on the ground that it would increase the nervousness of the smaller States in Europe, who might think that it represented an effort to persuade them to give up the attitude of neutrality which they had lately adopted.

It was agreed that the resolution contained in minute 253 should be redrafted for submission by the Union to the Plenary Congress of the International Federation; that Mr. Chipman be informed of the action taken by the Union; and that it be left to the Canadian Society, if it so desires, to invite their delegation to raise the matter at the League Assembly.

277. **THE FAR EAST.** The Executive further discussed H.M. Government's policy in regard to China, and Lord Cecil reported further cablegrams which he had received.

Miss Rathbone felt that public opinion was bewildered by the situation and suggested that, during the next few weeks when Parliament would not be sitting, every effort should be made by letters to the press and otherwise to lay the issues clearly before the public.

Lord Cecil said that he had considered the suggestion made at the last meeting that he should write a letter to the press, but had felt, on reflection, that it would be desirable to wait until after the debate had taken place in the House of Lords that afternoon.

Mr. le Prevost expressed his readiness to help to place with national and provincial dailies syndicated articles and letters on the subject of the Far East if members of the Executive would assist in signing articles and writing letters for this purpose.

Lady Hall suggested that a statement should be prepared dealing with the subject of Chinese currency. The Chairman offered to supply information on this for use in the office.

278. **REPORT BY MISS ATHERTON.** Miss Atherton (Assistant Secretary of the National Youth Committee) was asked to prepare, for circulation to members of the Executive, a

note on her recent visit to Yugoslavia and Bulgaria.

279. DATE OF NEXT MEETING.

RESOLVED: "That the next ordinary meeting of the Executive be held at 11 a.m. on Thursday September 21st; and that, if the Chairman considers it desirable for a special meeting to be summoned during the vacation, such meeting be held at 3 o'clock in the afternoon."

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF LEAGUE OF NATIONS  
SOCIETIES.

If in the event of war it should be impossible to have a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Federation to take any necessary decisions of a technical nature in connection with the work of the Federation, the Executive Committee, voting by correspondence, authorises a Committee composed of the following persons to take any technical and non-political decisions that may from time to time be necessary:

M. Borel, President of the Federation; M. Rappard, President of the Swiss L. N. Society; M. Huigi, Treasurer of the Federation; M. Ruyssen; Mr. Figgures; M. Spuehler, Secretary of the Swiss L. of N. Society, together with any member of the Executive Committee who may be available for consultation. Any two of these members shall be competent to act provided one of them is an officer of the Federation: President, Treasurer ~~or~~ Secretary.

MINUTES OF A SPECIAL MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 14 GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1. ON MONDAY AUGUST 28TH, 1939 AT 3 p.m.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the chair), Miss Courtney, Sir Norman Angell, P.J. Noel Baker, Captain Cazalet, Lord Cecil, Dean of Chichester, Miss Judith Corcoran, Vice-Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Miss Philippa Fawcett, W. Arnold Forster, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Lady Hall, Sir Arthur Haworth, J.A. Keyser, Lady Layton, D.L. Lipson, M.P., General Milman, Dr. Gilbert Murray, W.T. Pritchard, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, H.F. Shaw, Brig-General E.L. Spears, H.S. Syrett and Major Freshwater.

260. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Mrs. Beale, Professor Brodetsky, Lord Cranborne, Sir Derrick Gunston, E. Wallis Jones, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, J. MacDonald, Professor Paton, Sir Archibald Sinclair and F.W. Weaver.
261. PLENARY CONGRESS OF INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION. The Executive considered the question of the forthcoming Plenary Congress of the International Federation in relation to the international situation. After the Chairman had expressed the opinion that the Union would be lacking in any sense of reality if it sent a delegation to the Federation's Plenary Congress to discuss the kind of agenda which had been prepared, it was agreed that the President and Secretary of the Federation should be informed that, owing to the present international situation, the Union could not contemplate sending a delegation to the Plenary Congress in Geneva. Should the risk of war be removed in the sufficiently near future the Executive would consider sending a delegation to a postponed meeting, but this would necessitate drastic alterations in the agenda of the meeting. The Chairman added that, should war break out, the possibilities of holding a meeting of the Federation to discuss the new situation would no doubt be considered by the Federation Executive.

Miss Courtney said that, in the event of war, the Assembly of the League would obviously not be able to meet in Geneva and she suggested that, if the meeting of the Assembly were not abandoned altogether, the Federation might meet at the same place and time as the Assembly. The Chairman promised that this suggestion would be borne in mind.

The Chairman further read to the Executive a draft resolution prepared by the Federation and giving authorisation to a sub-Committee, in the event of it being impossible to have a meeting of the Federation Executive, to take any technical and non-political decisions that might be necessary from time to time. As a member of the Federation's Executive Committee the Chairman proposed to agree to the terms of the resolution.

262. ACTION BY THE UNION IN THE EVENT OF WAR. The Chairman reported communications he had received from Miss Courtney and Mr. Syrett concerning the position of the Union in the event of war. The Committee were reminded of the decisions on this subject taken by the Executive at its meeting on July 27th (minute 262). The Chairman said that it would also be necessary, if war occurred, to send a letter to the Branches stating that, for the reasons already given, it was desired to keep the Union in existence as an organisation but that



the ability to do so depended entirely upon the Union's financial position. If members were willing to continue to subscribe, Headquarters would continue to give them such service as the funds permitted.

The question of HEADWAY was also discussed. The Chairman felt that if war broke out it would be impossible to continue the publication of HEADWAY in its present form, and that the Union's commitments in regard to it would have to be brought to an end.

Sir Norman Angell urged that in any event a four-page publication should be kept in being for the purpose of maintaining contact with the Branches and facilitating the creation of a public opinion in regard to terms of peace. Several members of the Committee supported Sir Norman.

Miss Rathbone urged that a communication to the Branches should be sent immediately. If war broke out the financial situation of the country in the few weeks following would be likely adversely to affect the response from Union members.

After further discussion it was, on the motion of Captain Cazalet,

RESOLVED: That the Union's Officers be asked as soon as possible to consider and report on the following matters:

In the event of war

1. What skeleton staff would the Union require and what would be the cost of such a skeleton staff?
2. Should the Union's headquarters continue to be in London or, if not, where and under what conditions should the Union's headquarters function?
3. What message should be sent to the Union's Branches?

283. INTERNATIONAL SITUATION. The Executive discussed at length the present European situation, including the likely position of Italy in the event of war, the Russian agreement with Germany, and Germany's probable modus operandi in Poland.

Dr. Garnett submitted to the Committee two draft resolutions (S.635 and S.636). The Executive expressed general agreement with the second resolution which read as follows:

The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union

Decides that should this country go to war before the next meeting of the General Council the Union shall do all it can to keep alive public interest in, and support for, the principles of the Covenant. The Union shall seek to create an irresistible demand for the application of these principles in the constructive peace which should follow immediately upon the removal of all danger of further aggression by Germany.

The Executive Committee urges all Branches of the Union to co-operate to this end.

Mr. le Prevost suggested that HEADWAY, which would go to press on August 31st, should contain as its main feature a full statement on the present situation from the Union's point of view. It was agreed to ask Lord Cecil to write the article and to make use of the resolution above.

A letter from Mr. Weaver was reported, suggesting that the Union's Branches should be asked to communicate with their local M.P.'s urging the Government to intensify through daily broadcasts, statements of their policy and of their determination to resist to the utmost unlawful force. The Executive decided not to take any action in the matter.

284. DATE OF NEXT MEETING. It was agreed to hold a further special meeting of the Executive Committee on Thursday, August 31st.

*Lynton Aug 31. 1937.*

Statement by Sir Norman Angell to the Executive Committee on August 31st.

"When I left a couple of months ago to recuperate the arrangements with the Focus Company had already reached this point, that we owned the Company, the Focus was our property in exchange for preference shares, so that there is no question in fact of our making elaborate arrangements with the Focus Company because we are the Focus Company."

Mr. Syrett said: "I think the position is that we are just where we were. There is no legal agreement between us as to the lines on which we were to take the paper or the Company over. The legal position is that the Focus Company is still in existence and is still apparently running the paper, and they are now demanding from us a substantial sum in respect of the payment which we have agreed to make under the agreement, and which I do not feel able to pay because of our financial position".

Sir Norman Angell replied: "We ought to keep in our minds what is the real position as distinct from that of legal formalities. I was present at the Board meeting which sanctioned this agreement, and I know for certain that it is in the minds of the present shareholders of the Focus Company that they are clear of it, that they have decided, and want to, hand the whole thing over to us. There is the position of reality. I think we confuse the situation by continuing to raise what you might call the legal position when both parties are agreed in principle that that is what has taken place. Sir Robert Waley Cohen is out of it; he wants nothing more to do with it, but the position of the existing shareholders is protected by preference shares which involves on our part a liability of £160 a year. If there is a difference as to what that interest ought to be, I for one am quite sure that the existing shareholders would be perfectly prepared to discuss it; but I think we should understand the situation more clearly if we assume that in practice, whatever the difficulties of detail for the moment may be, that is the real position: that, in fact, as distinct from the conclusion of legal documents, the Focus is our property and we can in fact do what we like with it. The position is, I do suggest, that we should not talk as though there were an outside Company demanding these sums, when in fact we own that Company; and if we accept that position any sums which the Company are to be paid are, in fact, paid to a receptacle which we own."

MINUTES OF A SPECIAL MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 14 GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1. ON THURSDAY, AUGUST 31ST, 1939 AT 3 P.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the chair), Sir Norman Angell, P.J. Noel Baker, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Professor Brodetsky, Lord Cecil, Miss Judith Cooperan, Miss K.D. Courtney, Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Philippa Fawcett, W. Arnold Foster, Sir Derrick Gunston, Lady Hall, D.L. Lipson, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, General Milman, Dr. Gilbert Murray, W.H. Pritchard, Miss E. Rathbone, Wilfrid Roberts, Brig-General Spears, H.S. Syrett, together with Major Freshwater.

285. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from the Duchess of Arholl, Mrs. Beale, F.M. Barris, Dean of Chichester, Sir Arthur Haworth.

286. POSITION OF THE UNION IN THE EVENT OF WAR.

(a) Premises. The Chairman reported that, in accordance with the resolution adopted at the last meeting, the Officers had met that morning and had discussed the arrangements to be made for carrying on the work of the Union in the event of war. The Officers felt that, on financial grounds alone, it would be impossible for the Union to remain at 15 Grosvenor Crescent. It had therefore been suggested that smaller premises should be obtained either at 15a Grosvenor Crescent or elsewhere in London, or alternatively in Oxford. Inquiries were being made concerning the basis on which the Union might be relieved of the expenses of rent and rates in respect of the existing premises, and inquiries were also being made of the Office of Works concerning the likelihood of their taking over the premises.

After further discussion, during which Lord Cecil and other members of the Committee urged that the Union's headquarters should remain in London, it was agreed that immediate inquiries should be made concerning the cost of suitable premises for the Union either in London or outside.

It was further agreed to authorise the Chairman, in the event of war breaking out before the next meeting of the Committee, to take such action as in his opinion the circumstances required either for temporarily closing the premises at Grosvenor Crescent or removing the Union's headquarters elsewhere.

(b) Staff. The Chairman also reported that the Officers had considered the question of a nucleus staff for the Union in the event of war, and estimated that the minimum cost of a staff of five senior members and ten clerks, together with printing, postage etc. on the basis of the existing membership of the Union, would be in the neighbourhood of £10,000 a year.

(c) HEADWAY. The Executive then considered the future of HEADWAY, and after statements had been made by the Chairman, Sir Norman Angell, and Mr. Syrett, it was

see opposite page

RESOLVED: "That in the event of war the publication of HEADWAY in some form or other as the organ of the League of Nations Union be continued.

That the Focus Company be requested to suspend the publication of HEADWAY after the issue of the September number.

That the Focus Company be informed that, in the event of war, the Union will be unable to carry out the existing agreement, and that the Company be invited to make over at once to the Union HEADWAY and the various assets and liabilities of the Company."

(d) Message to the Branches. The Chairman reported that one communication had already been prepared by the Joint Presidents and would appear in the September number of HEADWAY over the signatures of the Union's Officers. The Officers at their next meeting would consider a further message to the Union's Branches.

Miss Courtney thought that at the present time a great demand existed for information on international affairs and this demand would undoubtedly be stimulated if war came. A great opportunity therefore awaited the Union which ought to be the body to carry on in war time the work of enlightening and organising public opinion about war aims and peace terms. The Union would, she suggested, have two objectives, national and international. On the national side, it ought to get into touch with the best sources of information and to provide material to Branches for the discussion of war aims and peace terms, urging the Branches to keep their membership together, and suggesting that they should begin with private discussion meetings, say once a fortnight, to be followed as and when circumstances allowed by public meetings. Internationally, the Union should maintain contact with its opposite numbers in various countries through the International Federation, and endeavour to agree with them upon a common policy so that there would be a common fund of public opinion built up during the war period. She suggested that the Union should also consider the possibility of co-ordinating to this end the activities of other peace societies such as the I.P.C.

The Executive expressed general approval of Miss Courtney's suggestions.

Mr. Arnold Forster hoped that the Union would do nothing to discourage the holding of public meetings by local Branches in so far as conditions of public safety permitted. He further suggested that a useful purpose could be served during the war period if, with the concurrence of the Foreign Office, international contacts could be maintained by visits of Englishmen and Frenchmen to Poland, Jugoslavia, etc.

Professor Brodetsky suggested that, if war came, the Union should do no more in the early days than agree upon some fundamental principle of war aims and peace terms, and inform the Branches that as time went on a formula would be prepared for dealing with the situation which developed as a result of the war.

287. INTERNATIONAL SITUATION. The Executive considered the present international situation. The position of America was discussed, and the opinion was expressed that any attempt to persuade the United States to commit itself in advance to assisting Great Britain and France would fail, but that if war came as the result of German aggression the sympathy and goodwill of the United States would inevitably be forthcoming.

The Executive then considered a resolution on the Far East submitted by Mr. Noel Baker. After it had been suggested that it would be undesirable for the Union to pass a resolution on the Far East without referring to the present situation in Europe, it was

RESOLVED: (1) The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union desires to reiterate its support for the policy of H.M. Government in resisting aggression in the present European crisis. This policy requires also the condemnation of aggression wherever it occurs, and the Executive Committee urges H.M. Government to make it plain to the Governments of Japan and China that there will be no change in the policy of support for China.

(Note. The final wording of the resolution was left to the Chairman who drafted it as above after the meeting.)

(2) That the above resolution be published in HEADWAY and be communicated to H.M. Government, to the International Federation and its constituent Societies, and to the Chinese Ambassador.

288. CO-OPTATION TO COMMITTEE. Further correspondence was reported between Mr. Syrett and Mr. Charles Dukes concerning a Trade Unionist to serve on the Executive Committee, and it was

RESOLVED: "That Mr. Fred Marshall M.P., Chairman of the National Union of General and Municipal Workers, be invited to join the Executive Committee."

*Ryland*  
✓  
Sep. 7. 1939.

CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION HELD AT NO. 15 GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1 ON THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 7TH, 1939 AT 11 a.m.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams, M.P., P.J. Noel Baker M.P., Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Professor Brodetsky, Lord Cecil, Miss J. Concoran, Miss K. Courtney, Mrs. E. Dugdale, Miss P. Pawcett, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, J. Macdonald, G. Le M. Hender M.P., Dr. Gilbert Murray, W.T. Pritchard, Miss E. Rathbone M.P., Brig. General E.L. Spears M.P., H.S. Syrett, E. Wallis-Jones and Major Freshwater.

289. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Mrs. Beale, the Dean of Chichester, Sir Arthur Haworth and D.L. Lipson M.P., Professor Paton.
290. MINUTES. The minutes of the special meeting held on August 31st, 1939 were read and confirmed.
291. WAR MEASURES. The Chairman reported on minute 236 that a further meeting of the Officers had been held when the following decisions had been taken.

(a) Premises and Staff. It had been decided that the Head Office of the Union should remain in London, but that the premises at 15, Grosvenor Crescent should be vacated before the end of September; that the landlords should be notified that the Union would pay the rent due up to the end of September but that after that time it would be unable to continue in the premises or to pay rent; and that if they could not find other tenants during the war period the Union would be prepared to deal with outstanding liabilities at the end of the war. The British Red Cross Society had asked for, and had been given, a first refusal on 15, Grosvenor Crescent until September 11th.

Mr. Syrett reported that, through the kindness of Lord Lytton, the Union had been offered very suitable accommodation at 60, St. Martin's Lane at a rental of \$250. Enquiries were being made concerning the cost of rates and maintenance which it was hoped would not exceed a further \$250 per annum.

The services of seventeen members of the staff were for the present being retained; all others had been

*and proceeds of such policies*

notified that their engagements (including 'pensions') stood suspended one month after the outbreak of war; endeavours were being made to obtain other employment for them, and their insurance policies would be assigned to them free of charge.

The above report from the Officers was approved.

Dame Adelaide Livingstone offered the Union storage space in her house in Chester Terrace, and Mr. Hander made a similar offer in regard to his house in Barton Street. The Executive gratefully accepted these offers.

(b) Message to the Branches. A letter sent by the Secretary to the Union's Branches on September 1st was laid before the Committee. It was reported that the Officers would shortly consider a further communication to the Branches dealing with the functions of the Union in war time. A draft had been prepared by Dr. Murray and would be submitted to the Executive at a subsequent meeting.

(c) Federal and District Offices. The position of the Union's Federal and district offices was considered. It was reported that the London Regional Federation and the Oxfordshire Federation were to be kept in being, but that the Warwickshire Federal Council had decided to close down their Birmingham office. It was agreed that a letter should be sent to the other Federal and District Councils stating that, in the opinion of the Executive Committee, it is essential that the Union's organisation in the different localities should in some form or another be kept in being and expressing the hope that they would find means to this end. Lord Cecil stated that he would write in a similar sense to Mrs. Beale, asking her to use her influence in regard to the organisation in Warwickshire.

(d) Meetings. It was agreed that, for the present, no general instructions should be issued to Branches concerning the holding of public meetings but that the matter should be left to local organisers to decide in the light of local conditions and the ability of speakers to fulfil their engagements. Branches would be encouraged to make use of local speakers and to organise discussion groups where public meetings were not possible. The hope was expressed that members of the Executive would keep in touch with the Union's Branches in their own districts and assist them in this matter as far as possible.

(e) Library. It was reported that Miss Baker, Headmistress of Badminton School, Bristol, had generously offered to store the Union's library at the school, but that a small collection of selected books would be retained at headquarters. The Committee gratefully accepted Miss Baker's offer.

(f) NEWS SHEET. It had been decided temporarily to suspend the publication of the NEWS SHEET.

292. HEADWAY. The Chairman drew attention to an announcement appearing on page 19 of the September number of HEADWAY and written from Devereux Court without the knowledge of the Union's Officers, appealing to readers to continue their subscriptions to the journal during the war period. The statement would, he thought, be confusing to Union members and it was agreed that the following communication from the Union should accompany copies of HEADWAY sent to Union Branches and members:

"The announcement and form on page 19 of the September HEADWAY are not intended for Union members.

Members and Corporate Members of the Union are asked to continue to pay their subscriptions, augmented, if possible, by an additional contribution towards the cost of HEADWAY, to their Branch Secretaries or to the Secretary of the Union at the Head Office, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1."

Mr. le Prevost explained the circumstances in which the notice had been written and expressed the fear that, if HEADWAY were not continued, difficulties might arise with the Focus Company and Sir Robert Walcy Cohen on account of the unexpired balance of subscriptions of HEADWAY members. The attitude of the Focus Company at present was that HEADWAY was still their property and that they had a liability to readers. The Committee were reminded of statements made by Sir Norman Angell at the last meeting of the Executive concerning the present position of the Focus Company as he saw it.

It was reported that the decision recorded in minute 286(c) had been immediately communicated to the Secretary of the Company but that, apart from a formal acknowledgment, no reply had been received. Mr. Syrett said that a further letter would be sent to the Company asking for an immediate reply in order that the Union might consider what further action it should take. The Executive were reminded that, under minute 174(a) of May 28th, negotiations regarding HEADWAY had been left in the hands of the Officers with power to take such action as they considered desirable.

293. NATIONAL YOUTH COMMITTEE. The Executive had before them the minutes of the Committee dated September 2nd.

On minute (1) Headquarters, the Chairman reported that under the new staffing arrangements outlined in minute 291 above, the officer responsible for maintaining



the work of the Student and Youth movement in ways rendered possible by the existing circumstances' would be Mr. Judd.

On Minute (2) Youth Groups, the Chairman asked that the statement issued by the World Youth Congress and the B.Y.F.A. should be shown to him before being included in the letter to Youth Groups.

On Minute (3) National Committee, the proposal that the provisional leadership of the Groups should be in the hands of a working Committee of girls living in London and surroundings, and that the officers of the Committee should be empowered to invite such leading members to join a Committee' was approved. The relation of the new working Committee to the Executive would be the same as that of the National Youth Committee.

294. B.B.C. TALK. The Chairman reported that since it was understood that the B.B.C. were arranging for a broadcast talk about Federal Union he had written suggesting that arrangements should also be made for a talk on war aims and peace terms from the point of view of the Union and expressing his willingness to give such a talk if permission were forthcoming.
295. MILITARY SITUATION. At the suggestion of Mr. Syrett it was agreed that General Temperley and Captain Liddell Hart should be invited to attend the next meeting of the Committee and to express their view of the present military situation.
296. LEAGUE ASSEMBLY. The meeting of the League Assembly was discussed and it was agreed that a resolution on the subject should be prepared for consideration at the next meeting. In the meantime, members of the Committee were at liberty to inform the leaders of the Liberal and Labour Parties that the Union was in favour of arrangements being made for a meeting of the League Assembly at a suitable place and that a formal resolution would be adopted at the next meeting.
297. FUTURE MEETINGS. It was agreed that the Executive should continue to meet in London every Thursday at 11 a.m. unless, in the Chairman's opinion, circumstances necessitated the cancellation of any meeting. Minutes would not in future be circulated but at each meeting copies of the minutes of the previous meeting would be available for consideration and confirmation.
298. WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR. The Executive considered a memorandum by Lord Cecil (S.639) on World Settlement after the War. After considerable discussion during which many members of the Committee made observations on the memorandum, it was

RESOLVED: "That Lord Cecil's memorandum be circulated to members of the Committee; that they be invited to communicate direct to Lord Cecil any comments or suggestions they might wish to make; and that in the light of them Lord Cecil be asked to prepare a revised draft for submission to the Executive at a later meeting."

