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LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1, ON THURSDAY, JULY 29TH, 1937, AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), the Duchess of Atholl, F.J. Noel Baker, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Lord Cecil, A.C. Crossley, Lord Dickenson, Admiral Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Philippa Fawcett, Miss M. Lloyd George, Lady Gladstone, Sir John Harris, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, G. le M. Mander, W.T. Fritchard, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, General Spears, together with the Secretary and the Deputy Secretary.

250. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Lord Allen, Mrs. Beale, Captain Cazalet, Miss Corcoran, Miss K.D. Courtney, W. Arnold Forster, Sir Arthur Heworth, Captain Liddell Hart, Arthur Henderson, James Macdonald, Gerald Palmer, Sir Arthur Selter, Sir Archibald Sinclair, Nowell Smith, H.S. Syrett, Major-General A.C. Temperley, A.G. Welkden, F.W. Weaver and Dr. Gilbert Murray.

251. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

(a) Industrial Advisory Committee. Subject to the following decisions on minutes 71, 72, 75 and 77, the minutes of the Committee dated July 15th, 1937, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included: (69) Minutes; (70) Constitution of Committee; (71) International Labour Conference; (72) International Federation of League of Nations Societies; (73) General Council L.N.U. June Meeting; (74) Minimum Age Conventions; (75) Deputation to Minister of Labour; (76) Speakers' Reports; (77) Annual Conference; (78) Industrial Affiliations; (79) Questions in Parliament; (80) Youth Charter; (81) Date of Next Meeting.

On minute 71 (a) Minimum Age Convention, it was suggested that since the regret expressed in the third paragraph of the resolution was inherent in the preceding paragraphs, the resolution would be more likely to receive sympathetic consideration by H.M. Government if the third paragraph were omitted, and it was

RESOLVED: "That this minute be referred back to the Industrial Advisory Committee for further consideration in the light of the above suggestion."

On Minute 72 -- International Federation of League of Nations Societies, it was

RESOLVED: "That resolution (b) on Support for the International Labour Organisation be communicated to H.M. Government."

On Minute 75 -- Deputation to Minister of Labour, it was

RESOLVED: "That before any further action is taken, either by a deputation or a written communication to the Minister of Labour, the Executive Committee be given a further opportunity of discussing the matter."

Admiral Drury-Lowe expressed the hope that the Industrial Advisory Committee would consider the question of sending a deputation to the President of the Board of Trade in regard to the Maritime Conventions.

On Minute 77 -- Annual Conference, the Executive were reminded of the circumstances in which the Conference which it was proposed to hold in February last had been abandoned, and Miss Fawcett enquired whether it was proposed to charge an admission fee in connection with the Conference next March. It was

RESOLVED: "That the question of charging an admission fee for the proposed Conference at the London School of Economics in March, 1938, be referred to the Finance Committee."

(b) Economic and Mandates Committees. Subject to the following decision and report on minutes 2 and 3, the minutes of the joint meeting dated July 16th, 1937 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: (2) Union Policy on Colonial Redistribution; (3) Draft Pamphlet on Colonial Statistics.

On Minute 2 -- Union Policy on Colonial Redistribution, it was

RESOLVED: "That the statement on the Colonial Problem (S.C.9211a) be communicated to H.M. Government in place of the resolution on Raw Materials and Colonies adopted by the XXIst Plenary Congress, subject to the words "Native Welfare and the Transfer of Responsibility for Colonial Territories" being substituted

for the words "The German Claims and Native Welfare" in the heading of the third section, and subject also to the inclusion of a footnote reserving the final paragraph for further consideration by the Executive Committee.

On Minute 3 - Draft Pamphlet on Colonial Statistics. It was suggested that copies of this pamphlet should be sent to members of the British delegation to the Assembly.

(c) Overseas Committee (Lady Gladstone reported) Subject to the following decision on minute 26, the minutes of the Committee dated July 22nd, 1937 were approved and adopted.

[These minutes included: (25) Minutes; (26) Report of the Bratislava Congress; (27) Central Europe; (28) Autumn Meetings of the Federation; (29) Communication from Mr. Wynch; (30) Date of Next Meeting.]

On Minute 26 - Report of the Bratislava Congress. It was

RESOLVED: "That this minute be approved and adopted subject to resolution (2) being amended to read as follows:

"That the members of the British delegation at future Plenary Congresses should not, except in case of emergency, move amendments in Plenary Session to resolutions that have been accepted by the British delegates in a Congress Committee without first consulting the delegation and in particular those members who have been charged with presenting the Union's policy on the subject under discussion!"

252. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS The Executive received resolutions from the Battersea and Clapham Branches, Canterbury Branch Committee, Morpeth Branch, Leytonstone Branch and Edinburgh Branch. It was

and RESOLVED: (1) That the Canterbury and Battersea and Clapham Branches be thanked for their resolutions.

(2) That the Morpeth Branch be thanked and that in regard to resolution (1) they be asked to arrange a meeting at which a good speaker could explain what are "H.M. Government's obligations under the Covenant for the prevention of war and collective resistance to any aggression".

(3) That the Leytonstone Branch be thanked for their resolution.

- (4) That the Edinburgh Branch be thanked for their suggestion in regard to Christmas Gift Tokens conferring membership of the L.N.U. for one year, and that the suggestion be referred to the Administration Committee for consideration and report.

253. MINUTES. Subject to the following report on minutes 240(a), 240(d), 241 and 243, the minutes of the last meeting held on July 22nd, 1937 were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 240(a) - 93 - International Federation of League of Nations Societies, the Secretary stated that he had had a long talk with Lord Cranborne's private secretary concerning the Education resolutions adopted by the XIst Plenary Congress, and the action which the Executive Committee hoped the British delegate on the Sixth Committee would take at the forthcoming assembly.

On Minute 240(a) - 94 - International Peace Campaign, Lord Cecil said that since making his statement to the last meeting of the Executive, the date of the I.P.C. Congress had been fixed for October 22nd and a very short interval would therefore remain after the meeting of the Union's Education Committee on October 11th. Moreover, he understood that there was likely to be a difference of opinion among the members of the Education Committee concerning the proposal that the I.P.C. should be represented on the Education Committee. In all these circumstances, he now felt it necessary to inform the Education Committee, through the Executive, that he did not propose to proceed with the proposal he had recently submitted to them.

On Minute 240(d) - Women's Advisory Council, it was reported that the British delegation to the forthcoming assembly would be composed of Mr. Eden, Mr. Walter Elliot and Colonel Colville. The substitute delegates would be Lord Cranborne, Mr. Robert Bernays, Miss Irene Ward, Mr. Becket and Lord Astor.

Lady Gladstone stated that arrangements were being made for Miss Irene Ward to meet the members of the Women's Advisory Council before she left for Geneva.

On Minute 241 - Minutes (232 - Refugees Committee), Lord Cecil reported on the deputation which had waited upon Lord Cranborne on July 26th. The deputation had been introduced by the Archbishop of Canterbury and a large proportion of the societies interested in refugees had been represented. The proposals made by the deputation had been received sympathetically by Lord Cranborne who had promised to take what action he could in the matter when he went to Geneva.

254. SPAIN. The Executive considered the proposals submitted by Lord Cecil in S.G. 9280. After considerable discussion in which many members of the Committee took part, it was

RESOLVED: "That general approval be given to the proposals contained in Lord Cecil's memorandum, and that he be asked to inform the Executive at their next meeting what progress had been made."

255. THE FAR EAST. Lord Lytton read to the Executive the letter he had sent to the Foreign Secretary on July 22nd together with Mr. Eden's reply of July 24th. Lord Lytton also reported in confidence to the Committee a conversation he had recently had with Dr. Wellington Koo concerning the present situation in the Far East.

Lady Gladstone suggested that the Executive, through one of its sub-Committees, should investigate the question whether, from the point of view of the future peace of the Far East, the Boxer Indemnity Treaties ought not now to be dissolved.

Lord Cecil felt that the implication in the Foreign Secretary's letter destroyed any possibility of the League ever taking action in any major question. It was futile to think that the League could be kept alive as a negotiatory body unless members were prepared in the last resort to take action in support of their negotiations. He urged that a reply should be sent to the arguments in the Foreign Secretary's letter.

Mr. Noel Baker and the Duchess of Atholl supported Lord Cecil.

Lord Lytton agreed with Lady Gladstone's proposal concerning the Boxer Treaties but felt that action in this matter should be postponed until actual hostilities had been brought to an end.

After further discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That Lord Lytton be asked to reply to the Foreign Secretary's letter, and that copies of the reply together with the previous correspondence be circulated to members of the Executive for their information."

256. ABYSSINIA. The Executive considered a communication from Miss Sylvia Pankhurst asking for the co-operation of the Union in a national conference of religious, social and peace organisations as well as trade councils, which it was proposed to hold at the Central Hall on September 9th. A draft of the resolutions for submission to the Conference was circulated to the Committee. Though sympathy with the objects of the meeting was expressed by some members, it was

RESOLVED: "That the invitation be not accepted."

257. XXIST PLENARY CONGRESS. The Executive considered the political resolutions adopted by the XXist Plenary Congress of the International Federation at Bratislava (S.G.9210). They also had before them a note showing in what respects these resolutions differed from the policy already adopted by the Executive Committee or the General Council (S.G.9232), together with a draft of a letter (S.G.9288) which it was suggested might be sent to H.M. Government with the resolutions. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That, subject to the decision in regard to the resolution on Colonies and raw materials contained in minute 251(b) above, the political resolutions adopted by the XXist Plenary Congress be communicated to H.M. Government with the covering letter suggested in S.G.9288."

258. PACIFISTS AND THE UNION. The Executive further considered the draft motion contained in minute 244 of the last meeting, together with an alternative motion (S.G.9289) proposed by Mr. Gerald Palmer. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the Union and its Branches should not take part in, or assist the organisation of, meetings or other activities involving the advocacy of policies which conflict with the objects of the League of Nations as set forth in the Covenant."

259. WEEKLY MEETINGS OF THE EXECUTIVE. The Executive considered a report from the sub-Committee appointed at the last meeting "to consider the effect of weekly meetings of the Executive on the administration of the Union in connection with the increase of its membership and the achievement of its objects throughout the country" (S.G.9288). It was

RESOLVED: "That on and after 7th October, the meetings of the Executive on the 'even' Thursdays (second and fourth) should begin at 11.30 a.m. and be confined to the discussion of world affairs; that on these occasions the Executive should not receive the minutes of the previous meeting or discuss reports by standing Committees although reports of ad hoc sub-Committees on political issues might be considered; and that the ordinary meetings of the Executive on the 'odd' Thursdays (first, third and fifth) should be called for 10.45 a.m. in order to allow more time for consideration of reports of standing Committees."

260. LIBRARY. The Secretary reported correspondence he had had with Dr. Kimmins and Mr. Headicar both of whom felt strongly that an additional assistant in the Library should be appointed as soon as possible. Dr. Garnett had consulted Mr. Syrett who had asked for the matter to be referred to the Finance Committee, and it was

RESOLVED: "That the proposal to appoint a second Assistant Librarian be approved and adopted, subject to the approval of the Finance Committee."

261. DATE OF NEXT MEETING. It was

RESOLVED: "That the next ordinary meeting of the Committee be held at 11 a.m. on Thursday, September 23rd; and that, if the Chairman considers it necessary for a special meeting to be held during the vacation, such meeting be summoned for 3 o'clock in the afternoon."

262. INTERNATIONAL PEACE CAMPAIGN. It was reported that the British National Committee of the I.P.C. would be meeting that afternoon to discuss arrangements for the Congress to be held in October. After the Executive had been reminded of the resolution adopted at its meeting on January 14th, it was agreed that if, during the vacation, members of the Union's secretariat were in doubt concerning the action they should take in response to any request received from the I.P.C. Lord Cecil should be informed and should consult the Chairman or Vice-Chairman on the matter.

263. RECOGNITION OF BRANCHES.

RESOLVED: (1) That the following Branch

Glyncorrwg, Glam.

the following twelve Corporate Members:


Batterssea Church of the ascension;
Low Fell Congregational Church,
Gateshead; St. Mary Woolnoth,
London; Memorial Methodist Church,
North Shields; Congregational
Church, Portishead; Cambridge
Co-operative Society; Guisley
Industrial Co-operative Society;
Sheffield Co-operative Party;
Sheffield Trades and Labour
Council; Jarrow and Hobburn Co-
operative Society; Adath Yisroel
Synagogue, Stoke Newington;
and Corby Adult School,

the following three Corporate Associates:

Corby Congregational Church;
Kingstone All Saints Church;
and Stroud Women's Citizens' Association.

be recognised, and that Certificates bearing the seal of the Union be issued.

- (2) That twenty-three Corporate Members (list of names filed with these minutes) be removed from the Roll.

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MINUTES OF A SPECIAL MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
HELD AT 15, GOSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1. ON
THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 9TH, 1937, AT 3 P.M.

PRESENT: Dr. Gilbert Murray (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams, Lord Allen, Sir Norman Angell, Major Anthony Buxton, Lord Cecil, Miss Judith Corcoran, Admiral Prury-Lowe, Miss Philippa Fawcett, Lady Hall, Sir Arthur Haworth, Dr. C.W. Kimmins, Lord Lytton, W.T. Pritchard, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, Sir Arthur Salter, H.F. Shaw, Nowell Smith, H.S. Syrett, F.W. Weaver, together with the Secretary and the Deputy Secretary.

264. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from the Duchess of Atholl, P.J. Noel Baker, Mrs. Beale, F.M. Burris, Miss K.D. Courtney, Lord Davies, Miss M. Lloyd George, Lady Gladstone, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, James Macdonald, G. le M. Mander, Sir Archibald Sinclair.

265. THE MEDITERRANEAN CRISIS. The Committee considered that no useful purpose would be served by the Union making a public statement on the question of the suppression of piracy. After a full discussion of the prospects of the Nyon Conference and the refusal of the German and Italian Governments to take part in it, in view of the accusations levelled against Italy by the Russian Government, it was

RESOLVED: "That the Chairman be asked to communicate with the Foreign Secretary and to inform him that the meeting, realising the intolerable situation created by repeated attacks upon shipping in the Mediterranean, welcomed the initiative taken by the French and British Governments and trusted that these Governments would not hesitate to take whatever collective measures were necessary to put an end to piracy, and that they would find it possible to associate other Members of the League with this task".

Mr. Nowell Smith desired to disassociate himself from this resolution.

266. THE WAR IN SPAIN. The Chairman reported that during his recent stay in Paris, he had met a number of Spanish intellectuals who were refugees from both sides in the Spanish war. He had been struck by the opinion which seemed to be general among them, that a conclusive victory by either side was improbable, and by their

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common desire for peace on a basis of some federal constitution. Dr. Murray added that this experience had led him to believe that efforts towards mediation might in the near future have some small prospect of success.

A proposal was made by Miss Rathbone that the Union should sign an appeal addressed both to the Government at Valencia and to General Franco urging both sides to refrain from executing prisoners, and especially political prisoners. The appeal had been signed by the National Peace Council, Women's Co-operative Guild, Union of Democratic Control, International League for Peace and Freedom, National Council for Equal Citizenship and For Intellectual Liberty.

The Committee, after discussion, regretfully decided not to fall in with Miss Rathbone's suggestion on the grounds that an appeal from societies associated with 'Left' political views was unlikely to achieve the desired end.

267. THE FAR EAST. The Committee had before it an appeal (S.G. 9213) received from the International Federation of League of Nations Societies asking for the Union's support in demanding effective action by the League to bring Japanese aggression to an end, and a communication in the same sense from the Chinese League of Nations Society.

The Committee were agreed upon the necessity of obtaining from the League a verdict against Japan: this would be of importance both in its influence upon the American Government and people and in providing a basis for possible action by the League Powers. After a long discussion of the possibility and expediency of advocating collective action under Article 16 of the Covenant, which would follow from a Chinese appeal under Article 17, in view both of the uncertainty of American participation in any collective measures to deal with Japanese retaliation and of the necessity of maintaining considerable naval forces in the Mediterranean, it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That, in the event of the Chinese Government appealing to the League for assistance in resisting Japanese aggression, the position of this Committee be made known in the following terms to His Majesty's Government and to the public:

The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union

Strongly condemns the aggressive action of the Japanese Government against China, and

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Urges His Majesty's Government to support the Chinese proposal to submit the matter to the League of Nations and to express our readiness in discharge of our obligations under the Covenant to take such action as may be possible and effective to put an end to the aggression; provided always that the co-operation of important countries outside the League as well as the attitude of the other Members of the League render effective action possible".

- (2) "That this resolution be not published unless and until such an appeal has been made by China".

268. ITALY, ETHIOPIA AND THE LEAGUE. The question of the representation of Ethiopia at the forthcoming Assembly was considered, in the light of the Committee's determination to discourage any measure which might lead directly or indirectly to Italian sovereignty over Ethiopia. It was eventually agreed that, while the absence of an Ethiopian Delegation might have an unfavourable psychological effect, it would be far worse for the credentials of an Ethiopian Delegation to be disallowed by the Credentials Committee. Were this to occur, it would give a certain diplomatic advantage, which they now lack, to Governments favourable to the Italian claim. In these circumstances it was felt that the lesser of two evils would be for the Emperor to refrain from sending a delegation. The Chairman mentioned that Professor Brierly, Chairman of the International Law Committee, was advising the Emperor to this effect.

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LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

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27.9.37.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 14, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1., ON THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 23RD, 1937, AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Dr. Murray (in the Chair), Lord Allen, Sir Norman Angell, Mrs. Beale, Major Anthony Buxton, Lord Cecil, Miss K.D. Courtney, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Philippa Fawcett, Miss Megan Lloyd George, Captain Liddell Hart, Lady Layton, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, James Macdonald, Gerald Palmer, W.T. Pritchard, Sir Arthur Salter, Sir Archibald Sinclair, Nowell Smith, H.S. Syrett, together with the Secretary.

269. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Vyvyan Adams, the Duchess of Atholl, P.J. Noel-Baker, Lady Violet Bonham-Carter, F.M. Burris, Sir Arthur Haworth, Dr. C.W. Kimmins, Lord Lytton, Brig.-General E.L. Speirs, and Major-General A.C. Temperley.

270. DEATH OF PRESIDENT MASARYK. The Chairman reported that he and Lord Cecil had sent a telegram of sympathy to Dr. Benes. A message had also been sent to the Secretary of the Czech League of Nations Society.

The Chairman referred to the recent death of M. Maurette who had done invaluable work on behalf of the I.L.O., of Sir Anton Bertram who had for many years been an active member of the Union's International Law Committee, and of Miss Chrystal MacMillan, for many years a member of the General Council. It was

RESOLVED: "That messages of sympathy on behalf of the Union be sent to the relatives of M. Maurette, Sir Anton Bertram and Dr. G. de Pekar, ex-President of the Hungarian League of Nations Society".

Dr. Murray said that he would write a private letter to the relatives of Miss Chrystal MacMillan.

271. REPORT OF COMMITTEE

Finance Committee. (Mr. Pritchard, and afterwards Mr. Syrett, reported). Subject to the following decision on minutes 60 and 62, the minutes of the Committee dated September 20th, 1937 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: (56) Minutes; (57) Queen's Hall Meeting on June 21st; (58) Donations under Deed; (59) Financial Statement; (60) Membership; (61) Report of Director of Appeals; (62) Appeal; (63) Subsistence Allowance for Members of the Staff; (64) Annual Conferences organised by the Industrial Advisory Committee; (65) Library; (66) Northern

and North Eastern Regional Accounts; (67) Northern Eastern Region; (68) Passing of Cheques for Payment; (69) Intelligence Section; (70) Budget for 1938.

On Minute 60 - Membership, Mr. Syrett spoke of the urgent need for Branches of the Union to make a big effort during the coming winter to increase their membership.

Lord Cecil raised the question whether the Union's present methods of propaganda are producing the best possible results.

Lord Allen thought it would be well if opportunities could be provided for members of the Executive to meet one another for informal discussion and interchange of opinion, particularly in regard to the Covenant itself and its application to the present international situation. Sir Norman Angell and other members of the Committee expressed their approval of Lord Allen's suggestion. Sir Norman urged that the Executive should, in particular, discuss informally the presentation of the Union's policy to the general public. It was

RESOLVED: "That Lord Cecil, Lord Allen and Sir Norman Angell be asked to prepare a memorandum for the Executive on the presentation of the Union's policy to the general public in the circumstances of to-day".

The Secretary reported that it was proposed to hold an evening party at St. Ermin's Hotel on October 12th or 14th when Branch Secretaries and speakers in London would be invited to meet the Union's leaders. It was

RESOLVED: "That this proposal be approved and adopted".

On Minute 62 - Appeal, it was

RESOLVED: "That the proposal contained in this minute be approved and adopted; that the Appeal be issued on 1st October; and that Branches be so informed in the October circular letter."

272. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Executive received resolutions from the Paignton, Stroud, East Willlesden and Cricklewood, County Hall (London), Withington, Edinburgh and Stockport Branches, and from the Students Peace Camp, Llangollen. It was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Paignton Branch be thanked for their resolution.

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(2) That the Stroud Branch be thanked for their resolution, and that it be referred to the Administration Committee for consideration and report.

(3) That the East Willesden and Cricklewood Branch be thanked for their resolution, be reminded of the resolutions adopted by the General Council at its Torquay meeting in June and by the Executive on June 24th, and be told that the Executive welcomes the proposal made by the Spanish delegate to the Assembly of the League of Nations on September 18th that the League should now concern itself (as recommended by the Union) to stop the fighting and restore order in Spain.

(4) That the members of the Llangollen Students Peace Camp be thanked for their resolution and be reminded of the resolution on "The League and Civil Wars Promoted from Outside" adopted by the General Council at its Torquay meeting.

(5) That the County Hall Branch be thanked for their resolution and be informed of the deputation from the International Federation of League of Nations Societies, the International Peace Campaign and the World Youth Congress, which was received by the President of the League's Assembly, in the presence of members of many delegations, on September 16th.

(6) That the Withington Branch be thanked for their resolution, be reminded of paragraph (3) of the Manifesto adopted by the General Council at Torquay, and be informed of the statement on Colonial Redistribution adopted by the Joint meeting of the Economic and Mandates Committees on July 16th, 1937.

(7) That the Edinburgh Branch be thanked for their resolution.

(8) That the Stockport Branch be thanked for their resolution.

273. MINUTES. Subject to the following decision and report on minutes 251 (a)75, 251 (b)2, and 254, the minutes of the last ordinary meeting dated July 29th, 1937 and of the special meeting dated September 9th, 1937, were confirmed as circulated.

P.T.O.

On Minute 251(a) 75 -- Deputation to Minister of Labour, it was

RESOLVED: "That no further action be taken by the Executive in this matter until after the next meeting of the Industrial Advisory Committee in October."

On Minute 251(b) 2 -- Union Policy on Colonial Redistribution, Lord Cecil drew the attention of of the Executive to a letter by Miss M.E. Durham in the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN of September 18th, and it was

RESOLVED: "That the Mandates Committee be asked further to consider the final paragraph of the Joint Committee's statement (S.G.9211a), and that their attention be directed to Miss Durham's letter in the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN".

On Minute 254 -- Spain, Lord Cecil stated that he hoped to be able to present a report to the Executive at their next meeting.

274. THE FAR EAST. The following cable from the Chinese League of Nations Union was read to the Committee:

"Chinese League Nations Union warmly appreciates your efforts uphold justice and peace regarding Japanese aggression and hopes you continue exert influence pressing quick effective action".

Sir Arthur Salter drew the attention of the Executive to a letter which had been prepared by the Union of Democratic Control and which he and others had been invited to sign for submission to the delegates to the League's Assembly. The text of the letter was read to the Executive.

Lord Cecil suggested that action should be taken to stop Japan and, if this was impossible, to disassociate the League from the discredit of permitting an aggression which was contrary to every obligation of the Covenant. He did not think that Japan would be seriously hampered by the proposal contained in the U.D.C.'s letter that League Members should refuse to export war material to Japan.

Captain Idwell Hart thought that, technically, the most effective thing would be to provide China with anti-aircraft material. If that could be done it would have the greatest effect of all because it was mainly the Japanese aircraft which was helping them to overcome the defence on the ground. Mention was made of Mr. Ewer's article in the DAILY HERALD of September 22nd concerning Germany's supply of munitions to China.

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

RESOLVED: "That the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union

Trusts that His Majesty's Government will do all in their power to persuade the Advisory Committee on the Sino-Japanese conflict (the Committee of Twenty-three) to determine where responsibility lies for the present fighting in China.

Should the Committee find that Japan is to blame, the Union's Executive would venture to urge His Majesty's Government to declare publicly

That they are prepared to carry out their duties under the Covenant;

That they are ready, in particular, to join in whatever measures may seem wise and effectual for putting a stop to the aggression, provided that other countries are ready to do the same in sufficient numbers to make the action effectual; and

That, in their opinion, the best method would be for all the countries concerned to refuse to accept any exports from Japan.

Note. The final wording of this resolution was left to the Secretary who drafted it as above after the meeting.

The Secretary reported that Professor Chang Peng-Chun of Nankai University, who was flying to England from North China, would be in London from September 24th to 29th. The Union was arranging a tea-party at St. Ermin's Hotel on Tuesday, September 28th at 5 p.m. when Professor Chang Peng-Chun would be invited to speak on the present situation in the Far East to members of the Union and speakers in the London area.

275. ITALY AND THE MEDITERRANEAN. The Executive discussed the present situation in the Mediterranean, and it was

RESOLVED: "That, while the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union would welcome the genuine co-operation of Italy in collective action against the international crime of

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piracy in the Mediterranean, it believes that it would be fatal to attempt to secure the co-operation of Italy in this or other matters by the condonation of any other international crime, as for example, by the recognition of Italy's conquest of Abyssinia".

276. INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF LEAGUE OF NATIONS SOCIETIES. The Executive had before them a report on the Autumn meetings of the International Federation (S.C.9360). It was

RESOLVED: "That the report be received".

Miss Courtney reported on the joint deputation from the International Federation, the International Peace Campaign and the World Youth Congress which had been received by the President of the Assembly in the presence of some twenty-seven delegations on September 16th. The Executive expressed their warm thanks to Lord Allen for his speech on that occasion.

277. I.P.C. NATIONAL CONGRESS. It was reported that, in response to the Secretary's circular letter, seven Branches had nominated fourteen delegates (list filed with these minutes for reference) to the I.P.C. National Congress. It was

RESOLVED: "That the fourteen members nominated by the Union's Branches be included in the Union's delegation to the I.P.C. Congress".

278. ARMISTICE DAY MESSAGE. The Executive had before them copies of the Armistice Day Message for 1937 written by General Smuts. The Secretary stated that, since General Smuts' message might not be considered suitable for twelve-years olds, he had, in accordance with previous practice, invited Mr. Vernon Bartlett to write an alternative message in more simple language for younger children.

DELEGATES TO THE I.P.C. - FIRST NATIONAL CONGRESSOCTOBER 22ND - 24TH

Miss M.L. Beard	Secretary	Newcastle under Lyme Branch
Dr. Lyth	Chairman	" "
R.G. Welford	Secretary	Holborn Branch
Miss N. Birkbeck	Secretary	Smallheath (Birmingham) Branch.
J.D. Boulton Jefferies	Member	" "
Miss Doreen Long	Asst. Sec.	Southampton Branch
H. Collins	Chairman	" "
Third delegate not yet chosen		" "
Miss G.H. Rowland	Member	Hull Branch
Dr. E.G.M. Baskett	Secretary	Sydenham and Forest Hill Branch
Dr. Gladstone	Chairman	" "
Miss Lee	Member	" "
Miss Dennithorne	"	North Chingford "
Miss White	"	" "

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LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A SPECIAL MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
HELD AT 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1. ON
THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 30TH, 1937 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Dr. Gilbert Murray (in the Chair) Vyvyan Adams, Lord Allen, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, P.J. Noel Baker, F.M. Burris, Lord Cecil, Miss K.B. Courtney, Mrs. Digdale, Miss Philippa Fawcett, W. Arnold Forster, Lady Gladstone, Sir John Harris, Lady Hall, Dr. C.W. Kimmins, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Lord Lytton, James Macdonald, W.T. Pritchard, Sir Arthur Salter, Nowell Smith, H.S. Syrett, Major Lawrence Wright, together with the Secretary and the Deputy Secretary.

279. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from the Duchess of Atholl, Mrs. Beale, Captain Cazalet, the Dean of Chichester, Lord Davies, W. Arnold Forster, Miss Megan Lloyd George, Sir Arthur Haworth, G. le M. Mander, Gerald Palmer, Sir Archibald Sinclair, Brig.-General E.L. Spears, and Major-General A.C. Temperley.

280. THE FAR EAST

(a) Albert Hall Meeting. Lord Lytton and the Secretary reported the circumstances in which the NEWS CHRONICLE were organising a public meeting in the Albert Hall on Tuesday, October 5th to protest against the ill-treatment of Chinese civilians by the Japanese military. The Archbishop of Canterbury had promised to preside and Lord Lytton, Dr. Sydney Barty (Chairman of the Free Church Council), Mr. Herbert Morrison and Professor Chang Pong-Chun of Nankai University would speak. It was hoped that Mr. Lloyd George and Lady Violet Bonham Carter would also address the meeting. With the Chairman's approval and on the understanding that the NEWS CHRONICLE would defray the expense, notices of the meeting had been sent to Branches and Corporate Members of the Union and others in the London area.

The Secretary read to the Executive the draft of a resolution which he prepared at Sir Walter Layton's request and which might be put to the meeting if the Archbishop and the other speakers approved. His draft if adopted would mean that the meeting objected to the whole Japanese aggression and not merely to the injury done to non-combatants, and that the meeting supported the L.N.U. in urging that collective action should be taken to stop Japan by a sufficiently widespread refusal to buy Japanese goods. The Executive hoped that a resolution on these lines would be submitted to the meeting. Lord Lytton promised to talk the matter over with the Archbishop.

P.T.O.

(b) Present Situation in the Far East. After prolonged discussion in which most members of the Committee took part, and during which arguments for and against the imposition of an oil embargo on Japan were put before the Committee and draft resolutions by Mr. Noel Baker (S.G.9373) and Lord Cecil were considered, it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That in view of the repeated evidence that Japan is trying to carry through her invasion of China to success by measures of frightfulness;

The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union

Calls on H.M. Government

- (1) To press upon the Assembly of the League the necessity of declaring that China has been the victim of aggression and that it is the duty of all Members of the League, among other measures, to refuse all imports from Japan and, by these means, deprive her of the power of renewing her sinews of war, provided that other countries outside the League will do the same;
- (2) To insist that the Assembly do not disperse until effective action has been concerted;
- (3) To propose in the Assembly that Members of the League should cooperate in giving financial assistance to China and in sending her supplies of food and medical requirements; and
- (4) To offer an immediate gift of not less than £100,000 towards the expenses of the proposed League of Nations Medical Missions to China."

(2) "That the above resolution be telegraphed to the head of the British delegation at Geneva, and be communicated to His Majesty's Government and to the press".

Mr. Noel Baker suggested that a deputation from the Executive should present the resolution to H.M. Government. But the Committee agreed with Lord Cecil in thinking that there was no particular advantage to be gained by a deputation.

The Secretary reported that copies of the resolution adopted by the Executive at its last meeting were being circulated to all the Union's Branches with a request that they should organise local meetings and pass resolutions on the lines suggested by the Executive.

(c) Special Meeting of General Council. The Chairman reported a communication from Mr. Blair Fish, suggesting that a special meeting of the General Council should be called in order to consider the present situation in the Far East.

Mr. Arnold-Forster and others thought that the summoning of a special meeting of the Council for this purpose would have an important effect on public opinion and it was, on the motion of Lord Cecil,

RESOLVED: (3) "That a special meeting of the General Council be summoned on or about October 12th for the purpose of considering the present urgent position in international affairs".

(d) Resolution of I.P.C. Executive. The Executive had before them a letter written by Lord Allen to the Secretary on September 25th concerning the issue to the B.E.C. and to the press on September 23rd of a resolution on the Far East adopted by the I.P.C. Executive Committee on that afternoon. He pleaded for more co-operation between the Union and the I.P.C. in order to avoid statements of policy being issued to the public through the B.E.C. and the press from two different sources on the same day.

Lord Cecil did not think there was any real conflict between the resolution of the Union's Executive and that of the I.P.C. The latter resolution had been communicated to the headquarters of the I.P.C. at Geneva and had received a wide body of international support.

A circular letter, dated September 24th, from the International Peace Campaign to all its co-operating societies, asking them to take action on its resolution of September 23rd, was submitted to the Executive.

281. SPAIN. The Executive discussed the present situation in regard to the Spanish civil war, and it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union believes that the continuance of the form of "non-intervention" under which the Spanish Government is denied the facilities for obtaining supplies to which it would be entitled under the ordinary principles of

international law is without justification unless it secures the immediate withdrawal of the foreign nationals in Spain, and that, unless such withdrawal can be effected without further delay, these facilities should be restored".

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

282. REFUGEES. On the motion of Mrs. Dugdale, it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union warmly welcomes the lead given by His Majesty's Government during the discussion on the Refugee question, and trusts that British influence will continue to be used on the League's Committee to ensure the establishment of effective international machinery for the solution of this world problem".

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

283. INCREASING THE ADVANTAGES OF LEAGUE MEMBERSHIP. The Executive had before them a memorandum by Mr. Arnold Forster (S.G.9368) on the subject of resolutions adopted by the General Council at Torquay and by the International Federation at Bratislava. It was

RESOLVED: "That Mr. Arnold Forster's memorandum be referred to the Political Committee who, on July 1st last, had been asked by the Executive to consider and report on the resolution on Peaceful Settlement of Disputes adopted by the General Council at Torquay".

284. I.P.C. NATIONAL CONGRESS. On the motion of Dame Adelaide Livingstone it was

RESOLVED: "That the question of the appointment of delegates from the Executive to the I.P.C. National Congress be included on the agenda for discussion at the next meeting".

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LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD
AT 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1. ON THURSDAY,
OCTOBER 7TH, 1937 AT 10.45 A.M.

PRESENT: Dr. Gilbert Murray (in the Chair), Lord Allen
Mrs. Corbett Ashby, F.M. Burris, Lord Cecil,
Vice-Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Lord Dickinson,
Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Philippa Fawcett, Lady
Gladstone, Sir John Harris, Sir Arthur Hewort
Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Lord Lytton, James
Macconnald, W.R. Pritchard, Miss Eleanor
Rathbone, Sir Arthur Salter, Nowell Smith,
H.S. Syrett, Major-General A.C. Temperley,
Major Lawrence Wright, together with the Sec-
retary and the Deputy Secretary.

285. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Sir Norman
Angell, P.J. Noel Baker, Mrs. Besle, Lady Violet Bonham
Carter, Captain Cazet, the Dean of Chichester, Miss K.
Courtney, Miss Megan Lloyd George, Dr. C.W. Kimmins,
G. le M. Mander and Gerald Palmer.

286. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

(a) Youth Committee (Dr. Garnett reported) Subject to
the following decision on minute 76, the minutes of
the Standing Committee dated 11th September, 1937
were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: (70) Minutes;
(71) Registration of Groups; (72) Branch
Letter; (73) I.L.O.; (74) China; (75) League
Assembly; (76) General Council/

On Minute 76 -- General Council, it was

RESOLVED: "That this minute be approved and adopted,
subject to its being amended to read as
follows:

"That at future annual meetings of the
Union's General Council there be placed
on the agenda such resolutions as will
ensure adequate consideration being
given to the Youth Groups' work".

The Executive also considered, as a matter of urgency
minute 80 (The Far East) of the Youth Committee
dated October 2nd, 1937. It was

RESOLVED: "That this minute be received with thanks"

P.T.O.

(b) Finance Committee (Mr. Syrett reported). The minutes of the Committee dated October 5th, 1937, were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: (71) Minutes; (72) Financial Statement; (73) Membership; (74) Budget for 1938; (75) Investigation Committee; (76) Passing of Cheques for Payment; (77) Berkshire Federal Council; (78) Composition of Committee.

On Minute 74 -- Budget for 1938, Admiral Drury-Lowe suggested that action should be taken with a view to increasing the sale of the Union's publications at Branch meetings.

287. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Executive received resolutions from the Edinburgh, Eastbourne, Bury, Sturmer, Radleigh Selterton and North Finchley Branches and from the Woolwich District Council, Essex Federal Council, and the Sussex Federal Council. It was

- RESOLVED: (1) That the Edinburgh Branch be thanked for their resolution and the action taken in regard to it.
- (2) That the Eastbourne Branch be thanked, and be informed of the resolutions adopted by the Executive on September 23rd and 30th.
- (3) That the Woolwich District Council be thanked for their resolution, and be reminded of the resolutions adopted by the Executive on September 23rd and 30th; of the meeting organised by the NEWS CHRONICLE in the Albert Hall on October 5th and addressed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Lytton, Dr. Sydney Berry and Mr. Herbert Morrison among others; and of the special meeting of the Union's General Council summoned for October 12th.
- (4) That the Bury, Sturmer, Radleigh Selterton, North Finchley Branches and the Essex Federal Council be thanked for their resolutions and be asked to communicate them to the local press, the local Members of Parliament and the Foreign Office.
- (5) That the Sussex Federal Council be thanked for their resolution and be informed that the Executive Committee approves of the action they propose to take in regard to it.

It was further reported that resolutions had been received from nine Churches and Christian organisations expressing profound horror at the indiscriminate bombing on open towns and civilian population by Japan, and urging His Majesty's Government to take effective action to prevent further outrages of this kind. In most cases action was urged through the League of Nations and in some the abolition of aerial warfare was insisted upon. It was

RESOLVED: (6) "That the Churches and Christian organisations be thanked for their resolutions and be asked to communicate them to the local press, the local Members of Parliament and the Foreign Office."

A large number of resolutions dealing with the Far East received from Branches of the Union since the circulation of the Executive's papers were reported, and it was

RESOLVED: (7) "That the Branches be thanked for their resolutions and be asked, where they have not already done so, to communicate their resolutions to the local press, the local Members of Parliament and the Foreign Office".

288. MINUTES. Subject to the following report on minutes 271(60), 273(251-75) and 273(254), and subject to the inclusion of Admiral Drury-Lowe's name in the list of apologies for absence, the minutes of the last ordinary meeting dated September 23rd and of the special meeting dated September 30th, 1937 were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 271-60-Membership, Lord Allen stated that some members of the Executive would meet for informal discussion on October 20th, and that meanwhile no action had been taken in regard to the preparation of the memorandum described in this minute.

On Minute 273-251(75) -- Deputation to Minister of Labour, Admiral Drury-Lowe spoke of a conversation he had had in Geneva with Mr. H.B. Butler concerning the importance of H.M. Government ratifying the Maritime Convention. The Admiral suggested that arrangements should be made for a deputation from the Union to discuss this matter with the Minister of Transport, and it was

RESOLVED: "That this suggestion be referred to the Industrial Advisory Committee for consideration and report".

289. THE FAR EAST

(a) Report on Albert Hall Meeting. It was reported that the Albert Hall had been well filled on October 5th and that the proceeds of the collection exceeded £400. The Executive expressed their cordial thanks to Lord Lytton and Lady Violet Bonham Carter for their speeches at the meeting.

A letter was read from the NEWS CHRONICLE, thanking the Union for their help in organising the meeting, and asking whether, if the speeches were re-printed in pamphlet form, the Union would be willing to take a supply at cost price for re-sale. After discussion, in the course of which it was suggested that the Union might take a small number of the pamphlets on sale or return, it was

RESOLVED: "That the request of the NEWS CHRONICLE be referred to the Editorial Committee with power to act".

Miss Fawcett suggested that the NEWS CHRONICLE might be willing to furnish the Union with the names and addresses of those who had applied for tickets for the meeting. If these could be distributed to the Union's Branches a large number of new members for the Union might be enrolled. The Secretary stated that he had already obtained names and addresses of those present on the platform and would endeavour to get the complete list.

(b) Resolutions for submission to the General Council. It was reported that, in accordance with the Executive's decision, an emergency meeting of the General Council has been summoned for 11.30 a.m. on Tuesday, October 12th in the Caxton Hall to consider the present urgent position in international affairs.

The Executive had before them the draft of a resolution (S.G.9395) which the Youth Committee had suggested for submission to the Council. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) That, subject to the approval of Mr. Noel Baker, the resolution be submitted to the General Council in the following amended form:

"That the General Council of the League of Nations Union,

aware of the universal horror and indignation aroused by Japanese aggression in China,

Suggests to young people and sportsmen in this and other countries that they should make their

- 5 -

abhorrence of such proceedings known throughout Japan by an announcement in their respective countries that "all arrangements for representation at Tokio in 1940 are suspended".

The Executive then discussed the question of further resolutions for the General Council.

Lord Allen thought that public opinion had not lost confidence in the League system but was very bewildered about it. He suggested therefore that the resolution to be submitted to the General Council should deal first with fundamentals. It might begin by drawing the attention of the Government and of the public to the fact that the present situation is due to neglect to apply League principles in the past. Sir Arthur Salter added that in order to rebuild the League we must seize every opportunity to apply League principles so far as the particular circumstances permit. Lord Allen agreed, and added that the opportunity now offered was altogether exceptional. The resolution should go on to say how the League principles should be applied in regard to Spain and the Far East.

The Executive discussed the situation which might arise if, as a result of collective action taken to restrain Japan, she were to attack Hong Kong or Singapore. Lord Lytton reminded the Committee that in its view collective action should only be taken if it were likely to achieve its object, and observed that collective action which would stop Japanese aggression against China would a fortiori defeat Japan were she to attack Britain or other Powers in addition to China.

After prolonged discussion, in the course of which the Secretary suggested that if, at the beginning of the resolution, there could be included a sentence of two to the effect that the League to-day was much more alive than it had been for some time past, and if this could be re-inforced by speeches from those who had lately been in Geneva, the delegates to the Council would go back to their Branches with renewed vigour and enthusiasm, it was

RESOLVED: (2) "That Lord Allen and Sir Arthur Salter be asked to draft and to submit to the Chairman for his approval a resolution, or resolutions, for submission to the General Council on October 12th."

(c) President Roosevelt's Declaration. The Executive discussed the speech delivered by President Roosevelt in Chicago on October 5th. The opinion was expressed that it was the most important thing which had happened in years.

P.T.O.

	NAME	NOMINATED BY	TO SERVE ON COMMISSION NAMED BELOW
P	Miss M.L. Beard Dr. Lyth	(Newcastle-under-Lyme Branch " " " " " "	Churches
	R.G. Walford	Holborn	Youth
	Miss N. Birkbeck	(Small Heath " " " "	
	Paid direct to I.P.C. by D. Boulton Jefferies		
P	Miss Doreen Long	(Southampton " " " "	
P	H. Collins	(" " " " " "	
P	(Third Delegate)	(" " " " " "	
HP	Miss G.H. Rowland	Hull	
P	Dr. B.C.M. Baskett	(Sydenham and Forest Hill " " " " " "	Industrialists & Economists
P	Dr. Gladstone	(" " " " " "	
P	Miss Lee	(" " " " " "	
P	Miss Lennithorne	(North Chingford Branch " " " " " "	Education
P	Miss White	(" " " " " "	
P	S.H. Stepney, J.F.	Herne Bay	Churches
	Mrs. Samson	(Chiswick " " " "	
	C.H. Bates	(" " " " " "	
	C.J. Day	(" " " " " "	
P	E.W. Kollard	Kyde	Science or Youth
P	F. Mortimer Grimes	Nottingham	Writers & Journalists
P	Miss Hilton	(Eastbourne " " " "	
P	Mrs. Batten	(" " " " " "	
P	J.R. Baston	(" " " " " "	Youth
P	The Rev. A.W. Anderson	(" " " " " "	Churches
P	J. Hudson	Christ Church, Cockfosters	Churches
HP	F. Wilson	(Kirkby Stephen Branch " " " " " "	Education
HP	F.W. Barrett	(and N. Westmorland D.C.	
P	The Rev. J.L. Chown	Wolverhampton Branch	Industrialists & Economists
P	F. Marsden	(Battersea " " " "	Science
P	C.E. Lee	(" " " " " "	Churches
P	S.H. Roughton	(" " " " " "	
P	DR. W.H. Barber	Emsworth & Havant Branch	
	Miss M.L. Graham	Settle	Youth or Education
P	A.J. Melton	Lincoln	
P	Misses Margaret & Mabel Butler	Kings Heath	

(Seven from I.R.F.)

P. Delegates he has been paid

H. Hospitality has been asked for and I.P.C. have been informed.

In reply to a question, Lord Cecil said that he had already written privately to the President, expressing his deep appreciation of the speech.

Lord Lytton suggested that the Executive or the General Council should pass a resolution cordially welcoming the admirable principles which President Roosevelt had laid down for the guidance of nations; and after further discussion it was, on the motion of Lord Cecil,

RESOLVED: (3) "That the following motion be included in the agenda for the special meeting of the General Council:

"That the General Council believes that it is essential for the safety and progress of mankind that the rule of law should be established and maintained among nations, and welcomes the great statement by President Roosevelt of the principle that all peace-loving nations must join in achieving this vital purpose".

The Chairman was asked to write privately to Mr. Eden saying how deeply and earnestly the Executive Committee desired that H.M. Government should welcome and encourage the President in the lead he had given. Lord Lytton said that, if an opportunity occurred, he would speak to Mr. Eden on the subject.

290. NATIONAL I.P.C. CONGRESS. Dame Adelaide Livingstone expressed the hope that reference to the National I.P.C. Congress would be made at the meeting of the Union's General Council on October 12th.

The Secretary reported that a further twenty-nine delegates had been appointed to the Congress from the Union's Branches and it was

RESOLVED: (1) That these twenty-nine delegates (list filed with these minutes for reference) be included in the Union's Delegation to the Congress; and

(2) That any members of the Executive Committee who are willing to attend the Congress be also included in the Union's delegation.

291. SCOTTISH PEACE PAVILION. The Secretary reported a recent conversation he had had with Mr. McLeod Davis, the Secretary of the Scottish Peace Council, who had obtained an option on a site in Glasgow next summer for a Peace Pavilion. Mr. McLeod Davis had suggested that the Union, together with the Scottish Peace Council, and

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perhaps also the National Peace Council (if he could not keep that Council as a separate body out of Scotland) might form a Joint Committee for the organisation of the Pavilion, on the understanding that neither the Union nor the Scottish Peace Council would be under any financial obligation in the matter. Dame Adelaide Livingstone stated that the Executive of the British National Committee for the I.P.C. would gladly be represented on any Committee for the Peace Pavilion so long as they were not committed financially. It was

RESOLVED: "That the Union be represented on the proposed Joint Committee for the organisation of the Peace Pavilion in the Empire Exhibition at Glasgow provided that, in so doing, it incurs no financial liability".

CONFIDENTIALC.13
18.10.37.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT
14, GROSVENOR GRESSENT, LONDON, S.W.1. ON THURSDAY,
OCTOBER 14TH, 1937, AT 11.30 A.M.

PRESENT: Gilbert Murray (in the Chair), Lord Allen,
Sir Norman Angell, Mrs. Corbett Ashby,
F.M. Barris, Major Anthony Buxton, Miss K.D.
Courtney, Lord Dickinson, Vice-Admiral S.R.
Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Digdale, Miss Philippa
Fawcett, Miss M. Lloyd George, Lady Gladstone,
Dr. C.W. Kimmins, Lord Lytton, Hon. Harold
Nicolson, Gerald Palmer, W.T. Pritchard,
Miss Eleanor Rathbone, Sir Arthur Salter,
Nowell Smith, Major Lawrence Wright, together
with the Secretary and the Deputy Secretary.

292^c APLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Wyvyan Adams,
the Duchess of Atholl, Mrs. Beale, Captain Cazalet,
Lord Cecil, Miss Corcoran, Captain Liddell Hart, James
Macdonald, G. le M. Mander, Brig.-General E.L. Spears,
H.S. Syrett, Major-General A.C. Temperley and F.W. Beaver.

293^c REPORT OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL. The Chairman reported on
the meeting of the Council. Mrs. Digdale thought the
attendance at the Council had been very thin and asked
whether the Branches had been sufficiently urged to send
representatives. The Secretary described the steps that
had been taken to secure a full attendance and reported
that 26 English counties as well as Wales and the 3
Districts of Scotland had been represented.

294^c SPAIN AND THE MEDITERRANEAN. The Executive considered
Mr. Arnold Forster's proposals referred to it by the
Council. Mr. Arnold Forster had proposed that that part
of the Council's resolution relating to the opening
of the Pyrenees should be replaced by the following paragraph:

"That Britain, France and other League Members
should make plain their determination to prevent
all further foreign military intervention in
breach of the Covenant, even if this involves,
like the Nyon agreement, the use of collective
force".

Certain members of the Executive would have preferred
such a proposal since they felt apprehensive of the
results of the opening of the frontier. The general
opinion, however, was that Mr. Arnold Forster's proposal
would be more likely than that of the General Council
to provoke immediate war with Italy.

295: PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S SPEECHES. Sir Arthur Salter thought the Union should avoid any action that might be represented in the United States as an appeal for help in preserving the British Empire. It would be hard to over-estimate the importance of the British Government being ready to modify the Ottawa Tariff Policy so as to render possible a new commercial treaty with the United States. An agreement on currency and for the settlement of the British debt to the United States might follow. It was

RESOLVED: "That the Union speakers and writers be asked to arouse public opinion to the urgent need for a commercial agreement with the United States".

296: THE FAR EAST. The Secretary reported that a cable had been received from Mr. Inch, the Secretary of the Canadian League of Nations Society asking for the views of responsible leaders of the Union on the question of an unofficial boycott. Attention was drawn to the resolution of the American Federation of Labour recommending its members not to purchase Japanese goods. It was

RESOLVED: "That it is outside the Union's province to advise individuals to boycott Japanese goods".

It was further

RESOLVED: "That the Chairman be asked to write to the Prime Minister congratulating him on that portion of his speech which dealt with President Roosevelt's pronouncements at Chicago and the Far Eastern situation".

CONFIDENTIALC.13
25.10.37.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD
AT 14 GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1. ON THURSDAY,
OCTOBER 21ST, 1937 AT 10.45 A.M.

PRESENT: Dr. Gilbert Murray (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams, Lord Allen, Sir Norman Angell, the Duchess of Atholl, P.J. Noel Baker, Mrs. E.P. Beale, F.M. Burris, Major Anthony Buxton, Captain Cazalet, Lord Cecil, Miss Judith Corcoran, Miss K.D. Courtney, Lord Dickinson, Miss Philippa Fawcett, W. Arnold Forster, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, Dr. C.W. Kimmins, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Lord Lytton, James Macdonald, Gerald Palmer, W.T. Eritchard, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, Sir Arthur Salter, H.P. Shaw, Nowell Smith, Brig.-General E.L. Spears, H.S. Syrett, Major-General A.C. Temperley, Major Lawrence Wright, together with the Secretary and the Deputy Secretary.

292. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Miss M. Lloyd George, Captain E.H. Liddell Hart and Sir Arthur Haworth.

293. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

(a) Youth Committee (Miss Corcoran reported). Subject to the decision on minute 80 recorded in minute 209(b) of the Executive Committee of October 7th, the minutes of the Youth Committee dated October 2nd were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: (78) Minutes; (79) Registration of Groups; (80) Emergency General Council Meeting of the Union; (81) Albert Hall Meeting.