Miss Rathbone proposed an addition to paragraph (2) of the memorandum. Lord Cecil preferred that it should form the subject of a separate resolution, and it was then

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union would regard with grave alarm any proposal to make peace with the German Government on terms involving our acceptance of the subjugation of Poland and other nations recently overpowered by Germany and considering only the supposed interests of ourselves and our remaining allies."

(2) "That the above resolution be sent to H.M. Government and to the leaders of the Opposition with a covering letter to be signed by the Joint Presidents."

(Note. The final wording of the resolution was left to the Chairman, Lord Cecil and Dr. Murray who settled it as above after the meeting.

During the above discussion Lord Lytton left the meeting and the Chair was taken by Miss Courtney. )

*H. D. Courtney*  
CHAIRMAN

September 14th, 1939

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT  
NO. 15 GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1, ON THURSDAY,  
SEPTEMBER 14TH, 1939, AT 11A.M.

PRESENT: Miss K.D. Courtney (in the chair), P.J.N. Baker, Lord Cecil,  
Miss J. Corcoran, Lord Davies, Mrs. Dugdale,  
Miss P. Fawcett, W. Arnold Forster, Lady Hall,  
Sir John Harris, Sir Arthur Haworth, Lady  
Layton, J. Macdonald, F. Marshall, Brig. General  
L.C.P. Milman, Dr. Murray, W.T. Pritchard,  
Miss E. Rathbone, Sir Arthur Salter, Councillor  
H.F. Shaw, General Temperley and Major  
Freshwater.

299. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from the Duchess  
of Atholl, Professor Brodetsky, Mrs. Beale, the Dean  
of Chichester, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Arthur Henderson  
and Lord Lytton.

300. MR. FRED MARSHALL. The Chairman cordially welcomed  
Mr. F. Marshall, M.P., who was attending the Committee  
for the first time.

301. LORD CECIL. On behalf of the Committee the Chairman  
expressed warm congratulations and good wishes to Lord  
Cecil on the anniversary of his birthday.

302. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on September  
7th, 1939, were read and confirmed.

303. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 291(a) - Premises and Staff: Dame Adelaide  
Livingstone expressed regret that, owing to the  
possibility that she might have completely to evacuate  
her house in Chester Terrace, she could no longer offer  
the Union storage space.

It was reported that the Union had now received  
from the Central London Electricity Company a definite  
offer of accommodation at 60 St. Martin's Lane on a  
quarterly tenancy at a rent of £250 per annum. Owing  
to certain technical difficulties with the rating  
authorities of the City of Westminster, the Central  
London Electricity Company had agreed that, for the  
time being, the Union should pay an inclusive sum of  
£230 a year to cover both rent and rates. The Union  
would be given the use of a window on the street level  
for the display of publications, etc. It had not been  
possible to arrange for a room on the premises for  
meetings of the Executive Committee, but inquiries were  
being made concerning the possibility of finding  
suitable accommodation in the immediate neighbourhood.  
Sir John Harris suggested that a room might be avail-  
able in the Friends' Meeting House in St. Martin's  
Lane.

Copy of letter from Lord Halifax to Lord Cecil, dated September 11th, 1939.

"I have only to-day had your letter of the 7th September, and the resolution adopted on that day by the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union. From Professor Gilbert Murray's postscript I gather that your fears were to some extent at any rate dispelled by the statement of our Ambassador at Tokyo. Since then you will no doubt have seen other statements in the press from "authoritative" sources which will, I hope, have shown you that the Government have no intention of being taken in by any peace proposal put forward by the German Government "involving our acceptance of the subjugation of Poland and other nations recently overpowered by Germany". If there were need of any further witness, may I draw your attention to the text of a telegram sent by the Prime Minister to ex-President Benes on the 3rd September, published in to-day's TIMES:-

"I gratefully acknowledge your Excellency's generous message of sympathy and support in this grave hour. The sufferings of the Czech nation are not forgotten, and we look forward, through the triumph of the principle for which we have taken up arms, to the relief of the Czech people from foreign domination."

Mr. Syrett said that arrangements were being made to vacate 15 Grosvenor Crescent early in the following week. The removal would necessitate the destroying of a large amount of old records and documents, but those thought to be most essential would be taken to St. Martin's Lane and a certain amount would be stored. He added that he had authorised the Secretary to inform the Red Cross Society that if they were willing to take over from the Union the remainder of the lease of 15 Grosvenor Crescent, the Union would make an arrangement about the condition of, and repairs to, the property under the terms of the lease.

It was agreed that the offer of accommodation from the Central London Electricity Company on the terms set out above be accepted with thanks, and that a communication be sent to the Landlords of 15 Grosvenor Crescent on the lines indicated in minute 291(a) of the last meeting.

On Minute 291(c) - Federal and District Offices: Lord Cecil read to the Executive a letter from Mrs. Beale stating that the Warwickshire Federal Council would be kept in being and expressing her willingness, so far as possible, to act as liaison between headquarters and the Branches in that area.

Sir Arthur Haworth and Mr. Macdonald reported that arrangements were being made to continue the existence of the Union's organisation in Manchester and Merseyside respectively.

On Minute 292 - HEADWAY: Mr. Syrett reported that an endeavour had been made to obtain from the Secretary of the Focus Company a reply to the letter which, on the Executive's instructions, had been written to him on August 31st. No reply had been forthcoming, but on the previous day he and Major Freshwater had had a talk with Mr. le Prevost who had been instructed by Sir Robert Waley Cohen to deal with the matter. At that meeting Mr. le Prevost had made a suggestion, which he had later put in writing, that the contract between the Focus Company and the Union should be suspended. In view of all the circumstances, and in order to obtain a speedy decision, Mr. Syrett suggested that the Union should now inform the Focus Company that, unless they were prepared immediately to cancel the contract, the Union would give notice, as provided in the agreement, of its intention to terminate the contract. The Union would then be in a position to make its own arrangements for the future publication of a journal.

Mr. le Prevost said that, after talking with Mr. Syrett, he had endeavoured to get in touch with Sir Robert Waley Cohen but was unable to do so. He had however written to him. He added that Sir Robert had lately said that he realised the journal could not be continued on its present lines and he wanted an agreement reached with the Union as quickly

as possible. Pending that, he had instructed Mr. le Prevost completely to suspend operations. Mr. le Prevost had asked for authority to dismiss the staff, including the Editor, and he was expecting such authority to be given that day.

After Mr. Pritchard had reminded the Executive that negotiations regarding HEADWAY had been left in the hands of the Union's Officers with power to act, and after a further statement by Mr. Syrett, it was, on the motion of Mr. Pritchard, seconded by Mr. Macdonald

RESOLVED: "That the Focus Company be given notice of the Union's intention to terminate the agreement between the two parties without prejudice to any claim which the Company might have against the Union or the Union against the Company; that the Company be informed that the Union purposes making its own arrangements for the future production of HEADWAY or such other journal as it may be found necessary to substitute for it; and that advantage be taken of any assistance Sir Norman Angell may be able to render in connection with the agreement".

On Minute 294- B.B.C. Talk (Federal Union): It was reported that Lord Lytton was in correspondence with the B.B.C. on the subject.

Sir Arthur Salter urged that, when comparing in a public broadcast the differences of method of Federal Union on the one hand and the Covenant on the other, emphasis should be laid on the fact that unrestricted sovereignty was the great evil from which all our troubles had sprung, and on the absolute necessity of rebuilding a system of international government which would restrict sovereignty over vital matters. The Chairman promised that Sir Arthur's views should be placed before Lord Lytton.

Dr. Murray said that the Oxford Branch were arranging to hold small conferences to discuss a number of subjects and that members of Federal Union had been invited to attend.

304. INTERNATIONAL SITUATION. General Temperley spoke to the Committee of the present military situation of Britain, France, Germany and Poland, and answered a number of questions. The Chairman, on behalf of the Committee, warmly thanked General Temperley for having attended the Committee and spared so much time both for making a general statement and answering questions.
305. WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR. The Executive had before them a second draft of Lord Cecil's memorandum (S.640) revised in the light of suggestions received from certain members of the Committee. After the memorandum had been considered paragraph by paragraph

and additional amendments had been suggested, it was agreed to leave it to Lord Cecil, in the light of those amendments, to prepare a further draft for consideration by the Executive at its next meeting.

Lord Cecil expressed the hope that, when the Executive had determined its own line of policy, it would be possible to have a joint meeting of various societies with a view to reaching agreement concerning the aims of peace which should be put forward.

Lady Hall referred to manifestos written by Mr. Huxley, Professor Hogben and others which had already been distributed or were in course of preparation.

306. LEAGUE ASSEMBLY. Mr. Noel Baker reported that, since he had not yet received certain information from Geneva, he had been unable to draft a resolution on the subject of the League Assembly. It was agreed to postpone consideration of this matter until the next meeting.
307. PROPAGANDA IN GERMANY. Miss Rathbone asked that this subject should be included on the agenda for the next meeting.

*H. D. Courtney*  
*Chairman*  
*21.9.39.*

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE  
OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION HELD IN THE VESTRY  
HALL OF ST. MARTIN -IN-THE-FIELDS ON THURSDAY,  
SEPTEMBER 21ST, 1939 AT 11 a.m.

PRESENT : Miss K.D. Courtney (in the Chair), Sir Norman Angell, Professor Brodetsky, Lord Cecil, Miss J. Corcoran, Miss P. Fawcett, W. Arnold Forster, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Sir Derrick Gunston M.P., Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, D.L. Lipson M.P., Dame Adelaide Livingstone, G. le M. Mander M.P., Dr. Gilbert Murray, W.T. Pritchard, Miss E. Rathbone M.P., Wilfrid Roberts M.P., H.S. Syrett and Major Freshwater.

308. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from the Duchess of Atholl, F.M. Burris, Mrs. Dugdale, Lord Lytton, J. Macdonald, Brig. General Milman and Professor Paton.
309. LORD LYTTON. The Executive expressed their deep regret at the news of Lord Lytton's ill-health and asked the Chairman to send a letter of sympathy on their behalf.
310. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on September 14th, 1939 were confirmed.

On Minute 303 - 291 - Premises and Staff, Mr. Syrett reported that the removal from 15, Grosvenor Crescent to 80, St. Martin's Lane was almost complete, and the Executive expressed cordial thanks to members of the staff who had assisted in the removal.

It was reported that Lord Cecil and Dr. Murray had on September 7th addressed a meeting of the staff, and Miss Courtney had also spoken to individual members of the staff on September 15th. It was

RESOLVED: "That a letter be sent to all members of the staff whose appointments were being suspended, thanking them for all that they had done for the Union while in its service and stating that in the event, as the Executive hopes, of the Union being able in the future to expand, first consideration will be given to the suspended members of the staff when new appointments are being made."

Although efforts on their behalf were being made in several directions, many members of the staff who would be leaving the Union's service on October 2nd had not yet found other employment. Sir John Harris asked if members of the Executive could be supplied with the names of such members of the staff, together with

particulars of their qualifications and salaries.

Miss Rathbone suggested that a small private fund might be raised, to which members of the Executive might individually be asked to contribute, in order to deal with cases of hardship among members of the staff caused by unemployment. Mr. Syrett said that he and the Secretary would consider each individual case and would report again to the Executive at a later meeting.

On Minute 303 - 292 - HEADWAY, Mr. Syrett reported correspondence he had had with the Solicitors of the Focus Company in which they had again suggested that the agreement between the Company and the Union should be suspended. Mr. Syrett hoped that the Executive would adhere to their decision recorded in minute 303-(292) and ask the Officers immediately to consider what action should be taken with a view to issuing a journal in some form or another in October.

Sir Norman Angell reported a recent conversation with Mr. le Prevost who had expressed his willingness to edit a reduced form of HEADWAY in a voluntary capacity. Sir Norman thought that many of the advertisements in the journal might be preserved, and that therefore the expense of printing, say an 8-page paper, would be very small. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the Executive adheres to its decision recorded in minute 303 (292);

That Mr. le Prevost be invited to edit for the Union a war-time edition of HEADWAY in the voluntary capacity he had generously suggested; that the first issue of the new edition be published as soon as possible after October 1st; and that decisions regarding the form, title and production of the paper be left in the hands of a sub-Committee consisting of Sir Norman Angell, Mr. Syrett, Mr. Arnold Forster, Mr. le Prevost and the Secretary."

Sir Norman Angell suggested that the journal might be called the "War-time HEADWAY"; Lord Cecil expressed the hope that the word HEADWAY would be retained with the addition of the words "War Edition".

Dr. Garnett suggested that HEADWAY in its reduced form might follow the lines of Commander King-Hall's NEWS LETTER and contain, for example, a letter by Sir Norman Angell, an official announcement from the Executive Committee such as the memorandum on WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR, and items of news from the



Branches. It was agreed that this suggestion should be communicated to the small sub-Committee for their consideration.

On Minute 303 - 294 - B.B.O. Talk, it was reported that Lord Lytton proposed to divide his broadcast into two talks, the first draft of which he had already prepared, and that he hoped later to consult the Executive in order to secure the greatest common measure of agreement.

311. WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE W.A.R. The Executive gave a third reading to the draft of Lord Cecil's memorandum (S.642) which had been revised in the light of suggestions made at the last meeting of the Committee. After the document had been considered paragraph by paragraph, it was

RESOLVED: (1) That the memorandum on WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE W.A.R. be approved in the attached form (S.645)

Lord Cecil said that, before the memorandum was published, he would like authority to circulate copies to a number of influential people in order to ascertain whether they would be prepared to accept it and bring it before the Government. The Executive agreed to this being done. Lord Cecil further suggested that an informal meeting might be summoned of various societies and groups, representatives of political parties, and of certain private individuals at which the memorandum might be put forward as a basis of discussion. The object of the meeting would be, not to secure their assent to everything contained in the memorandum, but to agree upon common action. When that had been done, H.H. Government might be asked to receive a small deputation on the subject of the memorandum and, in the light of their attitude, the question of publishing the memorandum would have to be considered.

The Executive were reminded that many Branches and members of the Union were asking for a lead from the Executive in regard to future activities, and reference was made to a letter which Dr. Gilbert Murray had sent on the subject to Branches in Oxfordshire. It was

RESOLVED: (2) That Dr. Murray be asked to develop, in the light of the memorandum on WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE W.A.R., his letter to the Oxfordshire Branches for publication in the next issue of HEADWAY.

312. FUTURE ACTIVITIES OF THE LEAGUE. An extract from a letter written by Mrs. Puffer Morgan to the Chairman was read to the Committee, stating that the Supervisory Commission was meeting in Geneva with full powers to

Extract from a letter written by Mr. Figgures to Lord Lytton, dated 3rd September, 1939:-

"An immediate question concerning the League itself arises. I have no doubt that you have already given the matter considerable thought yourself. In the Secretariat of the League itself there is no clear policy or proposal. Some think that the organisation should remain entirely silent, others feel that there are certain minimum things it should do. One proposal seems to me to be very well worth consideration.

The Council and the Assembly must of course be postponed, and at this moment the telegram from the British Government proposing this is expected. At the Assembly, when it is able to meet, the British representative should give a completely fair account of the events of the last few months, ending with the outbreak of war this week. He should point out that juridically the obligations of article 16 apply, but that in fact as a result of the events of recent years it is neither reasonable nor indeed desirable that they should be invoked.

He should therefore propose

1. that the coercive clauses be suspended for the duration of the conflict;
2. that for the duration of the war, the members of the League should continue to give it their financial support as an agent for non-coercive international co-operation in the social and economic spheres;
3. that in particular the League should devote its energies to the alleviation of the suffering that the war would inevitably cause by assisting refugees, controlling the outbreak of epidemics, and the like. These activities should so far as possible apply to all parties to the conflict.

He should also announce

1. that H.M.G. regarded the creation of a stronger and more durable international society as a major objective;
2. that in the event of the fortunes of war favouring Great Britain and her Allies they hoped to be able to profit by the advice and assistance of the members of the League not involved in the conflict in the creation of such an international society.

There can be no doubt that if we were to attempt to do more we should destroy the League by forcing all the neutral states to resign. By taking such action we should not only strengthen our own moral position, and guard against too vindictive a peace and too unconstructive a peace settlement, we should also make evident from the outset the only objective that can justify the appalling bloodshed that lies ahead of us.

carry out any reorganisation of the Secretariat which they might decide upon, in accordance with the resolution adopted by the Assembly in September, 1938. It had been said that the Secretariat would probably be reduced by three-fourths on the ground that one-quarter of the existing staff would be sufficient to carry on the restricted work. It was felt that such a drastic reduction would leave the League without the nucleus necessary for expansion when, as would surely happen, the Governments turned to it again.

The Executive also had before them an extract from a letter written by Mr. Figgures on 3rd September, containing proposals for future activities by the League, together with a resolution drafted by Mr. Mander, proposing that the Council and Assembly of the League should be summoned at the earliest practicable moment. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) That Lord Cecil and Dr. Murray be asked to see Lord Halifax; to inform him that the Executive warmly welcomed the communication which H.M. Government had recently sent to the League; to suggest that the League has important functions to perform in the future which would become impossible if drastic reductions were made in the Secretariat; and to express the earnest hope that H.M. Government would use its influence in this matter.

It was further

RESOLVED: (2) That consideration of Mr. Mander's draft resolution be adjourned pending a report from the Joint Presidents of their conversation with the Foreign Secretary.

313. MR. DE WATER. On the suggestion of Mr. Arnold Forster it was agreed that Lord Cecil should be asked to write to Mr. de Water, expressing on behalf of the Executive their regret at his departure from this country and their grateful appreciation of his spokesmanship at Geneva on behalf of the cause for which the Union stands.
314. INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF LEAGUE OF NATIONS SOCIETIES: REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL. The following draft resolution from the International Federation was submitted:

"In view of the necessity of taking certain decisions within the competence of Representative Council, and considering that it may not be possible for Representative Council to meet because of the hostilities,

Representative Council, voting by correspondence, hereby authorises the Executive Committee to execute the functions appertaining to the Representative Council until such time as the latter can meet."

It was

RESOLVED: "That the procedure suggested in the above resolution be approved."

315. PROPAGANDA IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES. A memorandum by Miss Rathbone on Propaganda in Foreign Countries was adjourned for consideration at the next meeting.

*Lyle*  
CHAIRMAN  
September 28th, 1939

NOTE ON WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR.

1. Our immediate object in going to war was to stop aggression. Therefore, we make as our first condition the restoration of the (complete) political independence of the Polish and Czechoslovakian peoples. Any modification of boundaries could only be discussed after this object has been accomplished.
2. Next, we desire a lasting peace, based on justice and international good faith.
3. We believe that such a peace would not be secured by an attempt so to weaken Germany as to make her powerless again to disturb the peace of the world. A great and vigorous nation can be neither exterminated nor permanently disabled. Any attempt to do so would merely create the utmost bitterness without producing safety. The principle of equality of rights for all States must be accepted.
4. On the other hand, the national sovereignty of each State must be so limited as to secure the safety and well being of the community of nations. We cannot acquiesce in a recrudescence of World Anarchy with its periodic wars disastrous both to belligerents and neutrals.
5. Some form of international organisation is therefore essential. That involves a limitation of National Sovereignty. How far that can be carried is a practical question which can only be solved at an International Conference.

At Paris in 1919, even with the immediate recollection of four years desolating war, the nations were not prepared to go further than the Covenant.

Indeed, that was too far for the United States, and in truth only carried the partial assent of several other countries which in form accepted it. It may be that the nations or some of them would this time be prepared to go further. Such possibilities should be carefully studied.

6. The minimum limitation of national sovereignty to be of any use as a safeguard for peace must embody the following propositions:
  - (i) The supremacy of Law founded on Justice must be accepted as the fundamental principle of international relations. A peaceful world order cannot be established if force is held to be the only thing that counts in international affairs and if any nation, powerful enough to do so, may set at defiance every principle of justice and even its own international engagements.
  - (ii) All international differences which cannot be settled by negotiation must be submitted to some kind of third party judgment which may be either by way of judicial decision, arbitration or authoritative decision.
  - (iii) National armaments must be the subject of reduction and limitation by international agreement.
  - (iv) The use of force must be restricted to action approved by the international authority. (It will, of course, be recollected that, under the Locarno Agreement, provision was made for self-defence in an emergency provided approval of the international authority was obtained.)
  - (v) Each of the States Members of the international community must be ready to accept its fair share of responsibility for preventing and stopping aggression.
7. The reduction and limitation of national armaments involves the creation of the international authority,
  - (i) to supervise such reduction and limitation,
  - (ii) to protect a State which has limited its armaments from a State which has not done so.
8. For this and other reasons an international authority is essential for any scheme of world order. Its form and powers may be the subject of further international discussion.

In practice the international machinery of the League has not been inadequate where its Members have used it.

In our judgment it should be taken as the basis of the new order, amended and strengthened where necessary.