(b) Library Committee. (Dr. Kimmins reported). Subject to the following report on minute 17, the minutes of the Committee dated October 11th, 1937, were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: (16) Minutes of the last meeting; (17) Appeal for Funds; (18) Education Committee's resolution concerning curtailment of certain Library services; (19) Library Staff; (20) Publicity for Library; (21) Alterations in Periodical List; (22) Book List.

On Minute 17 -- Appeal for Funds, it was suggested that a more satisfactory response might be obtained if appeals for financial assistance for the Library were accompanied, wherever possible, by personal letters or visits from Dr. Mirray or other members of the Committee. Sir John Harris suggested that an appeal on behalf of the Library might also be sent to the Harold Buxton Trust.

- (c) Education Committee (Dr. Kimmins reported). The minutes of the Committee dated October 11th, 1937, were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: (108) Minutes; (109) Membership of the Committee; (110) Meetings for Teachers and Schools; (111) British Universities League of Nations Society; (112) International Federation of League of Nations Societies; (113) Summer Schools, Camps and Conferences; (114) Junior Branches Sub-Committee; (115) International Peace Campaign; (116) Teachers' Association and the League of Nations Union; (117) Adult Education in the South-West region; (118) Arrangements for Armistice Day; (119) Conference of Educational Associations; (120) Christmas Holiday Lectures for School-boys and Girls, January 3rd-7th; (121) International Conference of Teachers, January 7th-11th; (122) The Union's General Council; (123) Junior Branch Resolutions; (124) Miss Spaul; (125) Report of Youth Committee; (126) Junior Branches; (127) Junior Sections; (128) (Educational) Corporate Members.

- (d) Administration Committee (Mr. Pritchard reported) Subject to the following decision and report on minutes 73 and 81, the minutes of the Committee dated October 14th, 1937, were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: (69) Minutes; (70) Evening Session at the General Council Meeting in London; (71) Membership; (72) Representation of Youth Groups at Meetings of the General Council; (73) The Objects of the Union; (74) National Conference in 1939; (75) Meetings of Branch Workers; (76) Suggestions made at the Conference of Branch Secretaries at Torquay; (77) National Youth Peace Day; (78) Declaration: "War Can be Averted"; (79) Branches, Corporate Members, etc.; (80) Peace Weeks; (81) Christmas Gift Tokens.

On Minute 73 — the Objects of the Union, it was

RESOLVED: "That this minute be approved and adopted subject to the resolution being amended to read as follows:

'That the Objects of the Union as set forth in the Royal Charter be printed on cards to be available at Union meetings".

On Minute 81 — Christmas Gift Tokens, Mr. Pritchard regretted that his time was now so fully occupied that he would be unable to accede to the Committee's request that he should consider and make recommendations concerning the method by which annual subscriptions for HEADWAY might best be made available as Christmas presents.

(e) Political Committee. The Secretary reported as a matter of urgency that the Political Committee, at their meeting on October 19th, had recommended that a cordial invitation should be sent to Mr. Eden to address the members of the Union's General Council when they meet in London in December. It was

RESOLVED: "That the recommendation of the Political Committee be approved and adopted."

294. MINUTES. Subject to the following report and decision on minutes 289(a), 290 and 291, the minutes of the last general meeting held on October 7th and of the world affairs meeting held on October 14th, were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 289(a) — Report on Albert Hall Meeting, copies of a provisional reprint, supplied by the NEWS CHRONICLE, of the speeches delivered at the Albert Hall Meeting on October 5th were handed to members of the Committee.

On Minute 290 — National I.P.C. Congress, the Secretary reported that Lady Gladstone, Miss P. Fawcett and Mr. Arnold Forster had expressed their willingness to attend the National I.P.C. Congress and would therefore, in accordance with the decision contained in minute 290, be included in the Union's delegation.

Dr. Garnett further reported that an additional thirty-one delegates had been appointed to the Congress from the Union's Branches, and it was

NAMEs AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES APPLIED DIRECT
TO I.P.C., FIRST NATIONAL CONGRESS.

London Regional Federation. 43 Russell Square, W.C.1.

Capt. Flint.
W.T.Pritchard.
Miss Ridgea.
Miss S.A.Smith.
Dr. Florence Wickelgren.
Miss W.D.Naylor, Hon. Sec.

Brighton L.N.U.

Miss E.M.Taylor,
55d, Warrior Square,
St-Leonards-on-Sea.

Bury L.N.U.

F.J.Crawford,
18 Cardigan Drive,
Bury.

Ecceles.

Miss Winchester,
Fairways,
Walkden Road,
Worsley, Nr. Manchester

T.M.Hudson,
Fairholme,
Brackley Road,
Monton, Nr. Manchester.

Edgbaston.

Mrs C.deW.Duff,
57 Wheelays Road,
Edgbaston, Birmingham.

Frochnal Training College.

Miss Joan Adams,
& Miss Dora Flew of
Osborne House,
The Avenue, Bedford.

Lewisham.

Miss Norris,
76 Canadian Avenue,
Catford, S.E.6.

Marlborough

Mrs John Jones,
The Rectory,
Marlborough, Wilts.

Montague Burton L.N.U.

Councillor Beavers,
c/o The Secretary.

Oldham.

Fred Pearson,
60 Breezehill Road,
Oldham, Lancs.

Olton.

Mrs Harrod,
110 Kinston Green Road,
Olton, Birmingham.

Rhondda.

John Haddock,
63 Miskin Street,
Treherbert,
Rhondda, Glam.

Savings Bank Dept.

H.Trafford,
Ratcliffe Road,
Sibley, Nr. Loughborough.

Southport.

G.D.Watkins,
11 Farnborough Road,
Stockport.

Storrington.

Rev. Hall,
The Rectory,
W.Chiltington,
Pulborough, Sussex.

A.J.Johnson,
Dalatessa,
W.Chiltington, Pulborough, Sussex.

Whitstable.

Col Carnegie,
The Haven,
Seasalter, Whitstable.

P.T.O.

RESOLVED: "That these thirty-one delegates (list filed with these minutes for reference) be included in the Union's delegation to the Congress".

On Minute 291 -- Scottish Peace Pavilion.
Dr. Garnett reported a letter dated October 18th from Mr. Crawford of the Scottish National Council asking whether, in connection with the organisation of the proposed Peace Pavilion at the Glasgow Empire Exhibition, the Executive Committee "would render assistance in approaching the Dominions representatives in London and other possible sources of financial assistance, such as the Pilgrim Trust, etc." It was

RESOLVED: "That the Scottish National Council be informed that the Executive is willing to help in whatever way it can in obtaining exhibits from the Dominions for the proposed Peace Pavilion; but that the request for assistance in obtaining financial help be referred to the Finance Committee for consideration and report".

295. RELATIONS BETWEEN THE I.P.C. AND THE UNION. The Executive considered the following proposal by Lord Cecil:

I. It is expedient that the work for Peace of the L.N.U. and the I.P.C. be more closely co-ordinated on some such terms as the following:-

- As from the first of January 1938, the British National Committee of the I.P.C. shall be run as one of the Committees of the L.N.U. on the lines of the National Youth Committee; that is to say, as regards questions of Policy, it will be subject to the Executive Committee of the L.N.U. and no Resolution or Statement of Policy will be issued to public or press until approved by the Executive Committee of the L.N.U.; but in matters of propaganda and the advocacy of the International Peace Campaign, it will, subject to this, be allowed a considerable degree of autonomy.
- The L.N.U. will be responsible for the finance of the Committee, including the agreed contribution of £,200 p.a. to the International Body. No separate appeals shall be made on behalf of the I.P.C. by the Committee without the consent of the Finance Committee of the L.N.U.

Wethington.

Miss A.C. Alexander,
19 Broadway,
Manchester.

D. Caralde,
111 Wellington Avenue,
Parwood Road,
E. Didsbury, Manchester 20.

Also South Africa

Miss Magniac,
at 9 Colford Gardens,
S.W.3.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Nominated by</u>	<u>Education</u>
H. Godfrey	Sleaford Branch	Education
Miss K. Lane	Abergavenny Branch	Medical
W.T. King) Miss N.F. Wright) Mr. S. Sin)	Walkern & Ardley Branch	Aviation Social Services Churches
Mrs. Leak	Brighton Branch	
Miss A.E. Engledon	Wigan Branch	Education

The following members of the Executive Committee have expressed their willingness to attend the Congress and to be included in the Union's delegation:

Viscountess Gladstone
Miss Fewcett
Mr. Arnold Forster.

Lexton.

W.B. Dixon,
71 Forest Drive, East,
Letchworth, E.11.

Romford.

A.A. Lamb,
43 Hornshurch Road,
Romford.

St. Pancras.

W. Sharman,
39 Savernake Road,
N.W.2.

Miss H. Booth,
3 Worsley Road,
N.W.3.

To serve on
Commission
named below

3. Offices and staff of the Committee will be provided by the L.N.U., every effort being made to avoid hardship to the existing employees of the I.P.C.

II. The Council in December shall be asked to authorise the Executive Committee to negotiate with the I.P.C. on these lines, and in the meantime a modus vivendi between the two bodies shall be arranged.

Consideration of Lord Cecil's proposals was adjourned until Thursday, October 28th.

296. REPORT OF INVESTIGATION COMMITTEE. Mr. Pritchard presented to the Executive the minutes of the meeting of the Investigation Committee dated October 13th, 1937, together with a printed proof of the Committee's Final Report for submission to the General Council. He supported the recommendation of the Committee that, in order to give Branches an opportunity of studying the document, the Report with the prefatory note, but excluding the Supplementary Recommendations should be printed in the Preliminary Agenda which would be issued on 8th November, 1937. The Report could thereafter be considered by the Executive in conjunction with the Finance and Administration Committees, and any amendments which the Executive wished to make could be printed in the Final Agenda for the Council.

Mr. Syrett stated that he and Sir John Mann reserved their decisions on Recommendations VI and X as well as on all the Supplementary Recommendations until they were considered by the Executive and Finance Committees. He regretted that the Investigation Committee had not consulted the Finance Committee before issuing its Final Report.

After considerable discussion it was, on the motion of Mr. Pritchard, seconded by Major Buxton,

RESOLVED: "That the Final Report of the Investigation Committee but without the Supplementary Recommendations be printed in the Preliminary Agenda for the December meeting of the General Council, together with a statement that the Council was not being troubled with certain suggestions and recommendations in regard to book-keeping, etc. made by the Investigation Committee to the Executive; and with a note to the effect that the Report as a whole is being examined by the Executive in conjunction with the Finance Committee and that the Executive's recommendations to the Council will be printed in the Final Agenda".

P.T.O.

297. LIAISON COMMITTEE BETWEEN THE UNION AND THE NEW COMMONWEALTH. The Executive considered a draft resolution prepared by the Liaison Committee of the Union and the New Commonwealth on October 13th for submission to the General Council in December.

In response to a suggestion, Lord Allen agreed on behalf of the Liaison Committee, to delete the word 'first' before the word 'step' in the penultimate line of the resolution. Miss Courtney said that the last paragraph of the resolution seemed to contradict the first paragraph; and other members of the Executive expressed the opinion that the last paragraph was not sufficiently explicit and suggested that the resolution should be referred back for further consideration by the Liaison Committee. But after further discussion it was, on the motion of Lord Lytton, seconded by the Duchess of Atholl,

RESOLVED: "That the following resolution be submitted to the General Council at its December meeting:

'The General Council of the League of Nations Union,

Appalled by the latest example of air warfare and convinced that the methods lately employed in China will become even more abhorrent to the conscience of the civilised world when practised in any war between equally matched forces;

Expresses the view that the only remedy is the abolition of air warfare;

Therefore re-affirms the urgent necessity for 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 abuse of civil aviation; and

Urges the vital necessity of pre-organised sanctions whereby the States Members of the League can contribute to a system of international policing as the most effective deterrent against aggression and as a step to a more complete system of international police action.

298. SPAIN. The Chairman referred to a telegram received by the British Youth Peace Assembly from the Spanish Youth Movement, concerning the approaching fall of the Asturias and what they anticipated to be the wholesale massacre of General Franco's opponents there. It was suggested that H.M. Government might be willing to co-operate with the French Government in protecting ships sent to remove refugees from Gijon as they had done at Bilbao. Lady Gladstone had received a letter

from Madame Malaterre Sellier stating that the French Government was willing to co-operate with H.M. Government in this matter. Mr. Arnold Forster also reported that Lord Cecil had received a telegram from M. Boncour, endorsing Madame Malaterre Sellier's statement, and this telegram had been sent by Lord Cecil to the Foreign Office.

Dr. Murray stated that the B.Y.P.A. were anxious to send a deputation to H.M. Government on this subject. But Mr. Eden was fully occupied with other pressing business, and Lord Cranborne, to whom Lord Cecil had written, was ill. Lord Cranborne's secretary had, however written a confidential letter to Lord Cecil on the subject.

Miss Rathbone and the Duchess of Atholl spoke of the wholesale execution of combatants who were found in the conquered territory at Bilbao and Santander, and urged that, with a view to preventing a repetition of this horrible practice, steps should be taken to secure the evacuation from the Asturias of adult combatants as distinguished from non-combatant refugees. Miss Rathbone reminded the Executive of the action taken by H.M. Government in rescuing adult combatant prisoners in the early stages of the war.

It was suggested that letters might be written to the press on the subject, and the matter raised in the debate in the House of Commons that afternoon. Lord Allen felt that nothing was to be gained by writing letters to the press at the present moment on a point which in any way could be construed to be intervention; and, having regard to the result of the Non-Intervention Committee's meeting on the previous day, he suggested that private representations to members of H.M. Government was infinitely wiser politically at the present time than public pressure.

Sir Arthur Salter was sceptical of getting the British and French Governments to co-operate in evacuating refugees from the Asturias. But he wondered whether, at the present stage of non-intervention negotiations, it would be possible for the Non-Intervention Committee to induce Germany and Italy to join with Britain and France in making an appeal to General Franco to refrain from the mass execution of the civil population in the Asturias. After further discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That Lord Lytton be asked, if possible, to arrange for Lord Plymouth to discuss this matter with a small deputation from the Executive; and that the deputation consist of as many of the following as are able to attend: Lord Allen, Lord Lytton, Sir Arthur Salter, Miss Rathbone, the Duchess of Atholl and Mr. Noel Baker."

P.T.O.

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299. THE FAR EAST. The Executive had before them the report (S.G.9436) of a special committee on Mineral Sanctions held on October 1st, 1937.

Mr. Arnold Forster read to the Executive the following extract from a letter written by Mr. Stimson to the NEW YORK TIMES on October 6th:

"The lamentable fact is that to-day the aggression of Japan is being actively assisted by the efforts of men of our own nation and men of the other great democracy in the world — the British Commonwealth of Nations. It is not only being actively assisted, but our assistance is so effective and predominant that without it even to-day the aggression would in all probability be promptly checked and cease.....Is the condition of our statesmanship so pitifully inadequate that we cannot devise the simple means of international co-operation which would stop our participation in this slaughter?"

after discussion it was

- RESOLVED: (1) "That the report of the Mineral Sanctions Committee of October 19th be communicated to the Foreign Secretary, and that his attention be also drawn to the extract from Mr. Stimson's letter of October 6th".
- (2) "That paragraphs (a) and (d) of the Report be communicated to the press".
300. BRITISH NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE I.P.C. The Minutes of a meeting of the British National Committee of the I.P.C. dated October 6th, 1937, were received.
301. PARTY FOR BRANCH SECRETARIES AND SPEAKERS. Miss Fawcett suggested that, instead of the cost of the party, held at St. Ermin's on October 12th, being defrayed out of Union funds, members of the Executive might be willing to subscribe the sum of £13.1s.9d. needed for the purpose. It was
- RESOLVED: "That members of the Executive be invited to contribute towards the cost of the party at St. Ermin's on October 12th".

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1.11.37.LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT
No. 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1. ON THURSDAY,
OCTOBER 28TH, 1937, AT 11.30 A.M.

PRESENT: Dr. Gilbert Murray (in the Chair), Sir Norman
Angell, Lord Allen, Mrs. Corbett Ashby,
Mrs. Beale, F.M. Barris, Major Anthony Buxton,
Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Captain Cazalet,
Lord Cecil, Miss Judith Corcoran, A.C. Crossley,
Miss K.D. Courtney, Lord Dickinson, Admiral S.R.
Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Philippa Fawcett,
W. Arnold Forster, Lady Gladstone, Miss M.
Lloyd George, Lady Hall, Dr. C.W. Kimmins,
James Macdonald, G. le M. Mander, Gerald Palmer,
W.T. Pritchard, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, Sir
Arthur Salter, Nowell Smith, Brig -General E.L.
Spears, Major Lawrence Wright. o

302. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE WERE RECEIVED FROM Lord Lytton
and Major-General A.C. Temperley.

303. RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNION AND THE I.P.C. The Executive
further considered the relations between the Union and
the International Peace Campaign. Lord Cecil stated
that he wished to withdraw his proposals contained in
S.G.9422 which had been considered at the previous
meeting; and, after prolonged discussion, it was

RESOLVED: "That a sub-Committee of the Executive be
appointed to meet with representatives of
the British National Committee of the I.P.C.
in the hope of reaching an agreement governing
the future relations of the two bodies".

Amended at next meeting - see Page 308.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD
AT 14 GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1. ON THURSDAY,
NOVEMBER 4TH, 1937 AT 10.45 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Allen (in the Chair), Mrs. Corbett Ashby, the Duchess of Atholl, P.J. Noel Baker, Major Anthony Buxton, Captain Cazalet, Miss Judith Corcoran, A.C. Crossley, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Philippa Fawcett, Arnold Forster, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, Sir Arthur Haworth, Lady Layton, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, G. le M. Mander, Gerald Palmer, W.T. Pritchard, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, Sir Archibald Sinclair, Nowell Smith, H.S. Syrett, Major-General A.C. Temperley, Major Lawrence Wright, together with the Secretary and the Deputy Secretary.

304. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Sir Norman Angell, Mrs. Beale, F.M. Birris, Lord Cecil, the Dean of Chichester, Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Dr. C.W. Kimmins, Captain B.H. Liddell Hart and Dr. Gilbert Murray.

305. DEATH OF CANON H.R.L. SHEPPARD. The Executive expressed their deep sorrow at the death of Canon H.R.L. Sheppard, and it was

RESOLVED: "That a letter be sent to Mrs. Sheppard, expressing the Committee's profound sympathy in her bereavement".

306. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

(a) Refugees Committee (Mrs. Dugdale reported). Subject to the following decision, the minutes of the Committee dated October 20th, 1937 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: (21) Minutes; (22) Position of Refugees in the United Kingdom; (23) Action of British Delegation at League Assembly; (24) Opposition of the Soviet Government; (25) Action by the Union; (26) Pamphlet on the League and Refugees; (27) Convention for the Juridical Protection of Refugees from Germany; (28) Membership of the Committee.

On the motion of Mr. Arnold Forster, it was

RESOLVED: "That the present position in regard to assistance to Refugees be fully dealt with in the next issue of SPEAKERS NOTES".

- (b) Christian Organisations Committee. (Dr. Garnett reported). Subject to the following decision and report on minutes 75 and 76, the minutes of the Committee dated October 20th, 1937 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: (73) Minutes; (74) The Union's Appeal; (74a) Future Work of Committee; (75) Refugees; (76) International Morality; (77) Resolutions; (78) Composition of Committee; (79) Applications for Corporate Membership/

On Minute 75 -- Refugees, it was reported that the article entitled THE U.S. AND US in the November HP&DWAY contained a reference to Lord Hugh Cecil's letter to THE TIMES of 18th October.

Lady Gladstone reported that a leaflet on the subject of Refugees was now in course of preparation by the Women's Advisory Council. She undertook that the draft leaflet would be shown to the Christian Organisations Committee and the Refugees Committee before being submitted for printing.

On Minute 76 -- International Morality, the Executive had before them a draft resolution entitled "The League's Basic Principles" for submission to the December meeting of the General Council. But after discussion it was on the motion of Mrs. Digdale, seconded by Major Buxton,

RESOLVED: "That the draft resolution be not submitted by the Executive to the General Council".

- (c) Women's Advisory Council. (Lady Gladstone reported) Subject to the following decision on minute 661 and to the report on minute 657(646) contained in minute 306(b) 75 above, the minutes of the Council dated October 20th, 1937 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: (656) Miss Chrystal Macmillan; (657) Minutes; (658) Standing Sub-Committee Report; (659) Reports of Representatives; (660) International Peace Campaign; (661) China and Japan; (662) The XVIIIth Assembly; (663) Applications for Corporate Associateship/

On Minute 660 -- International Peace Campaign.
 Dame Adelaide Livingstone expressed the thanks of the I.P.C. for the help they had received from Lady Horsley and the Women's Advisory Council.

On Minute 661 -- China and Japan, the Secretary reminded the Executive that notice had been included in the Preliminary Agenda for the General Council that the Executive would move an urgency resolution on the Far East at the December meeting.

RESOLVED: "That the resolutions adopted by the Women's Advisory Council be considered when the resolution for submission by the Executive to the General Council is being drafted".

- (d) Industrial Advisory Committee (Lady Hall reported). Subject to the following decision on minutes 83(a) 85 and 86, the minutes of the Committee dated October, 21st, 1937, were approved and adopted.

△These minutes included; (82) Minutes; (83) Minimum Age Convention; (84) Plans for Popularising the Constructive Work of the I.L.O. and the League; (85) Deputation to the Minister of Labour; (86) Maritime Conventions; (87) Mr. Gillinder's Report; (88) 1938 Conference; (89) Youth Charter; (90) Industrial Affiliations; (91) Questions in Parliament; (92) Mr. F.W. Leggett; (93) Mr. H.H. Elvin; (94) Mr. R.F. Scott; (95) "THE ABC OF THE I.L.O."

On Minute 83(a) -- Minimum Age Convention -- Resolution to Government, it was

RESOLVED: "That subject to the penultimate paragraph of the resolution being amended so as to read:

'Regrets that H.M. Government instructed its delegates at the 23rd Session of the International Labour Conference to abstain from voting, and'

this minute be approved and adopted".

On Minute 85 -- Deputation to the Minister of Labour, it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the proposal of the Industrial Advisory Committee that the Minister of Labour be invited to receive a deputation again at an early date be approved and adopted".

Mr. Gerald Palmer suggested that the Minister would no doubt find it convenient to receive beforehand a statement of the matters to be discussed by the deputation, and it was

RESOLVED: (2) "That such a statement be sent to the Minister after having been approved by the Chairman of the Executive Committee".

On Minute 86 -- Maritime Conventions, Lady Hall referred to a letter which had been received from the National Union of Seamen on the subject of the Maritime Conventions, and suggested that Mr. Mills should be asked to see the Secretary of that society and to report further to the Industrial Advisory Committee.

- (e) Overseas Committee. (Lady Gladstone reported). Subject to the following report on minute 36, the minutes of the Committee dated October 27th, 1937 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: (31) Minutes; (32) Report on the Meetings of the Council and Executive Committee of the International Federation; (33) The Public and Sessions of the Organs of the League; (34) Public Deputations to the President of the Assembly; (35) The League of Nations Union and the British Delegation to the Assembly; (36) Overseas Report; (37) Proposed Visit to Houn

On Minute 36 -- Overseas Report, Lady Gladstone drew the attention of the Committee to the report on the work of the Canadian League of Nations Society in 1936/37 (S.G. 9465) circulated as a supplement to the Overseas Report. She also reminded the Executive that the Australian League of Nations Society had lately increased the number of their junior members from 16,000 to 100,000.

- (f) Editorial Committee. Subject to the following report on minute 46 and decision on minute 48, the minutes of the Committee dated October 28th, 1937 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: (45) Minutes; (46) Literature on the I.L.O.; (47) "Union", (48) HEADWAY; (49) Consideration of Minutes of General Council Meeting; (50) News Sheet; (51) Posters; (52) Leaflet on China

On Minute 46 -- Literature for the I.L.O. it was reported that the second sentence in the second paragraph of this minute should be amended so as to read:

'The Chairman drew attention to the vital importance of reminding the public that social justice was very much in the public mind at the moment and was a subject with which the League concerned itself'.

On Minute 48 -- HEADWAY, it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That this minute be approved and adopted, subject to the approval of the first resolution by the Finance Committee".

(2) "That a copy of HEADWAY in the trimmed and untrimmed form be sent to each member of the Executive".

307. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Executive received resolutions from the Edgbaston, Corsham, Farnham, Greenford, Jarrow, Chelmsford, Dunmow Branches, the Charlton Central School Junior Branch, Liverpool and Merseyside District Executive, the Nottinghamshire Federal Council, the Tyne District Council, and the London Regional Federation. It was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Edgbaston, Corsham, Farnham and Greenford Branches, the Charlton Central School Junior Branch, Liverpool and Merseyside District Executive and Nottinghamshire Federal Council be thanked, and be reminded of the resolutions adopted by the General Council at its special meeting on October 12th".

(2) "That the Executive Committee of the Tyne District Council be thanked for their resolutions; and be reminded of the resolutions adopted by the General Council on October 12th and be informed of the Report of the Mineral Sanctions sub-Committee, adopted by the Executive on October 19th and communicated to H.M. Government".

(3) "That the Jarrow Branch be thanked and be reminded of the resolution adopted by the Executive Committee on September 23rd and communicated to H.M. Government."

(4) "That the Chelmsford Branch be thanked for its resolution and reminded of the statement made by Lord Cranborne in the House of Commons on October 28th. (This statement was quoted in the Secretary's circular letter to Branch Secretaries of November 1st)".

(5) "That the Dunmow Branch be thanked for their resolution".

(6) "That the London Regional Federation Executive Committee be thanked for their resolution, and that it be referred to the Administration Committee for consideration and report".

It was reported that resolutions had also been received from a number of Branches and other organisations in regard to the Far East, proposing action on the lines suggested by the Executive Committee and the General Council. It was

RESOLVED: (7) "That these Branches and other organisations be thanked for their resolutions".

308. MINUTES. Subject to the following report on minutes 293(e) and 301, and to the following decision on minutes 299 and 303, the minutes of the meetings of the Committee held on October 21st and October 28th, 1937, were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 293(e) Political Committee, the Secretary reported a letter from Mr. Eden, thanking the Executive very warmly for their invitation to him to address the December meeting of the General Council but regretting that the pressure of his work made it impossible for him to accept.

On Minute 297 -- Liaison Committee Between the Union and the New Commonwealth, the Executive had before them a memorandum by Miss Courtney and Mr. Arnold Forster (S.G.9451) on the subject of the joint resolution approved by the Executive at its last meeting for submission to the General Council. Mr. Arnold Forster urged that the Executive should give further consideration to the meaning of the phrase "the vital necessity for pre-organised sanctions" in the last paragraph of the resolution, and after discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the resolution be printed in the Preliminary Agenda in the form adopted by the Executive at its last meeting; and that Lord Allen, Lord Lytton, Mr. Arnold Forster and Miss Courtney be asked further to discuss the text of the resolution with representatives of the New Commonwealth before the Final Agenda for the Council is issued".

On Minute 301 -- Party for Branch Secretaries and Speakers, it was reported that members of the Executive had, to date, contributed £14.13s.0d. towards the cost of the party.

On minute 303 -- Relations Between the Union and the I.P.C., on the motion of Mrs. Dugdale, it was

RESOLVED: "That this minute be amended to read as follows:

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNION AND THE I.P.C.
The Executive further considered the relations between the Union and the International Peace

Campaign. Lord Cecil stated that he wished to withdraw his proposals contained in S.G.9422 which had been considered at the previous meeting.

Mrs. Dugdale proposed:

"That in view of the difficulties which have arisen in carrying out the decision taken by the General Council on December 15th, 1936, further attempts at co-operation between the League of Nations Union and the British National Committee of the International Peace Campaign be abandoned, and that the attitude of the two bodies should be one of friendly independence".

This motion was put to the vote and was defeated. After prolonged discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That a sub-Committee of the Executive be appointed to meet with representatives of the British National Committee of the I.P.C. in the hope of reaching an agreement governing the future relations of the two bodies."

Lord Allen asked members of the Committee who wished to suggest names of persons to serve on the sub-Committee to send their suggestions to Dr. Murray who would, he hoped, make a report concerning the composition of the sub-Committee to the next ordinary meeting of the Executive.

300. MATINEE PERFORMANCE OF "TROJAN WOMEN". Major Lawrence Wright drew the attention of the Executive to a matinee performance of "The Trojan Women" which, by the generosity of Dame Sybil Thorndike, would be given at the Adelphi Theatre on December 7th for the purpose of raising funds for the Union. Members of the Executive were invited to serve on the General Organising Committee and to assist in the sale of tickets. It was reported that Mrs. Lawrence Wright had undertaken to act as Honorary Organiser of the matinee, and, on the motion of Mr. Syrett, it was

RESOLVED: "That the cordial thanks of the Executive be conveyed to Major and Mrs. Lawrence Wright".

310. DECEMBER MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL. The Executive considered a proof of the Preliminary Agenda for the General Council. They also had before them a paper containing corrections and additions to the Agenda (S.G.9467) as well as the minutes of the Political Committee dated October 19th and of the Regions Committee dated October 22nd.

(a) Draft Preliminary Agenda. It was

RESOLVED: (1) "That, subject to the following decisions, the draft Preliminary Agenda be approved and adopted".

On Motion 6 -- Administration of Colonial Territories, It was

RESOLVED: (2) "That the following motion be included in the Preliminary Agenda in the name of the Executive Committee; and that the Procedure Committee be invited to submit to the Executive when the Final Agenda is under consideration, any proposals it may desire to make in connection with this motion, the motion submitted by the Manchester District Council and the statement prepared by the Joint Meeting of the Economic and Mandates Committees on July 16th last:

The General Council of the League of Nations Union,

Earnestly desiring that the functions of the League of Nations as a peacemaker should be actively developed, and

Believing it necessary that steps should be taken to consider the grievances and disabilities under which certain nations claim to be suffering,

Re-affirms its proposal for the setting up of international Commissions to ascertain the facts relating to those claims.

So far as Germany's colonial demands are concerned, the Council is of the opinion that this subject can most usefully be examined as part of the negotiations for an all-round Peace Settlement, the conditions of whose signature by all the nations concerned should be membership of the League of Nations and the acceptance of an agreement for the limitation and international supervision of armaments.

The Council is, moreover, of the opinion that in arriving at any settlement, all colonial Powers should accept the principles of trusteeship in non-self-governing territories on the lines indicated in Article 22 (1) of the Covenant of the League and that there is a strong case for enlisting the co-operation of all the best experience in the administration of these territories, whatever may be the nationality of those possessing this experience.

On Motion 11 -- Economic Co-operation, it was

RESOLVED: (3) "That the following addendum to the L.R.F.'s motion be submitted in the name of the Executive:

'In particular, the General Council attached extreme importance to the conclusion of a commercial treaty between this country and the United States'."

On Motion 12 -- League Radio News Service, it was

RESOLVED: (4) "That the following motion be submitted in the name of the Executive:

The General Council of the League of Nations Union

Notes with satisfaction that the Governments members of the League of Nations voted unanimously at the 1937 Assembly the credits necessary for a development of broadcasts concerning League of Nations activities from the League's shortwave transmitters 'Radio-nations';

Urges member organisations in those countries capable of receiving the broadcasts from Radio-Nations, to do everything possible to ensure a large body of listeners to that station's programmes either by

- (a) asking the local broadcasting service to re-broadcast the Radio-Nations transmissions;
- (b) making widely known the programmes, transmission hours and wavelengths of Radio-Nations;

Urges also member organisations in those European countries which are not capable of receiving the broadcasts direct by wireless telephony from Radio-Nations to invite their national broadcasting services to explore the possibility of receiving these same programmes from Geneva on the international telephone circuits or in the form of recordings;

Recommends also a widespread use by the League of Nations Unions of the recordings made by the League Secretariat of important speeches at Geneva and explanatory material as broadcast from Radio-Nations;

Expresses the hope that the broadcasts from Radio-Nations will not be confined to happenings within the League organisations, but will explain objectively the situation, or possible situation of, the League through its Covenant in respect to all current matters of world importance.

On Motion 13 -- The Assyrians, it was

RESOLVED: (5) "That the following motion be submitted in the name of the Executive:

The General Council of the League of Nations Union;

Deplores the failure to find a home for the Assyrians from Iraq so that all plans for the migration of these Christian allies of Great Britain have now been given up;

Recognises the special responsibility of Great Britain in this matter;

Welcomes Lord Hugh Cecil's moving plea for the Assyrians published in THE TIMES of October 18;

Trusts that every precaution will be taken by the Permanent Mandates Commission to ensure that proper provision is made for the security of the Assyrian villages established on the Khabur, after the termination of the French Mandate over Syria; and

Urges H.M. Government to insist that the Council of the League of Nations shall give constant attention to the full and loyal application to the Assyrians in Iraq of the provisions of the Declaration for the Protection of Minorities signed by the Iraqi Government in May, 1932, both as regards their full rights as Iraqi citizens and their tenure of land, and the organisation of their ecclesiastical life.

Asks that the Executive and Branches of the Union as well as the League of Nations Societies abroad should do all in their power to ensure that the public opinion of Christian nations in general and of the British Commonwealth of Nations in particular is prepared to support any effective plan for the improvement of their condition.

(6) "That Lord Hugh Cecil's letter to THE TIMES of October 18th be printed in the December HEADWAY, and a note drawing attention to it be included in the Final Agenda for the Council".

It was further

RESOLVED: (7) "That the draft motion on Intellectual Co-operation contained in S.G.9467 be submitted in the name of the Executive".

On Appendix II -- Interim Report on Popularising the Constructive Work of the I.L.O. and the League, it was

RESOLVED: (8) "That the interim report be not printed in the Preliminary Agenda but that notice be given that a report will appear in the Final Agenda; and that meanwhile the interim report be referred for consideration by the sub-Committee of the Industrial Advisory Committee."

(b) Political Committee. It was

RESOLVED: (9) "That, subject to the decisions on minute 3 recorded in resolutions 2, 3 and 4 above, and to the following decision on minute 2, the minutes of the Committee dated October 19th were approved and adopted".

On Minute 2 -- Recognition of Governments,
it was

RESOLVED: "That this minute be approved and adopted subject to the substitution of the words 'his own' for the words 'himself an' in the resolution".

(c) Regions Committee. Subject to the following decision on minutes 9, 10, 11, the minutes of the Committee dated October 22nd were received.

On Minute 9 -- Order of Business, it was

RESOLVED: "That this minute be approved and adopted".

On Minute 10 -- Procedure Committee, the Executive were reminded that the constitution of the Procedure Committee, as laid down by the General Council at Scarborough, provided that not more than one of its members should be a member of the Executive Committee. After Mr. Pritchard had asked leave to withdraw his name, it was

RESOLVED: "That Mr. Clift and LeGy Hall be appointed members of the Procedure Committee, and that it be left to the Chairman of the Regions Committee to nominate the third member."

S.G. 9459
30.10.37

PREPARATION OF SANCTIONS

Report of Meeting of Sub-Committee, October 28, 1937

On June 6th, 1937, the Executive Committee appointed a sub-committee consisting of Lord Cecil, Admiral Drury-Lowe, Mr. Mander, Sir Arthur Salter and General Temperley to redraft terms of reference for an enquiry into the preparation of economic and other sanctions.

Accordingly, with the exception of General Temperley, the committee met on October 28th. Mr. Arnold Forster was co-opted.

After some discussion the committee recommended to the Executive Committee that the terms of reference for the committee appointed to enquire into the preparation of economic and other sanctions should be as follows:-

"To consider how best sanctions can be made effective for preventing a resort to war in breach of the Covenant, or stopping such resort to war if it has taken place, and in particular to what extent consultation prior to the imposition of sanctions is possible and desirable".

It was suggested that the secretariat should prepare an up to date summary of League action in regard to sanctions for the report envisaged in the terms of reference.

On Minute 11 -- Conference of Branch Secretaries and Other Workers, it was

RESOLVED: "That this minute be approved and adopted".

Lord Allen expressed his willingness to take the Chair at the Conference of Branch Secretaries.

311. THE FAR EAST. The Executive discussed the meeting of the Nine-Power Conference. Mr. Arnold Forster urged that Great Britain and the United States should make plain to Japan that they are prepared to take joint action to prevent the permanent success of her enterprise in China, and after discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That Mr. Arnold Forster be asked to draft a motion for consideration by the Executive at its next meeting."

312. SPAIN. The Duchess of Atholl reported on the deputation which had waited upon Lord Plymouth on the afternoon of October 21st. She said that, after talking with Lord Plymouth, Lord Cecil had drafted a letter which Lord Plymouth had promised to lay before his colleagues on the Non-Intervention Committee. The Duchess further reported a conversation she had had with Mr. Eden on the same afternoon when he had spoken of the efforts being made by H.M. Government to secure clemency for the civil population in Asturias, and had suggested ^{stated} that at the invitation of the French Government he had joined in the appeal which they had made, following the news of the fall of Gijon.

Miss Rathbone regretted the lack of first-hand information from Spain, and pointed out that there were practically no press correspondents with the insurgent forces except such as favoured General Franco.

After further discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the Duchess of Atholl be asked, on behalf of the Executive, further to discuss the situation in Spain with Mr. Eden or with Lord Cranborne, and to make a report to the next meeting of the Committee".

313. PREPARATION OF SANCTIONS. The Executive considered the report of the sub-Committee appointed on June 6th, 1937 to redraft terms of reference for an inquiry into the preparation of economic and other sanctions, and it was

RESOLVED: "That the report of the sub-Committee (S.G. 9459) be approved and adopted".

See opposite page.

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314. APPOINTMENT OF SUCCESSOR TO MR. R. SCOTT. It was

RESOLVED: "That steps be taken to appoint a successor to Mr. R. Scott; and that a member of the Industrial Advisory Committee as well as a member of the Economic Committee be added to the Staff Committee when they meet to interview selected candidates".

315. CHARTER OF PEACE AND SOCIAL JUSTICE. The attention of the Executive Committee was drawn to a communication from the National Peace Council dated October 18th concerning a "Charter of Peace and Social Justice" for which the Executive's support was invited. It was

RESOLVED: "That copies of the "Charter of Peace and Social Justice" be circulated to members of the Executive for consideration at their next meeting".

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT GAS INDUSTRY HOUSE, 2, GROSVENOR PLACE, S.W.1. ON THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 11TH, 1937 AT 11.30 A.M.

PRESENT: Dr. Gilbert Murray (in the Chair), Mrs. Corbett Ashby, the Duchess of Atholl, P.J. Noel Baker, P.M. Burris, Major Anthony Buxton, the Dean of Chichester, Miss Judith Corcoran, Miss K.D. Courtney, A.C. Crossley, Mrs. E. Dugdale, Miss Philippa Fawcett, Miss Megan Lloyd George, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, Arthur Henderson, Sir John Harris, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, James Macdonald, G. le M. Mender, W.T. Pritchard, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, Brig.-General E.L. Spears, together with the Secretary and Deputy Secretary.

316. APPOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Vyvyan Adams, Sir Norman Angell, Lord Cecil, Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Lady Layton, Lord Lytton, Nowell Smith, Major-General A.C. Temperley and Major Lawrence Wright.
317. THE FAR EAST. The following resolution drafted by Mr. Arnold Forster was discussed. It was adopted unanimously and it was decided by a majority that it be published.

The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union,

Expresses its conviction that the Brussels Conference, called at the League's instance by signatories of the Nine-Power Treaty, should not offer as a solution of the Chinese-Japanese conflict any plan that would violate the provisions and principles of the Covenant or of the Nine-Power Treaty; and

Recalls that that Treaty provides for respect for the "sovereignty, the independence and the territorial and administrative integrity of China".

318. EXTRACT FROM MINUTES OF MEETING OF NATIONAL YOUTH COMMITTEE OF 6TH NOVEMBER, 1937. It was

RESOLVED: (1) "That 85(1) be not adopted".

(2) "That 85(1) be accepted, not in the words proposed by the Youth Committee but in the form proposed by Mr. Arnold Forster and already adopted".

Miss Corcoran stated that she felt sure the National Youth Committee would ~~prefer~~ ^{accept} Mr. Arnold Forster's wording.

It was further

RESOLVED: (3) "That 85(iii) be adopted".

The Chairman suggested that in view of the division of opinion on this matter the Committee should attempt to reconcile the two points of view. After a long discussion it was

RESOLVED: (4) "That it be left to the Chairman and Mr. Mander to redraft the resolution with a view to making it generally acceptable by the Executive Committee".

Note: At the close of the meeting the resolution was redrafted by Dr. Murray and Mr. Mander to read as follows:

"The practice noticeable for many years past of considering outside the League acts of aggression and other matters falling under the provisions of the Covenant, constitutes a movement away from League principles and, however difficult the circumstances now existing in Europe, is to be deplored".

319. SPAIN. The Duchess of Atholl reported that she had not yet been able to see Mr. Eden or Lord Cranborne to discover whether Lord Plymouth had asked the German and Italian Governments to associate themselves with the plea for clemency for the Asturian population which the British and French Governments had addressed to General Franco. The Duchess stated that she would seek an opportunity before the next meeting of the Committee to ask this question.

Miss Rethbone suggested that it would be of value if the Government took advantage of the appointment of agents to the territory of General Franco to obtain information concerning the alleged mass executions in Asturias and in other parts of Spain under the control of General Franco. It was

RESOLVED: "That members of the Committee who are also Members of Parliament be invited to arrange that Mr. Eden be asked to instruct the agents to make reports on this matter".

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD
AT 14 GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1. ON THURSDAY,
18TH NOVEMBER, 1937 AT 10.45 A.M.

PRESENT: Dr. Gilbert Murray (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, the Duchess of Atholl, P.J. Noel Baker, Mrs. Beale, Captain Cazalet, Miss Judith Corcoran, Miss K.B. Courtney, A.C. Crossley, Lord Dickinson, Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Miss Philippa Fawcett, W. Arnold Forster, Miss Megan Lloyd George, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, Arthur Henderson, Dr. Kimmins, Lady Layton, James Adelside Livingstone, James Macdonald, Gerald Palmer, W.T. Pritchard, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, Sir Arthur Salter, Howell Smith, Brig.-General E.L. Spears, H.S. Syrett, F.W. Weaver, Major Lawrence Wright, together with the Secretary and the Deputy Secretary.

320. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from F.M. Burreis, Major Anthony Buxton, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Lord Cecil, Lord Lytton and Major-General A.C. Temperley.

321. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

(a) Education Committee (Dr. Kimmins reported). Subject to the following decision on minute 135, the minutes of the Committee dated November 8th, 1937 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: 130 (Minutes); 131 (Arising out of the Minutes); 132 (Membership of the Committee); 133 (Meetings for Teachers and Schools); 134 (British Universities League of Nations Society); 135 (International Peace Campaign); 136 (Observance of Armistice Day); 137 (Miss Spaul's Books); 138 (Arrangements for the Christmas Holidays); 139 (Conference of Educational Associations); 140 (Communication from London Regional Federation); 141 (Conference on Problems of Leisure); 142 (Report of Youth Committee); 143 (Junior Branches); 145 (Educational - Corporate Members)

On Minute 135 -- International Peace Campaign, Dame Adelaide Livingstone expressed regret that Dr. Garnett had resigned his membership of the Teachers Committee of the I.P.C. Dr. Garnett described the circumstances in which he had resigned from the Committee. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the relationship between the Teachers Committee of the I.P.C. and the Education Committee of the Union be considered by the sub-Committee of the Executive (see minute 308 and 323 below) which is to be appointed to meet with representatives of the British National Committee of the I.P.C."

- (b) Finance Committee (Mr. Syrett reported). Subject to the following decision on minutes 85 and 87, the minutes of the Committee dated November 5th, 1937, were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: 80 (Minutes); 81 (Financial Statement); 82 (Membership); 83 (Report of Director of Appeals); 84 (Federal Councils); 85 (Investigation Committee); 86 (HEADWAY); 87 (Peace Pavilion at Glasgow); 88 (Liverpool); 89 (Renewal Dates for Affiliated and Corporate Members); 90 (Passing of Cheques for Payment.)

On Minute 85 -- Investigation Committee, it was reported that the word 'and' should be substituted for the word 'of' in the last line of this minute.

On Minute 87 -- Peace Pavilion at Glasgow, the Executive had before them memoranda by Mr. Arnold Forster (S.G. 9497) and by the Secretary (S.G. 9500) on the subject of the Peace Pavilion. After considerable discussion during which the Secretary reported that Lord Cranborne had asked to see him that afternoon with reference to the proposed Peace Pavilion at Glasgow, it was

RESOLVED: "That this matter be included on the agenda for discussion at the next meeting of the Executive on November 25th".

- (c) Youth Committee (Miss Corcoran reported). Subject to the decision on minute 85 contained in minute 318 of the last meeting of the Executive and in minute 323/318 below, and to the following decision on minute 86, the minutes of the Committee dated November 6th, 1937, were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: 83 (Minutes); 84 (Registration of Groups); 85 (Foreign Affairs); 86 (Finance); 87 (Broadcasting); 88 (Bristol Conference of B.Y.P.A.); 89 (B.U.L.N.S.)

On Minute 86 -- Finance, it was

RESOLVED: "That this minute be approved and adopted, subject to the approval of the Finance Committee".

- (d) Welcome Committee (Lady Gladstone reported). Subject to the following decision on minute 36, the minutes of the Committee dated November 15th, 1937 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: 25 (Minutes); 26 (Membership of Committee); 27 (Secretary's Report); 28 (Panel of Hostesses); 29 (British Women's Hospitality Committee); 30 (Au Pair and Exchange Association); 31 (Teachers' Conference); 32 (Indian Women Students); 33 (Dominion Teachers in England on Exchange Visits); 34 (Parties for Foreign Students); 35 (National Committee for Cause and Cure of War); 36 (Financial Provision for Entertaining Foreign and Overseas Visitors)

On Minute 36 -- Financial Provision for Entertaining Foreign and Overseas Visitors, it was

RESOLVED: "That this minute be referred to the Finance Committee for consideration and report".

Mr. Syrett stated that if Lady Gladstone would communicate with him in regard to particular functions which the Welcome Committee wished to arrange, he would do all he could to obtain the use of a City Hall for the purpose and to help in any other way.

322. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Executive received resolutions from the Northampton Branch and the Heonor Branch, and it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That a letter be written to the Northampton Branch, stating that no such bargain as is suggested has been made between the Prime Minister and the League of Nations Union, nor can there be any question of any statesman obtaining immunity from criticism on League policy by joining the Union or becoming one of its officers".

- (2) "That the Heonor Branch be thanked and be reminded of the resolutions recently adopted by the Executive Committee and the General Council".

On the motion of Mr. Arnold Forster it was

RESOLVED: (3) "That Branches be reminded that all resolutions for consideration by the Executive Committee must be accompanied by particulars of the number of persons present when the resolution was adopted".

323. MINUTES. Subject to the following decision and report on minutes 306 (b), 306 (d), 306 (f), 308, 312, and 318, the minutes of the last general meeting held on November 4th and of the World Affairs meeting on November 11th were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 306(b) -- 75--Refugees, it was

RESOLVED: "That, subject to the approval of Sir Norman Angell, the leaflet on Refugees be printed so soon as it is ready, and that copies of the leaflet be shown to the Refugees Committee and to the Christian Organisations Committee".

On Minute 306(d) -- 83 -- Minimum Age Convention -- Resolution to Government, on the motion of the Chairman it was

RESOLVED: "That the resolution of the Industrial Advisory Committee, as amended in minute 306(d) of the Executive Committee, be communicated to the Minister of Labour when the Union's deputation waits upon him on December 7th or 8th".

On Minute 306(f) -- 48 HEADWAY, members of the Executive having been supplied with copies of HEADWAY in the trimmed and untrimmed form, it was

RESOLVED: "That no extra expenditure be incurred for the purpose of having all copies of HEADWAY in the trimmed form".

On Minute 308 -- 297 -- Relations Between the Union and the New Commonwealth it was reported that the Liaison Committee would meet at 2.30 p.m. on Friday, November 19th.

On Minute 308 -- 301 -- Relations Between the Union and the I.P.C. on the motion of the Chairman it was

RESOLVED: "That Lady Hall, Mr. Syrett and Major Lawrence Wright be invited to serve on the sub-Committee appointed by the Executive on October 28th to meet with representatives of the British National Committee of the I.P.C."

On Minute 312 -- Spain, on the motion of the
Duchess of Atholl it was

RESOLVED: "That this minute be confirmed subject to the word 'stated' being substituted for the word 'suggested' in the third sentence, and subject to the amendment of the resolution to read as follows:

'That the Duchess of Atholl be asked, on behalf of the Executive, to ascertain from Lord Cranborne whether, and if so with what result, the Italian and German representatives on the Non-Intervention Committee were intited to associate themselves with the plea for clemency'.

The Duchess of Atholl read to the Executive a reply which Lord Plymouth had sent to Lord Cecil's letter of October 22nd, urging that an appeal should be made by the Non-Intervention Committee to both sides in the Spanish conflict regarding the treatment of prisoners of war. Lord Plymouth had stated that H.M. Government were anxious to do everything in their power to minimise the sufferings in Spain, and had on more than one occasion appealed to the two Spanish parties both alone and in conjunction with other Governments. British representatives in Spain had also for a long period been engaged as intermediaries with regard to the exchange of prisoners. Lord Plymouth quoted a resolution passed by the Non-Intervention Committee last June and communicated to Valencia and Salamanca, appealing to both sides to mitigate the suffering inflicted on the Spanish people by the war; but stated that, after having given Lord Cecil's request most careful thought, he felt that not only would it serve little purpose but would actually do harm to attempt to obtain agreement on a further resolution of such a character so soon after the previous one had been passed and in the present very difficult conditions.

On Minute 318 -- National Youth Committee, it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That, subject to the substitution of the word 'accept' for the word 'prefer' in the second line on page 2, this minute be confirmed".

(2) "That the resolution in paragraph (4), as redrafted by Dr. Murray and Mr. Mender in accordance with the Executive's request, be adjourned for consideration by the Executive three weeks' hence".

324. VACANCY ON EXECUTIVE. The Secretary reminded the Executive that, owing to the resignation of Mr. L.M. Wynch immediately after his election to the Executive by the General Council in June, a vacancy existed on the Committee for a member representing the South and South-eastern region. A letter from Mr. Henry Woodall, Chairman of the Kent Federal Council was reported, nominating Mr. J.A. Keyser, the Secretary of the Sevenoaks Branch and a candidate for election to the Executive Committee in the postal Ballot, to fill the vacancy. Letters from the Secretaries of the Sussex Federal Council and the Surrey Federation were also reported, approving of this nomination, and it was

RESOLVED: "That Mr. J.A. Keyser be co-opted to serve on the Executive Committee in place of Mr. L.M. Wynch".

The Chairman reported a letter from Mr. Gerald Palmer stating that, since his duties as Parliamentary Private Secretary to Mr. Geoffrey Lloyd at the Home Office occupied so large a measure of his time, he felt it necessary to resign his membership of the Executive Committee. It was

RESOLVED: "That Mr. Gerald Palmer's resignation be accepted with great regret; and that the Co-optations sub-Committee be asked to make recommendations to the Executive for filling the vacancy".

Members of the Executive were asked to communicate to the Secretary the names of any persons they wished to suggest for the consideration of the Co-optations Committee.