9. Means must be provided for dealing pacifically with any international grievance, whether it is of a justiciable character or not. The powers of varying a treaty should be extended to any case where it seems fair and reasonable to do so. A claim for modification of territorial sovereignty should not be excluded from consideration merely on that ground.
10. The principle that Colonies inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves should be administered as a trust for the well-being and development of such peoples and should be open on equal terms to the commerce of all nations, should be applied to all such Colonies whether their sovereignty was or was not affected by the World War of 1914.
11. Economic prosperity and social justice are not less important for world peace than political security. [By international agreement obstructions to international commerce should be removed and the standards of labour and wages should be maintained and improved.] The international service in this direction rendered by the League and the I.L.O. should be extended.
12. The protection accorded by the Minorities Treaties to religious, racial and linguistic minorities in certain countries should be extended to all countries and made more effective. See minute 323

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION HELD AT 60, ST. MARTIN'S LANE, LONDON, W.C.2, ON THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 28TH, 1939 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Iynton (in the Chair), Lord Cecil, Miss Judith Corcoran, Miss K.D. Courtney, Vice-Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Mrs. E. Dugdale, Miss P. Fawcett, W. Arnold Forster, Sir John Harris, D.L. Lipson M.P., J. Macdonald, G. le M. Mander M.P., P. Marshall M.P., Dr. Gilbert Murray, H.S. Syrett, E. Wallis Jones and Major Freshwater.

316. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Mrs. Beale, Professor Brodetsky, Dean of Orchester, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Arthur Henderson M.P., and Miss H. Lloyd George M.P.
317. DEATH OF LORD RHAYADER AND MRS. LOTHIAN SMALL. The Executive learned with deep regret of the death of Lord Rhayader, who had been a staunch friend of the Union and for many years a member of its Executive Committee, and of Mrs. Small, the wife of Captain Lothian Small, late Assistant Secretary of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies. It was

RESOLVED: "That messages of condolence be sent on behalf of the Executive to Mr. J.P. Maine, nephew of Lord Rhayader, and to Captain Lothian Small."

318. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on September 21st were confirmed.

On Minute 310 - Premises and Staff. Mr. Syrett reported the receipt of a letter from the solicitors of the Landlords of 15, Grosvenor Crescent, expressing their willingness to take back the lease of the premises provided that rent was paid up to that date and dilapidations made good. Mr. Syrett was in correspondence with the solicitors on the latter question and would report again to the Executive at the next meeting.

On Minute 310 - HEADWAY. Mr. Syrett reported a letter he had written to the solicitors of the Focus Company, the terms of which, if accepted by them, would enable the Union to continue to issue, under the name of HEADWAY or such other title as they might decide, a monthly journal, the first issue of which would be published on or about the 1st October.

Mr. Arnold Forster reported that he and Miss Courtney had seen Mr. le Prevost on the previous day. The material for a reduced form of HEADWAY was in hand and it was hoped to publish the paper early in October. The

Chairman expressed to Mr. le Prevost the Executive's gratitude for his offer to edit the paper in a voluntary capacity and would gladly accept it so soon as he became a free agent. But it was not possible to take advantage of his offer while he was the whole-time servant of the Focus Company.

On Minute 310 - B.B.C. Talk, the Chairman reported that he had prepared the draft of two talks on "War Aims" which he had sent to the B.B.C. for inclusion in the Empire series. He had been informed that the subject matter of the first talk had already been covered by other speakers, but that it was hoped to arrange for a broadcast of the second talk although no definite date could be given at present. Lord Lytton suggested that if the talks contained material which might be useful for the October HEADWAY he would be glad for it to be used in that way and, in that case, he would make a further draft for broadcasting purposes.

The Executive expressed the hope that Lord Lytton would communicate with Mr. Ogilvie with a view to his broadcasting a talk in the Home rather than the Empire series.

319. DUCHESS OF ATHOLL AND MR. JOHN KEYSER. The Chairman read a letter from the Duchess of Atholl, asking the Executive to accept her resignation since she did not expect to be in London during the war. After Lord Cecil had reported a letter he also had received from the Duchess, stating that, even apart from the war, she would find it very difficult to continue membership of the Committee, it was

RESOLVED: (1) That the Duchess of Atholl's resignation be accepted with regret.

A letter from Mr. J. Keyser was also reported, stating that, since he was now employed in the Overseas Intelligence Department of the B.B.C. it would be impossible for him to attend meetings of the Executive except on rare occasions. The Chairman having said that doubtless many members of the Committee would find it difficult to attend meetings regularly in war time, it was

RESOLVED: (2) That Mr. Keyser be asked to continue his membership of the Executive Committee.

320. PROPAGANDA IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES. The Executive had before them a memorandum by Miss Rathbone /copy filed with these minutes/ suggesting that there was grave danger that British propaganda abroad might prove futile if those directing the work lacked the necessary knowledge of the mentality and circumstances of the sections of foreign opinion they hoped to reach. The experience of foreign refugees might, she thought, usefully be utilised in this matter, and she asked whether

the Union could undertake the task of collecting and codifying different sources of foreign information.

The Chairman asked members of the Committee who had any means at their disposal for obtaining information concerning persons likely to be useful in the preparation and dissemination of foreign propaganda to send such information to the Secretary of the Union in order that it might be passed on to the appropriate authority.

Mr. Arnold Forster stated that the Union's Youth organisation was in touch with the leaders of the German Youth movement at present in this country, and that the Association for Education in World Citizenship was planning a conference at Morley College between Youth leaders from this country as well as from Germany, Czechoslovakia and Austria.

Dr. Murray reported that efforts were being made (1) to organise, possibly in some neutral country, an international meeting of the 'Pen Club', and (2) to arrange for the German Refugee paper now published in Paris to be transferred to London. Dr. Murray further reported that the Brazilian member of the Intellectual Co-operation Committee had written a letter to the Committee concerning the intellectual issues of the present international situation. The Institute of Intellectual Co-operation intended to get sympathetic members in all the neutral countries to reply to the letter and to publish them in book form.

321. **NEW COMMONWEALTH.** The Chairman reported a letter he had received from Professor Keaton of the New Commonwealth, suggesting that since there was now little difference between the policies of the L.N.U., the New Commonwealth, the National Peace Council and the I.P.C., the four organisations should meet and agree upon a joint campaign. It was agreed that the Chairman should inform Professor Keaton that the Executive did not see any possibility of co-operating with the National Peace Council, but that they would be glad to consider any concerted efforts which might be suggested with the New Commonwealth and the I.P.C.
322. **B.U.L.N.S.** It was reported that the B.U.L.N.S. Executive Committee, at its meeting on September 23rd, while expressing regret that the Union could not retain the services of a Travelling Secretary for Universities, had decided to do its utmost to continue the work of the Society and purposed employing a Travelling Secretary for one term to visit the Branches and arrange for the appointment of Committees, and to continue to employ an Office Secretary for the Society throughout the war. The Executive expressed their cordial thanks to the B.U.L.N.S. for the action they had taken.

323. **WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR.** Lord Cecil reported that, after the last meeting of the Executive, the following amendment of the second sentence in paragraph 11 of the Memorandum on **WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR** had been suggested in order to meet certain criticisms:

"The international authority should establish agencies, acting in the interest of all peoples, to promote the freeing of international commerce with due regard for standards of labour and wages, to promote increased consumption and better distribution of the world's resources, and to deal with common economic problems such as post-war demobilisation."

The suggested amendment had been circulated by post to all members of the Executive and twenty-eight had replied accepting it. Only one reply was in favour of the original wording. It was

**RESOLVED:** "That the amendment of the second sentence of paragraph 11 of the Memorandum be confirmed; and

That the word 'real' be substituted for 'complete' in the third line of paragraph 1."

Lord Cecil stated that he had circulated copies of the Memorandum to some twenty-eight eminent persons with a covering letter, the text of which he read to the Committee, inviting them to express their general agreement with the Memorandum. He reported to the Committee the replies he had so far received. Names of other persons to whom the Memorandum might be sent were suggested for Lord Cecil's consideration by various members of the Executive.

Mr. Mander asked if he might be given half-a-dozen copies of the Memorandum for circulation among leading members of the Liberal Party. This was agreed to on the understanding that it was made clear that the document was confidential and not for publication.

324. **FUTURE ACTIVITIES OF THE LEAGUE.** Lord Cecil read to the Committee a report /copy filed with these minutes/ of a conversation which, in accordance with the Executive's request, he had had with Lord Halifax on September 26th. The Executive expressed their satisfaction at the statements made by Lord Halifax, and particularly his acceptance of the suggestion that a statement on war aims should be made to the League Assembly.

The Committee then considered a draft resolution submitted by Mr. Mander (see minute 312) and after discussion it was



COPY

House of Commons, S.W.1.  
September 20th, 1939.

Dear Major Freshwater,

It is reported in "L'Europe Nouvelle" that the Secretary General of the League of Nations has invited the functionaries of the League to remain neutral in the present conflict, as neutral as Switzerland. Natural indignation is expressed that an institution which was created to organise the peace forces against aggression should proclaim its neutrality now. This causes "L'Europe Nouvelle" which has always been a strong pro-League organ to exclaim, "Let the League of Nations die, that is all right, but it is not indispensable that it should expire in shame and treachery".

It is further stated that there are at the Secretariat of the League Nazis detached from the Wilhelmstrasse and the Reichswehr.

If these facts are as stated they would do the greatest possible harm to the whole conception of the League, and I suggest that, having cleared up the position, the L.N.U. should make a statement.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) E.L. SPEARS

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Executive Committee is of the opinion that a meeting of the Council and Assembly of the League of Nations should be held at the earliest practicable moment at Geneva or elsewhere in order that a statement of the international purposes in resistance to aggression for which Great Britain entered the war may be made to the world."

(2) "That the above resolution be communicated to H.M. Government and to the press."

A letter from General Spears Copy filed with these minutes was read to the Committee regarding a statement concerning the League Secretariat published in L'EUROPE NOUVELLE. It was agreed that inquiries should be made with a view to ascertaining whether or not the statement was correct.

325. OPTIONAL CLAUSE. The Executive had before them a note prepared in the office concerning the communications from the Governments of Great Britain, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand and France to the effect that they would not consider their adherence to the Optional Clause of the Statute of the Permanent Court as applicable to disputes arising out of the present war.

The opinion was expressed that the Executive should make a considered representation to the Government on this subject, and Lord Cecil was asked to prepare a statement for consideration at the next meeting of the Committee. It was suggested that the statement should include the complete Note of H.M. Government and, so far as was necessary, the Notes of the Dominions also.

326. HYDE PARK MEETINGS. It was reported that the London Regional Federation had lately been holding meetings on Sundays in Hyde Park which had been attended by enthusiastic audiences. If any members of the Executive were able and willing to assist by speaking at such meetings, the L.R.F. would be extremely grateful and the value of the meetings would be considerably increased.

327. PUBLIC MEETINGS. Mr. Arnold Forster reported that, with the concurrence of the Ministry of Information, a statement had been prepared for circulation to the Union's Branches and for publication in HEADWAY, urging Branches to continue to hold meetings and discussion groups.

328. PLACE OF MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. It was agreed that meetings of the Executive should continue to be held at 60, St. Martin's Lane, unless some more satisfactory accommodation could be obtained without cost in the neighbourhood. Sir John Harris promised to make inquiries of the Society of Friends with regard to the

possibility of their giving the Union the use of a room in their Meeting House in St. Martin's Lane.

The Chairman stated that, although he did not contemplate at the moment making any change in the existing practice, it was likely that, later on, it would be unnecessary for the Executive to meet more frequently than once a fortnight.

*K. D. Ametree*  
CHAIRMAN  
October 5th, 1939.

PROPAGANDA IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

1. This is not a minor question. Our chances of winning the war may depend on how far internal movements against Hitlerism in Germany, Russia, Italy and neutral countries can be strengthened and mobilised.
2. Yet there is grave danger that British propaganda abroad may prove futile and even mischievous because those directing the work lack the necessary flexibility, inventiveness and knowledge of the mentality and circumstances of the sections of foreign opinion they want - or ought to want - to reach.
3. The experience of foreign refugees who themselves belong to these nationalities and sections of opinion should be utilised. Many of them have been working for years at great personal risk in their own countries or from abroad at just the task we are only now beginning. Some of them have already formulated their ideas as to future action and how they might help. I have myself forwarded two memoranda from a group of Germans, formerly refugees in Czechoslovakia, to the appropriate Ministries. One deals partly with refugee services within this country, partly with methods for use abroad (radio, loud-speaker transmitters at the front, recruiting among deserters and prisoners, etc.) The other includes suggestions differentiated according to the section of the public appealed to (industrial workers, Catholics, women, etc.), also according to the different German districts requiring special appeals. Other refugees of greater intellectual distinction but perhaps less personal experience are working on the subject. Will they be used?
4. Severe criticisms have already been made by some of the above-mentioned refugees and by other experts on the leaflets distributed by air and on the quality of British broadcasting abroad, contrasted with that of Nazi and French broadcasting. Both the latter are said to be much more rapidly up-to-date, arresting, and better adapted to the circumstances of the moment and the mentality of those addressed. The French are known to use Germans; one of their principal men having been formerly engaged in official German radio propaganda. There are already in this country men of a comparable expertise in this kind of work.
5. Problems:
  - (i) How to secure utilisation of the suitable foreign personnel - not merely that their advice should be listened to, but themselves used in broadcasting, leaflet-writing, perhaps loud-speaking at the front, work among deserters, getting secret material into Germany, possibly secret service inside Germany and elsewhere?
    - (ii) Should there be (as some of them would like) a special branch conducted by aliens under British supervision?
    - (iii) Should not the British side of the work be co-ordinated with that in France, hitherto the main centre (with Czechoslovakia) of underground propaganda?
    - (iv) Work not only in Germany but in Italy, Russia and in all the professedly neutral countries, especially the Balkans, should be considered.
    - (v) Should the first step be the compilation of facts about all the main groups of foreigners already engaged in this work here and in France, etc., their publications, and so on? Could the L.N.U. undertake this?

E. F. RATHBONE.

NOTE OF INTERVIEW WITH LORD HALIFAX. House of Lords.  
28.9.39.

I saw Lord Halifax this afternoon and began by expressing, on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Union, our gratification at his letter to the League reporting action we had taken against Germany. I said we were very glad that he had taken this course, and we hoped that he would not stop there, but that, in attending the Assembly of the League, he would take the opportunity of making a reasoned defence of our policy. He then said: "When is the meeting of the Assembly?" I said: "Well, of course, it ought to have been now, but it has been put off and I understand that it is to take place before the end of the year; I suppose it will be in November or December." He accepted this, but evidently nothing had been fixed about it.

I then pointed out to him that, if the League was to be restored and made effective, it was essential not to do anything fatal to the Secretariat, and that therefore we viewed with great anxiety the fresh reductions which were threatened in that body. I pointed out to him that by action which seemed to me rather rash, the Assembly had entrusted the Supervisory Committee with full power to make any reductions they thought necessary. He accepted generally our point of view, without pledging himself to do anything.

I think it would be well to let him have a statement of exactly what we are afraid of.

He then initiated a discussion on War Aims. He said that it might well be that at some time or another Hitler would make a great offer for peace which would include such things as the setting-up of an independent Poland (though not the old Poland), the assertion that Germany had no territorial ambitions in that part of the world, the acceptance of the view that disarmament was essential, and a proposal that there should be a conference on the subjects. He said that the possibility of these proposals had led him to consider how he would state what our War Aims really were. And this also led him to think that a general statement of War Aims would be desirable.

I agreed with him and said that I thought that would be desirable for this country and in order to restrain the extravagances of our allies - and, he added, for neutrals

like America, to which I assented, and, I added, also to show the Germans that we were not planning the destruction of Germany as to which we were both quite clear that any policy of that kind was madness.

He then asked me my views about War Aims. I said that, in the first place, I only regarded the Polish side of it as incidental; that our real quarrel was much larger and deeper than that. In the same way, I repudiated altogether the view that the destruction of Hitlerism was an adequate account of what we were fighting for. We all remember the "Hang the Kaiser" attitude of the last war and how utterly futile that turned out to be. It is true we destroyed the imperial system, but got something even worse in its place; and I was confident that if we merely went about to destroy Hitlerism something like the same result would follow. To all this he warmly assented. I said that our real quarrel was with the German conception of international relations, resting, as I thought, on pretty deep foundations; and made a passing reference to Luther and German international history, which he noted but expressed no opinion upon it. I then said that the German conception was that whatever is, is right, and that therefore force to maintain or to carry out the policy of an existing Government was right and proper - that, in a word, there was no rule of morality applying to international action except the establishment of what you are strong enough to do. I added that, to my mind, whatever might be said dialectically of such a view, it was destructive of all hope of European civilization and to this he warmly assented and added: "Yes, and all Christianity as well." I said, therefore, that in my view we have got to re-establish some form of international security and referred very generally to the kind of propositions which we have agreed upon in the Executive Committee.

He was very sympathetic to all this and said that of course the time for making a statement of War Aims was a matter of doubt; that he himself was inclined to think that the statement should be made without undue delay, but others of his colleagues were less favourable to that view than he was. Of course, he said, it may be made at any moment by a speech or a broadcast or anything of that kind.

I suggested that the best place to make it would be at Geneva, to the Assembly, and, to my great surprise, he rather jumped at this suggestion, thought it

was a very good one, and that undoubtedly it would be the best place to make the declaration. He seemed to be almost enthusiastic to the idea. It is, of course, conceivable that he liked it because it meant putting it off for some weeks till the Assembly met, but I doubt whether that was in his mind at the moment. Moreover, if he really is in earnest in accepting it, there is no reason why the Assembly should not take place in October just as well as in November or December.

Seeing him in such a very receptive mood, I thought it best to hand him a copy of our Memorandum explaining that, though I believed it was finally settled, yet I should prefer that he keep it entirely to himself at present till we had arranged for its formal presentation to him.

CECIL.

CONFIDENTIAL  
NOT FOR PUBLICATION

28.9.39

NOTE ON WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR

1. Our immediate object in going to war was to stop aggression. Therefore, we make as our first condition the restoration of the real political independence of the Polish and Czechoslovakian peoples. Any modification of boundaries could only be discussed after this object has been accomplished.
2. Next, we desire a lasting peace, based on justice and international good faith.
3. We believe that such a peace would not be secured by an attempt so to weaken Germany as to make her powerless again to disturb the peace of the world. A great and vigorous nation can be neither exterminated nor permanently disabled. Any attempt to do so would merely create the utmost bitterness without producing safety. The principle of equality of rights for all States must be accepted.
4. On the other hand, the national sovereignty of each State must be so limited as to secure the safety and well being of the community of nations. We cannot acquiesce in a recrudescence of World Anarchy with its periodic wars disastrous both to belligerents and neutrals.
5. Some form of international organisation is therefore essential. That involves a limitation of National Sovereignty. How far that can be carried is a practical question which can only be solved at an International Conference.  
  
At Paris in 1919, even with the immediate recollection of four years desolating war, the nations were not prepared to go further than the Covenant. Indeed, that was too far for the United States, and in truth only carried the partial assent of several other countries which in form accepted it. It may be that the nations or some of them would this time be prepared to go further. Such possibilities should be carefully studied.
6. The minimum limitation of national sovereignty to be of any use as a safeguard for peace must embody the following propositions:
  - (i) The supremacy of Law founded on Justice must be accepted as the fundamental principle of international relations. A peaceful world order cannot be established if force is held to be the only thing that counts in international affairs and if any nation, powerful enough to do so, may set at defiance every principle of justice and even its own international engagements.
  - (ii) All international differences which cannot be settled by negotiation must be submitted to some kind of third party judgment which may be either by way of judicial decision, arbitration or authoritative mediation.
  - (iii) National armaments must be the subject of reduction and limitation by international agreement.

- (iv) The use of force must be restricted to action approved by the international authority. (It will, of course, be recalled that, under the Locarno Agreement, provision was made for self-defence in an emergency provided approval of the international authority was obtained).
- (v) Each of the States Members of the international community must be ready to accept its fair share of responsibility for preventing and stopping aggression.
7. The reduction and limitation of national armaments involves the creation of an international authority,
- (i) To supervise such reduction and limitation,
  - (ii) To protect a State which has limited its armaments from a State which has not done so.
8. For this and other reasons an international authority is essential for any scheme of world order. Its form and powers may be the subject of further international discussion. In practice the international machinery of the League has not been inadequate where its Members have used it. In our judgment it should be taken as the basis of the new order, amended and strengthened where necessary.
9. Means must be provided for dealing peacefully with any international grievance, whether it is of a justifiable character or not. The powers of varying a treaty should be extended to any case where it seems fair and reasonable to do so. A claim for modification of territorial sovereignty should not be excluded from consideration merely on that ground.
10. The principle that Colonies inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand should be administered as a trust for the well-being and development of such peoples and should be open on equal terms to the commerce of all nations, should be applied to all such Colonies whether their sovereignty was or was not affected by the World War of 1914.
11. Economic prosperity and social justice are not less important for world peace than political security. The international authority should establish agencies, acting in the interest of all peoples, to promote the freeing of international commerce with due regard for standards of labour and wages, to promote increased consumption and better distribution of the world's resources, and to deal with common economic problems such as post-war demobilisation. The international service in this direction rendered by the League and the I.L.O. should be extended.
12. The protection accorded by the Minorities Treaties to religious, racial and linguistic minorities in certain countries should be extended to all countries and made more effective.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION HELD AT 60, ST. MARTIN'S LANE, LONDON, W.C.2. ON THURSDAY, OCTOBER 5TH, 1939 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Miss K.D. Courtney (in the Chair), Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Lord Cecil, Miss J. Corcoran, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss P. Fawcett, W. Arnold Forster, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, D.L. Lipson M.P., J. Macdonald, G. de H. Mander M.P., Dr. Gilbert Murray, W.L. Pritchard, Miss E. Rathbone M.P., Brig. Gen. D.L. Spears M.P., H.S. Syrett and Major Freshwater.

329. MISS JUDITH CORCORAN. The Chairman expressed to Miss Corcoran the Executive's warm congratulations and good wishes on the announcement of her engagement to be married.
330. MINUTES. Subject to the insertion of the words 'as from September 29th' after 'premises' in minute 318 (310), the minutes of the meeting held on September 28th were confirmed.
331. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 318 - 310 - HEADWAY, Mr. Syrett reported that he and Major Freshwater had had an interview with Sir Robert Waley Cohen when it had been arranged that the existing agreement between the Union and the Focus Company should be cancelled; that the Union should have full power to publish HEADWAY in such form as they thought fit; and that the Union should take over the obligations of the Focus Company in accordance with the statement of liabilities and assets which had yet to be prepared, and should also take over and indemnify the Focus in respect of the obligations to the staff, subject to the Union having a free hand to deal with such staff in such reasonable way as they thought fit, and in the same way as they had dealt with their own staff. On the other hand, the Union would be entitled to all the assets of the Company, including cash at the Bank, sums due from advertisements, office furniture and book debts. Sir Robert had still to obtain the consent of his co-Directors (Sir Norman Angell and Mr. Wickham Steed) to the arrangement, but it was not anticipated that they would raise any objection. Mr. Syrett said that particulars of the liabilities and assets of Focus had been difficult to obtain and those he had were only approximate; he hoped when the final figures were available it would be found that the assets and liabilities more or less balanced themselves, but the Union must be prepared for some financial sacrifice.

Mr. Arnold Forster stated that the October HEADWAY was in the printer's hands. It would contain a message

from Lord Cecil, an article by Dr. Murray summarising the memorandum on WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR, a second article by Dr. Murray on what Branches and members could do, articles by Lord Lytton and Sir Norman Angell, a short article on China and editorial matter.

The Executive expressed their cordial thanks to Mr. Syrett for the satisfactory arrangement he had made with the Focus Company and to Mr. Arnold Forster for his preparation of the October HEADWAY.

On the motion of Mrs. Dugdale, seconded by Mr. Macdonald, it was

RESOLVED: "That the title of HEADWAY, beginning with the October issue, be changed to 'HEADWAY IN WAR TIME'."

On Minute 318 - B.E.C. Talk, it was reported that the B.E.C. were unable to arrange for Lord Lytton's broadcast to be given in the Home Series, and that he had therefore asked for the return of his ISS. The second part of the talk would be published as an article in the October HEADWAY.

On Minute 319 - Duchess of Atholl and Mr. Keyser, a letter from Mr. Keyser was read, expressing his willingness to remain a member of the Committee and to attend meetings if and when it was possible for him to do so.

On Minute 324 - Future Activities of the League, Lord Cecil stated that, following upon his conversation with Lord Halifax (reported in minute 324) he had sent to the Foreign Secretary a letter based on the information contained in Mrs. Puffer Morgan's letter (see minute 312). The Foreign Secretary had replied that it was inevitable that there should be some further reductions in the League Secretariat but that there was no reason to fear that such reductions would interfere with the work of the League. Lord Cecil had suggested that the Foreign Secretary should not merely accept the views of the Supervisory Commission and of the Secretary-General, but should make personal investigations and satisfy himself in this matter.

The Chairman reported that certain international organisations had recently sent a deputation to Mr. Hembro, the Chairman of the Supervisory Commission, and had been sympathetically received.

Enquiries concerning the report in L'EUROPE NOUVELLE had been made of Mr. Figgures in Geneva, but his reply had not yet been received.

On Minute 328 - Place of Meeting of the Executive Committee, Sir John Harris reported that the Society of Friends would be willing for the Union to have the use of the inner lobby at their Meeting House in St. Martin's Lane for



meetings of the Executive. There would be no charge for hire of the room, but the Union would be expected to defray the cost of heating and cleaning. The Secretary reported that the Central Electricity Company were prepared to partition off that section of their showroom which was being used for the Executive's meetings and that, if this were done, the room would be less noisy and the Committee's deliberations would be conducted with more privacy. The cost to the Union of such partitioning was at present under discussion, but it would not in any case exceed \$13. The Committee having expressed its preference for the premises of the Electricity Company, it was agreed to leave it to the Treasurer and Secretary to make such arrangements as would, in the circumstances, provide the most suitable accommodation for the Executive. It was further agreed that the thanks of the Executive should be conveyed to Mr. Arthur Braithwaite for his offer of the use of a room at Friends' Meeting House.

On Minute 327 - Public Meetings, the Executive were informed that, owing to the drastic rationing of petrol, many organisers of meetings in country districts would find it impossible to continue with their arrangements in view of the difficulty of conveying speakers to and from the place of meeting. It was suggested that, having in mind the request from the Ministry of Information that public meetings and discussion groups should be continued, some arrangement might be made for an additional allowance of petrol for the transport of speakers who were addressing meetings with no financial advantage to themselves but merely for the spread of information. It was agreed that Mr. Arnold Forster should be asked to discuss this matter with Mr. Crossman, the Director of Home Publicity at the Ministry of Information.

332. NEWS SHEET. It was reported that many requests had been received from Branches for some short printed matter dealing with the present situation and the function of the Union in war time, which they could distribute to their members. Mr. Arnold Forster urged that an edition of the NEWS SHEET, printed on a single sheet of paper, should be published without delay. A draft had been prepared which took the form of a letter to Union members and which contained in simple language the memorandum on WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR and reviewed the case for a League of Nations in fresh terms in the light of the war situation. It was suggested that copies of the NEWS SHEET should be supplied free of charge to those Branches who would undertake its distribution to their members. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That a war-time edition of the NEWS SHEET, printed on a single sheet of paper, be issued in October, subject to the 'copy' being

approved by the Chairman and subject also to the Treasurer being satisfied as to the financial practicability of the proposal."

333. FINANCIAL STATEMENT. Mr. Syrett reported on the present Financial situation. The Bank Overdraft was now £21,560 which was largely, though not completely, covered by securities, and Outstandings amounted to nearly £11,000. The estimated income in respect of deeds, etc. on which the War Budget of £10,000 a year had been based was so far working out as anticipated, and during the last week of September £52 had been received in respect of subscriptions. Assuming that the amounts payable under deed etc. were received and that a reasonable amount continued to be received in respect of subscriptions, the Union would be able to pay its way, in accordance with the new Budget, until the end of the year; but in view of the debt and the commitments which might have to be met in connection with the Focus Company (see minute 331 (318)) it was essential that the Executive should not undertake fresh financial commitments. Mr. Syrett added that it was imperative that action should be taken immediately in regard to the Outstandings. It was agreed that action in this matter should be left to Mr. Syrett and the other Officers of the Union.
334. WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR. Lord Cecil made a further report on the replies he had received from the persons who had been invited to express general agreement with the memorandum on WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Archbishop of York, the Moderator of the Church of Scotland, the Chief Rabbi and Sir John Waidlaw Milne had expressed their general approval, but the leaders of the political parties and other individuals were, for various reasons, unable to sign the document. In these circumstances, Lord Cecil did not wish to pursue his original plan for a deputation to the Government on the subject. But he had received many letters from persons abroad as well as in this country urging that the British Government should make constructive peace proposals at the earliest possible moment, and he therefore suggested that the Union's memorandum should be immediately communicated to the Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary and given a wide circulation.

A resolution adopted by the Executive Committee of the Ruislip Branch at an emergency meeting was reported.

Mrs. Dugdale suggested that the memorandum should include a statement to the effect that a settlement of the Jewish question should be mentioned among the War Aims. After discussion it was agreed to leave it to Lord Cecil, in consultation with Mrs. Dugdale, to draft an additional clause on this subject for inclusion in section 12 of the memorandum.

(Note. After the meeting section 12 was re-drafted as follows:

P.T.O.

12. The protection accorded by the Minorities Treaties to religious, racial and linguistic minorities in certain countries should be extended to all countries and made more effective. The persecution of the Jews has greatly increased the urgency of dealing with the problem.

It was further suggested that the memorandum when published should be accompanied by an introductory note to be drafted by Lord Cecil, and after further discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the memorandum, together with an introductory note, be made available for public circulation and that copies be immediately sent to H.M. Government and the press, and, as soon as possible, to Members of Parliament of both Houses; the High Commissioners, the Secretary of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies as well as to the constituent Societies, the British Committee of the I.F.C. and its opposite numbers abroad, the New Commonwealth and the T.U.C.; and

That copies of the memorandum be sent to Branches of the Union with the next circular letter, asking them to seek publicity for it in their local press."

335. **BRANCH WORK.** The Chairman suggested that, to help and encourage Branches in their work, a small sub-Committee should be formed which could meet in the interval between meetings of the Executive and co-relate the work which the Intelligence and Public Meetings departments were trying to do. Any members of the Executive who were able to give the necessary time would be welcome on the sub-Committee if they would send their names to the Secretary. It was

RESOLVED: "That a small sub-Committee on the lines suggested by the Chairman be appointed, and that the composition of the Committee be left in the hands of the Chairman." (See opposite page.)

The Committee were informed that the Ministry of Information were compiling a panel of some two hundred speakers, and it was suggested that inquiries should be made to ascertain whether any Union speakers were included on the panel. Mr. Arnold Forster said he would mention this matter to Mr. Crossman, the Director of Home Publicity.

336. **OPTIONAL CLAUSE.** The Executive had before them a memorandum (copy filed with these minutes) which Lord Cecil had prepared following upon the Communications sent by the Governments of Great Britain, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand and France to the effect that they would not consider their adherence to the Optional Clause of the Statute of the Permanent Court as applicable to disputes arising out of the present war. It was agreed to ask Lord Cecil to write a letter to Sir Alexander Cadogan on the lines of the memorandum.

The Sub-Com was constituted as follows:- Miss Courtney, Mr Arnold Forster, Miss Dugdale, Mr Ritchard, Mr H. Walker, Miss B. Hayes, Major Fushwate, Mr Mills, Mr Judd and Miss White.

337. MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL. The Executive were reminded that the half-yearly meeting of the General Council had, some months ago, been fixed for Thursday and Friday, November 30th and December 1st in the Caxton Hall, but the last date for receiving motions from local organisations for consideration at the meeting had already passed. The Executive were of opinion that a meeting of the Council should be held, even though only a small attendance might be expected, and it was

RESOLVED: "That Branches be informed that it is intended to hold a meeting of the General Council from 10.30 a.m. to 3.30 p.m. on Thursday, November 30th, with a session on Friday, December 1st if necessary; and that, in order to overcome statutory difficulties, Branches be informed that it is not intended that the Council should be asked to discuss a number of resolutions but to have a general discussion of the situation as it then exists, out of which a resolution might arise."

338. TWENTY-FIRST BIRTHDAY. The Executive were reminded that in connection with the 21st Birthday two Church services had been arranged at Evensong at Westminster Abbey on October 29th, when Dr. Berry was to be the preacher, and at the Central Hall on the same day when the sermon was to be delivered by an Anglican. The Dean of Westminster had written to say that owing to lighting restrictions they had been compelled to abandon their evening services in the Abbey and that therefore the Union's service on October 29th would have to be cancelled. He had written to Dr. Berry informing him of this.

The Chairman suggested that the Dean of Westminster and the Central Hall authorities should be asked to hold the services in the afternoon without relating them specifically to the 21st Birthday of the Union, and after discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the Dean of Chichester be asked to discuss the matter with the authorities of Westminster Abbey and the Central Hall, and to take such action as he considered desirable."

339. INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION. A letter from Mr. Figgures was reported, suggesting that a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Federation should be held in the near future, probably during the first week-end of November, either at Geneva or alternatively at Paris or Brussels. The French Society had indicated their willingness to send important representatives provided that the representation from the Union warranted that. It was

RESOLVED: "That Mr. Figgures be informed that the Union will do its best to send a delegation to a meeting of the Federation Executive, that in

"Peace Proposals" of National Peace Council, as contained in letter from Miss Roberts of Bury, dated October 2nd, 1939.

- (1) There should be no summary rejection of proposals to end the war.
- (2) The presentation of any such proposals should be used to secure a truce in hostilities and the submission of the issues to a conference table.
- (3) The reply of the democratic powers should indicate proposals for a radical and constructive peace plan directed towards
  - (a) the lessening of economic stress and poverty, and the improvement of the standard of living of all peoples;
  - (b) a drastic general disarmament;
  - (c) the development of a new international order along federal lines, securing the free co-operation of all racial units.
- (4) The active participation of neutral Powers, including the United States, in framing a settlement, must be secured.

the Executive's opinion Brussels would be a more suitable place for the meeting than Geneva or Paris, and that he be asked in fixing the date for the meeting to avoid the week during which the General Council of the Union will be in session."

Miss Courtney, Dr. Murray and Mr. Mander said that, if a convenient date was arranged, they hoped to be able to join the Union's delegation.

340. PRESENT INTERNATIONAL SITUATION. A discussion took place on the present international situation, and particularly the position created by the attitude of Russia, in which many members of the Executive took part.
341. NATIONAL PEACE COUNCIL. A communication from the Bury Branch was reported, asking for guidance from the Executive in regard to peace proposals recently issued by the National Peace Council (copy filed with these minutes). The Committee suggested the lines on which a reply should be sent to the Bury Branch.

*L. L. L.*  
CHAIRMAN

October 12th, 1939

NOTE BY LORD CECIL ON THE OPTIONAL CLAUSE

The point that has arisen about the Optional Clause is that, judged by the old principles of international law, it is not quite certain that all the measures we are taking or intend to take to put economic pressure on Germany will be legally justified. If, therefore, they were brought before the International Court of Justice, there is a danger that it might decide against their legality.

When we signed the Optional Clause this point was clearly before us, and our answer then was that, under the Covenant, there could no longer be any neutral Power since every war would be a League war and, by the Covenant, every Power, whether a member of the League or not, would have to take sides. There could, therefore, be no infringement of neutral rights and the Optional Clause could do us no harm.

This argument seems to be still available, but we have made it difficult to put it forward since we have not invoked the authority of the League at any stage of the controversy. We have, in fact, acquiesced in the view that this war is being fought under pre-League conditions. The Government therefore have thought it better to say that our signature of the Optional Clause depended on the substantial preservation of the international situation that then existed, and since that has been entirely changed the Optional Clause no longer applies to controversies which may arise during the war. It is most regrettable that the Government should have thought it right to use such language; but even so, I do not know that we should do any good by making any protest. The matter does not seem to have excited any general attention and we should be merely dragging it out into the light. I think the most that would be useful would be to send a careful letter, perhaps on the lines of this Memorandum, to Sir Alexander Cadogan.

CECIL

OPTIONAL CLAUSE OF THE STATUTE OF THE PERMANENT  
COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE

(Geneva, December 16th, 1920)

Communication from His Majesty's Government in the  
United Kingdom

FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1  
7th September, 1939.

Sir,

I am directed by Viscount Halifax to inform you that His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland have found it necessary to consider the position, in existing circumstances, of their acceptance of the Optional Clause of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice. Their acceptance of the Clause was for ten years from the date of ratification, which took place on the 5th February, 1930.

2. The conditions under which His Majesty's Government gave their signature to the Optional Clause were described in a memorandum issued at the time, Miscellaneous No. 12, 1929, a copy of which is enclosed for convenience of reference.\* Paragraphs 15-22 of that memorandum state the considerations which then satisfied His Majesty's Government that they could accept the Optional Clause without making a reservation (which they would have been fully entitled to make) as to disputes arising out of events occurring during a war in which they might be engaged. Those considerations were, in brief, that by the building up of a new international system based on the Covenant of the League of Nations and the Pact of Paris a fundamental change had been brought about in regard to the whole question of belligerent and neutral rights. In the only circumstances in which it was contemplated that His Majesty's Government could be involved in war, the other Members of the League, so far from being in the position of neutrals with a right to trade with our enemy, would be bound under Article 16 of the Covenant to sever all relations with him. The effect of this at the time of His Majesty's Government's signature was that conditions which might produce a justiciable dispute between the United Kingdom as a belligerent and another Member of the League as a neutral would not exist, since the other Members of the League would either fulfil their obligations under Article 16 of the Covenant, or, if they did not, would have no ground on which to protest against the measures which His Majesty's Government might take to prevent action on their part which was inconsistent with those obligations.

3. It has, however, now become evident that many of the Members of the League no longer consider themselves bound to take action of any kind under the Covenant against an aggressor State. At the League Assembly of September 1938 note was taken of this expression of opinion, and it became clear that sanctions against an aggressor under the terms of the Covenant could not be regarded as obligatory. There remained only a general understanding that members should consult one another in the event of aggression against another member and that such aggression could not be treated with indifference.

\* This memorandum has not yet reached the Secretariat.

4. In the present crisis it has not proved possible to give any practical effect even to so limited an understanding as that just described. No action has been taken under Articles 16 or 17 of the Covenant, or even under Article 11, and in advance of hostilities a number of States Members of the League have announced their intention of maintaining strict neutrality as between the two belligerents. His Majesty's Government are not making a complaint about this state of affairs though they fully reserve their rights as a member of the League. But the position today shows clearly that the Covenant has, in the present instance, completely broken down in practice, that the whole machinery for the preservation of peace has collapsed, and that the conditions in which His Majesty's Government accepted the Optional Clause no longer exist. This situation, so fundamentally changed from that which existed at the time of their signature of the Optional Clause, was mentioned as a possibility in paragraph 22 of the memorandum of 1929, and it was there stated that His Majesty's Government could not conceive that in the general collapse of the whole machinery for the preservation of peace, the one thing left standing should be the optional Clause and the commitments of the signatories thereunder.

5. I am, therefore, directed to notify you that His Majesty's Government, believing themselves to be firmly defending the principles on which the Covenant was made will not regard their acceptance of the Optional Clause as covering disputes arising out of events occurring during the present hostilities.

6. I am to request that this notification may be communicated to the Governments of all States which have accepted the Optional Clause, and to the Registrar of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

(Signed): ALEXANDER CADOGAN.

The Secretary General,  
League of Nations,  
Geneva.

OPTIONAL CLAUSE OF THE STATUTE OF THE PERMANENT  
COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE

(Geneva, December 16th, 1920)

Communication from His Majesty's Government in New  
Zealand

DOMINION OF NEW ZEALAND

New Zealand Government Offices,  
415 Strand, London, W.C.2.

7th September, 1939.

Sir,

I have been requested by my Government to address you on the subject of New Zealand's acceptance of the Optional Clause provided in the Protocol of Signature concerning the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, an acceptance made by Declaration in September 1929 and ratified by His late Majesty King George V in an instrument deposited with the Secretariat of the League of Nations on 29th March, 1930. The acceptance was for a period of ten years from the date of ratification.

Although entitled to make a reservation as to disputes arising out of events occurring during a war in which she might be engaged, New Zealand did not in fact do so when accepting the Optional Clause, since it was hoped and believed that a new international system based on the Government of the League of Nations and the Pact of Paris was in process of building, and with it a change in the question of belligerent and neutral rights, that is to say, that conditions which in ordinary circumstances might lead to a justiciable dispute between New Zealand as a belligerent and another member of the League as a neutral would not exist since other members of the League would fulfil their obligations under Article 16 of the Covenant, nor, if they did not, would have no ground on which to protest against measures taken to prevent action inconsistent with the obligations assumed under the Covenant.

Not only has the hope for a new international system not been realised, but it became clear during the course of the Assembly of the League of Nations in 1938, that a great many members of the League were not prepared to regard sanctions against an aggressor under the terms of the Covenant as obligatory.

During the recent crisis, which has resulted in war, not only was no attempt made to deal with it by invoking articles of the Covenant, but on the other hand, States Members of the League announced in advance of the outbreak of hostilities their resolve to maintain strict neutrality.

My Government, after reviewing all the circumstances, has regretfully come to the conclusion that, so far as the recent crisis is concerned, the Government has failed to function, and that, consequently, the conditions which, when the Optional Clause was accepted by New Zealand, were thought would rule, do not in fact exist.

His Majesty's Government in New Zealand has therefore instructed me to notify you that, firmly as it believes in the principles of the Covenant, and desirous as it is of seeing a world order established on those principles, it will not regard its acceptance of the Optional Clause as covering disputes which may arise out of events occurring during the present hostilities.

I shall be glad if you will cause this notification to be communicated to Governments of all States which have accepted the Optional Clause and also to the Registrar of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

I am,  
Yours sincerely,

W.J. JORDAN

High Commissioner

The Secretary-General,  
League of Nations,  
Geneva.



MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE  
COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS  
UNION HELD AT 80, ST. MARTIN'S LANE,  
LONDON, W.C.2, ON THURSDAY, OCTOBER  
12TH, 1939 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams, M.P., Professor S. Brodetsky, Lord Cecil, the Dean of Chichester, Miss J. Corcoran, Mrs. E. Dugdale, Miss P. Fawcett, W. Arnold Forster, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, D.L. Lipson M.P., James Macdonald, G. le M. Mander M.P., Dr. Gilbert Murray, P.J. Noel-Baker M.P., W.T. Pritchard, Miss E. Rathbone M.P., Councillor H.F. Shaw, H.S. Syrett and Major Freshwater.

342. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on October 5th, 1939 were confirmed.

343. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 331 - 318 - HEADWAY. Mr. Syrett stated that the arrangements reported in minute 331 between the Union and the Focus Company were now almost complete although the actual document had not yet been signed. It had been sent that day to Sir Robert Waley Cohen.

Mr. Syrett drew attention to a circular letter sent in September to local organisations of the Union on HEADWAY notepaper, stating that it would not be possible to continue the publication of QUARTERLY NEWS but that a new paper with the provisional title of TO-MORROW, for which subscriptions were invited, would replace it. After it had been reported that the circular had been sent out without the knowledge of any of the Union's Officers, it was agreed to ask the Chairman to discuss the matter with Mr. le Prevost at the earliest opportunity, and to report to the Executive at their next meeting.

Mr. Arnold Forster suggested that preparations for the November issue of HEADWAY should be put in hand as soon as possible, and hoped that the Chairman would bear this in mind when speaking to Mr. le Prevost.

On Minute 331 - 327 - Public Meetings. Mr. Arnold Forster reported that he had discussed with officers of the Ministry of Information the two matters arising in minutes 327 and 335. Letters on the subject had subsequently been prepared for the Chairman's signature to the Ministry of Information.