325. MEMORANDUM BY CAPTAIN LIDDELL HART ON "THE LIMITATION OF WARFARE WITH REFERENCE TO THE REFUGEES QUESTION IN SPAIN." The Executive were reminded that on 15th July last Captain Liddell Hart's memorandum on "The Limitation of Warfare with Reference to the Refugee Question in Spain" had been referred for consideration by the International Law Committee. The Secretary reported a letter from Professor Brierly, Chairman of the Law Committee, stating that a sub-Committee of the International Law Association was at present preparing a report on the matters dealt with in Captain Liddell Hart's memorandum. He thought that for the Union to take the matter up simultaneously would involve a useless duplication of effort, and moreover it was not a matter which the Law Committee was really equipped to deal with since (1) it was essential to consult non-legal (e.g. military) opinion and (2) its proper consideration involved not one or two meetings but continuous study of the question in all its aspects, such as the Association's Committee had been giving to the matter for at least two years.

It was

RESOLVED: "That Professor Enderly be thanked for his letter, and that no further action be taken by the Union pending the issue of the report by the sub-Committee of the International Law Association".

326. CHARTER OF "PEACE AND SOCIAL JUSTICE". The Executive considered the Charter of "Peace and Social Justice" which the National Peace Council had asked the Union to endorse. It was reported that copies of the Charter had been sent to certain Branches of the Union who had asked for the Executive's advice in the matter.

Miss Courtney thought that the weakness of the "Charter" lay in the fact that it ignored the present situation completely. She suggested that if the Union were to put forward an urgent piece of work to be done by all its Branches in relation to the Far East it would be in a much stronger position than it was at the present time. (Such an urgent piece of work to be done by all the Branches of the Union in relation to the Far East was pressed upon the Branches on page 215 of the November HEADWAY, copies of which were distributed to members).

The Executive discussed the situation arising out of the Union's co-operation in Peace Weeks and other activities with pacifists and extreme Left organisations. Lady Layton described how, at a great meeting in the Corn Exchange at Cambridge, much of the effect of her speech was destroyed by the emotional pacifist appeal made by the next speaker.

Dr. Garnett reported a conversation with the Chairman of one of the Union's larger Branches in London where a local Peace Council had printed a programme of all the peace meetings during Armistice week, beginning with the Communist Party's meeting in the Town Hall on the Monday evening and ending with the L.N.U.'s meeting in the Town Hall on Armistice night. The Union's Branch had refused to distribute copies of this programme or to have anything further to do with the Local Peace Council.

Dr. Garnett further reported that he had written, with the Chairman's approval, reminding another London Branch of the Bournemouth resolution, because the banner of that Branch, together with those of the Labour Party, the Communist Party, the Left Book Club and the Women's Co-operative Guild had been displayed at an open-air meeting of the Local Peace Council.

Mr. Vyvyan Adams urged that the Union should do all it could to check the growth of pacifism in this country. If it were allowed to grow unchecked, our voice in foreign policy was, he thought, immeasurably weakened.

After considerable discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Chairman be asked to write to Mr. Gerald Bailey, stating that the Union is unable to associate itself with the Charter of Peace and Social Justice; and that Branches of the Union be informed of the Executive's decision".

Mr. Pritchard drew the Executive's attention to the decrease in the Union's membership during the present year, and urged the Committee carefully to consider how the situation might be improved. He asked whether it was not possible for a body, constituted on the lines of the Union's Advisory Appeals Council, to be formed for the purpose of dealing with the question of membership.

Mr. Nowell Smith suggested that an officer should be appointed for the purpose of visiting Branches and discussing with them how the Union's membership might be increased. It was

RESOLVED: (2) "That the Administration Committee be asked to consider the suggestions made by Mr. Pritchard and Mr. Nowell Smith".

Mr. Arnold Forster suggested that in order that the Union's Regional Representatives might be kept fully informed of the Executive's work, copies of the Committee's minutes should be sent to them regularly.

Miss Megan Lloyd George and Mr. Noel Baker suggested that the Executive should devote one of its meetings exclusively to a discussion on the question of membership.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD
AT 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1. ON THURSDAY,
25TH NOVEMBER, 1937 AT 11.30 A.M.

PRESENT: Dr. Gilbert Murray (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams, Lord Allen, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, P.J. Noel Baker, Captain Cazalet, Miss Judith Corcoran, Miss K.D. Courtney, Mrs. Digdale, Miss Philippa Fawcett, Lady Hall, Sir Arthur Haworth, Arthur Henderson, J.A. Keyser, Dr. C.W. Kimmins, Lady Layton, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Lord Lytton, James Macdonald, W.T. Pritchard, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, and Nowell Smith, together with the Secretary and the Deputy Secretary.

327. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Mrs. Beale, Major Anthony Buxton, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Vice-Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Miss Megan Lloyd George, Brig.-General E.L. Spears, Major-General A.C. Temperley and Major Lawrence Wright.
328. MR. KEYSER. The Chairman welcomed Mr. Keyser who was attending the Committee for the first time.
329. RECEPTION TO LORD CECIL. After a general discussion it was

- RESOLVED: (1) "That a large luncheon should be organised by the L.N.U. and the I.P.C. to celebrate the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to Lord Cecil; and that invitations should be issued in the name of both committees".
- (2) "That the Archbishop of Canterbury be asked to take the Chair, and the Foreign Secretary to speak".
- (3) "That the Prime Minister and the leaders of the Liberal and Labour Parties be invited".
- (4) "That the luncheon should be on a large scale and should be as cheap as possible".
- (5) "That the luncheon be held on 15th December if possible, or alternatively, on December 14th or 16th, provided one of those dates suits the Archbishop and the Foreign Secretary".
- (6) "That Dame Adelaide Livingstone be asked to arrange the luncheon".

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330. GLASGOW EMPIRE EXHIBITION. After consideration of memoranda prepared by Mr. Arnold Forster (S.G.9497) and the Secretary (S.G.9500), it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the League of Nations Union welcomes the proposal that there should be a Peace Pavilion in the Empire Exhibition at Glasgow, and, while regretting that it can make no contribution or loan towards the cost, it will do all else in its power to assist the Pavilion Committee in providing a range of exhibits depicting the various aspects of the League's work — political, social, economic, hygienic and humanitarian — and in obtaining funds and publicity for this purpose, always on the understanding that the Pavilion and its contents will be as outlined in the printed appeal."

(2) "That the resolution of the Finance Committee — minute 87 — be approved and adopted".

331. REPORT OF LIAISON COMMITTEE BETWEEN THE L.N.U. AND THE NEW COMMONWEALTH. The Committee had before them the report of the Liaison Committee dated 19th November, and it was

RESOLVED: "That subject to the approval of the Executive Committee of the New Commonwealth, the joint resolution on Collective Security be submitted to the General Council of the L.N.U. in the following amended form:

The General Council of the League of Nations Union,

Appalled by the latest examples of air warfare;

Re-affirms the urgent necessity for 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 abuse of civil aviation and

Urges the vital necessity of pre-organised sanctions, both economic and military, so that these shall be as prompt and predictable as possible and so that the practical certainty of overwhelming power being immediately available shall prevent war from breaking out at all.

The Council believes that by these means the States Members of the League can contribute to a system of international policing as a step towards a more complete system of international police action.

332. BOMBING AND BURNING OF OPEN TOWNS. It was

RESOLVED: "That the second paragraph of the Executive's motion for submission to the General Council (Item 5b in Preliminary Agenda) be thanked to read as follows:

Finds itself in complete agreement with the Prime Minister's statements of October 8, 1937, that 'cruelty and barbarity, mutilation and death of non-combatants, destruction of property, starvation and misery are the inevitable accompaniments of modern warfare' but that 'the real crime against humanity goes farther back than that, the contradiction of engagements solemnly entered into, without even an attempt to settle differences by peaceful discussion and negotiation'.

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333. WORLD AFFAIRS

(a) Germany: Lord Halifax's Mission. Miss Rathbone said that in her opinion the great danger spot in Europe was Czechoslovakia, and she suggested that the Union should do all it could to educate the public in the affairs of that country. On the suggestion of Mr. Keyser, it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Minorities Committee be asked to consider the position of the German minority in Czechoslovakia".

It was further

RESOLVED: (2) "That Mr. Keyser be asked to join the Minorities Committee".

(b) The Far East. Lord Lytton commented on the depressing news of the adjournment *sine die* of the Brussels Conference. He suggested that a deputation from the Executive should wait upon the Government and explain to them that the Union could not be indifferent to the inaction of the Government.

After further discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the Prime Minister and Mr. Eden be requested to receive a deputation, consisting, if possible, of all the available members of

- 4 -

the Executive of the L.N.U., on the Far Eastern dispute; but if the Government wished to receive a smaller deputation it should be left to the Chairmen to choose the members".

334. VACANCY ON THE COMMITTEE. On the recommendation of the Co-optations Committee, it was

- RESOLVED: (1) "That Mr. J.R.H. Cortland, Unionist M.P. for Birmingham, Kings Norton, be invited to become a member of the Committee".
- (2) "That, subject to engagements already undertaken, the next vacancy be filled by a Labour Member of Parliament".

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT
14 GROSVENOR CRESCENT, S.W.1. ON THURSDAY, 2ND DECEMBER, 1937
AT 10.45 A.M.

PRESENT: Dr. Gilbert Murray (in the Chair), Lord Allen, Sir Norman Angell, Mrs. E.P. Beale, Captain Cazalet, the Dean of Chichester, Miss Judith Corcoran, Miss K.D. Courtney, Lord Dickinson, Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Digdale, Miss Philippa Fawcett, W. Arnold Forster, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, Arthur Henderson, J.A. Keyser, Lady Layton, Dame Delaide Livingstone, Lord Lytton, W.T. Pritchard, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, Sir Archibald Sinclair, Nowell Smith, Brig.-General E.L. Spears, H.S. Syrett.

335. APologies for Absence were received from Mrs. Corbett Ashby, F.M. Burris, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, J.R.H. Cartland, Lord Cecil, James Macdonald, Major-General A.C. Temperley, F.W. Weaver, Major Lawrence Wright.

336. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

(a) Christian Organisations Committee. (Dr. Garnett and the Dean of Chichester reported). Subject to the following decision on minute 93, the minutes of the Committee dated 17th November, 1937 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: (81) Minutes; (82) Service for General Council; (83) Armistice-tide Observance; (84) Literature for Clergy and Ministers Overseas; (85) Geneva Cathedral Service; (86) Card for Church Porches; (87) Composition of Committee; (88) Reprint of Pamphlet Compiled by Coventry Chapter of Clergy; (89) Co-operation of Brotherhood Movement; (90) Future Work of the Committee; (91) Churches' Commission of the International Peace Campaign; (92) Youth Charter; (93) International Morality; (94) Applications for Corporate Membership.

On Minute 93 -- International Morality, it was

RESOLVED: "That the Christian Organisations Committee be asked to submit their resolution on this subject for further consideration by the Executive".

(b) Industrial Advisory Committee (Lady Hall reported) Subject to the following decision on minute 106, the minutes of the Committee dated November 18th, 1937 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: (97) Minutes; (98) Minimum Age Convention; (99) Maritime Conventions; (100) Youth Charter; (101) Mr. R.F. Scott; (102) Constitution of Committee for 1938; (103) Hours of Work Deputation to Minister of Labour; (104) Conferences on the I.L.O.; (105) Mr. Gillinder's Report; (106) The Achievements of International Co-operation; (107) Proposed Extended Baster School; (108) A.B.C. OF THE I.L.O.; (109) Questions in Parliament; (110) International Federation of League of Nations Societies; (111) Industrial Affiliations.

On Minute 106. — The Achievements of International Co-operation, after considerable discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the preliminary draft report be amended so that the last sentence of the second paragraph shall read:

'This should be the duty of an officer of the Union at the Head Office; he should carry out the recommendations of this report in conjunction with the General Editor and other sections of the office which they affect, and should seek the co-operation of publicity experts, including such as belong to the Artists Peace Campaign, in all matters relating to illustrations, posters, exhibitions, etc.'

and that in this amended form the report be presented to the General Council.

(c) Administration Committee (Admiral Drury-Lowe reported). Subject to the following decision on minutes 84, 87, and 96, the minutes of the Committee dated November 25th, 1937 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: (82) Minutes; (83) General Council Meetings; (84) League of Nations Weeks; (85) Local Peace Councils; (86) Branches, Corporate Members, etc.; (87) Membership; (88) Composition of the Committee for 1938; (89) Youth Committee; (90) The Objects of the Union; (91) National Conference in 1939; (92) H.E.D.W.V. as a Christmas Present; (93) Suggestions to Branches; (94) Leaflet for New Members; (95) H.E.D.W.V.

On Minute 84 — Peace Weeks, Mr. Arnold Forster suggested an amendment to the resolution in this minute, and after considerable discussion it was, on the motion of Mr. Wyatt seconded by Lady Gladstone,

RESOLVED: "That the Administration Committee be asked to consider amending their resolution so as to read as follows:

'Welcomes the holding of Peace Weeks and the co-operation of L.N.U. Branches therein, in so far as these efforts serve to strengthen support for Peace through a strong League of Nations;

Urges Branches to take the lead in promoting such Peace Weeks, preferably as "League of Nations Peace Weeks"; and

Considers that Branches should not associate themselves with Peace Weeks unless it is clear that the Union's policy of peace through a strong League of Nations, pledged to carry out the full obligations of the Covenant will be served thereby".

On Minute 87 -- Membership, it was on the motion of Mr. Pritchard

RESOLVED: "That this minute be approved and adopted, subject to the substitution of the words 'organisation of the Union outside the Head Office' being substituted for the word 'position' in paragraph (1) of the resolution".

Reference was made to the appeals which had recently been issued over the signatures of the Chairman, Vice-Chairmen and Secretary to members of the Union whose annual subscriptions were not less than (a) 10s.0d. and (b) 3s.6d. and who, so far as was known, were not at present giving the Union anything beyond their membership subscriptions.

On Minute 96 -- Date of Next Meeting, it was

RESOLVED: "That this minute be approved and adopted, subject to the date and hour being amended to read 'Thursday, January 27th, 1938, at 2.30 p.m.'"

(d) Overseas Committee (Lady Gladstone reported). Subject to the following decision on minute 44, the minutes of the Committee dated November 26th, 1937 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: (39) Message of Congratulation to Lord Cecil; (40) Minutes; (41) Visit to Rouen; (42) Spring Meeting of the International Federation; (43) Composition of the Committee for 1938; (44) Overseas Report; (45) Luncheon in Honour of Lord Cecil; (46) Visit of Miss Courtney to Australia and New Zealand/

On Minute 44 -- Overseas Report, in reply to a question Lady Gladstone stated that the Overseas Committee would consider the desirability of including in their Overseas Report particulars of the membership of the various Overseas societies mentioned in the Committee's Report.

337. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Executive received resolutions from the Leeds Central Committee, the Rushden, St. Ives, Mill Hill and Chiswick Branches and the Essex Federal Council. It was

RESOLVED: "That the Leeds Central Committee, the Rushden, St. Ives, Mill Hill and Chiswick Branches and Essex Federal Council be thanked; be reminded of the resolutions adopted by the special meeting of the General Council and by the Executive Committee; and be informed that the Executive hopes in the near future to send a deputation to wait upon H.M. Government in regard to the Far Eastern dispute".

338. MINUTES. Subject to the following report and decision on minutes 329, 333(a) and (o) and 334, the minutes of the last meetings held on November 18th and November 25th, 1937 were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 229 -- Reception to Lord Cecil, Dame Adelaide Livingstone reported that arrangements had been made for a luncheon to be given jointly by the I.P.C. and the L.N.U. in honour of Lord Cecil on Thursday, 16th December at the Connaught Rooms. The Archbishop of Canterbury had promised to preside. It was reported that Mr. Egen was unable to accept the invitation to be present since he had already promised to attend another luncheon concerned with international affairs on 16th December. Several members of the Executive stated that they would be attending this luncheon and, after considerable discussion, it was

RESOLVED: "That the decision contained in minute 329 be rescinded; that in place of the luncheon an afternoon reception, with speeches, be held (say from 5 to 7 p.m.) on Thursday, December 16th (the first day of the General Council's meeting); and that the arrangements be left in the hands of Dame Adelaide Livingstone".

Dame Adelaide stated that she would urge the British National Committee of the I.P.C. at their meeting that afternoon to concur in the Executive's decision.

On Minute 333(a) -- Germany: Lord Halifax's mission, it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That this minute be confirmed subject to the deletion of the words 'On the suggestion of Mr. Keyser'".

(2) "That an early meeting of the Minorities Committee be called, and that the Chairman be asked to suggest the names of additional members for co-optation to the Committee".

On Minute 333(b) — The Far East, it was reported that, by the Chairmen's wish, the request to the Prime Minister and Mr. Eden to receive a deputation from the Executive had been deferred pending the receipt of names of members of H.M. Government who would be able to accept invitations to attend the luncheon in honour of Lord Cecil. The decision to substitute an afternoon party rendered further delay unnecessary so that the request to the Prime Minister and Mr. Eden would issue immediately.

On Minute 334 — Vacancy on the Committee, it was reported that Mr. J.R.H. Cartland had accepted the invitation to join the Executive.

339. DECEMBER MEETING OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL. The Executive had before them the Preliminary Agenda for the General Council together with the text of amendments submitted by Branches and others, and draft resolutions on the Far East and Spain for submission by the Executive as 'urgency' motions. An oral report was also presented from the Procedure Committee which had met on November 30th.

On Item 1 — The Far East, (see Minute 340 below)

On Item 2 — Spain, it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the following resolution be included in the Final Agenda for the General Council and that meanwhile it be communicated to the press."

The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union,

Strongly condemns the action of certain Powers in fomenting by armed force the domestic troubles of Spain, and the shamelessly insincere diplomacy by which that action has been prolonged;

Regrets the failure of the patient efforts of H.M. Government to secure the cessation of all such foreign military intervention, the withdrawal of all foreign forces at present in Spain, and the cessation of the illegal importation of munitions so that an opportunity may be created for the negotiation of peace, and

Considers that unless these efforts speedily result in so substantial a measure of success that the war in Spain no longer bears the character of an international conflict, the Spanish Government should have restored to it those facilities for obtaining military supplies to which it would be entitled under the normal working of international law.

On Item 6 -- Administration of Colonial Territories, it was reported that the Procedure Committee had recommended that the Executive's motion should be entitled "An All-Round Settlement" and that the motion of the Manchester District should be included under the heading of "Administration of Colonial Territories". It was

RESOLVED: (2) "That the Executive's motion be printed as item 6(a) and the Manchester motion as 6(b) on the Final Agenda under the title of Colonial Territories".

It was further

RESOLVED: (3) "That the statement prepared by the joint meeting of the Economic and Mandates Committees and approved by the Executive Committee on 16.7.37 (S.G.9211a) be printed as an appendix in the Final Agenda

On Item 12(b) -- League Radio News Service, it was

RESOLVED: (4) "That the words 'League of Nations Societies' be substituted for the words 'member organisations' and 'League of Nations Unions' in this resolution"

On Item 13 -- The Assyrians, it was

RESOLVED: (5) "That the words 'Great Britain' be substituted for the words 'British Commonwealth of Nations' in the last paragraph".

On Item 15 -- Report of Investigation Committee, it was

RESOLVED: (6) "That the following resolution be included in the name of the Executive in the Final Agenda:

The General Council

Takes note of the Report of the Investigation Committee printed as Appendix I and adopts the ten Recommendations printed on pages 25 and 26 of the Preliminary Agenda with the following changes:

Recommendation VI. That the following proviso, proposed by the Regions Committee be added to this Recommendation:-

"provided that the Executive shall devise and employ some incentive to every Branch to raise its proper share of the income of Headquarters should that share exceed the proportions of membership subscriptions paid to Headquarters, together with any other moneys contributed to Headquarters by the members of the Branch".

Recommendation VIII. That, as proposed by the Regions Committee, this Recommendation be replaced by the following:-

That in future there be five rates of subscription:

- (a) Life Members, who will be entitled to receive HEADWAY, and other literature published by the Union: a single payment of £25.
- (b) Foundation Members, who will be entitled to receive the literature to which Life Members are entitled: £1 a year, minimum.
- (c) Registered Members, who will be entitled to receive HEADWAY. 6s. a year, minimum.

provided always that existing Members who wish to continue to pay at the present rate of 3s.6d. be allowed to do so.

- (d) Subscription Members, who will receive the monthly NEWS SHEET, or alternatively, the QUARTERLY NEWS, insofar as their respective Branches will distribute copies: 2s.6d. a year, standard rate;

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(c) Charter Members: 1s.06.
a year, minimum.

340. THE FAR EAST. The Executive considered the draft resolution for submission to the General Council referred to in minute 339 above. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union

Deeply regrets that even after the unanimous condemnation of Japanese aggression by the League of Nations and the United States the nations represented at the Brussels Conference have failed to take concerted action to stop that aggression;

Considers that this failure implies such a lack of corporate international sense in many nations as renders civilisation liable to destruction;

Nevertheless, the Executive Committee notes that H.M. Government has declared its readiness to co-operate with other countries similarly placed to meet the obligations arising from the treaties which they have signed; and in the meantime

Trusts that measures to stop Japan will be proposed by H.M. Government so soon as they are satisfied that co-operation from the United States and other countries will be forthcoming;

Urges H.M. Government, in accordance with the unanimous request of the League of Nations, to give to China such help as is practicable, especially by diplomatic and financial aid and supplies of food and medicine; and further

Welcomes the action taken by individuals and societies both at home and abroad to refuse to purchase goods of Japanese origin, and

Calls upon members of the L.N.U. and other persons and societies in this country to organise such an extension of this refusal to purchase Japanese goods as will convince the British Government of the strength of public opinion on this subject."

(2) "That the above resolution be included in the Final Agenda for submission to the

December meeting of the General Council as an urgency motion".

- (3) "That the resolution be submitted, *mutatis mutandis*, to the International Federation for consideration at the next meeting of the Representative Council".
- (4) "That the resolution be immediately communicated to H.M. Government and to the press; and that it be also reported to the British National Committee of the I.P.C. at its forthcoming meeting".

It was suggested that a small sub-Committee might be appointed to consider and recommend a plan of procedure by which a boycott of Japanese goods might be organised by individuals and societies in this country. Mr. Arnold Forster suggested that an effort should be made (1) to enlist the co-operation of the Trade Unions, making it plain that the Union recognised that the whole sacrifice should not fall upon them, and (2) to inform American public opinion of the action being taken in Great Britain.

Sir Norman Angell suggested that members of Trade Unions, Co-operative bodies and their societies, as well as Churches, should be urged to move within their own organisations for corporate action in this matter. Sir Norman Angell added that public opinion was for the most part completely ignorant at the present time of the offer made by the United States in 1931, and he suggested that the Editorial Committee should consider the publication of a leaflet based on statements made by Mr. Stimson.

After further discussion it was, on the motion of Mr. Arnold Forster

RESOLVED: (1) "That a small sub-Committee be appointed to prepare for consideration by the Executive suggestions for the organisation of a boycott of Japanese goods by individuals and societies in Great Britain".

- (2) "That the composition of the sub-Committee be left in the hands of the Secretary; and that the Committee be asked to meet between December 14th and 23rd".

It was suggested that Sir Arthur Salter, Mr. Noel Baker, Lady Gladstone and Mr. Arnold Forster should be invited to serve on such a Committee, and that invitations might also be sent to Mr. Hallsworth or Mr. Marquis of Liverpool.

Lady Gladstone drew the Executive's attention to a telegram dated 25th November received by the International Federation from the Chinese League of Nations Union, as well as to a cable which the Chinese Society had addressed to the Union on October 25th, 1937. It was suggested that

where possible the Editor should be asked to print suitable messages from the Chinese League of Nations Union in HEADWAY.

341. NEXT MEETING OF EXECUTIVE. The Chairman reminded the Executive that, since the General Council would be in session on Thursday, December 16th, a meeting of the Executive for the discussion of general business could not be held on that date, and it was

RESOLVED: "That the next meeting of the Executive on Thursday, December 9th, be held at 10.45 a.m. for the consideration of general business, including world affairs".

342. CLOSING OF OFFICE FOR CHRISTMAS. It was

RESOLVED: "That the office be closed from 5.30 p.m. on Thursday, December 23rd until 10 a.m. on Tuesday, December 28th, 1937".

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT
14 GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1., ON THURSDAY, 9TH
DECEMBER, 1937, AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Dr. Gilbert Murray (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, F.M. Burris, Major Anthony Buxton, J.R.H. Cartland, Captain Gazelet, Miss Judith Corcoran, Miss K.D. Courtney, Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Philippa Fawcett, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, Arthur Henderson, J.S. Keyser, Dr. C.W. Kimmins, Lord Lytton, James Macdonald, W.T. Pritchard, Sir Archibald Sinclair, Nowell Smith, Brig.-General E.L. Spears, Major-General A.C. Temperley, Major Lawrence Wright, together with the Secretary, and Deputy Secretary.

343. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from P.J. Noel Baker, Mrs. E.P. Beale, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, the Dean of Chichester, Sir Arthur Haworth, Geoffrey Le M. Mander, H.S. Syrett, F.W. Weaver.

344. MR. J.R.H. CARTLAND. The Chairman welcomed Mr. Cartland who was attending the Executive for the first time.

345. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

(a) Editorial Committee. Subject to the following decision on minute 56, the minutes of the Committee dated 2nd December, 1937, were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: (53) Minutes; (54) Refugees; (55) Headway; (56) New Publications; (57) Posters; (58) History of the Union; (59) Speech by Lord Allen.

On Minute 56 — New Publications: Year Book, it was suggested that since the main purpose of the YEAR BOOK was to give an adequate report of the work of the Union for the year, reference to the League's work should be confined to a brief summary of facts and dates which should not form the first chapter of the book. Reference might be made in the YEAR BOOK to the Union's annual publication on the work of the Assembly for a more comprehensive account of the League's work. It was

RESOLVED: "That the Editorial Committee be asked to consider and report on this suggestion."

346. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Executive received resolutions from the Goolse and Acton Branches, and it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Goole Branch be thanked for their resolution, and be reminded of the motion on a League Radio News Service to be submitted by the Executive Committee to the General Council in December."

(2) "That the Acton Branch be thanked, and be reminded of the resolution adopted by the Executive Committee at its last meeting and communicated to H.M. Government and to the press."

347. MINUTES. Subject to the following report on minutes 336 (b), 338 (329) and 333 (b), 334 and 340, the minutes of the last meeting of the Committee held on December 2nd were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 336(b)-106 -- The Achievements of International Co-operation, it was

RESOLVED: "That this minute be confirmed subject to the substitution of the words 'such as those of' for the words 'including such as belong to'."

On Minute 338-329 -- Reception to Lord Cecil, at the request of the Chairman and in the absence of Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Miss Nancy Bell reported on the arrangements for the Reception to Lord Cecil to be held at the Dorchester Hotel on Thursday, December 16th from 5 to 7 p.m. M. Pierre Cot, M. de Brouckere, and Lord Cranborne had already accepted invitations to be present. Replies had not yet been received from the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary. An announcement of the Reception had been communicated to all members of the Union's General Council, and invitations had also been sent to all ex-members of the Executive Committee who were now Members of the Cabinet. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That Lady Gladstone be asked to preside at the Reception, and that arrangements be made for the speeches to begin not later than 5.45 p.m."

On Minute 338 - 333(b) -- The Far East, Dr. Garnett reported that the Prime Minister was unable to accede to the Executive's request that he should, with the Foreign Secretary, receive a deputation to discuss the Far Eastern situation, but that Mr. Eden had expressed his willingness to receive a small deputation at the Foreign Office on Thursday December 9th at 4 p.m. Lord Cecil, Lord Lytton, Lord Allen, Captain Cazelet, Miss Courtney, and Mr. Burris had been invited to join the deputation. Dr. Murray would lead the deputation. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That, subject to the inclusion of Lady Gladstone's name, the composition of the deputation as reported above be approved."

On Minute 338 - 334 - Vacancy on Committee, on the motion of Admiral Drury-Lowe it was

RESOLVED: "That when future vacancies on the Executive are being discussed the name of Mr. R.A. Pilkington, M.P. for Widnes, be considered."

On Minute 340 - The Far East, the Secretary reported that Sir Arthur Salter, Mr. Noel Baker, Lady Gladstone, Mr. Arnold Forster, Mr. Neville Dixey, Sir Arthur Haworth, Mr. Douglas Jay and Miss Corcoran, and Sir Frederick Marquis had been invited to serve on the sub-Committee to prepare for consideration by the Executive suggestions for the organisation of a boycott of Japanese goods by individuals and societies in Great Britain. The General Manager of the Army and Navy Stores had also consented to send a representative to the first meeting of the sub-Committee to be held on Tuesday, December 14th at 11 a.m. It was

RESOLVED: "That Lady Gladstone be asked to present the report, or an interim report of the sub-Committee to the General Council when the resolution on 'The Far East' is under discussion."

348. DECEMBER MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL. The Executive considered the Final Agenda for the December meeting of the General Council to be held in the Conway Hall on December 16th and 17th. It was

RESOLVED: 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 I. (a) Lord Cecil's Nobel Prize. Miss Judith Fischer-Williams to move; Dr. Gilbert Murray to second.

ITEM II. Minutes of the Eighteenth Annual Meeting and Report on Action Taken. Dr. Gilbert Murray to present the minutes of the last meeting and the Report on action taken, and to propose that the General Council should approve and adopt the interim report submitted by the Executive on minutes 795 (Peaceful Settlement of Disputes) and 799 (Development of the League) printed as Appendix IV.

ITEM III. Roll Call. Dr. Garnett.

P.T.O.

ITEM IV. World Affairs.

1. The Far East. (a) Lord Lytton to move.

(b) That the Procedure Committee be asked to recommend the Council to take this motion on Thursday morning, December 16th, immediately before the Minutes of the Torquay Meeting

2. Spain. The Duchess of Atholl to move; Dr. Murray to second.

3. Collective Security. Mr. Vyvyan Adams to move; Lord Lytton to second; and to oppose the amendments of the London Regional Federation and the Reigate, Redhill and District Branches.

4. Military Aviation. To leave this motion to the discretion of the Chairman.

5. Bombing and Burning of Open Towns. Miss Courtney to move.

6. Colonial Territories. Lord Allen

(1) to move the resolution with the words 'and the Open Door' inserted after the word 'trusteeship' in line 23, and with (1) omitted from line 25.

Note: Lord Allen was not able to be present at the meeting of the Executive, and the decision recorded above was taken by the Chairman after Lord Allen had been consulted.

Some members of the Executive desired to see lines 23 to 26 of the Executive's motion replaced by the following:

'should accept the principles of trusteeship and the Open Door in non-self-governing territories and of supervision by the Mandates Commission on the lines indicated in Article 22 of the Covenant of the League. The Council further believes that there is a strong case for'

and the Executive's motion further amended so as to include the sense of the following words:

"Urges H.M. Government to preserve a liberal attitude to the administration of this Convention with regard to the emigration of refugees whether due to the war, or to political or racial persecution."

10. Economic Co-operation. Sir Arthur Salter to move the Executive's addendum.
11. League Radio News Service. Sir Norman Angell or Dr. Murray.
12. The Assyrians. Admiral Drury-Lowe.
13. Intellectual Co-operation. Dr. Gilbert Murray.

ITEM V. Union Finance.

14. Report of Investigation Committee. Mr. Macdonald to move; Mr. Pritchard to second. It was

RESOLVED: (3) "That the cordial thanks of the Executive Committee be conveyed to Lord Meston for presiding over, and helping to prepare the Report of the Investigation Committee, and also to Sir John Menn for his invaluable assistance."

15. Budget for 1938. Mr. Syrett to present the Interim Report on income and expenditure; to move the adoption of the Executive's proposals for expenditure in 1938; and to oppose the motion of the Tonbridge Branch.

16. Expenses of Members of the Executive Committee. Mr. Burris to oppose.

Special Meeting for the Alteration of Rules. Mr. Burris. It was further

RESOLVED: (4) "That the Procedure Committee be asked to prepare, for the guidance of Lord Cecil, a programme suggesting the length of time which should be allowed for the discussion of the various items on the Council's Agenda."

349. MEETING OF THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION IN 1939. The Chairman reported a letter dated November 25th from Captain Lothian Small, stating that the International Federation had accepted in principle an invitation to hold its Plenary Congress in 1939 in China. In view of

"Urges H.M. Government to preserve a liberal attitude to the administration of this Convention with regard to the emigration of refugees whether due to the war, or to political or racial persecution."

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RESOLVED: (4) "That the Procedure Committee be asked to prepare, for the guidance of Lord Cecil, a programme suggesting the length of time which should be allowed for the discussion of the various items on the Council's Agenda."

349. MEETING OF THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION IN 1939. The Chairman reported a letter dated November 25th from Captain Lothian Small, stating that the International Federation had accepted in principle an invitation to hold its Plenary Congress in 1939 in China. In view of

the Japanese advance and the difficulty of holding a Congress at such a distance even in normal times, the Committee of the Federation which would be considering this matter in February would welcome the Union's advice on the question whether the Federation might not meet instead in New York. The Secretary reminded the Executive how, at a meeting of the Federation in 1925, the Union's delegation had suggested that the Federation should follow the example of the British Association for the Advancement of Science and hold its Congress outside of Europe say once in ten years. After discussion, during which arguments for and against a meeting of the Federation being held in New York in 1939 were put to the Committee, it was

RESOLVED: "That this matter be referred to the Overseas Committee for consideration and report."

350. RESOLUTION OF YOUTH COMMITTEE. The Executive further considered the resolution of the National Youth Committee dated 6th November, as amended by Dr. Murray and Mr. Mender at the Executive's request (see minute 318 of 11.11.37.) It was

RESOLVED: "That the resolution of the Youth Committee in the following amended form be approved and adopted:

"The practice noticeable for many years past of considering outside the League acts of aggression and other matters falling under the provisions of the Covenant, constitutes a movement away from League principles and, however difficult the circumstances now existing in Europe, is to be deplored."

351. LORD CECIL'S VISIT TO U.S.A. Lord Cecil reported to the Executive the impressions he had received during his recent visit to the U.S.A., and answered a number of questions put to him by members of the Committee.
352. BRITISH NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE I.P.C. The minutes of the British National Committee of the I.P.C. dated December 2nd, 1937, were received.
353. VISIT OF VISCOUNT ISHII. The Secretary reported a letter dated October 26th from Mr. Inagaki, stating that Viscount Ishii, the President of the Japanese League of Nations Association, would be visiting England in December for a few months and would welcome the opportunity of exchanging opinions with the members of the Executive Committee. It was suggested that if and when a communication was received from Viscount Ishii he should be invited to meet members of the Executive at a special meeting called for the purpose in the New Year.

354. DATE OF NEXT MEETING. It was

RESOLVED: "That the next meeting of the Executive be held at 10.45 a.m. on December 23rd for the consideration of general business; and that thereafter the Committee adjourn for the Christmas vacation until Thursday, January 13th."

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD
AT 15 GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1. ON THURSDAY,
DECEMBER 23RD, 1937 AT 10.45 A.M.

PRESENT: Dr. Gilbert Murray (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams, Sir Norman Angell, P.J. Noel Baker, Major Anthony Buxton, Lord Cecil, Miss Judith Corcoran, Miss K.D. Courtney, A.C. Crossley, Lord Dickinson, Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Miss Philippa Fawcett, W. Arnold Forster, Miss Megan Lloyd George, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, Captain Liddell Hart, Sir Arthur Haworth, Arthur Henderson, J.A. Keyser, G. le M. Mander, W.T. Pritchard, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, Sir Archibald Sinclair, Nowell Smith, H.S. Syrett, together with the Secretary and the Deputy Secretary.

355. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Mrs. E.P. Beale, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Captain V.A. Cazalet, Dr. C.W. Kimmins, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Lord Lytton, and James Macdonald, Brig.-General E.L. Spears, Major-General A.C. Temperley and Major Lawrence Wright.

356. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

- (a) Youth Committee (Miss Corcoran reported). Subject to the following decision on minute 96, the minutes of the Committee dated December 4th, 1937 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: (90) Minutes; (91) Committee Members; (92) Executive Minutes; (93) Registration and Deletion of Groups; (94) Lord Cecil; (95) B.Y.P.A. Milk for Spain Campaign; (96) Youth Groups Special Fund; (97) General Council of Union; (98) Membership of Union; (99) Bristol B.Y.P.A.

On Minute 96 -- Youth Groups Special Fund, it was

RESOLVED: "That this minute be referred to the Finance Committee for consideration and report".

- (b) Library Committee. (Dr. Garnett reported). Subject to the following decision on minute 28, the minutes of the Committee dated December 13th were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: (24) Minutes of the Last Meeting; (25) Matters arising out of the Minutes; (26) Appeal for Funds: Replies from Trusts; (27) Composition of Committee for 1938; (28) Book List

On Minute 28 -- Book List, it was

RESOLVED: "That a copy of ENGLAND EXPECTS EVERY AMERICAN TO DO HIS DUTY by G. Howe be purchased for the Library".

- (c) Education Committee. (Mr. Nowell Smith reported). The Minutes of the Committee dated December 13th, 1937 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: (147) Minutes; (148) Arising out of the Minutes; (149) Membership of the Committee; (150) Meetings for Teachers and Schools; (151) British Universities League of Nations Society; (152) Visits to Wales, Northern Ireland and the West of Scotland; (153) Report of the Junior Branches Sub-Committee; (154) Junior Summer School; (155) Proposal from the London Regional Federation; (156) Arrangements for the Christmas Holidays; (157) League of Nations Pioneers; (158) International Peace Campaign; (159) International Conference of Teachers; (160) English and Russian Textbooks; (161) International Federation of League of Nations Societies; Spring Meetings; (162) British Broadcasting Corporation; (163) Report of Youth Committee; (164) Junior Branches; (165) (Educational) Corporate Members

On Minute 158 -- International Peace Campaign, Mr. Arnold Forster expressed regret that the Education Committee of the Union had decided not to be represented on the Teachers Committee of the I.P.C. It was suggested that the new joint sub-Committee of representatives of the Union and the I.P.C. should be invited to submit any observations they might care to make upon the decision contained in the Education Committee's minute.

On Minute 160 -- English and Russian Textbooks, Sir Archibald Sinclair expressed the hope that full publicity would be given to this matter, since, if the Russians did agree to make the necessary corrections in their textbooks, it would be a great triumph for the Committee and the cause for which it stands.

- (d) Minorities Committee (Dr. Murray reported). The minutes of the Committee dated December 14th, 1937 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: (1) Minutes of last meeting; (2) German Minority in Czechoslovakia

- (e) Finance Committee. (Mr. Syrett reported). Subject to the following report on minutes 94, 95, 100 the minutes of the Committee dated December 14th, 1937 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: (92) Minutes; (93) Free Church Appeal; (94) Trojan Women"; (95) Financial Statement; (96) General Council Meeting; (97) Nottinghamshire Federal Council; (98) Kent Federal Council; (99) Manchester District Council; (100) Financial Provision for Entertaining Foreign and Overseas Visitors; (101) Composition of Committee for 1938; (102) Youth Groups Development Fund; (103) Library; (104) Passing of Cheques for Payment

On Minute 94 -- 'Trojan Women', Miss Fawcett stated that the Organising Committee anticipated that the profit on the Matinee would amount to some £370.

On Minute 95 -- Financial Statement, the Secretary stated that the three appeal letters which had recently been sent to certain members of the Union had brought in over £9,000 in cash and promises.

On Minute 100 -- Financial Provision for Entertaining Foreign and Overseas Visitors, Mr. Syrett stated that the Finance Committee would at all times be very ready to give sympathetic consideration to any proposed activity of the Welcome Committee, particularly if such activity could be made the means of raising funds for the Union.

- (f) Refugees Committee (Mr. Eppstein reported). The minutes of the Committee dated December 15th, 1937, were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: (29) Minutes; (30) Policy of the Union; (31) Protection of German Refugees; (32) Refugees in the United Kingdom; (33) Refugees from Danzig

- (g) Christian Organisations Committee (Admiral Drury-Lowe reported) Subject to the following decision on minute 99, the minutes of the Committee dated 15th December, 1937, were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: (96) Minutes; (97) Composition of Committee; (98) Future Work of Committee. Basis of Common Action between Christian Pacifist Groups and the

League of Nations Union; (99) Churches Commission of the International Peace Campaign; (100) International Morality; (101) Pamphlet Compiled by Coventry Chapter of Clergy; (102) Card for Church Porches; (103) Church Congress in 1938; (104) Youth Charter; (105) Applications for Corporate Membership/

On Minute 99 — Churches Commission of the International Peace Campaign, after hearing statements by Mr. Porter Goff and Mr. Arnold Forster, it was

RESOLVED: "That the proposed conference of clergy and ministers in the London area be postponed until after January; that the Christian Organisations Committee be asked to discuss the matter further and to report again to the Executive Committee; and that, in the meantime, the Secretary of the Christian Organisations Committee be requested to discuss the proposal with Mr. Arnold Forster.

- (h) Office Committee (Lady Gladstone reported). Subject to the following decision on minute 32, the minutes of the Committee dated December 21st, 1937, were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: (28) Minutes; (29) Miss Norrie; (30) Miss Lucas; (31) Half-Yearly Review of Salaries and Wages; (32) Intelligence Section/

On Minute 32 — Intelligence Section, the Executive carefully considered the qualifications of Mr. White and Miss Benham for appointment as successor to Mr. R.F. Scott in the Intelligence section, and, after a vote had been taken, it was

RESOLVED: "That Mr. J.H. White be appointed, as from January 10th, to the post vacated by Mr. R.F. Scott in the Intelligence section."

The following is a summary of Mr. White's qualifications:

Age 25 years, 5 months. Educated at St. Bee's School and University College, Oxford (where he obtained a 2nd Class in Modern Greats). He has since obtained the Diplome Supérieur ("Très bien") in French at Nancy and the Doctorate of Economics at Bonn (Mention — "Sehr gut"). Was Research Assistant of the ECONOMIST, February to May, 1937. Articles on National-Socialist Economics published in MANCHESTER GUARDIAN. A HISTORY OF THE EFFECTS OF BRITISH TARIFFS FROM 1823 — 1914 ON PUBLIC FINANCE published in German, 1937/

357. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Executive received resolutions from the Bishop Auckland, Liverpool City, L.C.C. Staff, Huthwaite and Westminster Branches, and it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Bishop Auckland Branch, the Liverpool City Branch, the L.C.C. Staff Branch and the Huthwaite Branch be thanked, and be reminded of the resolution adopted by the General Council at its December meeting."

(2) "That the Westminster Branch be thanked for their resolution".

It was reported that resolutions proposing action on the lines suggested by the Executive Committee and the General Council in regard to the Far East had been received from the following: Felixstowe Branch, Oswestry Branch, Sheffield District Co-ordinating Committee, Basingstoke Branch, Monmouth Town Branch, Silsden Branch, Pocklington Branch, Putney and South Fields Peace Week, Romford Branch and Coniston Branch. It was

RESOLVED: (3) "That the above Branches and Districts be thanked for their resolutions".

358. MINUTES. The minutes of the last meeting of the Committee held on December 9th, 1937 were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 347 -- Reception to Lord Cecil, the Chairman stated that the reception in honour of Lord Cecil had been a remarkable success and a most impressive function.

Lord Cecil expressed his warm thanks to the organisers and to all those who had been kind enough to attend the party.

359. COMMUNICATION FROM LORD CECIL TO THE CHAIRMAN. The Committee discussed a communication dated 19th December from Lord Cecil to the Chairman, and it was

RESOLVED: "That a sub-committee, consisting of Dr. Murray, Mr. Syrett and Mr. Henderson, be appointed to enquire further into this matter".

360. DECEMBER MEETING OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL. The Executive received the resolutions adopted by the General Council at its meeting in London during the previous week.

Lord Cecil expressed the hope that future meetings of the Council would not be held in the Conway Hall. The Secretary reported that he had already made provisional arrangements for next year's meeting to take place in the Caxton Hall.

Lord Cecil further suggested that, in future, members of the Executive should take their seats in the body of the hall, leaving the platform occupied only by the President and the officers. It was

RESOLVED: "That Lord Cecil's suggestion be carefully considered before the next meeting of the Council".

Lord Cecil referred to the joint resolution of the Union and the New Commonwealth which had been included in the Council's agenda but which was adjourned until the summer meeting.

Mr. Wvyan Adams made a detailed statement to the Executive reminding them of the long history of the joint resolution, and expressing the view that if the resolution was not acceptable at the last meeting of the Council it was unlikely to be so in June.

Lord Cecil agreed that there had been a genuine attempt by both parties to reach agreement and he felt that, with a little more time, complete agreement might be achieved. After considerable discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the Liaison Committee between the Union and the New Commonwealth be asked to meet again in order further to consider the joint resolution for the General Council with a view to reaching a final text satisfactory to all parties; and that Lord Cecil be asked to join the Liaison Committee".

361. THE FAR EAST

- (a) Deputation to the Foreign Secretary. Lord Cecil reported that the deputation from the Executive had waited upon the Foreign Secretary on 9th December, and stated that an account of the proceedings would be circulated to the Committee before the next meeting.
- (b) Preliminary Report of Boycott sub-Committee. Lady Gladstone presented to the Executive the preliminary report of the Boycott sub-Committee (S.G.2311), and it was

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RESOLVED: "That, subject to the final paragraph of the General Council's resolution being substituted for that of the Executive in the first paragraph of the report, and subject also to the deletion of the words 'and handling' and 'e.g. Trade Unions' in paragraph 3 (a), (3), the preliminary report of the sub-Committee be approved and adopted".

Mr. Noel Beker referred to the Conference which was being organised by the I.P.C. in February concerning the boycott of Japanese goods. The general view was expressed that everything possible should be done to support the Conference.

362. SPRING MEETINGS OF THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION. It was

RESOLVED: "That the Chairman be authorised to transmit to Geneva any of the resolutions adopted by the General Council which, in his opinion, would be suitable for consideration by the Representative Council of the Federation or by any of its sub-Committees".

363. WARWICKSHIRE FEDERAL COUNCIL. The Secretary reported that Captain E. Vaughan, the Secretary of the Warwickshire Federal Council, had tendered his resignation and that the Federal Council wished to appoint Mr. F. Pearson (late Secretary to the Northamptonshire Federal Council) as Captain Vaughan's successor. It was

RESOLVED: "That Captain Vaughan's resignation be accepted with regret; that he be thanked for his services; and that the Warwickshire Federal Council be informed that the Executive concurs in the appointment of Mr. F. Pearson".

364. PEACE WEEKS. Mr. Arnold Forster referred to a speech made from the platform on the subject of Peace Weeks at the Conference of Branch Secretaries on December 16th, and suggested that the resolution contained in minute 336(c) of the Executive's meeting of December 2nd should be communicated to the Union's Branches in the next circular letter. It was

RESOLVED: "That Mr. Arnold Forster's suggestion be adjourned for consideration at the next meeting of the Executive".

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD
AT 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1. ON THURSDAY,
JANUARY 13TH, 1938 AT 10.45 A.M.

PRESENT: Dr. Gilbert Murray (in the Chair),
Wyvyan Adams, Lord Allen, Sir Norman Angell,
the Duchess of Atholl, P.J. Noel Baker,
Mrs. E.F. Beale, F.M. Barris, Major Anthony
Baxton, Lord Cecil, Miss Judith Corcoran,
Lord Dickinson, Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe,
Miss Philippa Fawcett, Lady Gladstone,
Sir John Harris, J.W. Keyser, Lady Layton,
Dame Adelaide Livingstone, James Macdonald,
W.T. Pritchard, Miss Eleanor Rathbone,
Nowell Smith, Brig.-General E.L. Spears,
H.S. Syrett, Major-General A.C. Temperley,
Major Lawrence Wright, together with the
Secretary and the Deputy Secretary.

1. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Mrs. Corbett
Ashby, J.R.H. Cartland, Captain Cazalet, Miss K.D.
Courtney, Lord Davies, Mrs. Dugdale, Sir Arthur Haworth,
Arthur Henderson, Dr. C.W. Kimmins, Captain Liddell
Hart, Lord Lytton, Sir Archibald Sinclair and F.W. Weaver.

2. REPORT OF COMMITTEE

Youth Committee. (Miss Corcoran reported). Subject to
the following decision on minute 4, and to the decision
recorded in minute 3 below in so far as it affects
minute 6, the minutes of the Committee dated January 1st,
1938, were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: (1) Minutes; (2) Regis-
tration and Deletion of Groups; (3) Youth Hostels Assn.
National Council; (4) Colonies and Mandates Research
Committee; (5) Finance Special Youth
Group Development Fund; (6) China; (7) E.B.C.
Talks on THE WAY TO PEACE; (8) Date of Next
Meeting

On Minute 4 -- Colonies and Mandates Research Committee,
Sir John Harris suggested that the proposed sub-Committee
would do well to obtain some anthropological advice in
preparing their report on the living and working condi-
tions of the native people in the colonies and mandated
territories. At the Executive's request he promised
to discuss this matter with Miss Corcoran and to suggest
the names of suitable persons who might be invited to
assist the Committee in their work.

3. BRANCH RESOLUTION. The Executive received a resolution from the Manchester and District Youth Groups' Council, and it was

RESOLVED: "That the Manchester and District Youth Groups Council be thanked, and be reminded of the resolution in regard to the Far East adopted by the General Council at its December meeting".

4. MINUTES. Subject to the following decision on minutes 356(d) and 360, the minutes of the last meeting of the Committee dated December 23rd were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 356(d) Minorities Committee, on the motion of Mr. Keyser it was

RESOLVED: "That the Minorities Committee be asked to meet again as soon as possible and to consider, among other matters, the principle of Minority rights in Roumania".

On Minute 360 -- December Meeting of the General Council, reference was made to the evening session of the Council which had been held on December 16th. Mr. Macdonald and Mr. Burris were of the opinion that the experiment had not proved a success and expressed the hope that it would not be repeated on a future occasion. Miss Corcoran and Miss Pawcett felt that the success or otherwise of the experiment ought not to be judged by one meeting of the Council. The Secretary stated that the Regions Committee and the Procedure Committee would consider the matter and their observations would be laid before the Executive Committee in due course.

5. PEACE WEEKS. The Executive considered a suggestion made by Mr. Arnold Forster at the last meeting that the resolution contained in minute 336(c) of the Executive's meeting of December 2nd, 1937, should be communicated to Branches. It was

RESOLVED: "That, subject to the approval of the Chairman of the Administration Committee, the resolution contained in the Executive's minute No. 336(c) of December 2nd be communicated to Branches in the February circular letter".

6. COMMUNICATION FROM THE WESTMINSTER BRANCH. The Executive considered the following communication from the Westminster Branch of the Union:

"The Westminster Branch of the L.N.U., including among its members representatives of all parties, many of whom have relatives and friends in foreign countries, requests that the Executive

will consider and, if thought fit, pass a resolution pledging the Union not to take any side in the internal or national politics of foreign countries".

The Chairman felt that it was impossible for the Executive to accept this proposal in its present form and to say that the Union would 'not take any side in internal or national politics of foreign countries'. If Japan's national policy was to attack China it was right and proper for the Executive to say what it thought about the matter. In connection with the use of the word 'internal' it was pointed out that regard for the treatment of Minorities was one of the duties of the League. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the Chairman be asked to reply to the communication of the Westminster Branch".