On Minute 334 - World Settlement after the War, it was reported that copies of the memorandum had been sent to H.M. Government, the press, all members of the House of

Commons, certain members of the House of Lords, the High Commissioners, the Union's local organisations, the New Commonwealth, the T.U.C., the Secretary-General of the International Federation, the French League of Nations Society, League of Nations Societies in the Dominions, and all organisations and societies which were Affiliated Members of the Union. The British Committee of the I.P.C. had been given 100 copies for circulation to their affiliated societies in this country and, when permission of the censorship authorities had been obtained, to their opposite numbers abroad. When the Union had obtained similar permission, the memorandum would also be circulated to League of Nations Societies on the Continent.

It was further reported that the memorandum had appeared in the NEWS CHRONICLE, THE TIMES, and the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN, as well as in certain provincial papers. The memorandum was also being circulated to the religious press for publication in their next issues.

On Minute 336 - Optional Clause, Lord Cecil reported that he had written to Sir Alexander Cadogan who had replied that he was having the matter inquired into by the appropriate authorities of the Foreign Office.

On Minute 337 - Meeting of General Council, the Committee having been informed that the cost of printing the Minutes of the Birmingham meeting of the General Council would be in the neighbourhood of £90, and that the resolutions adopted at the meeting had already been printed and distributed, it was

RESOLVED: "That the Minutes of the Birmingham meeting of the General Council be not printed and distributed, but that a typed copy be available at the December Meeting of the Council."

On Minute 338 - 21st Birthday, the Dean of Chichester reported a conversation with the Dean of Westminster who had said that the matter of the Union's service on October 29th had been considered in Chapter on two occasions but that they were of opinion that there ought not to be any celebration of the L.N.U.'s 21st Birthday at the present time. The Dean had also spoken to the Reverend W. Sangster's secretary at the Central Hall and it was hoped that the service there would be held on the afternoon of October 29th. The Dean then referred to the service arranged by the L.R.F. in St. Paul's Cathedral on Saturday afternoon, November 4th, when the Dean of St. Paul's would preach. He suggested that, since it had not been possible to arrange for a service in Westminster Abbey, the service of intercession at St. Paul's might be given a slightly different character and be definitely associated with the statement of principles

contained in the Executive's memorandum on WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR, and with the Union's 21st Birthday.

Mr. Pritchard was asked to communicate this suggestion to the Dean of St. Paul's with an expression of the Executive's hope that he would see his way to accept it.

On Minute 339 - International Federation, it was reported that a reply had not yet been received from Mr. Figures concerning the meeting of the Federation's Executive.

344. FEDERAL UNION. The Chairman suggested that, since many Branches and members of the Union were inquiring concerning the Union's attitude to the proposals for Federal Union, the Executive should discuss the matter and make its views known as soon as possible.

Reference was made to correspondence between Dr. Garnett and Mr. Lionel Curtis on the subject. Dr. Murray thought that Dr. Garnett's letter would be useful to send to inquirers but would not be suitable as a general statement of the Executive's views. Reference was also made to an article by Lord Davies in the June number of THE NEW COMMONWEALTH, and after discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the Officers be asked to consider what should be the Executive's attitude to Federal Union, in that connection to consider the article by Lord Davies on the subject, and to report to the Executive at a later meeting."

345. MEETINGS OF EXECUTIVE. The Chairman stated that if, as was probable, he undertook in the near future certain Government work in the country, it would only be possible for him to come to London on Mondays and Fridays, and during the greater part of those days he would be occupied with Board Meetings. He was very ready to continue to keep in touch with the office and to consult with the Secretary and other Officers on the Union's business, but he would not be able to attend meetings of the Executive unless they could be held on a Monday or Friday and at a time when he would be free from his other engagements. He suggested therefore that the Executive should consider firstly, how often it was necessary to meet, and secondly whether, in the event of his taking up Government work, the Committee's meetings could be held on a Monday or Friday. After discussion, during which several members expressed the hope that for the next few weeks at any rate the Executive would continue to meet weekly, it was

RESOLVED: "That the next meeting of the Executive be held on Thursday, October 19th, and that further consideration be then given to the question of future meetings."

Mr. Noel Baker suggested that a document should be prepared, reviewing the history of the past few years and demonstrating that the League system had not failed. Such a document would, he suggested, be welcomed by the Union's Branches and would provide a basis for discussion by study groups. There ought also to be prepared a similar document dealing with disarmament, and there was need for preliminary action to be taken as soon as possible for economic co-operation at the end of the war when the unemployment problem would become acute. The latter task could best be performed through the League's Financial and Economic organisation, working with the I.L.O., but the Union should take the initiative in making the proposal. Mr. Arnold Forster supported Mr. Noel Baker.

Lord Cecil stated that he was already working on a history of the League, showing in what respects it had and had not failed.

343. ADVISORY COMMITTEES OF THE EXECUTIVE. The position of the Union's advisory Committees was considered. Lady Hall suggested that at the present time the Industrial Advisory Committee could play an increasingly important part in the work of the Union and hoped that arrangements could be made for it to meet. In regard to the Christian Organisations Committee, the Dean of Chichester suggested that, while it was not likely that with the Union's reduced staff, the Committee could function in the normal way, it was nevertheless important that the Union should maintain and increase support in the Churches for the principles of the League, and that, to that end, a small body consisting of himself, Dr. Fushbrooke, Dr. Hughes and Major Freshwater should meet from time to time. After further discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That, having regard to the greatly reduced staff which the Union now possessed, a list be prepared of the Executive's advisory Committees which might continue to function and under what conditions."

347. INTERNATIONAL SITUATION. Mr. Arnold Forster drew attention to a statement issued by the National Peace Council in the press on the day that Herr Hitler's speech of October 6th was published, urging that Herr Hitler's speech should be regarded as at least the basis for a truce and a conference forthwith. Mr. Arnold Forster had written a letter to the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN on the subject. An analysis of Herr Hitler's speech prepared by Mr. Arnold Forster (S.652) was laid before the Committee.

A discussion followed concerning (1) the attitude which members of the Communist party were adopting to the war at the present time, (2) war aims generally,

and (3) Herr Hitler's speech. Mr. Lipson hoped that, in replying to Herr Hitler's speech, the Government would not merely say that it could not accept his proposals but would plainly state the conditions on which it would be prepared to agree to a conference.

Mr. Mander reported questions he had asked the Foreign Secretary on the previous day concerning the recognition of the new Polish and Czech Governments. The answer he had received indicated that H.M. Government recognised in every way the Polish Government, but the answer in regard to the Czech Government was not so satisfactory.

Mr. Vyvyan Adams said that when he had recently asked for a more detailed statement of war aims, including the Government's attitude towards Czechoslovakia, the Prime Minister had said that one of this country's war aims was the liberation of the Czechs from German domination.

The Chairman reminded the Committee that the Executive had made it clear in its document that the restoration of Czechoslovakia was just as essential as the restoration of Poland in any settlement which might come about as a result of the war. He hoped Members of Parliament would continue to press this point on the Government.

38. THE FAR EAST. On the suggestion of Mr. Noel Baker it was agreed that, on the occasion of the 28th anniversary of the foundation of the Chinese Republic, the Chairman should be asked, on behalf of the Executive, to send to the Chinese Ambassador for communication to General Chiang Kai-shek, a message of its warm greetings to the Chinese people, its deep admiration for their fortitude in the cause of international law and resistance to aggression, and its congratulations to the leader of the Chinese armies on their recent victories.

*Lipson*

CHAIRMAN.

October 19th, 1939.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE  
COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION  
HELD AT 60, ST. MARTIN'S LANE, LONDON,  
W.C.2 ON THURSDAY, OCTOBER 19TH, 1939  
AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Professor S. Brodetsky, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Lord Cecil, Miss J. Corcoran, Miss K.D. Courtney, Vice-Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss P. Fawcett, W. Arnold Forster, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, D.L. Lipson M.P., J. Macdonald, G. de M. Mander M.P., Dr. Gilbert Murray, F.J. Noel Baker M.P., Miss E. Rathbone M.P. and Major Freshwater.

349. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on October 12th, 1939 were confirmed.

350. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On minute 343 - 331 - HEADWAY and QUARTERLY NEWS, Mr. Syrett, who was unable to be present, had asked the Secretary to report that two copies of the agreement between the Focus Company and the Union had been prepared, one of which had been sent to Sir Robert Waley Cohen for signature. There remained, however, one comparatively small question outstanding in the agreement which Sir Robert wished to have settled before he signed the document. Mr. Syrett had suggested that it should be left to him and the other Officers to settle this matter with Sir Robert Waley Cohen. This suggestion was approved, and the Officers were given authority to complete the agreement.

The Chairman reported an interview which, in accordance with the Executive's request, he had had with Mr. le Prevost on October 12th concerning his projected new quarterly, TO-MORROW. (A note of the interview is filed with these minutes).

Mr. Arnold Forster drew the attention of the Executive to Mr. le Prevost's position in regard to his new quarterly and to HEADWAY. Some members felt that difficulties might be created for him if, while publishing his new quarterly as a private venture of his own, he acted in a voluntary capacity as Editor of HEADWAY. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That it be left to the Officers and Mr. Arnold Forster to discuss with Mr. le Prevost questions arising out of his projected new quarterly as they affect the Union and the future editorship of HEADWAY; and to report to the Executive."

On Minute 343 - 331 - Public Meetings, the Chairman read to the Executive replies he had received to his two letters from Mr. Raymond Jones of the Ministry of Information.

In the first letter it was stated that individual applications for extra rations of petrol could be made according to normal procedure to the Divisional Petroleum Officers, but that the primary aim of the rationing scheme was one of conserving supplies of petrol to meet essential war requirements, and that all possible use should be made of alternative means of transport. Mr. Jones had promised, however, to see if it was possible to pursue the matter any further on the lines the Union had suggested.

In the second letter, Mr. Jones had thanked the Executive for their offer of collaboration in the matter of meetings and speakers. The Ministry would be interested to know of any meetings or lectures which the Union had already fixed, and would be glad to discuss the matter with Mr. Arnold Forster.

Mr. Arnold Forster reported that the small sub-Committee, appointed by the Executive on October 5th (minute 335) had held two meetings. A circular letter had been sent to all the Union's prospective speakers, asking whether they would be available for future meetings and, if so, in what areas they would be prepared to speak. When replies had been received it was proposed to organise the Union's work in regard to public meetings on a regional basis.

On Minute 343 - 338 - 21st Birthday, in the absence of Mr. Pritchard a report on this item was adjourned until the next meeting.

On Minute 344 - Federal Union, it was reported that copies of Lord Davies' article in THE NEW COMMONWEALTH had been circulated to the Union's Officers. Observations by Mr. Syrett were read to the Committee, and oral statements were made by the Chairman, Lord Cecil and Miss Courtney. After considerable discussion it was agreed to ask the Chairman, in the light of the discussion, to prepare a paper dealing with Federal Union from the point of view of the Union in the manner in which Lord Davies' article dealt with the subject from the New Commonwealth's point of view; and that the Chairman's paper, after being discussed and approved by the Officers, be circulated to the Executive for their consideration.

On Minute 345 - Meetings of Executive, the Chairman reported that, since he was not now taking up Government work, the suggestions he had put to the Committee at their last meeting no longer arose. He was, however, not sure that

it was necessary for the Executive to continue to meet each week, either to transact its own business or for the purpose of discussing the international situation. Lord Cecil hoped that the Executive would, at the present moment, do nothing which might be interpreted as a slackening of its efforts, and, on the motion of Mr. Arnold Forster, it was

RESOLVED: "That meetings of the Executive continue to be held at 11 a.m. each Thursday until Christmas, and that the matter be then further considered."

On Minute 346 - Advisory Committees of the Executive, the Chairman read a note (filled with these minutes) prepared by the Secretary in accordance with the Executive's request containing the following proposals in regard to the principal advisory Committees of the Executive (Finance, Christian Organisations, Industrial Advisory and Youth Committees, and the Women's Advisory Council):-

Since it was no longer possible with the present greatly reduced budget and staff for the advisory Committees to function as they did prior to the war, or for them to continue to have regular meetings of the full Committees, but since it was desirable that the constructive, as distinguished from the administrative, work of the advisory Committees should continue, responsibility for that constructive work should be undertaken by small working committees on the lines proposed by the Dean of Chichester in minute 346 of the Executive. This could be done by one of the following ways:

- (a) by calling a meeting of the full Committee and asking it to set up a small working committee;
- (b) by writing to all the members of the Committee, asking them to authorise their Chairman and perhaps another member of the Committee to appoint a small working committee; or
- (c) by the Executive itself appointing these small working committees.

Minutes of the meetings of the small working committees would not be circulated either to members or to the Executive, but whenever the small working committees wished to give information to the Executive or to obtain its authority for a particular action, a representative of the committee would report to the Executive, as a general rule orally.



The Administration Committee was not an advisory Committee but an executive body with powers delegated to it by the Executive and was, in effect, an extension of the Executive itself. One of the reasons for its existence was to make possible a more adequate consideration of the minutes of the various advisory Committees. Since, if the above proposals were adopted, the advisory Committees would in future meet seldom, if at all, while the reports of the small working committees would be made direct to the Executive, a large part of the work of the Administration Committee would be done away with. The other part could be done by administrative action authorised in some cases by the Officers of the Union and in others by the Chairman of the Committee (who was also the Chairman of the Executive) who might be advised by a small working committee on the lines of the existing Membership sub-Committee.

It was

RESOLVED: "That the above proposals be approved and adopted; and that it be left to the Secretary to arrange with the Chairmen of the Advisory Committees for the appointment of their small working committees."

On Minute 348 - The Far East, the Chairman reported a telegram he had received from General Chiang Kai-shek, thanking the Executive for their encouraging message and expressing the hope that the recent successes of the Chinese forces were but a prelude to their complete victory.

351. WAR AIMS. Mr. Noel Baker suggested that the Union should do all in its power to stimulate an immediate campaign by the Branches on the basis of the Executive's memorandum WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR. He hoped that the document would be made available in printed form and all Branches urged to hold meetings and study groups of their members to discuss it, and to initiate correspondence in their local press on the subject. He hoped also that the opportunity would be taken through HEADWAY to keep Branches informed of speeches on war aims by important persons; he quoted, as an instance, the recent speech by M. Daladier.

It was reported that a wide distribution was being given by Union Branches to the Executive's memorandum. Several thousands of copies had already been supplied in response to Branch requests, and an outline of four study circle discussions on the subject was in course of preparation in the office. Reference was made to Dr. Gilbert Murray's article in the October HEADWAY on "What Branches and Members can do", which asked Branches to act as Mr. Baker had suggested.

Lord Cecil thought that, while the Executive's memorandum was a useful document for communication to people who

were convinced supporters of the League of Nations, a shorter document on somewhat different lines would be needed for a great popular movement in the country.

Mr. Mander suggested that Branch activity in this matter might be linked up with the meeting of the Assembly of the League which the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs had stated was likely to be held before Christmas. Branches might be asked to urge that a statement on the lines of the Union's memorandum should be made by the British delegation to the Assembly.

Professor Brodetsky expressed the opinion that Youth organisations in the country were feeling perplexed on the question of war aims, and suggested that a conference should be held forthwith in order to discuss the matter and reach agreement with them. There was great perplexity regarding this country's attitude towards Russia, in view of her action in Poland. A discussion on this subject followed in which many members of the Executive took part.

Miss Corcoran agreed that it would be of great value if the Union would call a conference of the leaders of various Youth organisations to discuss war aims with them. This question more than any other was agitating Youth at the present time, and the speeches of the Prime Minister gave them no confidence that the war aims of the Government were on the lines that they would wish for.

After further discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That further consideration be given at the next meeting to the desirability of making the Executive's memorandum on WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR available in a printed and more popular form;

- (2) That Miss Corcoran be asked to prepare, for consideration at the next meeting, specific proposals for a conference with Youth organisations, including the names of the organisations which might be invited to send representatives and the subjects which might be discussed."

(Note. Before the decisions recorded above were taken, Lord Lytton left the meeting and the Chair was taken by Miss Courtney.)

H. D. Courtney

CHAIRMAN

October 26th 1939

Note of interview between Lord Lytton and Mr. le Prevost on October 12th, 1939, at 18, Chester Street.  
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At Lord Lytton's request I was present at an interview he had yesterday at his house with Mr. le Prevost.

Lord Lytton told Mr. le Prevost that the Executive had been informed of a circular from HEADWAY, 19, Devereux Court, announcing the publication of a new Quarterly with the provisional title of TO-MORROW to take the place of the QUARTERLY NEWS. The circular stated what the policy of the Quarterly would be, that it would place at the disposal of such men as Viscount Cecil and Dr. Murray a new instrument of leadership, and quoted particulars of price and carriage.

Mr. le Prevost said that TO-MORROW was a private venture of his own and that he was putting £100 into it. Sir Robert Waley Cohen had, at some time, said that the QUARTERLY NEWS (which the Focus had bought from Mr. Brinton) was not to be continued. It was not really making a profit: as a result of a year's work receipts had exceeded the cost of printing by £100 but that allowed nothing for overheads and other expenses. Mr. le Prevost had made reference to this in conversation with Mr. Syrett, who had said that the Union did not want to risk anything in connection with the paper. Mr. le Prevost was conscious of the steps that were being taken for the Union to take over HEADWAY and the liabilities and assets of the Company, and took what Sir Robert and Mr. Syrett had said as indicating that QUARTERLY NEWS would not continue to be published. To interrupt the publication of a quarterly made it difficult to get the thing going again. Having himself been responsible for the production of the last number or two of the QUARTERLY NEWS, and having a desire that the good work he considered it was doing should be continued, he formed the idea of himself producing a periodical to take the place of the QUARTERLY. As he had been Editor of HEADWAY for a number of years, knowledge of that fact would tell in favour of the projected new quarterly. He had mentioned the matter to Sir Norman Angell and also to Dr. Murray, and had been encouraged by what they had said. He thought that Sir Norman might have mentioned the matter to the Executive.

Lord Lytton thought that the new journal would be of help in the work of the Union and expressed appreciation of Mr. le Prevost's action. But why had Mr. le Prevost used HEADWAY paper to make his announcement and why had he not made it clear that the venture was a private one? The circular, being on paper headed HEADWAY and having the names of the Editorial Board on

it, gave the impression that the new quarterly was being produced by HEADWAY.

Mr. le Prevost said that he had not given any particular thought to the letter paper. He knew that the Union did not purpose continuing to use the office at Devereux Court so that the paper really had become practically useless. He was entitled to make use of his connection with HEADWAY and this particular letter paper was one way of doing it. He was sorry that his use of the paper had caused misunderstanding and apologised for it.

Lord Lytton accepted that apology, but reminded Mr. le Prevost that till the end of September he had certainly been in the service of the Focus Company and was now in the service either of the Union or of the Company. He therefore ought to have had some authority from one or the other for announcing the cessation of the QUARTERLY NEWS and the projected production of TO-MORROW to take its place. Lord Lytton also expressed some surprise that, although the circular had been sent out to supporters of the League movement in various parts of the country in September, the only information any of the Officers of the Union had were a few words in a note I had received from Mr. le Prevost on the morning of October 5th just before the meeting of the Executive stating that he was proposing to launch, at his own expense, and risk, a quarterly in place of the QUARTERLY NEWS and asking if the Union could give some financial help. I read extracts, including the following, from a reply which I had sent to that letter on the same day in consultation with Mr. Syrett and after it had been approved by Miss Courtney:

As regards the quarterly you contemplate launching, we do not want it to be, or have any appearance of being, a journal of the Union or that the Union has any connection with it. Should you decide to proceed with the scheme, it will really be no concern of the Union's any more than if some other member of the Union were to embark on a similar venture."

Lord Lytton pointed out that that letter provided an opportunity for making the position clearer. I expressed regret that such advantage had not been taken of it because the previous day (Wednesday, October 11th) I had been speaking to a Branch Secretary on the telephone, who, during the conversation, had made

reference to the new quarterly TO-MORROW. I had asked her what the quarterly was; she was greatly surprised at this because the new quarterly was being produced by HEADWAY and it was because of that she was giving favourable consideration to the possibility of placing an order for it. I had told her that, whether or not it was produced by the Union, should she find that it would help the Branch in its work it would be quite in order to use it.

Lord Lytton referred to Mr. le Prevost's offer to edit HEADWAY gratuitously, and the Executive's acceptance of it, and supposed that Mr. le Prevost would be doing the new quarterly along with it. Mr. le Prevost indicated agreement.

A.J.C. FRESHWATER.

13.10.39.

ADVISORY COMMITTEES OF THE EXECUTIVE.

The principal advisory Committees are the Finance, Christian Organisations, Industrial Advisory and Youth Committees, and the Women's Advisory Council.

It is no longer possible with a greatly reduced budget and staff for the advisory Committees to function as they did prior to the War, or for them to continue to have regular meetings of the full Committees; nor is it possible to prepare and distribute as formerly the various minutes and other documents to the members of the Committees or to the Executive.

It is, however, desirable that the constructive, as distinguished from the administrative, work of these Committees should continue, and to that end it is suggested that responsibility for that constructive work should be undertaken by small working committees on the lines proposed by the Dean of Chichester at the Executive's meeting on October 12th.

This could be done by one of the following ways:

- (a) by calling a meeting of the full Committee and asking it to set up a small working committee;
- (b) by writing to all the members of the Committee asking them to authorise their Chairman and perhaps another member of the Committee to appoint a small working committee; or
- (c) by the Executive itself appointing these small working committees.

Minutes of the meetings of the small working committees would not be circulated either to members or to the Executive, but whenever the small working committees wished to give information to the Executive or to obtain its authority for a particular action, a representative of the committee would report to the Executive, as a general rule, orally. Administrative action normally is authorised by the Secretary of the Union and carried out departmentally.

There is already a Standing Committee of the Women's Advisory Council which Committee could be invited to advise about work with Women's Organisations.

A small working committee of the National Youth Committee is already in being (Executive minute No. 293 of September 7th.)

The Administration Committee is not an advisory Committee but an executive body with powers delegated to it by the Executive. It is, in effect, an extension of the Executive itself. One of the reasons for its existence was to make possible a more adequate consideration of the minutes of the various advisory Committees. Since, if the above proposals are adopted, the advisory Committees will in future meet seldom, if at all, while the reports of the small working committees will be made direct to the Executive, a large part of the work of the Administration Committee will be done away with. The other part can be done by administrative action authorised in some cases by the Officers of the Union and in others by the Chairman of the Committee (who is also the Chairman of the Executive) who might be advised by a small working committee on the lines of the existing Membership sub-Committee.

The Education Council is to work with powers delegated to it by the Executive and to report to the Executive from time to time; the appointment of a working committee is now being brought about by method (b) above.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE  
COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION  
HELD AT NO. 60, ST. MARTIN'S LANE, LONDON,  
W.C.2, ON THURSDAY, OCTOBER 26TH, 1939  
AT 11 a.m.

PRESENT: Miss K.D. Courtney (in the Chair),  
Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Lord Cecil,  
Miss J. Concoran, Mrs. E. Dugdale,  
Miss P. Fawcett, W. Arnold Forster,  
Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, D.L. Lipson  
M.P., J. Macdonald, G. le M. Mander M.P.,  
Brig. General L.C.P. Milman, Dr. Gilbert  
Murray, P.J. Noel-Baker M.P., W.T.  
Fritchard, Miss E. Rathbone M.P., H.S.  
Syrett, Major Lawrence Wright and Major  
Freshwater.

352. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on October 19th, 1939, were confirmed.

353. REPORT BY OFFICERS. Lord Cecil reported that the Officers had met on the previous day when the following decisions had been taken:

- (a) Focus Company. To authorise Mr. Syrett to settle all outstanding matters with the Focus Company and to arrange for the closing down of 19, Devereux Court without delay.
- (b) HEADWAY. HEADWAY to be produced from 60, St. Martin's Lane, and to be edited by Mr. le Prevost who would receive an honorarium at the rate of £100 a year. The Editor would consult with Mr. Arnold Forster as representing the Executive, and with the Chairman of the Executive. It was suggested that each number of HEADWAY might contain a technical article by a recognised authority, e.g. the economic position by Sir Arthur Salter.
- (c) Quarterly. No objection to be taken to Mr. le Prevost publishing, as a private venture of his own, a quarterly to take the place of the QUARTERLY NEWS. Care to be taken to make it clear that the quarterly was not an organ of the Union and that the Union had no responsibility for it. The Union would, however, purchase a number of copies of each issue at the same price as it paid for the QUARTERLY NEWS for distribution to Branch Secretaries and to those Branches who undertook to distribute copies to their half-crown members.
- (d) News Sheet. The News Sheet to be published monthly in future.

(e) To accept with regret Miss White's resignation to enable her to take up an appointment with the Ministry of Information, and to invite Mr. Fanshawe to take her place in the Intelligence Department if he were willing to accept the post at Miss White's salary.

(f) Finance. In view of the growing work in the Cashier's department, to authorise the recall of Miss Lewis as a ledger clerk.

The above report from the Officers was approved.

In regard to (b) it was suggested that Captain Liddell Hart, Mr. R.S. Hudson and Sir Walter Layton might each be invited to contribute a "technical" article for HEADWAY. It was also suggested that the peace aims, not only of Britain and France, but also of Czechoslovakia and Poland and if possible of Germany and Russia, should be taken into account, and that this might provide an interesting series of articles for HEADWAY. A further suggestion was made for articles dealing with different European countries, their frontiers, geographical positions etc.

On (c) it was reported that over 100,000 copies of the October NEWS SHEET had been distributed, which was more than double the number of previous issues.

In regard to (e) Lord Cecil explained that Miss White had been in great doubt about leaving the Union and before doing so had consulted the Officers, including himself. Mr. Fanshawe had fortunately been willing to succeed Miss White at her salary, and was beginning work at once. The Executive asked that there should be conveyed to Miss White an expression of their deep regret at her resignation and their sense of gratitude for the valuable work she had done for the Union.

354. 21ST BIRTHDAY. Mr. Pritchard reported that a letter had been sent to the Dean of St. Paul's, making the suggestion contained in minute 343 in regard to the Service in St. Paul's Cathedral on November 4th. A reply had not yet been received, but since the subject of the Dean's address was "A Christian Peace", and since he was President of the London Federation for the current year, it was assumed that Dr. Matthews would speak of the Union's policy in regard to war aims and peace terms in the course of his address.

Mr. Pritchard also referred to the projected celebration in the Albert Hall on December 2nd, and it was

RESOLVED: "That, having regard to all the circumstances, the proposed demonstration in the Albert Hall on December 2nd be abandoned; and that

the action already taken in cancelling the booking of the hall for that date be confirmed."

355. FEDERAL UNION. The draft memorandum dealing with the proposals for Federal Union from the point of view of the Union had not yet been received from Lord Lytton. It was hoped it would be available for consideration at the next meeting.

Reference was made to a speech delivered by the Archbishop of York at a meeting arranged by the Scarborough Branch of the Union in which, according to THE TIMES, he was reported to have said that national sovereignty and collective security were incompatible and it was for that reason that the League had not worked. It was suggested that Lord Cecil might see his way to write a letter to THE TIMES pointing out that there was real curtailment of national sovereignty in the Covenant, and that the abrogation of national sovereignty in regard to sanctions etc. could work if the Powers concerned had the will to make it do so.

Lord Cecil thought that what was needed was a detailed explanation of exactly what national sovereignty meant. Every treaty was in fact an infringement of national sovereignty. The League had, in some respects, to infringe national sovereignty, for instance it took away the right of war, but it did not propose to substitute for the sovereignty of States a new sovereignty of the League, whereas Federal Union did, in fact, propose to have a new sovereignty.

It was suggested that, since the main argument in favour of Federal Union was based on the question of national sovereignty, it would be desirable for a short treatise on the subject to be made available. The Oxford University Press might be willing to produce such a pamphlet in their new series, and Professor Brierly might be invited to write it.

After discussion it was agreed that further consideration should be given to this matter when Lord Lytton's memorandum was available, and that, in the meantime, Mr. Arnold Forster should be asked to write a short article on national sovereignty and the Covenant for inclusion in the November HEADWAY.

356. 15. GROSVENOR CRESCENT. Mr. Syrett reported that a substantial list of dilapidations in respect of 15, Grosvenor Crescent had been received from the landlords' solicitors. He suggested that arrangements should be made for the claim to be assessed on the understanding that, if the figure exceeded £200 or £300, the Union would have to defer settlement until after the war. To this end, he had instructed a surveyor to go into the matter with the landlords' surveyor and endeavour to agree upon a figure.



The action taken by Mr. Syrett was approved.

357. INDIA. The present position in regard to the Indian Constitution was discussed, and several members suggested that proposals on this subject should be included in the war aims.

Lord Cecil expressed the opinion that the granting of dominion status to India had nothing to do with the result of the war, and that it would merely confuse the issue to include such proposals in any war aims. It was a matter on which the Government could take action in the ordinary execution of its duties.

After further discussion it was agreed that any member of the Executive who wished to propose action by the Union in regard to the Indian constitution should prepare a specific resolution for consideration by the Committee at its next meeting.

358. WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR. The Executive considered the desirability of making the Union's memorandum on WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR available in a shorter and more popular form.

Lord Cecil felt that if the essential issues in the Executive's memorandum were to be retained, it would not be possible to produce the document in a greatly reduced form. If a popular appeal was needed it should, he suggested, be confined to two main propositions: (1) that we were fighting in order to prevent the success of the conquests of Poland and Czechoslovakia because they were, in effect, an attack on public security, and (2) having succeeded in that, some kind of international organisation must be set up which would prevent such a thing happening again.

Mr. Noel-Baker, while in favour of having a more popular statement, hoped that the memorandum on WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR would continue to be used as the Union's principle document on the subject. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the memorandum on WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR be made available in printed form, with the price quoted on the cover."

- (2) "That Lord Cecil be asked to prepare for publication a shorter statement on the lines he had suggested; and that, when that document is printed, reference be made in it to the longer memorandum on WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR, copies of which would be supplied on application to the Secretary of the Union."

It was suggested that HEADWAY and the NEWS SHEET should draw attention to the fact that the memorandum on WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR would be available in printed form.

359. CONFERENCE OF YOUTH ORGANISATIONS. Miss Corcoran reported that a conference was to be held, under the auspices of the Association for Education in Citizenship, on November 12th in which the B.Y.P.A. and other organisations were taking part and which, it was hoped, would be attended by some 300 to 400 people. The conference, while not discussing the international situation as such, would consider various problems which were confronting young people in war time, and would provide a useful test of the strength of the Youth movement at the present time. In these circumstances, she suggested that the Union should defer any action in regard to calling a conference of Youth organisations until after the A.E.C.'s conference had taken place. In the meantime the National Youth Committee would communicate with leading persons in the different Youth organisations in order that definite proposals might then be made. Miss Corcoran hoped that the Union's conference, if held, would be confined to those who were in broad agreement with the Union's policy of peace aims and the work to be done in furtherance of those aims.

It was

RESOLVED: "That further consideration be given to the question of calling a conference of Youth organisations in the light of the results achieved by the Conference to be held by the Association for Education in Citizenship on November 12th."

360. LEAGUE'S REPORT ON NUTRITION. A letter written to Lord Cecil by Miss C. Clepham was reported, suggesting that the Union should take an active interest in promoting the findings of the League of Nations Report on "The Relation of Nutrition to Health, Agriculture and Economic Policy" now that war conditions made it an urgent matter. It was suggested that, to this end, the Union might help in arranging lectures in co-operation with the Women's Institutes and the British Red Cross.

Mr. Arnold Forster stated that the League's report contained much valuable material and he hoped the suggestion would be given careful consideration. He suggested that Lord Astor might be consulted as to the means of giving publicity to the findings of the Report.

The attention of the Committee was drawn to a memorandum prepared by the Intelligence department,

summarising the League's Report, and reference was made to work already being done on the subject by other bodies, notably the Children's Nutrition Council and the International Association for Social Progress. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That through HEADWAY and the NEWS SHEET the attention of Branches be called to the Union's memorandum dealing with the League's Report on Nutrition and to the desirability of meetings being held on the subject."

361. *report of* AUSTRIA. Mr. Mander reported that he was informed that in Austria ~~the~~ important groups of people were actively working for restoration of the monarchy. It had been represented to him that, whatever the opinions of a certain number of the Austrian ancien régime might be, the great mass of Austrian middle and working classes had no interest in the restoration of the monarchy and their views would not be, in any way, represented in any agitation which was conducted to that end. Mr. Mander had been asked to make this known in this country in view of the active propaganda of the pro-monarchists.

Miss Rathbone said that similar representations had been made to her.

Dr. Murray drew attention to a statement on the subject appearing in a recent issue of the DAILY TELEGRAPH.

362. CANADA AND THE U.S.A. The Chairman reported a letter and enclosure she had received from Mr. Inch, the Secretary of the Canadian League of Nations Society, who had been having conversations with people in New York and elsewhere and who stressed the danger of trying to influence opinion in America.
363. PROFESSOR RUYSSSEN. The attention of the Executive was drawn to a farewell message written by Professor Ruyssen on his retirement from the Secretaryship of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies. Dr. Murray was asked to send a reply to Professor Ruyssen on behalf of the Executive Committee.
364. LEAFLETS OVER GERMANY. The Executive discussed the leaflets which were being scattered by the R.A.F. over Germany. The Committee were informed of the circumstances in which the text of the leaflets was no longer being published in the press.

*L. Lyell*  
CHAIRMAN  
November 2nd 1939

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION HELD AT 60, ST. MARTIN'S LANE, LONDON, W.C.2. ON THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 2ND, 1939 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams, M.P., Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Professor S. Brodetsky, Lord Cecil, the Dean of Chichester, Miss J. Concoran, Miss K.D. Courtney, Mrs. E. Dugdale, Miss P. Fawcett, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, Sir Arthur Haworth, D.L. Lipson, M.P., J. Macdonald, G. le M. Vander, M.P., P.J. Roel-baker, M.P., W.T. Pritchard, Miss E. Rathbone, M.P., H.S. Syrett, E. Wallis Jones, Major Lawrence Wright and Major Freshwater.

365. MINUTES. Subject to the insertion of the words 'respect of' before 'Austria', and to the deletion of the word 'two', in line two of minute 361, the minutes of the meeting held on October 28th, 1939 were confirmed.

366. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 355 - Federal Union, the Chairman reported that he had prepared a draft memorandum dealing with Federal Union, copies of which had been circulated to the other Officers. But before the memorandum was communicated to the Executive, the Officers felt it desirable to discuss the memorandum among themselves in order that an agreed document might be submitted. It was arranged that the Officers should meet on Wednesday, November 8th at Lord Lytton's house to consider the matter, so that an agreed memorandum (or alternatively Lord Lytton's memorandum with comments upon it by the other Officers) might be made available for members of the Executive on the following day for consideration at the meeting on November 16th.

The confusion existing in the public mind concerning the relation of Federal Union to the proposals contained in Clarence Streit's book was discussed. It was stated that Federal Union had been founded in September, 1938 whereas UNION NOW had not been published until January, 1939.

It was suggested that, when the Executive had agreed upon a memorandum setting forth the Union's attitude to Federal Union, the document should, before it was made public, be forwarded to the Secretary of Federal Union for confirmation of the Union's representation of the case for Federal Union. Alternatively, it was suggested that, when the Union's document was ready, one or two leading members of Federal Union might be invited to discuss it with the Executive Committee.

The Chairman expressed the hope that at some future meeting the Executive would discuss the problem created

by small States which were not strong enough to defend themselves. One solution lay in grouping together, into some sort of federal union, the small States, thus creating, in effect, a larger State equal in physical strength with its immediate neighbours; another solution was for the small states, while remaining independent so far as their government was concerned, to come under the friendly protection of one or other of their larger neighbours.

On Minute 359 - Conference of Youth Organisations, Miss Corcoran stated that recent inquiries had revealed that, despite the difficulty of present conditions, Youth Groups throughout the country were functioning in a very satisfactory manner. She felt that the position of Youth in the Union at the moment was extremely important, in view of the influence which the Youth Groups had exercised in the past with other Youth organisations in the B.Y.P.A., especially in counteracting pacifist tendencies. It had therefore been suggested that, preparatory to a national conference on the lines discussed at the last meeting, arrangements should be made for holding some ten smaller conferences during the next two or three months in large provincial centres, to which some 80 to 100 leaders of Youth Groups and other individuals who were known to support the L.N.U. policy should be invited. The purpose of the conferences would be to discuss the Union's recent statement of policy and future local activities. It was suggested that members of local Branches of the Union, who would be welcome at the conferences, might, by such means, receive much help and encouragement in their own work. The local conferences should be followed, say at the end of February, by a national conference in London to which representatives from the local conferences and other persons should be invited and in which it was hoped the Union's leaders would take part. The question of the staff and funds which would be required for the organisation of the conference was considered, and, after discussion, it was

**RESOLVED:** "That the proposal for a series of Youth Conferences be welcomed; that the Executive desires to do all it can, financially and otherwise, to help forward the proposal; and that Miss Corcoran be asked to prepare a detailed plan suggesting the towns in which the local conferences should be held and the approximate dates, together with proposals for the organisation and financing of the scheme, for consideration at the next meeting."

It was suggested that Miss Corcoran should discuss means of financing the scheme with the Treasurer and Secretary before submitting her memorandum.

387. PUBLIC MEETINGS ETC. Miss Courtney presented a report from the sub-Committee, and said that 19 new meetings (as compared with 6 a week ago) had been arranged. A total of 88 meetings in different parts of the country had now been arranged up to the end of the year, excluding a large number of meetings arranged locally, as for instance, 50 in Sheffield, 20 in Bradford and 12 in Leeds. Many Branches were holding discussion groups and study circles.

It was also reported that the London Regional Federation were organising a series of lunch-hour meetings in Westminster or the immediate neighbourhood.

388. WAR AIMS. The Executive had before them a draft of a short popular statement prepared by Lord Cecil (S.656) in response to the Committee's request at its last meeting, together with an alternative draft by the Chairman (S.658). After considerable discussion, during which amendments to Lord Cecil's draft were suggested, it was agreed to leave it to Lord Cecil and the Chairman to agree upon an amended draft for submission to the Executive at its next meeting.

The Chairman suggested that, in addition to printing and publishing the Executive's statement in the longer and shorter form, it was desirable that the Executive should discuss war aims on a more comprehensive basis, particularly from the point of view of the position of Russia, in order that the Committee might clear its own mind on the subject. Reference was made to the article by Sir Walter Layton appearing in the NEWS CHRONICLE that day.

389. PROPOSALS BY THE REVEREND R. GORDON MILBURN. The Executive had before them proposals by the Reverend R. Gordon Milburn (copy filed with these minutes) concerning electoral policy which might be adopted by the Union.

The Chairman felt that, although the policy suggested by Mr. Milburn might be desirable if the Union was in possession of sufficient funds and membership to influence election results, it would be dangerous for a society which was not sufficiently strong to take sides in electoral contests without being able to influence their results. After the Committee had recalled the procedure which was at present being followed in regard to By-Elections, it was

RESOLVED: "That when a Parliamentary seat becomes vacant the Secretary of the local Branch or Branches of the Union be requested to take such measures as they consider appropriate for ensuring that the Candidate selected by the local Committee is one who, irrespective of Party, supports the principles of the League of

Nations and the peace aims recommended by the Union."

370. INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION. A telegram from the Secretary of the International Federation was reported, suggesting that the meeting of the Federation Executive should be held on December 8th and 9th, following the meeting of the League Assembly which it was hoped would begin on December 4th.

Miss Courtney, Mr. Mander and Sir Arthur Haworth expressed their willingness to join the Union's delegation to a Federation meeting on those dates, and it was

RESOLVED: "That the Secretary of the International Federation be informed that a delegation from the Union will attend the meeting of the Federation on December 8th and 9th."

371. GENERAL COUNCIL. The Executive considered the agenda for the meeting of the General Council on November 30th and December 1st, and the following was approved:

1. Report on action taken by the Executive since the outbreak of War.
2. The Executive's Statements on War Aims and Peace Terms.

(The Council will be asked to approve the action of the Executive Committee in issuing the Statements, to endorse their terms and to urge Branches to do everything possible to secure support for them throughout the country.)

3. Financial Statement and Proposals for 1940.
4. The Work of the Union during the War period.

Discussion on item 4 would form part of the Council Meeting but would take the place of the Conference of Branch Secretaries hitherto held.

It was further agreed that a Procedure Committee should be appointed for the purpose of facilitating the conduct of the Council's business.

It was suggested that members of the Council would probably welcome the arranging of a social gathering in connection with the Council at which they could meet each other and talk over their mutual problems. It was agreed that arrangements should be made for a tea on the first day of the Council Meeting for which delegates should be invited to purchase tickets.

372. **WORLD UNITY.** The Executive were reminded of the resolution adopted by the General Council at its Birmingham meeting concerning the supply of literature to Foundation Members and others, and of the decision subsequently taken by the Administration Committee at its meeting on July 27th. Copies of a pamphlet written by Dr. Maxwell Garnett, entitled **WORLD UNITY** and published by the Oxford Press, were in this connection laid before the Executive.

Members of the Executive were asked to read the pamphlet in order that, at the next meeting, the question of distributing copies to Foundation Members and Branch Secretaries might be considered. But it was agreed that, in any event, the pamphlet should be made available at the forthcoming meeting of the General Council and that, for this purpose, a supply be taken on sale or return.

373. **OPTIONAL CLAUSE.** Lord Cecil read to the Executive a Reply which he had received from Sir Alexander Cadogan to the letter he had written him on October 10th (see minute 33c). A communication from the Swiss Government to Members of the League regarding the communications sent by the British and Dominion Governments on the subject of the Optional Clause was read to the Committee. In reply to certain suggestions regarding action which might be taken by the Union in the matter, Lord Cecil expressed the opinion that H.M. Government would not retract from the position they had taken up and that, if they were called upon to defend it, it would, in the public mind, merely emphasise the fact that they were abandoning the League of Nations.

(Note. During the discussion on the above item Lord Lytton left the meeting and the Chair was taken by Miss Courtney.)

374. **LEAGUE ASSEMBLY.** Mr. Noel Baker said that representative Friends of the League in France had expressed doubts concerning the wisdom of holding an Assembly at the present time.

Lord Cecil hoped that the British and French Foreign Secretaries would go to the Assembly and explain the circumstances in which they had gone to war with Germany, and state that, in view of the circumstances in which they had not consulted the League beforehand, they could not ask the Member States at the present time to take any active steps; but that, at the same time, they adhered to the principles of the League and were determined to re-establish international co-operation at the end of the war, although



it must be of a stronger character than had existed up to now. Lord Cecil reminded the Executive that he had already spoken on this subject to the Foreign Secretary (see minute 324) and suggested that other members might also discuss the matter with Lord Halifax.

After a short discussion it was agreed further to consider the matter at the next meeting.

*Lytton*  
*Chairman*

November 9th, 1939

UNION POLICY.PROPOSALS BY THE REVEREND R. GORDON MILBURN.

- (i) The L.N.U. to adopt the Salvemini principle that it is the duty of idealists, such as the voluntary associations for the support of the Covenant, to concern themselves with the shortcomings of their own Governments. Each land to keep its own Government faithful, not only in word but in deed.
- (ii) To do this by means of electoral sanctions. These are not to consist of merely asking candidates whether they approve of the League of Nations, but to include the following:
  - (a) A black list of M.P.'s who have acted or spoken contrary to the Covenant and active opposition to them at future elections unless they recant and promise real amendment.
  - (b) The preparation of a list of potential candidates to fight members of their own party who are on the black list.
  - (c) The exaction from candidates, not of opinions, but of an explicit pledge that in the event of a Government's, or a party executive's, acting in violation of the Covenant they will vote against it on that issue.
- (iii) Active concern with any apparent violation of the spirit or letter of the Covenant by the Government.
- (iv) The assertion of the principle that within certain defined limits the obligations of the Covenant are joint and several. (One might even say 'especially several'.)
- (v) This policy to be pursued for seven years.