7. COMMUNICATION FROM LORD CECIL TO THE CHAIRMAN. It was

RESOLVED: "That the report of the sub-Committee, together with all other matters relating to the future of the L.N.U. and the I.P.C., should stand referred to a special sub-committee consisting of Lord Cecil, Dr. Murray and Lord Lytton".

8. BOYCOTT OF JAPANESE GOODS

(a) Action by Branches of the Union. The Executive had before them the Preliminary Report of the Boycott sub-Committee (D.S.2311) which, with slight amendments, had been approved and adopted at the last meeting of the Executive.

Lady Gladstone reported that she had written in her personal capacity to a number of firms with which she was in the habit of dealing, and that the replies she had received encouraged her in the belief that a boycott by individuals could produce an important effect upon imports from Japan. She felt that a large section of the public would be willing to co-operate in such a boycott and might, as a result, be persuaded to join the Union.

The Executive discussed the legal aspect of the proposed boycott, and replies were read to a number of questions put by Lady Gladstone to Sir William Jowitt.

Mr. Syrett feared that the proposed boycott went beyond the terms of the Union's Charter and might estrange a large number of the Union's present supporters.

Lord Cecil expressed the opinion that the political effect of a well-organised boycott would be of immense importance in this country.

Miss Rathbone suggested that the draft letters recommended in the Report of the Boycott Committee should be supplemented by a specimen letter to shopkeepers, suggesting that, if they are willing to take action on the lines proposed, they should display a notice in their windows to the effect that, as from such a date, no goods will be ordered from Japan. Miss Rathbone further suggested that letters to the principal commercial firms should be sent on behalf of the Executive.

Miss Corcoran reminded the Executive that the China Campaign Committee had been at work on a boycott for some three or four months. She expressed the hope that Branches of the Union would be asked to ascertain what, if any, machinery was already in operation in their localities and to lend their support.

After further discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the suggestions for action contained in the Preliminary Report of the sub-Committee (D.S.2311) be commended to Branches of the Union".

(2) "That the Boycott sub-Committee be asked to meet again as soon as possible, to consider the various suggestions made by members of the Executive, and to complete the provisional list of goods and raw materials imported from Japan for inclusion in the leaflet recommended in the Boycott Committee's Report".

(3) "That the draft leaflet recommended in the above report be printed and made available in two forms, (1) for use by Branches of the Union and (2) with such modifications as may be necessary for use by other organisations".

(b) International Peoples Assembly. Lord Cecil stated that an International Peoples Assembly was being arranged by the I.P.C. to take place in London from February 11th to 14th. He expressed the hope that the Union would do all it could to support the Assembly and ensure its success.

Mr. Baker stressed the importance of the gathering and the effect which would be produced on foreign nations, including the U.S.A. by the demonstration of wide and enthusiastic support in this country for a voluntary boycott of Japanese goods.

The Secretary reminded the Executive of the practice which had been followed in regard to other Conferences of the I.P.C. and suggested that Branches

of the Union should be asked to communicate to him the names of such delegates as they might wish to appoint in order that a united delegation representing the Union as a whole might be sent to the Assembly.

RESOLVED: "That the Secretariat be asked to do all in their power to assist in promoting the success of the International Peoples Assembly, and that it be left to Mr. Noel Baker and the Secretary to decide what action can be taken to this end".

9. REGIONAL CONGRESSES OF THE I.P.C. The attention of the Executive was drawn to a recommendation contained in the minutes of the I.P.C. Executive Committee dated November 30th "that at least six Regional Congresses be held during the next twelve months".

RESOLVED: "That, subject to financial considerations, general support be given to such Regional Congresses".

10. THE FAR EAST. A report on the deputation from the Executive which had waited upon the Foreign Secretary on December 7th was circulated to the Committee (S.G.9592).

Reference was made to the tremendous drive against the League, organised mainly by Italy but also by Germany, which was at present going on throughout Europe and was producing a more or less responsive effect. It was suggested that H.M. Government might be asked, at the forthcoming meeting of the League's Council, strongly to reaffirm that they stand solidly by the League, while at the same time they are prepared to co-operate with any nation, whether a Member of the League or not for the preservation of peace and international law.

The Executive discussed the proposal that the Council of the League should pass a resolution urging Member States to supply arms to China. General Temperley saw great difficulties in the proposal and suggested that a better alternative might be to bring into force the Treaty of Financial Assistance to the victim of aggression. If China were supplied with financial means to buy arms, they could be obtained.

X Lord Cecil suggested that a letter might be sent to the Prime Minister, urging H.M. Government (1) to issue a communique which could be circulated to their representatives abroad, stating that they regard the existence and activities of the League as essential to peace, and instructing their representatives abroad to lose no opportunity of pressing this on the Governments to which they are accredited; (2) to make a statement to the same effect at the forthcoming meeting of the League Council; (3) to take every opportunity of utilising the League (referring to Lyon and the Non-Intervention Committee); (4) in all those quarters where anti-League propaganda is going on from Italy or Germany, to oppose

it, in common with others, in every way; and (5) to promote the boycotting of Japan and assistance to China.

After further discussion it was

RESOLVED: "THAT Lord Cecil be asked to write to the Prime Minister on the lines suggested above". X

11. DEFENCE OF FREEDOM AND PEACE. The Chairman called the attention of the Executive to the important movement for "Defence of Freedom and Peace" which was, he thought, working for the same purpose as the Union.

Sir Norman Angell agreed that this body was making an important contribution to the cause of world peace, but he did not regard it as a 'movement'. It represented no more than informal luncheon meetings which were important from the point of view of the personality of Mr. Winston Churchill and the support that he obtained.

12. SEPARATION OF THE COVENANT FROM THE PEACE TREATIES. Mr. Keyser drew the attention of the Executive to the following resolution which was adopted by the General Council at its meeting at Torquay in June, 1937:

"That the General Council of the League of Nations Union decides to exert its whole influence to secure the separation of the Covenant from the Peace Treaties".

The Secretary stated that this resolution had been communicated to H.M. Government and to all the Branches of the Union.

The Chairman reminded the Executive of two memoranda prepared by Sir Walter Napier for the Executive in 1934 dealing with the separation of the Covenant from the Peace Treaties, and it was

RESOLVED: "That a pamphlet dealing with the question of the separation of the Covenant from the Peace Treaties and based on the memoranda by Sir Walter Napier, be prepared for publication as soon as possible".

13. RESOLUTION OF CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE. The Executive learned with great interest that the Board of Trustees of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace had adopted the following resolution at their meeting in New York on December 13th:

"At a moment when the force and power of treaty obligations between nations are being broadly challenged, the Trustees of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace wish to record their conviction that there is no path to permanent peace, no hope for the reign of law and order in international affairs, save by an insistence upon the

14. NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE CANADIAN SOCIETY.

The Secretary reported a communication from Mr. Inch, the Secretary of the Canadian League of Nations Society. The Chairman suggested that if any member was expecting to visit Canada at that time he should communicate with Dr. Garnett.

asking if any member of the Executive was likely to be in Canada when the Society held its Annual Conference on May 22nd.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD
AT 14 GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1. ON THURSDAY,
20TH JANUARY, 1938 AT 10.45 A.M.

PRESENT: Dr. Gilbert Murray (in the Chair), P.J. Noel
Baker, Major Anthony Buxton, Lord Cecil,
Lord Dickinson, Admiral Drury-Lowe,
Miss Philippa Fawcett, Lady Gladstone,
Sir John Harris, J.A. Keyser, W.T. Pritchard,
Miss Eleanor Rathbone, Nowell Smith, Brig.-
General E.L. Spears, together with the
Secretary and the Deputy Secretary.

15. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Sir Norman
Angell, Mrs. E.P. Beale, F.M. Birris, Lady Violet
Bonham Carter, Captain Cazalet, Miss Judith Corcoran,
Miss K.D. Courtney, Lord Davies, Miss Megan Lloyd George,
Sir Arthur Haworty, Lady Layton, Lord Lytton, James
Macdonald, G. le M. Mander, Sir Archibald Sinclair,
Major-General K.C. Temperley, F.W. Weaver and Major
Lawrence Wright.

16. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

- (a) W.L.C. Sub-Committee for the I.P.C. (Lady Gladstone
reported). The minutes of the Committee dated
January 10th, 1938 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: (22) Minutes;
(23) First National Congress; (24) Inter-
national Peoples Assembly; (25) New Methods
of Propaganda; (26) Report of Women's Com-
mission of the R.U.F. (I.P.C.) in France;
(27) Resolutions of Women's Commission of
Australian I.P.C.

- (b) Welcome Committee. (Lady Gladstone reported). Subject
to the following report on minutes 44 and 47 the min-
utes of the Committee dated January 17th, 1938, were
approved and adopted.

These minutes included: (37) Lord Cecil;
(38) New Year Honours; (39) Minutes; (40)
Membership of the Committee; (41) Teachers
Conference; (42) Financial Provision for
Entertaining Foreign Students, Tonbridge
Branch Resolution for General Council; (43)
Parties for Foreign Students; (44) Indian
Women Students; (45) Dominion Teachers.
Proposed Reception; (46) International Peoples
Assembly; (47) Herr Edward Ludwig. Letter from
Secretary, Austrian League of Nations Society;
(48) Secretary's Report;

On Minute 44 -- Indian Women Students, Sir John Harris suggested that the Welcome Committee might like to consult Mr. Henry Polak, who had done much work among Indian students.

On Minute 47 -- Herr Edward Ludwig, Sir John Harris suggested that it might be found easier to arrange a luncheon rather than a dinner for Herr Ludwig at the House of Commons.

The Executive were informed that the Austrian Legation had been consulted in this matter and had expressed their warm approval. An invitation to the function would be sent to the Austrian Minister.

- (c) Christian Organisations Committee. Admiral Drury-Lowe reported that the Committee, at its meeting on the previous day, had unanimously adopted the following resolution:

"That a Conference of Clergy and Ministers be held to discuss, and if possible to formulate, the Christian view of the future of the League of Nations".

- 17, BRANCH RESOLUTION. The Executive received a resolution from the Herborne Branch and it was

RESOLVED: "That the Herborne Branch be thanked and be reminded of the following resolution adopted by the General Council at its Scarborough meeting in June, 1936:

'The General Council of the League of Nations Union.....

Asks that, in order to provide not only for the pacific settlement of all international disputes, but for the removal so far as possible of the causes of war, the Assembly of the League shall adopt without delay the procedure necessary to make Article XIX effective as a means of bringing about, without recourse to arms, the political and economic changes in international conditions which justice may require. Such procedure should include the creation of a permanent panel of competent persons from whom the Assembly should constitute a Commission of Enquiry to examine any demand made by a State Member for the alteration of existing international conditions and to make recommendations.*

*The following procedure should be adopted for the application of Article XIX of the Covenant:

If any Member of the League desires the Assembly to advise, under Article XIX of the Covenant, the reconsideration by Members of the League of a treaty (on the ground that it has become inapplicable) or the consideration of specified international conditions (on the ground that their continuance might endanger the peace of the world) a Commission of Enquiry should be appointed to report on the facts and to recommend what, if any, action should be taken.

After considering the report or reports of the Commission of Enquiry, the Assembly should 'advise' and, if the Members of the League who are parties to the treaty or are responsible for the international conditions in question do not act upon the advice within a reasonable time, it may be desirable that the Council should consider the matter under Article X.

18. MINUTES. Subject to the following decision on minutes 7, 10 and 14, the minutes of the last meeting of the Committee dated January 13th, 1938, were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 7 -- Communication from Lord Cecil to the Chairman, it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That this minute be amended to read as follows:

"That the report of the sub-Committee, together with all other matters relating to the future of the L.N.U. and the I.P.C., be adjourned for consideration at a special meeting of the Executive, pending proposals to be made by the President of the Union, and the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Executive Committee".

Since Lord Lytton was at present abroad, Lord Cecil and the Chairman had taken Lady Gladstone into consultation. Lord Cecil hoped that the sub-Committee's report would shortly be available, and suggested that a special meeting of the Executive might be held on Thursday, January 27th to consider the report. It was

RESOLVED: (2) "That at the meeting of the Executive on January 27th, consideration of the proposals to be made by Lord Cecil, Dr. Murray and Lord Lytton be the first item on the agenda for that meeting".

On Minute 10 -- The Far East, copies of Lord Cecil's letter to the Prime Minister of January 13th had, with Lord Cecil's permission, been circulated to members of the Executive. But after he had expressed his anxiety that no public use should be made of the reference in the letter to his recent conversation with the President of the United States, it was

RESOLVED: "That members of the Executive be asked to return to the Secretary the copies of Lord Cecil's letter now in their possession".

On Minute 14 -- National Conference of the Canadian Society, it was suggested that Sir Francis Floud who, before his appointment as High Commissioner for Canada, had been the Chairman of the Surrey Federation and was still in close touch with the Union's work, might be willing to represent the Union at the National Conference of the Canadian Society on May 23rd. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the Secretary be asked to inquire of Mr. Bernard Floud whether there is any likelihood of his father's being able to accept an invitation to represent the Union at the Conference of the Canadian Society".

20. BOYCOTT OF JAPANESE GOODS

(a) Report of Boycott sub-Committee. Lady Gladstone presented an oral report on the meeting of the Boycott sub-Committee held on January 19th. The sub-Committee had recommended

"That window bills should be printed bearing the words 'No Japanese goods sold here' and that the shops who display these bills should be placed on a 'white list' which should be issued to the press".

Lord Cecil spoke of the difficulty of dealing with manufactured goods which contained some proportion of raw materials imported from Japan. He reminded the Executive of the practice of issuing Certificates of Origin by which manufactured products containing more than an agreed percentage of foreign raw material were labelled with the name of the country from which such material was imported. He suggested that the Boycott sub-Committee should be asked to look into this aspect of the matter.

Lady Gladstone further reported that the sub-Committee had recommended the Executive "to urge H.M. Government to take the necessary steps to prevent further purchases of Japanese goods by Government departments".

It was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Chairman be asked to write to H.M. Government, reminding them of the expression of public opinion in this country and in the United States on the question of the boycott of Japanese goods, and inquiring whether any goods of Japanese origin are now being purchased for H.M. Government and, if so, what is the nature of such purchases".

Lady Gladstone suggested that members of the Executive who had written or were proposing to write letters on the lines suggested by the sub-Committee, to firms with which they were in the habit of dealing, should send the replies to the Secretary in order that they might be co-ordinated and classified.

Lady Gladstone also stated that the sub-Committee had discussed the question of advising holders of Japanese bonds to sell them. Lord Cecil stated that, during the Great War, he had been advised by the Prime Minister that there was no necessity for him to sell German bonds which he then held but that he should not deal in them.

The Executive discussed the names of further persons whom it was suggested might be invited to serve on the sub-Committee. Lord Cecil thought it important that the political parties should be represented on any Committee which was concerned with carrying out a consumers' boycott, and stated that he was inviting representatives of all the parties to attend a meeting in London on Sunday, 13th February in connection with the International Peoples Assembly.

Sir John Harris suggested that Mr. White, a partner in the firm of White, Robsdale & Co., who imported large quantities of dolls and small toys from Japan, might be a useful member of the sub-Committee. After discussion it was on the motion of Lord Cecil

RESOLVED: (2) "That the reconstitution of the Boycott sub-Committee be adjourned for consideration after the International Peoples Assembly has taken place in February".

(b) International People's Assembly. Lord Cecil reported that arrangements were being made for a large public meeting in the Covent Garden Opers House on the evening of Sunday, February 13th, the second day of the International People's Assembly. Mr. Pritchard, in response

to a question from Lord Cecil, stated that the London Regional Federation would be glad to do all they could to help in securing a large audience for the meeting, and that notices would be included in the forthcoming issue of the L.R.F. Bulletin.

Mr. Noel Baker reported that Mme. Sun Yat Sen would be in London at that time and that it was proposed to invite her to speak at the meeting.

Sir John Harris suggested that the B.E.C. might be asked to invite Mme. Sun Yat Sen to take part in their "In Town To-night" programme on Saturday, 12th February. If this were done Mme. Sun Yat Sen might take the opportunity to refer to the meeting in the Opere House on the following evening. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That it be left to the Chairman to discuss Sir John Harris' suggestion with officials of the B.E.C. and of the Chinese Embassy".

21. ABYSSINIA. Sir John Harris spoke of the present situation in Abyssinia and of the necessity of H.M. Government's continuing their policy of non-recognition of the Italian conquest. He also referred to the effect which was still being felt in Italy of the sanctions imposed by Members of the League. When sanctions were first applied, he said, Signor Mussolini was compelled to give large subsidies to manufacturers to compensate for their loss of trade; and when sanctions were taken off increased subsidies were demanded in order that their trade might be recovered. Sir John Harris also reminded the Executive that Italy was paying annually no less than 1,200 million lire in dues for passage through the Suez Canal, and that the last seven hundred miles of the journey to Addis Ababa could only be traversed with the help of petrol which Italy had to import.

Lady Gladstone reported on information she had received from an authoritative source concerning the acute difficulties which the Italians were facing in Abyssinia at the present time.

Mr. Noel Baker suggested that the Executive might pass a resolution or adopt a reasoned statement concerning the non-recognition of the Italian conquest of Abyssinia, and drawing attention to the present state of Abyssinia and to the legal and moral aspects of the matter. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That Sir John Harris, in consultation with Miss White, be asked to prepare a memorandum for consideration by the Executive".

22. PRESENT POSITION OF THE LEAGUE: ITS MILITARY, ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL POWER. Miss Rathbone asked whether, before the meeting of the League's Council, the Executive could not put forward some definite proposals for rallying the forces in the League.

Lord Cecil urged that H.M. Government should make it plain that they were at all times ready to take whatever action they thought practically possible in order to carry out their duties under the Covenant. In Great Britain, as well as in every European country and in America, there was considerable doubt as to how far the British Government was in earnest in its support of the League.

Mr. Baker suggested that the Executive might prepare a paper showing (1) that in material resources and in moral resources the League Members are tremendously stronger than the countries outside; (2) that an economic boycott is in fact a tremendous weapon; (3) that an oil embargo would be decisive if it could be organised; and (4) the great power of resistance of the defensive in war, instancing Spain and China. Such a paper might also indicate the relative resources in man power, armaments industry, etc. of Members of the League and non-members.

General Spears agreed with Mr. Noel Baker's proposal and expressed the opinion that anything that would tend to demonstrate to the Members of the League the extent of their latent strength would be extremely valuable. But at the same time account had to be taken of the defeatist feeling which existed in many countries at the present time.

After considerable discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That Sir Norman Angell, Admiral Drury-Lowe, Captain Liddell Hart, Sir Arthur Salter, General Spears and General Temperley be asked to collaborate in the preparation of a paper dealing with the actual military, naval and air power, as well as the economic and financial power of Members of the League as compared with non-Members".

It was suggested that this paper, after being submitted to the Executive, might be circulated to the Union's Branches and to League of Nations Societies abroad.

23. SPAIN AND THE MEDITERRANEAN. Lord Cecil reminded the Executive of the effort made some months ago to arrange a small private committee to consider what possible terms of peace might be made in Spain. This Committee had now formulated proposals based on the theory that nothing in the nature of a permanent settlement in Spain could be done at the present moment. The

Committee's suggestion was that both sides should be asked to cease hostilities; that each party should hold the part of Spain of which they were in occupation; that they should each organise a Government so far as they were able; and that a link between each party should be provided in the person of a President or King who would undertake to govern the country by the advice of his Eastern Ministry in Eastern Spain and his Western Ministry in Western Spain. This procedure would be followed for three years or whatever other period was decided on; and, at the end of that time, the people of Spain should be consulted as to what form of Government they desired.

Lord Cecil stated that it was not proposed to advocate this plan in public, but that it had been communicated to H.M. Government. The Committee felt that, if such a proposal were put forward, it should be proposed not by any Government but by the League as the international authority.

The Chairman said that a Spanish Committee in Paris, consisting of people who had come from both sides in Spain, as well as a French Committee and a small British Committee, had been working independently on a similar plan. The British Committee did not wish to propose any kind of procedure, but if the Spanish Committee could agree on some line which they thought would command support in Spain, they would be prepared to take it up and endeavour to get British public opinion to support it.

8th. February 1938.

My dear Freshwater,

The Chairman has sent me the enclosed confidential note of the recent discussion in the private meeting of the Executive. It seems to me quite accurate, and I think it would be better that it should be put ^{into the minute book.} ~~into a sealed envelope.~~

Yours very sincerely,

Cecil

CONFIDENTIAL

In the course of the discussion Sir A. Sinclair wished to be assured that Dr. Garnett was not being dismissed or forced to retire: he ~~remained~~ remained Secretary though absent on sick leave.

Lord Cecil, while giving no assurance that Dr. Garnett would return to the Office after the six months, accepted Sir A. Sinclair's account.

Proposals that Dr. Garnett should be asked to resign, or that an inquiry should be held during his absence on his fitness for the post of Secretary met with very little support.

Lord Allen's resolution, asking the Officers to report within three months on the general working of the Staff, was understood as covering ALL the Staff.

Mr. Crossley and some others objected to the Report on the ground that it went further in the direction of amalgamation with the IFC than is authorized by the Council Resolutions and the Union's present policy. The Chairman explained that the Report advocated no change in the policy laid down by the Council, but made proposals for carrying out with less friction such co-operation as may be approved by the Executive.

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LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1. ON THURSDAY, JANUARY 27TH, 1938 AT 10.30 A.M.

PRESENT: Dr. Gilbert Murray (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams, Lord Allen, Sir Norman Angell, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, P.J. Noel Baker, Mrs. Beale, F.M. Burris, Major Anthony Muxton, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Lord Cecil, the Dean of Chichester, Miss Judith Corcoran, Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, W. Arnold Forster, Lady Gladstone, Sir John Harris, Sir Arthur Haworth, J.A. Keyser, Dr. C.W. Kimmins, Lord Lytton, James Macdonald, the Hon. Harold Nicolson, W.T. Pritchard, Sir Archibald Sinclair, Nowell Smith, Brig.-General E.L. Spears, H.S. Syrett, Major-General J.C. Temperley, F.W. Weaver, Major Lawrence Wright.

S. le N. Nander

24. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from the Duchess of Atholl, J.R.H. Cartland, Miss K.D. Courtney, Miss Megan Lloyd George, Lady Hall, Lady Layton and Dame Adelaide Livingstone.

(No member of the Staff was present)

25. FUTURE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION AND THE INTERNATIONAL PEACE CAMPAIGN. The Report presented by the Officers (President, Chairman and Vice-Chairman) was discussed and adopted.

On the motion of Lord Allen it was

RESOLVED: "That we ask the Officers to recommend to us within three months from now whether any steps should be taken for the purpose of reviewing all staff questions."

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD
AT 14 GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1. ON THURSDAY,
FEBRUARY 3RD, 1938 AT 10.45 A.M.

PRESENT: Dr. Gilbert Murray (in the Chair), Lord Allen, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, P.J. Noel Baker, F.M. Burris, Major Anthony Buxton, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Captain Cazalet, Lord Cecil, Miss Judith Corcoran, Lord Dickinson, Vice-Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Miss Philippa Fawcett, Lady Gladstone, Sir John Harris, Arthur Henderson, J.A. Keyser, W.T. Pritchard, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, Sir Archibald Sinclair, Nowell Smith, H.S. Syrett, Major Lawrence Wright, together with the Deputy Secretary.

26. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Vyvyan Adams, the Duchess of Atholl, Miss K.D. Courtney, Lady Hall, Sir Arthur Haworth, Dr. C.W. Kimmins, Lady Layton, James Macdonald and Major-General A.C. Temperley.

27. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

- (a) Christian Organisations Committee. (Admiral Drury-Lowe and the Dean of Chichester reported). Subject to the following report and decision on minutes 2, 6, and 7, the minutes of the Committee dated 19th January, 1938 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: (1) Minutes; (2) Campaign in the Churches; (3) Basis of Common Action between the League of Nations Union and the Christian Pacifist Groups; (4) Dr. Mathes's Visit to the United States; (5) The Reverend Henry Carter's Peace Mission with Mr. George Lansbury; (6) International Morality; (7) Reprint of Pamphlet compiled by Coventry Chapter of Clergy; (8) Card for Church Porches; (9) Composition of Committee for 1938; (10) Follow Up of Oxford Conference — Replies from Overseas; (11) Youth Charter; (12) Applications for Corporate Membership.

On Minute 2 — Campaign in the Churches, the Dean of Chichester reminded the Executive of the Conference which had recently been held at Oxford and of the statement representing the Christian Organisations Committee's point of view which had been prepared for that gathering. He suggested that the work of the Union at the present time was far more educational than political, and that through the Churches and in the Churches a most important part of the Union's

work could be done. The Union's task, as he saw it, was to educate public opinion in order to make it clearly understand what was involved in the whole principles of collective defence and security embodied in the Covenant of the League; and what was needed at the present time was not a theoretical discussion of the Christian view but a campaign to find out how far the Christian Churches in this country were prepared to support the League and its Covenant. He added that the sub-Committee appointed by the Christian Organisations Committee was meeting that afternoon, and he asked for an expression of the Executive's view in this matter. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the sub-Committee be informed that the Executive is in favour of a conference of the Christian Churches in support of the Covenant of the League and does not desire that the Conference should confine itself to an abstract discussion of the Christian point of view of the future of the League".

(2) "That the Executive warmly approves of the statement in the Christian Organisations Committee's minute that it is important to make people understand the principles upon which the League Covenant is based and why these principles are essential".

On Minute 6, it was reported that the attention of members of the Christian Organisations Committee had been drawn to the meeting to be held in the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden on February 13th, during the International People's Assembly on the subject of SAVE CHINA, SAVE PEACE.

On Minute 7 — Reprint of Pamphlet Compiled by Coventry Chapter of Clergy, it was

RESOLVED: "That this minute be approved and adopted, subject to the approval of the Editorial Committee".