Copy

Foreign Office,  
S.W.1.CONFIDENTIAL

23rd October, 1938.

Dear Lord Cecil,

I have now gone into the question raised in your letter of the 10th October of the wording of our communication to the League regarding the Optional Clause. It seems to us that it would be a fairer description of our note to say that it constituted a frank recognition of an obvious state of affairs from which certain logical conclusions had to be drawn. On the approach of war His Majesty's Government had only two alternative courses so that which they finally took. They could have left their obligations under the Optional Clause as they were, with all the dangerous possibilities of being taken to arbitration with consequent interference with the exercise of our belligerent rights, or they could have brought the question of German aggression before the League and attempted to have Article 17 applied, which would have meant delay and resulted in a complete demonstration of the League's ineffectiveness over this issue. There is also the probability that the Swiss Government might have prohibited any meeting of the League for the purpose of denouncing Germany as an aggressor.

These two courses having been ruled out, after careful consideration, we concluded that the only right and prudent course was to state the facts and demonstrate the fundamental change in the situation from that which existed when we signed the Optional Clause. In doing so we reserved our rights as League members for use should we eventually be taken to arbitration, but, recalling the terms of our memorandum of 1922, we asserted that the fundamental change in the position then described as a hypothetical possibility had in fact taken place. Not only, as a result of what happened at the Assembly in 1938 (the significance of which is perhaps not always fully appreciated) had practically all members of the League withdrawn from any practical application of Article 16 of the Covenant, but a number of them had even, in advance of the outbreak of war, proclaimed their neutrality. In the face of this we felt completely justified in refusing to regard our acceptance of the Optional Clause as covering disputes arising out of events during the war. To have acted

- 2 -

otherwise would, we think, have led us into serious dangers.

I should regret it if our action were treated as an abandonment of League ideals or of our belief in an international system for maintaining peace. The latter has been affirmed by the Prime Minister as one of our ideals after the achievement of victory, and I hope and believe that few people will regard our letter to the League as more than a statement of the plain though very regrettable facts. If there should be any widespread confusion and suggestion that it implied an abandonment of our belief in international co-operation for peace, I have no doubt that it would be possible to take steps to correct this.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) ALEC CADOGAN.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION HELD AT NO. 60, ST. MARTIN'S LANE, LONDON, W.C.2, ON THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 9TH, 1939 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Lady Violet Bonham Carter, F.M. Burris, Lord Cecil, Mrs. Jugsdale, Miss P. Rawcett, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, J. Macdonald, C. de M. Mander M.P., Dr. Gilbert Murray, P.J. Noel-Baker M.P., W.T. Pritchard, Miss E. Rathbone M.P., H.S. Syrett, and Major Froshwater.

375. 21ST BIRTHDAY. The Executive were reminded that November 8th marked the 21st anniversary of the formal amalgamation of the League of Nations Society with the League of Free Nations Association to form the League of Nations Union. The present meeting was being held on the 21st anniversary (November 9th) of the first meeting of the Executives of the Society and the Association as the temporary Executive Committee of the L.N.U.

The Committee expressed congratulations and good wishes to Dr. Murray and Lord Dickinson who had been present at that first meeting, and gratitude for all that they had done for the Union. The Secretary was asked to convey the Executive's message to Lord Dickinson by telegram.

376. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on November 2nd, 1939 were confirmed.

377. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 366 - 355 - Federal Union, the Chairman reported that the Officers had met on the previous day and at their request he had prepared a memorandum, taking as a basis the memoranda already written by Lord Cecil and himself and embodying points raised by the other Officers. Lord Lytton read to the Executive a précis of the memorandum and stated that copies of the full document would be circulated by post to all members for consideration at the meeting on November 16th. It was hoped that the memorandum would be available for general circulation at the meeting of the General Council on November 30th.

Lord Cecil reported a conversation he had had with Mr. Ransom, one of the leaders of the Federal Union movement. After discussion it was agreed to adjourn until the next meeting consideration of the procedure to be followed in regard to discussing the Union's memorandum with representatives of Federal Union.

On Minute 370 - International Federation, Dr. Murray stated that it was proposed to hold the next meeting of the Committee of Intellectual Co-operation at Geneva and, if that meeting took place, he hoped to be able to join the Union's delegation to the International Federation on December 8th and 9th.

Dr. Murray read to the Executive a letter which, on behalf of the Executive and at their request, he had written to Professor Ruysen in reply to his farewell message on his retirement from the Secretaryship of the International Federation. It was agreed that copies of Dr. Murray's letter should be circulated to members of the Executive.

378. LEAGUE ASSEMBLY. Mr. Mander reported on a conversation which, following the discussions at the Executive's last meeting, had taken place between Mr. Lipson, Mr. Noel-Baker and himself, and Mr. R.A. Butler. Mr. Butler had asked that the Executive Committee should be informed that the British Government was anxious, within limits, to recognise the existence of the League and that they were, at the present time, in telephonic conversation with the Secretariat and other Governments in order to arrange for a meeting of the Council and Assembly. The question of Palestine would, it was understood, not be raised at the Council meeting since agreement had been reached with the Jews that the Report of the Mandates Commission should not be considered. Mr. Mander and his fellow-members of the Executive had suggested to Mr. Butler that the Foreign Secretary should take the opportunity provided by the Assembly of making a statement on war aims on the lines of his recent broadcast. Mr. Butler had replied that, for various reasons, Lord Halifax did not wish to do that, unless indeed such a statement was demanded as a result of speeches from other delegates.

The question of the British delegation to the Council and Assembly was discussed and, after several suggestions had been made, it was agreed to ask the Chairman to write to Lord Halifax, expressing the Executive's appreciation of the interview which Mr. Butler had given to Mr. Mander, Mr. Lipson and Mr. Noel-Baker, and expressing the Executive's hope that H.M. Government would consider the desirability of including Mr. Eden and the Dominion representatives now visiting this country in the delegation to the League Assembly.

Lord Cecil thought that, in view of the great uncertainty existing in the country on the subject of war aims, nothing would be likely more to impress both this country and the world in general than a public advertisement that H.M. Government intended to try and re-establish an international authority.

379. GENERAL COUNCIL: APPOINTMENT OF PROCEDURE COMMITTEE. Lady Hall was appointed a member of the Committee and she and the Secretary were authorised to appoint the two other members. The hope was expressed that Mr. Clift would again be able to serve.

380. FINANCE COMMITTEE.

- (a) Working Committee. Mr. Syrett reported that the Finance Committee had met on November 7th and had appointed a small Working Committee consisting of himself, Mr. Pritchard, Major Wright and Major Freshwater.
- (b) Mr. Hawkey. Mr. Hawkey had written to the Treasurer and Secretary concerning his right to three months' notice from the Union instead of the one month's notice which had been given to him and other members of the staff whose services were suspended on October 2nd. The position had been explained to Mr. Hawkey and he had been asked whether, in the light of that explanation, he wished to make a formal legal claim for an additional two months' salary. If so, such claim would be laid before the Executive.
- (c) Library. It had been agreed to authorise the payment of a membership subscription to the London Library for Mr. Fanshawe to enable him to consult books which he would have been able to use from the Union's Library had it not been removed to Badminton.

Sir John Harris asked whether, if the voluntary services of a trained librarian could be secured, it would be possible to continue the issue of books on loan from the Union's library at Badminton. The Secretary reported that Miss Courtney and Mr. Judd were endeavouring to make such an arrangement with Miss Baker, the Headmistress of Badminton School, where the books were now housed. Sir John Harris was asked to discuss with Miss Courtney any suggestions he might be able to make.

- (d) Staff. The Finance Committee had given consideration to certain hard cases among members of the 'suspended' staff who had not yet obtained other employment. The Committee had agreed for the present to leave it to the Treasurer and Secretary to take such action as was in their opinion desirable.

381. WORLD UNITY. Mr. Syrett reported that the Finance Committee had considered the suggestion that copies of Dr. Garnett's pamphlet, WORLD UNITY, might be distributed to all Branch Secretaries and Foundation Members of the Union but that, in the present financial position, they were unable to recommend such action. The Finance Committee, however, viewed with favour the Executive's

proposal that copies of the pamphlet should be made available at the forthcoming meeting of the General Council for purchase by those attending the meeting.

392. NATIONAL YOUTH COMMITTEE. The Chairman drew the attention of the Executive to a circular letter and two statements which the National Youth Committee desired to send to Secretaries of Youth Groups on the subject of war aims and peace terms. The purpose of the letter was to ascertain for the guidance of the National Youth Committee the views of Youth Groups on the Executive's memorandum, WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR, before it was submitted to the General Council; the statements represented the views of certain members of the Youth Committee and the views in one of the statements were widely divergent from those set forth in the Executive's memorandum.

Lord Cecil expressed the opinion that the purpose of the National Youth Committee could well be met by circulating to Youth Groups the Executive's statement with an inquiry whether they agreed with the statement or, if not, in what respects they would like to see it amended.

After considerable discussion, during which Mr. Judd and Mr. Gauntlett explained the circumstances in which the alternative statements had been prepared, it was

**RESOLVED:** "That the Union's machinery be not used for circulating the two alternative statements of policy to Youth Groups."

In reply to Mr. Noel Baker, the Chairman said that no objection would be raised to the statements being circulated by their respective authors on their own behalf and at their own expense.

The Chairman further said that, if amendments to the Executive's statement were received from accredited persons, they would, of course, be circulated for consideration at the meeting of the General Council.

383. YOUTH CONFERENCES. The Executive had before them a memorandum (S.660) prepared in accordance with minute 359 of the last meeting (copy filed with these minutes). The Chairman said that although he had hoped to receive a memorandum containing a detailed programme for the proposed conferences with the names of the towns and approximate dates at which the conferences would be held, and the names of suggested speakers, he realised that a certain amount of preparatory work would be necessary before such a programme could be drawn up. It was therefore

RESOLVED: "To invite Mr. Raymond Gauntlett to act as organiser for the local and national Youth Conferences for a period of fifteen weeks at a salary of £5 per week, on the understanding that the detailed programme when prepared would be submitted to the Executive for approval and that the total cost to Headquarters of all the work done in connection with the Conferences would not exceed £100, including the £75 for salary."

Mr. Gauntlett thanked the Executive and said that, subject to confirmation from the National Youth Committee, he would gladly accept the appointment. He further stated that in regard to policy he was, of course, ready to abide by the decisions of the Executive and the General Council.

384. WAR AIMS AND PEACE TERMS. The Executive had before them the following amended draft for a short popular statement submitted by Lord Cecil and the Chairman in accordance with minute 388 of the last meeting:

A REAL PEACE

What are we fighting for?

Not to increase our territory, or to destroy our rivals, or to dominate the world. Not even for our own exclusive self-defence.

But rather for the right of all nations, including our own, to live their own lives in peace and security.

Therefore it is essential that:-

- (1) Germany shall abandon her policy of armed aggression and shall withdraw her troops from Poland and Czechoslovakia.
- (2) Germany shall accept and take part in an international organisation for the maintenance of future peace and the carrying out of international disarmament.

If these two conditions are agreed to, all other outstanding international questions should be settled at a conference to which neutrals as well as belligerents should be invited.

It was

RESOLVED: "That the above statement be approved and adopted, and be made available in printed form."



The Chairman said that Lord Halifax's recent broadcast, although excellent so far as it went, provided no answer to those who asked why the British Government did not state precisely the terms on which it would be prepared to lay down arms. It was understood that the Government were seriously considering the request from King Leopold and Queen Wilhelmina. The Chairman suggested that if, when H. M. Government's reply was known, it was found to be lacking in this respect, the question might be raised in Parliament, perhaps by a motion in the House of Lords when Lord Halifax would be present. The Executive welcomed the Chairman's suggestion.

G.M.  
CHAIRMAN  
November 16th, 1939

## CONFERENCES OF YOUTH.

The National Youth Committee welcomed the conference proposal brought to it from the Executive; a sub-committee was appointed to go into the matter fully; and this special committee now wishes to submit the following memorandum to the Executive.

With the growing amount of interest and discussion which has been found in youth organisations and amongst young people generally - on the war and the sort of peace which is going to be established - the League of Nations Union has a great opportunity, indeed a responsibility to which it should respond at once. It is proposed therefore that the Union should direct some special attention to the "under-thirties", making as much use of existing Youth Group machinery as is possible.

The subject of Peace Aims is, of course, the basis of any work: to give publicity to the Union's policy; to win new support for the Union and its Youth Groups; to promote discussion in other organisations and Groups; and as often as possible to provide Union leadership for such discussions; to stimulate and to assist such other forms of activity, in support of the things for which the Union stands as may be found desirable from place to place and from time to time.

Ten or twelve provincial conferences should be held as soon as possible; the location of each conference to be decided after correspondence with the key people in each region. These conferences should be the main preparation for a National Conference in London, again to be held as soon as possible.

At all the conferences both policy and methods of work should be discussed. It would be very desirable to have at least one member of the Executive at each conference, to speak and to assist in the discussions.

At each local conference an attendance of about 100 should be the objective - Youth Group members and others - the latter to include as many as possible of the key members of other organisations who are sympathetic to the Union policy.

Each local conference should make itself responsible for sending about a dozen young people to the National Conference. Whilst the provincial work is proceeding, preparatory work for the national conference should take place in and around London, with a view to obtaining another 100/150 representative delegates - thus ensuring an attendance of 200/300, together with as many members of the Executive as are free for the occasion.

For the general direction of the whole of this work, a special committee should be set up consisting of two or three members of the Executive and a similar number of National Youth Committee members. Although a great deal of work could doubtless be done from the National office of the Union, it would seem to be essential to have a travelling organiser if this effort is to be made really worth while. It is suggested therefore that such a person should be appointed as quickly as possible, to start working with Mr. Judd in the preparatory stages of this campaign.

It is difficult to estimate the cost of this scheme. The conferences -- local and national -- should be self-supporting, thus leaving salary and expenses to be found. Clearly nothing of the sort suggested could be accomplished in under three/four months, and for such a period the cost should not be more than about \$100.

It is likely that such expenditure may be a dead loss in the immediate future from the financial point of view. But, unless the committee badly misjudges the situation and the possibilities of such work as it suggests, the Union could not make any more fruitful investment at this time from the point of view of the future of the Union and of those principles for which it exists.

C. 13.  
21.11.39

CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION HELD AT NO. 60, ST. MARTIN'S LANE, LONDON, W.C.2, ON THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 16TH, 1939 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Dr. Gilbert Murray (in the Chair), Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Professor Brodetsky, Dean of Chichester, Miss J. Corcoran, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss P. Fawcett, W. Arnold Forster, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, Sir Arthur Haworth, D.L. Lipson M.P., James Macdonald, G. le M. Mander M.P., W.T. Pritchard, Miss E. Rathbone M.P., H.S. Syrett and Major Freshwater.

385. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on November 9th, 1939 were confirmed.

386. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 376 - 21st Birthday, a reply from Lord Dickinson to the Executive's message was read, and it was agreed to ask the Editor to publish extracts from the reply in the next number of HEADWAY.

On Minute 377 - 370 - International Federation, receipt of the following telegram from Mr. Figgures was reported: "Assembly cancelled. Would you prefer to meet Brussels December 9th or 16th?" It was reported that Lord Lytton and Miss Courtney were inclined to think that, in view of all the circumstances, it would be better not to hold a meeting of the Federation, but that the Chairman and Secretary of the Federation should formulate definite proposals which should be circulated to all societies for their decision.

It was suggested that, if a formal meeting of the Federation were not held, it might be desirable for representative members from the different Societies to meet privately in order to take counsel together regarding their future work. After considerable discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the Secretary of the International Federation be informed that, in view of all the circumstances, the Executive Committee is opposed to a meeting of the Federation being held and suggests that such business as needs to be transacted should be done by correspondence, but that the Executive Committee desires that, if possible, a small meeting of representatives from different countries should be

arranged to discuss their future work, and that inquiries be made with a view to such a meeting being held in London."

On Minute 378 - League Assembly, a reply from Lord Halifax to the letter written him by Lord Lytton at the request of the Executive was read.

Mr. Mander felt that many people who were interested in the League would want a further explanation from the Government of the circumstances in which it had been decided not to hold a meeting of the League Council and Assembly in December. With this end in view he had given notice of his intention to raise the matter in the House of Commons the following week.

On Minute 381 - WORLD UNITY, it was agreed that the pamphlets recently issued by the Oxford University Press (1) entitled WORLD UNITY by Dr. Maxwell Garnett and (2) on the I.L.O. by Mr. Harold Butler, should be brought to the notice of Branch Secretaries in the next circular letter and should be reviewed in HEADWAY.

On Minute 383 - Youth Conferences, a letter was reported from the Chairman of the National Youth Committee, stating that at its meeting on November 28th the Committee would be asked to confirm the appointment of Mr. Raymond Gauntlett as organiser of the Youth Conferences, and that preliminary work would be undertaken without waiting for such confirmation.

On Minute 384 - War Aims and Peace Terms, Mr. Arnold Forster, who had been unable to be present at the last meeting of the Executive, expressed disagreement with the short statement of policy on the ground that it differed from the longer statement by assimilating in the two sub-clauses, two quite different things. The second clause, in effect, would destroy, he thought, the chances of getting a healthy League of Nations movement in Germany since it would tie up future memories of that League with memories of defeat. The foundation of a League which Germany was to enter ought to be the main question to be settled at an international conference.

The Chairman reminded Mr. Arnold Forster that the statement was not a diplomatic document issued by the Government as part of armistice or peace terms. In his opinion it clearly expressed the Union's general policy that it was essential to future peace that Germany should enter a general association for avoiding war.

Dr. Garnett suggested the addition, at the end of sub-paragraph (2) of the words "as well as for promoting international co-operation in other fields". The Dean of Winchester opposed the amendment.

The Chairman reminded the Executive that the short statement had already been adopted by the Committee and communicated to the General Council for endorsement or amendment at the forthcoming meeting. Any amendments would therefore have to be formally moved at the Council meeting.

387. **FEDERAL UNION.** The Executive considered, paragraph by paragraph, the memorandum on Federal Union (S.883) prepared by Lord Lytton and submitted in accordance with minute 377 (366). After many observations and suggestions for amendment had been made by members of the Committee, it was

RESOLVED: (1) To ask the Chairman to prepare, in the light of the discussion, a revised draft of the "Final Conclusions" of the memorandum for consideration by the Executive at its next meeting.

- (2) To invite the Secretary, or other representative of Federal Union, to attend the next meeting of the Executive.

Mr. Arnold Forster expressed his willingness to draft, for the guidance of the Chairman, a note of such points as had been agreed upon by the Executive in the course of their discussion.

*Lytton*  
CHAIRMAN

November 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1939.

CONFIDENTIAL.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE  
COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION  
HELD AT NO. 60, ST. MARTIN'S LANE, LONDON,  
W.C.2, ON THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 23RD, 1939  
AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Lady Violet Bonham  
Carter, Lord Cecil, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Fawcett,  
W. Arnold Forster, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris,  
D. L. Lipson M.P., J. Macdonald, G. le M. Hander  
M.P., F. Marshall M.P., Brig. General L.C.F.  
Milman, Dr. Gilbert Murray, P. J. Noel-Baker  
M.P., Miss E. Rathbone M.P., Wilfrid Roberts  
M.P., H.S. Syrett, E. Wallis-Jones, Mrs. Whit-  
field and Major Freshwater.

388. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on November  
16th, 1939 were confirmed.

389. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 386 - 377 - International Federation, it was  
reported that the meeting of the Federation had been  
postponed until January 27th. A reply had not yet  
been received from Mr. Figures concerning the Execu-  
tive's suggestion for a small meeting of representa-  
tives from different countries, say in London.

390. MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL. The Executive considered the  
final arrangements for the meeting of the General Council  
and it was

- RESOLVED: (1) That the proceedings should open with an  
address of welcome from the Chairman (Lord  
Cecil)
- (2) That the Chairman of the Executive be  
asked to present the report on action  
taken by the Executive since the outbreak  
of war.
- (3) That the Financial Statement and Proposals  
for 1940 be presented by the Treasurer.
- (4) That Lord Cecil (from the Chair) be asked  
to propose, and Dr. Murray to second, the  
motion in regard to the Executive's  
Statements on War Aims and Peace Terms.
- (5) That Mr. Noel Baker be asked to open the  
discussion on Federal Union.
- (6) That Mr. Arnold Forster be asked to open  
the discussion on the Work of the Union  
during the War Period.

In order to facilitate the work of the Procedure Committee and the business of the Council it was agreed that, at the outset of the Council Meeting, a request should be made from the platform that those desirous of moving amendments to the Executive's statements on War Aims and Peace Terms should hand such amendments in writing forthwith.

It was further agreed that if, as was possible, a debate on War Aims in the House of Lords was arranged for the afternoon of November 30th which would make it impossible for Lord Cecil and Lord Lytton to attend the afternoon session of the Council on that day, the first business of the Council at the morning session should be the discussion of the Executive's Statements on War Aims and Peace Terms and of Federal Union.

The Executive were reminded that the Council at its meeting in Birmingham had accepted an invitation to hold the next Annual Meeting in Brighton. It was agreed that, if inquiries on this subject were made at the forthcoming meeting, the Council should be informed that no alteration in the plans for the Annual Meeting had yet been made but that, if such alterations became necessary, ample notice would be given to the Council.

391. 15, GROSVENOR CRESCENT. Mr. Syrett reported recent correspondence with the solicitors to the Landlords of 15, Grosvenor Crescent in regard to a claim for dilapidations. It was agreed that negotiations in this matter should be left in the hands of the Chairman and Treasurer.
392. HEADWAY. Mr. Syrett reported that he was to meet Sir Robert Waley Cohen that afternoon in order to discuss with him the position arising out of certain complaints made by a shareholder of the Focus Company.

Mr. Arnold Forster stated that, for various reasons, he had been unable to maintain effective liaison with the Editor in regard to the November issue of HEADWAY and that, under the present arrangements, he felt unable to discharge his responsibility to the Executive (laid down in minute 553(b)). The Chairman said that he had not been consulted in regard to the contents of the November issue, and it was agreed to leave it to the Chairman and Mr. Arnold Forster to discuss with Mr. le Prevost arrangements for their future consultation in regard to HEADWAY.

393. FEDERAL UNION. Mr. C.D. Kimber, the Secretary of Federal Union, attended the meeting and, in reply to questions put to him by many members of the Executive, described the objects of his society.

After Mr. Kimber had been thanked by the Chairman and had left the meeting, the action to be taken by the Executive in regard to Federal Union at the Council Meeting was considered. A memorandum (S.665) prepared by Dr. Murray in response to the request made at the last meeting was before the Executive. After considerable discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That copies of the report prepared by Dr. Murray be circulated for the information of those attending the Council Meeting; and that, at the meeting, a motion be proposed by the Executive on the lines of the final paragraph of Dr. Murray's paper."

The Chairman said that, after the meeting of the Council and in the light of the discussion, the Executive should give further consideration to the question of Federal Union and agree upon a statement of the Union's attitude for circulation to Branches and others.

Mr. Arnold Forster stated that he was at present engaged in preparing material for the guidance of leaders of discussion groups. He suggested, and it was agreed, that reference should be made to Dr. Murray's memorandum on Federal Union as a useful document on the subject for discussion groups.

395. PUBLIC MEETINGS. Mr. Arnold Forster presented a report (copy filed with these minutes) on the meetings organised by the Union's local organisations during the first three weeks of November.

Cecil  
CHAIRMAN

December 7th, 1939.



C. 13  
12.12.39CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION HELD AT NO. 60, ST. MARTIN'S LANE, LONDON, W.C.2, ON THURSDAY, DECEMBER 7TH, 1939 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Viscount Cecil (in the Chair), Wyvyan Adams, M.P., F.H. Burris, Lady Violet Bonham-Carter, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss P. Fawcett, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, J. Macdonald, G. le M. Mander M.P., Dr. Gilbert Murray, P.J. Noel-Baker M.P., W.T. Pritchard, Miss E. Rathbone M.P., Wilfrid Roberts M.P., H.S. Syrett, and Major Freshwater.

396. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on November 23rd 1939 were confirmed.

397. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 390 - Meeting of General Council, the Chairman reported briefly on the meeting of the General Council held on November 30th and December 1st. There had been an excellent attendance and the meetings had been very successful.

On Minute 391 - 15, Grosvenor Crescent, in reply to a question from Sir John Harris, Mr. Syrett reported on the present position of his negotiations with the solicitors to the Landlords of 15, Grosvenor Crescent in regard to their claim for dilapidations.

On Minute 393 - Federal Union, it was reported that the draft of a joint statement which Mr. Kimber had promised to prepare for consideration by the Executive Committee had not yet been received.

Mr. Pritchard and Sir John Harris hoped that a statement of the Union's attitude towards Federal Union, written in a popular form, would be made available at the earliest possible moment. It was reported that the speeches of Dr. Murray and Miss Courtney to the General Council on the subject were being printed in the December HEADWAY.

Dr. Murray stated that he and Sir John Fischer Williams had been invited each to state the case for the League of Nations in a book of essays on peace aims and Federal Union which Mr. Lionel Curtis was preparing.

Bearing in mind that the next meeting of the Executive would probably be the last to be held before Christmas, it was agreed to inform Mr. Kimber that the Committee hoped that his draft for a joint statement

would be available for consideration on December 14th. The Chairman said that he would write also to Mr. Ransome on the subject.

398. INDUSTRIAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE. Lady Hall reported that the Industrial Advisory Committee had, in accordance with the Executive's request contained in minute 350 (346), set up a Small Working Committee consisting of Mr. A.A.H. Findlay, Mr. G.L. Perkins, Mr. H.G. Tanner, Lady Hall and Major Freshwater, with Mr. M.R.K. Burge as I.L.O. Observer.

It was further proposed to set up a small body, consisting of a few members of the Industrial Advisory Committee, to which certain eminent persons (e.g. Mr. H.B. Butler, Sir William Beveridge, Professor Brodetsky, Professor Arnold Plant and others) might be invited, for the purpose of considering what should be the place of the I.L.O. in world settlement after the war and preparing a report on the subject for submission to the Executive.

Reference was made to Mr. Sean Lester's broadcast address from Geneva on October 21st.

RESOLVED: "That the proposal to set up a small committee on the lines set out above be approved."

399. WAR AIMS AND PEACE TERMS. It was reported that the General Council, while approving in a slightly amended form the Executive's statement on WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR, had asked the Executive to consider the desirability of a reference to Reparations being included in the statement. After discussion it was, on the motion of the Chairman:

RESOLVED: "That the following be inserted at the end of paragraph (1) of WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR:

"Payment of actual war damage, to be assessed by an impartial tribunal, would also have to be made."

Copies of the shorter statement, A REAL PEACE, in the amended form adopted by the General Council, were placed before the Executive.

It was reported that the General Council had asked the Executive to consider the desirability of providing further short statements dealing with the various points contained in WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR.

Mr. Pritchard suggested that such short statements should be published, say, at monthly intervals. After discussion it was agreed to ask the Officers to consider the Council's suggestion and to report to the Executive.

400. FINLAND: MEETING OF LEAGUE COUNCIL AND ASSEMBLY. The Chairman reported that, following the statement of Lord Halifax that the substance of his recent speech in the House of Lords concerning Finland would be repeated at Geneva by whoever represented H.M. Government, he had talked with Mr. R.A. Butler who was going to Geneva as the British delegate. Lord Cecil had stressed the great opportunity which the meeting of the Council and Assembly provided for an international statement of H.M. Government's position which he hoped would deal both with Poland and with Finland, and also for pressing on the neutral powers and others the urgent necessity for them to consider their course of action if their security was to be preserved. Mr. Butler had said that he hoped to make a statement on such lines.

A note by Mr. Arnold Forster (S.688) was laid before the Committee, suggesting that they should send a letter to Lord Halifax, pointing out the dangers of League condemnation of Russian aggression without condemnation of German aggression also, and recalling the British Government's welcome note to the League informing it of Britain's resort to war in resistance to German aggression. Miss Rathbone supported Mr. Arnold Forster.

Mr. Mander reported a conversation which he had had with Mr. Butler concerning the desirability of any statement made on behalf of H.M. Government not being over-weighted on the side of Russia. He gathered that Mr. Butler intended to take any opportunity which presented itself in the course of the discussion of referring to Germany.

A long discussion followed during which arguments for and against the League's expulsion of Russia were put forward, and the Committee recalled the events which had followed other acts of aggression in the past.

The Chairman reminded the Committee that the Union's business, as representing a League of Nations policy, was to support the general proposition that force was not to be used except on the terms permitted in the Covenant. He did not take much interest in the question of whether Russia was worse or less bad than Germany. But Finland had definitely appealed to the League and he did not see how it would be possible for Great Britain to refrain from taking some action. It was not, he thought, physically possible for us to declare war against Russia or to join in sanctions against her. But Great Britain might, as in the parallel case between China and Japan, suggest that any country which chose to assist Finland would have the sanction of the League of Nations. Such action ought to be taken purely on the broad principle that we were resisting aggression, and in this connection reference should be made to the whole series

of past aggressions which were leading to the complete destruction of security and safety. The League ought to make its protest and urge upon all States Members their duty of doing all they could to prevent further aggressions taking place. It was important also that the League Members should recognise that the aggression on Poland was exactly the same in principle as all the other aggressions and ought to be treated by them on the same lines. It might not be possible to pass a resolution on the subject of Poland since it was not going to be brought formally before the League, but whatever was done about Finland ought clearly to apply also to Poland. Lord Cecil further suggested that an impartial and objective report ought to be prepared on the actual facts concerning the Finnish dispute, both for historical reasons and because it would provide the grounds on which the League held that Russia had been guilty of aggression.

Mr. Butler had asked the Chairman to write to him if he had anything further to say, and in view of that invitation the Committee cordially welcomed Lord Cecil's suggestion that he should write to Mr. Butler in the above sense.

It was further decided that a statement of the Union's views should be prepared by the Chairman and Dr. Murray for communication to the International Federation with a view to its being brought to the notice of the delegates to the Assembly. It was agreed to ask Miss Courtney to be good enough to take the statement with her when she left for Geneva on December 9th.

*L. L. M.*  
CHAIRMAN

December 14th 1939.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION HELD AT NO. 60, ST. MARTIN'S LANE, LONDON W.C.2, ON THURSDAY, DECEMBER 14TH, 1939 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Lord Cecil, Miss R.D. Courtney, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss P. Fawcett, W. Arnold Forster, Sir John Harris, D.L. Lipson M.P., J. Macdonald, Brig. General L.C.P. Milman, Miss E. Rathbone M.P., E. Wallis-Jones, Mrs. Whitfield and Major Freshwater.

401. MINUTES. The minutes of the meeting held on December 7th, 1939 were confirmed.

402. MATTERS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES.

On Minute 397 - 398 - Federal Union, it was reported that Mr. Kimber's draft statement had not yet been approved by his Committee and was not likely to be available for consideration by the Executive until after Christmas.

Reference was made to the inclusion in HEADWAY and the NEWS SHEET of speeches to the General Council on Federal Union, and to the review in HEADWAY of Mr. Curry's book. Miss Courtney asked if it would be possible for the Union to arrange for a book giving the case for the League to be published in the Penguin series. Mr. Arnold Forster stated that he was at present at work on a Penguin Book dealing with National Sovereignty.

403. FINLAND. Lord Cecil read to the Executive the letter which, in accordance with the Committee's request, he had written to Mr. Butler on December 7th, and of the reply which he had received from Sir Alexander Cadogan (copy filed with these minutes).

The Executive then considered the discussions which had taken place at the meeting of the League's Council and Assembly concerning Russia's aggression on Finland, and reference was made to a speech by Mr. Butler at Geneva. After considerable discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the Chairman, in consultation with the other Officers, be asked to prepare a statement on the following three points for circulation to the press; but that the statement be not issued to the press until, in the Chairman's opinion, the appropriate time for such action has arrived:

That the Executive

Welcomes Finland's appeal to the League;

Welcomes the decision of the League to support Finland; and

Since the Executive has always taken the view that action under Article 16(4) should be taken against an aggressor and should have been taken against Japan and Italy, it could not take another view in the case of Russia.

404. DATE OF NEXT MEETING.

RESOLVED: "That the next meeting of the Executive be held on Thursday, January 11th at 11 a.m., but that it be left to the Chairman to summon a meeting in the interval if, in his opinion, such action is necessary."

405. CLOSING OF OFFICE FOR CHRISTMAS.

RESOLVED: "That the office be closed from 5.30 p.m. on Friday, December 22nd until 10 a.m. on Wednesday, December 27th."

After Mr. Arnold Forster and Miss Fawcett had spoken of the effective way in which the staff had been carrying out their duties with their very depleted resources, it was agreed that, if the Secretary found it possible to make arrangements for the closing of the office on the morning of Saturday, December 30th, he should be authorised to do so.

406. CORPORATE MEMBERS. Two applications for Corporate Membership were reported, and it was

RESOLVED: "That authority be given to admit as Corporate Members the Sheffield Co-operative Membership Methodist Institute and the Rusden & District Association of the N.U.T., and to issue to them Certificates bearing the seal of the Union."

407. BRANCHES AND MEMBERS. In reply to questions, it was reported that since the outbreak of war, communications had been received from more than 400 Branches. The number of membership subscriptions received during November was a little more than half the number received in November, 1938.

The Executive were reminded of the sub-Committee of which Miss Courtney was Chairman and which was meeting

regularly in order to assist Branches in regard to meetings, study circles, discussion groups and the like.

Mr. Macdonald reported that the Bootle Branch had on their roll 333 members which represented an increase of more than 100 on their figure for the previous year and of which 72 were new members. It was also reported that one Branch in Cornwall had collected 100 per cent of the subscriptions which had become renewable since the outbreak of war.

408. HEADWAY AND NEWS SHEET. Resolutions from the London Regional Federation were reported (1) complaining of the delay in the publication of HEADWAY and asking that a definite date early in the month should be fixed for publication, and (2) regarding the form of the NEWS SHEET.
409. MR. NOEL-BAKER'S BROADCAST. It was reported that a number of suggestions had been received that the recent broadcast speech by Mr. Noel Baker should, with the necessary adaptations, be made available by the Union in printed form. It was

RESOLVED: "That Mr. Noel-Baker be invited to 'edit' his broadcast speech for publication by the Union."

*Lylem*  
CHAIRMAN

January 11th, 1940

COPY

16, South Eaton Place,  
S.W.1.

7th December, 1939.

My dear Butler,

You were good enough to say that I might write to you, and I take advantage of your invitation.

We had a meeting of the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union this morning, and Mander and I told them generally of your attitude, though I was careful not to say anything about the proposals that the Government were prepared to support with regard to Finland. However, I see that they are substantially published in the "Telegraph" to-day so I imagine there was no great harm in Mander's rather more general statement than that which I made.

The Executive Committee were warmly in favour of any assistance that was possible being given to Finland. But they were anxious that that should be balanced by an equally clear declaration as to our action in Poland. There seems to be a fairly prevalent feeling that we are ready to maintain international right against "red" Russia, which we were not so ready to maintain against Germany; and there is some feeling -- though I certainly do not share it -- that the Russian action is really not so blameable as the German action against Poland.

It was thought that, at Geneva, there was no great object in weighing on the details of the German and Russian aggression. The point of international importance is to try and get rid of this doctrine that any strong country may oppress any weak one without any appeal against its action. We hope, therefore, that you will be able to make a speech on very general lines, stressing the numerous cases which have occurred since the invasion of Manchuria by Japan, and using the German invasion of Czechoslovakia and Poland, and the Russian invasion of Finland, as illustrations of the extent to which this false doctrine has been adopted by powerful States.

I am sure that it would be of great advantage to get some authorisation of our action in Poland,

P. T. O.



- 2 -

from the League, both in the interests of the League itself and of our own. The interest of the League of Nations is obvious. I think it would also be of great advantage to us to base our action on our obligations under the Covenant, since that gets rid of all question as to the legitimacy, for instance, of stopping German exports, which would be clearly within our powers acting under Article 16. It seems to me immaterial that those powers are exercised against Germany, who is not a Member of the League; since the conception of the Covenant has always been that it sets up a code of rules to be applied not only between Members of the League, but between any member and any country whether in the League or not. Further, if we look, as I hope we do, to the re-establishment of some form of international organisation at the end of the war, it seems to me of the highest possible importance that we should keep the flag of internationalism flying as much as we can, even during the war. A clear assertion of our conviction that aggression is an international crime and ought to be resisted by all law-abiding States would be of great value in re-establishing international morality.

As for your audience at Geneva, it surely would be of great advantage to urge on them with great emphasis that it is their future that is at stake quite as much as ours; and that unless they are prepared to strike a blow for freedom they certainly will not be free. Success against Finland will almost certainly lead to attacks in the Balkans, and our best chance of defending Roumania is to repel the attack on Helsingfors.

Yours very sincerely,

(Signed) CECIL.

COPI

Foreign Office,  
S.W.1.

11th December, 1939.

Dear Lord Cecil,

Just as he was leaving the Foreign Office before going to Geneva, Butler handed to me your letter of December 7th, which he had just received and read. He had not much time, in which to consider it, but we had a short talk and he asked me to write you a line on his behalf.

You say that "there seems to be a fairly prevalent feeling that we are ready to maintain international right against 'red' Russia, which we were not so ready to maintain against Germany".

What Butler rather felt -- and what I think the Government feel -- is that there is a converse propaganda which tends to say "You made a great fuss about German aggression in Poland; but you do nothing about Russia". And the German propaganda takes advantage of this to point out that all our talk about "fighting aggression" in September was nonsense -- we were simply out to smash Germany; and when the Russians aggress equally badly, or worse, we remain unmoved.

Anyhow, it would be interesting to hear how the critics to whom you refer could make out that we "were not so ready to maintain" international right against Germany, seeing that we have pitted against her our whole force, and staked our existence, in an effort to restrain, and I hope repair, her aggression.

In regard to any speech that Butler will make, I think he may take occasion to refer to other acts of aggression, though you will realise that this is a delicate topic vis-a-vis Italy -- and I think you do realise it, as I notice that you leave her out of the list of aggressors.

An invocation of article 16 might help to legitimise our action in stopping German exports, though we remember that we did this in the last war, without such good cause, before even the Covenant was drafted. It is certainly of the utmost importance to do all we can to keep alive the idea of a decent and efficient ordering of international affairs. Though whether the present meeting at Geneva will contribute to that end seems to me to be an open question.

Yours sincerely,  
(Signed) ALEC CADOGAN.

COPY16, South Eaton Place,  
S.W. 1.

12th December, 1939.

My dear Alec,

I happen to have come across more of the people who are inclined to apologise for Russia than those who are inclined to apologise for Germany. Both seem to me to be equally pernicious! I certainly do not wish the Government to be more hostile to Germany than to Russia. But I have seen more alacrity on the part of a considerable section of the Government's supporters in attacking Russia than in attacking Germany.

As for the rest, I do not believe in sparing Italy's feelings, for I do not believe that the policy of Mussolini and his gang depends on anything of that kind. They are much more likely to be civil to us if we are firm than if we are complacent.

I take a more sanguine view of the advantage of the League movement than you do. Of course, it is possible to turn it into ridicule by futility. But I am satisfied that it would have been far worse, even then, not to have done anything; and if the thing is managed well, I think this incident may be of immense value. So far it looks as though things had begun extremely satisfactorily.

Anyhow, I am deeply grateful to you for having answered me so fully. Thank you.

Yours ever,

(Signed) CECIL.

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## LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR

The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union believe that it is essential that both our friends and enemies should know clearly what we are fighting for. Such knowledge will give to our own people as well as to our friends and allies the confidence that their efforts and sacrifices are asked for a definite and worthy object, and may prevent our enemies from thinking that they must continue to fight lest they should be utterly destroyed.

It is not less vital that neutral nations should be satisfied of the righteousness and moderation of our purpose.

For these and other reasons, the Allied Governments may at any time feel it desirable to declare our War Aims. In that event, it may help those who have to consider them to know what people of Good-will think, who are profoundly convinced of the justice of our cause and believe that the war will have been fought in vain unless it leads to the establishment of a new order based on justice and good faith.

The following is an attempt to state the principles of such a settlement.

1. Our immediate object in going to war was to stop aggression. Therefore, we make as our first condition the restoration of the real political independence of the Polish and Czechoslovakian peoples. Any modification of boundaries could only be discussed after this object has been accomplished.
2. Next, we desire a lasting peace, based on justice and international good faith.
3. We believe that such a peace would not be secured by an attempt so to weaken Germany as to make her powerless again to disturb the peace of the world. A great and vigorous nation can be neither exterminated nor permanently disabled. Any attempt to do so would merely create the utmost bitterness without producing safety. The principle of equality of rights for all States must be accepted.
4. On the other hand, the national sovereignty of each State must be so limited as to secure the safety and well-being of the community of nations. We cannot acquiesce in a recurrence of World Anarchy with its periodic wars disastrous both to belligerents and neutrals.
5. Some form of international organisation is therefore essential. That involves a limitation of National Sovereignty. How far that can be carried is a practical question which can only be solved at an International Conference.

At Paris in 1919, even with the immediate recollection of four years' desolating war, the nations were not prepared to go further than the Covenant. Indeed, that was too far for the United States, and in truth only carried the partial assent of several other countries which in form accepted it. It may be that the nations or some of them would this time be prepared to go further. Such possibilities should be carefully studied.

6. The minimum limitation of national sovereignty to be of any use as a safeguard for peace must embody the following propositions:
- (i) The supremacy of Law founded on Justice must be accepted as the fundamental principle of international relations. A peaceful world order cannot be established if force is held to be the only thing that counts in international affairs and if any nation, powerful enough to do so, may set at defiance every principle of justice and even its own international engagements.
  - (ii) All international differences which cannot be settled by negotiation must be submitted to some kind of third party judgment which may be either by way of judicial decision, arbitration or authoritative mediation.
  - (iii) National armaments must be the subject of reduction and limitation by international agreement.
  - (iv) The use of force must be restricted to action approved by the international authority. (It will, of course, be recollected that, under the Locarno Agreement, provision was made for self-defence in an emergency provided approval of the international authority was obtained.)
  - (v) Each of the States Members of the international community must be ready to accept its fair share of responsibility for preventing and stopping aggression.
7. The reduction and limitation of national armaments also requires that an international authority shall have power
- (i) To supervise such reduction and limitation,
  - (ii) To protect a State which has limited its armaments from a State which has not done so.
8. For this and other reasons an international authority is essential for any scheme of world order. Its form and powers may be the subject of further international discussion. In practice the international machinery of the League has not been inadequate where its Members have used it. In our judgment it should be taken as the basis of the new order, amended and strengthened where necessary.
9. Means must be provided for dealing pacifically with any international grievance, whether it is of a justiciable character or not. The powers of varying a treaty should be extended to any case where it seems fair and reasonable to do so. A claim for modification of territorial sovereignty should not be excluded from consideration merely on that ground.
10. The principle that Colonies inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves should be administered as a trust for

- the well-being and development of such peoples and should be open on equal terms to the commerce of all nations, should be applied to all such Colonies whether their sovereignty was or was not affected by the World War of 1914.
11. Economic prosperity and social justice are not less important for world peace than political security. The international authority should establish agencies, acting in the interest of all peoples, to promote the freeness of international commerce with due regard for standards of labour and wages, to promote increased consumption and better distribution of the world's resources, and to deal with common economic problems such as post-war demobilisation. The international service in this direction rendered by the League and the I.L.O. should be extended.
  12. The protection accorded by the Minorities Treaties to religious, racial and linguistic minorities in certain countries should be extended to all countries and made more effective. The persecution of the Jews has greatly increased the urgency of dealing with the problem.