(b) Industrial Advisory Committee. (Miss Corcoran reported) Subject to the following report and decision on minutes 3, 6 and 12, the minutes of the Committee dated January 20th, 1938 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: (1) Minutes; (2) Mr. E.L. Poulton; (3) Constitution of Committee for 1938; (4) Peace and Social Justice; (5) Hours of Work — Deputation to the Minister of Labour; (6) Union Policy on the I.L.O.; (7) Extended Easter School;

- (8) International Federation of League of Nations Societies; (9) Speakers' Reports; (10) General Council, December, 1937; (11) Industrial Affiliations; (12) the I.L.O. and Schools

On Minute 3 -- Constitution of Committee for 1938. Mr. Keyser expressed his willingness to represent the Executive on the Industrial Advisory Committee.

On Minute 6 -- Union Policy on the I.L.O. it was

RESOLVED: "That this minute be referred to the Editorial Committee for consideration and report".

On Minute 12 -- The I.L.O. and Schools, in reply to a question it was explained that the proposal contained in the letter signed by the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Education Committee was that mention of the aims and achievements of the I.L.O. might be made in connection with history lessons.

- (c) Editorial Committee. (Dr. Murray reported). Subject to the following decision on minutes 5 and 6, the minutes of the Committee dated January 20th, 1938 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: (1) Minutes; (2) Union Periodicals; (3) Budget Figures; (4) The Strength of the League; (5) Peace Book Club; (6) Publications for 1938; (7) Information on Germans in Czechoslovakia; (8) Posters

On Minute 5 -- Peace Book Club, it was

RESOLVED: "That this minute be approved and adopted subject to the resolution being amended to read as follows:

"That a representative from the Union attend the Committee and report back to the Editorial Committee; and that a suggestion be made to the publishing firm that a title such as "World Affairs" might be better than "Peace".

On Minute 6-- Publications for 1938. it was

RESOLVED: "That this minute be approved and adopted, subject to the words 'not more than twelve in number' being substituted for the words 'twelve in all'."

Sir John Harris expressed the hope that the proposed pamphlet dealing with Colonies would be shown to the Mandates Committee before publication.

Admiral Drury-Lowe stressed the importance of producing the suggested series of leaflets as cheaply as possible and of having the leaflets available for sale at all Branch meetings.

- (d) Overseas Committee. (Lady Gladstone reported). Subject to the following decision on minute 2, the minutes of the Committee dated January 26th, 1938 were approved and adopted;

These minutes included: (1) Minutes; (2) Spring Meetings of the Federation; (3) Present Position of the Federation; (4) Place of Meeting of the Federation's Plenary Congress in 1939; (5) Visit of Herr Eduard Ludwig; (6) Communication from Mr. Inch

On Minute 2 -- Spring Meetings of the Federation. Lady Gladstone reported that the Spring meetings of the International Federation would take place in London on February 14th, 15th and 16th in order to coincide with the International People's Assembly. It was

RESOLVED: "That the composition of the Union's delegation to the Executive Committee and Standing Committees of the Federation be left in the hands of Lady Gladstone."

Lady Gladstone further reported that Mrs. Argenti had generously offered to give a party on the evening of Monday, February 14th for the members of the Federation and for such delegates to the International People's Assembly as were still in London on that date. It was also proposed to send invitations to the Embassies of the nations represented at the Federation's meeting and at the International People's Assembly.

- (e) Women's Advisory Council (Lady Gladstone reported). Subject to the following decision on minute 668, the minutes of the Council dated January 26th, 1938 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: (665) Lord Cecil; (666) Minutes; (667) Standing sub-Committee Report; (668) Composition of the Council for 1938; (669) Reports of Representatives; (670) Empire Exhibition, Glasgow; (671) China and Japan; (672) Boycott of Japanese Goods; (673) International Peace Campaign; (674) Mutual; (675) Corporate and Study Associateship

On Minute 668 -- Composition of the Council for 1938 (111) Officers. Lady Gladstone reported that as a result of a ballot Dame Rachel Crowley had been elected Vice-Chairman of the Council. On the motion of

Lady Gladstone it was

RESOLVED: "That the Chairman be asked to write to Mrs. Wilson Fox expressing the cordial thanks of the Executive for the valuable service which she has for so long rendered to the Women's Advisory Council".

(f) Administration Committee. (Dr. Mirray reported)

Subject to the following report on minute 10, the minutes of the Committee dated February 27th, 1938 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: (1) Minutes; (2) Vice-Chairman; (3) Branches, Corporate Members, etc.; (4) Membership; (5) "Application for Renewal" Letters; (6) The Union's Twenty-First Birthday; (7) Suggestions to Branches; (8) Organisation of the Union outside Head Office; (9) Peace Councils; (10) Peace Weeks; (11) Composition of Committee for 1938; (12) Nottinghamshire; (13) Fellowship of Reconciliation.

On Minute 10. — Peace Weeks, Major Freshwater reported that Lord Lytton had informed him by telephone that the resolution contained in this minute had his approval.

28. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Executive received resolutions from the Christchurch Youth Group and the County Hall Branch, and it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Christchurch Youth Group be thanked for its resolution and reminded of the statement made by Lord Cranborne in the House of Commons on October 28th and quoted in the circular letter to Branch Secretaries of November 1st, as well as of the statement made by Mr. Eden to the meeting of the League's Council on January 27th".

(2) "That the County Hall Branch be thanked and be informed of recent resolutions adopted by the Executive and the General Council as well as of Lord Cecil's recent correspondence with the Prime Minister; and that it be suggested to the Branch that they might care to hold a meeting to which the Union would be glad to send a speaker to describe and to discuss the Van Zealand Report".

Miss Fewcett suggested that it would be well if the Union could publish a short leaflet explaining the Van Zealand scheme.

29. MINUTES. Subject to the following report and decision on minutes 18(14), 20, 21, and 25, the minutes of the last two meetings held on January 20th and January 27th, 1938 were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 18 --14-- National Conference of the Canadian Society, the Chairman reported that, in view of Sir Francis Floud's diplomatic position in Canada, it would be impossible for him to represent the Executive at the Canadian Society's Annual Conference on May 23rd. It was

RESOLVED: "That attempts be made to find someone to represent the Union at the Canadian Society's Annual Conference; and that members of the Executive who are able to suggest the names of any likely persons be asked to communicate their suggestions to the Deputy Secretary".

On Minute 20 -- Boycott of Japanese Goods, it was reported that letters had been written to the Prime Minister's Private Secretary and to the Crown Agents for the Colonies, but replies had not yet been received.

The Chairman reported that the I.P.C. had already made arrangements with the B.B.C. for Madame Sun Yat Sen to take part in the 'In Town To-night' programme on the evening of Saturday, February 12th.

On Minute 21 -- Abyssinia, it was reported that the memorandum was in course of preparation and would be presented to the Executive at an early date.

Dr. Mirrey drew the Committee's attention to a film of Abyssinia which was now available and which it had been suggested might be hired for exhibition by the Union. He thought, however, that if the Union displayed the film some kind of trailer or explanation should be added to it.

Mr. Corbett Ashby suggested that the film might be used for two purposes (a) to prevent recognition of the Italian conquest of Abyssinia and (b) to assist the Abyssinian refugees. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That arrangements be made for a private exhibition of the film to which members of the Executive should be invited".

On Minute 25 -- Future Relations Between the League of Nations Union and the International Peace Campaign, the Chairman read to the Executive the following letter dated January 31st from Dr. Garnett:

My dear Chairman,

After my talk with you and with Lord Lytton on Thursday I have felt able to accept the Executive Committee's generous offer of six months' sick leave. I do so with the utmost gratitude. Will you kindly express my thanks to the Committee?

I enclose, for the information of the Executive, a certificate from my doctor showing how urgent was my need of this leave of absence.

Always yours,

(Signed) MAXWELL GARNETT

From Dr. David Gillespie. 29.1.38.

This is to certify that I have been in attendance on Dr. Maxwell Garnett for some weeks on account of Myocardial weakness associated with a low Blood-pressure, and that I am of opinion that satisfactory progress to recovery is impossible while he continues his work. Dr. Garnett should in my opinion cease all work and social engagements for several months; I suggest six months, but I should be willing to reconsider this in three months if a further report on his condition is considered desirable.

30. BOYCOTT OF JAPANESE GOODS.

(a) Formation of National Committee. Lord Cecil suggested that if a boycott of Japanese goods was to be organised effectively on a nation-wide scale, it should be done by an ad hoc National Committee, formed on the lines of the National Declaration Committee, on which the chief political parties should be represented as well as the L.N.U., I.P.C., the China Campaign Committee and other interested bodies. He did not propose to ask the Executive at the present time to consider the precise composition of the National Committee, but he hoped they would not disapprove of his suggestion. He added that the National Committee would have to be financed with special funds.

Lady Gladstone welcomed Lord Cecil's proposal. She felt that a far bigger result might be achieved if a National Committee were set up, co-ordinating all the efforts now being made in various directions by different societies. Moreover, a boycott organised on a national scale would have great value politically. People who had not previously given much thought to the question of collective security would have it brought home to them in a very concrete way.

Dr. Murray urged that the proposed National Committee should have two planks to its platform (1) to boycott Japan and (2) to help China. Among the Union's supporters were many people who welcomed any helpful or constructive activity but disliked a purely destructive one.

Mr. Burris expressed the hope that the Committee would not be known as a Boycott Committee. Dr. Murray suggested that it might be entitled the "Help to China" Committee.

Mr. Noel Baker thought that if the proposed National Committee could organise a successful house-to-house canvass over a large part of the country, a marked effect on the United States would be produced where a similar movement would have a large economic effect.

Miss Rathbone and Mr. Noel Baker suggested that the campaign should lay stress on the maintenance of international law. It was on such grounds that the most effective appeal could be made to the vast majority of people. After further discussion it was, on the motion of Lord Cecil

RESOLVED: (1) "That in the opinion of the Committee it is desirable that a National Committee be formed on the lines of the National Declaration Committee".

(b) Boycott Sub-Committee. Lady Gladstone presented the report of the Boycott sub-Committee's meeting on January 19th. It was

RESOLVED: (2) "That, subject to the decisions on minutes 7 and 5 contained in minute 20 of the Executive, the minutes of the Boycott sub-Committee dated January 19th, 1938 be approved and adopted".

(c) International People's Assembly. It was

RESOLVED: (3) "That members of the Executive willing to serve on the Union's delegation to the International People's Assembly be asked to send their names to the Deputy Secretary; and

(4) "That the delegates already nominated by Branches be included in the delegation, and that the Deputy Secretary be authorised to accept such further nominations as may be made".

Lady Gladstone reported that a delegation from the International Federation of League of Nations Societies would be attending the International People's Assembly.

A memorandum by Mr. Arnold Forster (S.G.9636) on his recent tour in Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Sweden and Norway was circulated to the Committee.

31. THE FAR EAST. The following cablegram from the American League of Nations Society

"Association and Affiliated Groups convinced highly important American and British Governments prohibit credits for Japanese development China Manchuria as means enforcing doctrine non-recognition. Without credits Japan cannot hold China. Developing wide public support for our Congressional resolution authorising President withhold credits to enforce non-recognition. What is British opinion this approach".

Dr. Murray stated that he understood from Sir John Simon's recent speech in the House of Commons and from a private conversation with him that he did not intend to give credits to aggressor nations.

Lord Cecil suggested that a question might be put to the Prime Minister in Parliament and that a letter might also be sent to him on the subject. It was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Chairman be asked to write to the Prime Minister".

- (2) "That the American Society be informed that so far as the Executive Committee can judge, British opinion is entirely sympathetic to the withholding of credits from Japan and that the Chairman of the Executive is communicating with the Prime Minister on this subject".

Lord Cecil drew the attention of the Executive to an article which appeared in the DAILY TELEGRAPH of January 28th dealing with the horrors of the Nanking occupation by the Japanese. The opinion was expressed that the article should be given as wide a distribution as possible and it was

RESOLVED: (3) "That Mr. le Prevost be asked to arrange with the DAILY TELEGRAPH for reprints of the article to be made available in the most suitable manner for supply to Union Branches and for sale at the International People's Assembly."

32. SPAIN AND THE MEDITERRANEAN. Mr. Baker reported information which he had received from an authoritative source concerning the probability of large numbers of Italian troops and armaments being sent to Spain in the near future. He suggested that the Executive should pass a resolution urging H.M. Government to be particularly vigilant in order that such action on the part of Italy, if it occurred, should be made public immediately.

Lord Cecil felt that, instead of passing a resolution, the Chairman should write to the Prime Minister and send a copy of his letter to the Foreign Office. Such a letter could, if it was considered desirable, be published later. It was

RESOLVED: "That Lord Cecil's suggestion be adopted".

33. PEACE PAVILION AT GLASGOW EMPIRE EXHIBITION. It was

RESOLVED: "That Sir Archibald Sinclair and Mrs. Dugdale be invited to represent the Executive on the Organising Committee for the Glasgow Peace Pavilion."

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD
AT 15, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1. ON THURSDAY,
FEBRUARY 10TH, 1938 AT 11.30 A.M.

PRESENT: Dr. Gilbert Murray (in the Chair), Lord Allen, Sir Norman Angell, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Mrs. Beale, Major Anthony Buxton, Captain V.A. Cazalet, Lord Cecil, Miss Judith Corcoran, A.C. Crossley, Lord Dickinson, Arnold Forster, Miss Philippa Fawcett, Miss Megan Lloyd George, Lady Gladstone, Sir John Harris, Arthur Henderson, J.A. Keyser, Dr. C.W. Kimmins, Lord Lytton, James Macdonald, W.T. Pritchard, Miss Eleanor Bethbone, Nowell Smith, Sir Archibald Sinclair, H.S. Syrett, Major Lawrence Wright, together with the Deputy Secretary.

34. APLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Vyvyan Adams, F.J. Noel Baker, F.M. Burris, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Miss K.D. Courtney, Vice-Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Lady Hall, Sir Arthur Haworth, Lady Layton, and Major-General A.C. Temperley.

35. SPAIN AND THE MEDITERRANEAN. The Executive discussed the present position in regard to the withdrawal of volunteers from Spain. Sir Norman Angell asked the Committee to bear in mind the view recently taken by the Spanish Government that it was very much weaker at sea than on land and that the ultimate outcome of the war would depend on whether it could be assured of continued supplies of food, etc. If the Italian withdrawal of volunteers was to be accompanied by the granting of belligerent rights, including the right of blockading ports and possibly an exchange of troops for ships and submarines, the Italian intervention would be made much more effective. He hoped that the British Government would stand firmly on withdrawal as meaning the withdrawal of planes, technicians and ships as well as volunteers.

Sir Archibald Sinclair considered it undesirable at the present time to press for any new conditions to be brought into the scheme for the withdrawal of foreign combatants lest it be suggested that we were wrecking a promising scheme of stopping intervention in Spain. He hoped that H.M. Government would insist that the plan should be rigorously and fairly carried out as between both sides and that there should be both quantitative and qualitative withdrawal of foreign combatants.

Lord Cecil expressed the opinion that the only policy worth pursuing was the policy of trying to restore peace in Spain, and he urged that the Executive should press H.M. Government strongly to take some step in the direction of suggesting a truce with a view to bringing the actual fighting to an end. So long as the fighting continued with all the violent feelings it excited it would constitute a danger to world peace.

After considerable discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That Sir Archibald Sinclair be asked to discuss with the Foreign Secretary the present position regarding the withdrawal of foreign combatants from Spain".

36. ABYSSINIA. The Chairman stated that the Abyssinian film (referred to in minute 29 of the last meeting) would be shown at the Phoenix Theatre, Charing Cross Road on Tuesday, February 15th at 3 p.m. He hoped that members of the Executive would take this opportunity of seeing the film.

It was reported that M. Rolin had given notice that at the forthcoming meetings of the International Federation he would raise the question of non-recognition of the Italian conquest of Abyssinia. An extract from M. Rolin's letter, together with the opinions thereon of three members of the Union's International Law Committee, were circulated to the Executive (S.G.9660). After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the Union's delegates to the International Federation be asked to maintain the decision taken by the General Council in December, 1936 and June, 1937, urging 'H.M. Government to take no action implying recognition of Italian sovereignty over Abyssinia'; that they be informed that, in the Executive's opinion, it would be undesirable to raise, in a resolution of the Federation, the other matters suggested by M. Rolin; and that the opinions of members of the International Law Committee on M. Rolin's letter be circulated to the Union's delegation for their information."

37. THE FAR EAST (a) Telegram from Japanese Association. The Chairman read to the Executive the following translation of a telegram received that morning from M. Inagaki, the European representative of the International Association of Japan:

"The President of the International Association of Japan in consternation at the resolution which your society proposes to present to the approaching Council of the Federation of League of Nations Societies recommending a boycott against Japan, has charged me by telegram to draw your attention to

the fact that the adoption of such a resolution would be not only contrary to his plan of contributing to the solution of the conflict but would be of a nature to injure any harmonious international collaboration and would run the risk of compromising the traditional friendship which exists between our two countries. In view of the gravity of the question the Japanese Association begs you to be good enough to accord to it your most serious and benevolent consideration. My observations on this question will be sent to you later.'

After discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the following reply be sent to the above telegram:

'We regret as much as you do anything which may injure the cordial relations between Great Britain and Japan but we must respectfully point out that the widespread feeling in this country which has found expression in the refusal to buy Japanese goods was caused by the action of Japan in consistently refusing to accept any third party judgment in her dispute with China and resorting to war in disregard of the obligations of treaties of which your country and ours are co-signatories. This feeling can only be removed by an indication of Japanese intention to return to a policy of harmonious international collaboration and the withdrawal of her troops from China'".

(2) "That, if M. Inageki sees no objection the telegram from the Japanese Association, together with the Executive's reply, be published".

(b) Boycott of Japanese Goods. Lord Cecil reported that the proposal for the formation of a National Committee to organise the Japanese boycott had been unanimously adopted by the Executive Committee of the I.P.C. at their meeting on February 3rd. The proposal would shortly be submitted also to the British National Committee of the I.P.C. Invitations had been issued to all the organisations represented on the National Declaration Committee and some other bodies, including the chief political parties, to attend a meeting on Friday, 18th February in order to discuss the formation of a National Boycott Committee.

Sir Norman Angell spoke of an invitation which he had received to join a new body which it was proposed to form for the purpose of "boycotting aggressor nations". The organisers held the view that a boycott of Japan would merely add to the trade of other aggressors. Lord Cecil hoped that members of the Executive would not lend their support to this proposal.

After reference had been made to the effect on British unemployment of a boycott of Japanese goods it was

RESOLVED: (3) "That a statement concerning the possible effect on unemployment in Great Britain of a Japanese boycott be prepared for the use of Union speakers".

Miss Fawcett asked for guidance from the Executive in regard to the question of dockers and others refusing to handle Japanese goods. Some of the Union's Branches wished to pass resolutions either urging the dockers to take such action or commending them when they had done so.

Lord Cecil reminded the Executive that the Trade Union authorities had decided that it would be unwise for them to incite the dockers in this matter and he felt therefore that the Union ought not to intervene. The most that Union Branches could do was to congratulate the dockers on the line they had taken.

(c) Article in the DAILY TELEGRAPH. It was reported that the DAILY TELEGRAPH did not wish to be associated in any way, however indirect, with the boycott of Japanese goods. But they were prepared to supply the Union with reprints of their article of January 28th at a nominal cost. 5,000 copies would be delivered in time for sale at the International People's Assembly.

(d) International People's Assembly. It was reported that some 150 foreign delegates and 600 British delegates were expected to attend the International People's Assembly during the next week-end. The Union's delegation already exceeded 100.

38. ECONOMIC SANCTIONS. The Executive considered a draft resolution submitted by the French League of Nations Society to the forthcoming meetings of the International Federation on the subject of Economic Sanctions Against Aggression (S.G.9651). After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That Lord Cecil be asked to take charge of this resolution on behalf of the Union at the meeting of the International Federation; to propose the deletion of the penultimate paragraph; and to propose the amendment of the final paragraph by the substitution of some such words as 'secure parallel action by'

for the words 'associate in its action'.
(The wording of the amendment was left
to Lord Cecil).

39. MINORITIES. The Executive considered the minutes of the Minorities Committee dated February 3rd, 1938 dealing with resolutions to be submitted to the forthcoming meetings of the International Federation. Subject to the following decisions on minute 3, the minutes were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: (1) Apologies for Absence;
(2) Co-opted Members; (3) Federation Policy; (4)
Representative at the Federation

On Minute 3 -- Federation Policy, it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That paragraph (1) be approved and adopted in the following amended form:

'In view of the issues raised by the Polish proposals and the fact that these had not arrived in time for circulation before the Minorities Committee meeting, the Committee asked the Executive Committee to move that the Federation should adjourn the Polish proposals for further consideration'.

It was also

- RESOLVED: (2) "That the resolution of the Palestinian League of Nations Society submitted in June, 1937 be supported".
- (3) "That the word 'Volksgruppe' be omitted from the resolution submitted by the German L. of N. Society in Czechoslovakia, and that the resolution be supported in the amended form proposed by the Minorities Committee".
- (4) "That the resolution proposed by the Hungarian L. of N. Society in Czechoslovakia, as amended by the Minorities Committee, be supported with the exception of the fifth paragraph which the delegates were instructed to oppose."

CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 14 GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1 ON THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 17TH, 1938, AT 10.45 a.m.

PRESENT: Dr. Gilbert Murray (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, the Duchess of Atholl, P. J. Noel Baker, Mrs. E. P. Beale, Captain Cazalet, Lord Cecil, Miss Judith Corcoran, A. C. Crossley, Vice-Admiral S. R. Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Philippa Fawcett, Miss Megan Lloyd George, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, Lady Layton, James Macdonald, G. le M. Mander, W. T. Pritchard, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, H. F. Shaw, Sir Archibald Sinclair, Nowell Smith, Brig.-General E. L. Spears, H. S. Syrett, F. W. Weaver, Major Lawrence Wright, together with the Deputy Secretary.

40. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Major Anthony Buxton, Miss K. D. Courtney, J. A. Keyser, Lord Lytton and Major-General A. C. Temperley.

41. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

(a) Finance Committee. (Mr. Syrett reported). Subject to the following report and decisions on minutes 9 and 14, the minutes of the ordinary meeting dated February 1st and the extraordinary meeting dated February 9th, 1938, were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: (1) Minutes; (2) Trojan Women; (3) Manchester District Council; (4) Financial Statement; (5) Report of Director of Appeals; (6) Sir John Mann; (7) Composition of Committee; (8) Nottinghamshire; (9) Expenses of Members of the Executive Committee; (10) Loan on Insurance Policies; (11) National Peace Fund; (12) Passing of Cheques for Payment; (13) Date of next meeting; (14) National Fund; (15) Membership of Committee; (16) Liverpool; (17) Staff of Appeals Department; (18) Peace Pavilion at Glasgow; (19) Passing of Cheques for Payment.

On Minute 9 — Expenses of Members of the Executive Committee, after discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That consideration of this minute be adjourned until the next ordinary meeting; and that in the meantime a statement be prepared showing the cost to the Union during the past six months if all members whose papers

for use at Executive meetings are sent to addresses more than twenty-five miles from London had asked for their third class return railway fares to be refunded to them."

On Minute 14 — National Fund, after Lord Cecil had reported a letter which he had received from Sir Norman Angell, it was

RESOLVED: "That consideration of this minute be adjourned until the next meeting of the Executive, and that it be included as the first item on the agenda."

(b) Education Committee.

- (1) B.U.L.N.S. Mr. Nowell Smith reported that Mr. Davison, the Secretary of the B.U.L.N.S., was resigning his appointment at the end of February. It was

RESOLVED: "That the Administration Committee be authorised to make arrangements with the B.U.L.N.S. for the appointment of a successor to Mr. Davison."

- (2) Poster Competition. It was reported that the Education Committee were anxious to organise a poster competition among schools on the lines of that held during the Disarmament Campaign several years ago. It was proposed to offer prizes to the value of £10 and to charge an entrance fee of sixpence for each poster; there would be no charge on Union funds. It was hoped that the winning posters might be available for exhibition during the International Teachers' Conference in April.

RESOLVED: "That the Education Committee be authorised to organise the competition on the above lines."

42. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Executive received resolutions from the Walsall and Blackley and Harpurhey Branches, and it was

RESOLVED: "That the Walsall Branch and the Blackley and Harpurhey Branch be thanked for their resolutions."

43. MINUTES: Subject to the following report and decisions on minutes 29(18), 29(21), 29(25), 32, 33, 37 and 39, the minutes of the last two meetings dated February 3rd and February 10th, 1938, were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 29(18) — National Conference of the Canadian Society, it was reported that Mr. Arnold Forster expected to be in Canada on May 23rd and his name had been communicated to Mr. Inch, the Secretary of the Canadian Society.

On Minutes 29(21) and 36 — Abyssinia, it was reported that, owing to the intervention of the Italian Embassy, the Italian film was not exhibited at the Phoenix Theatre on February 15th, the Russian film only being shown. At the request of the Chairman Mr. Aldous reported his impression of the film, and it was

RESOLVED: "That no action be taken by the Union at the present time in regard to the film of Abyssinia."

On Minute 29(25) — Future Relations Between the League of Nations Union and the International Peace Campaign, Lord Cecil reported that he was in correspondence with the Prime Minister in regard to this matter, and it was

RESOLVED: "That the President, Chairman and Vice-Chairman be asked to consider the correspondence with the Prime Minister and to make proposals to the Executive as soon as possible".

On Minute 32 — Spain and the Mediterranean, the Chairman stated that, after carefully considering the matter, he had felt it inadvisable to write to the Prime Minister on the lines suggested by the Executive in this minute.

On Minute 33 — Peace Pavilion at Glasgow Empire Exhibition, the Duchess of Atholl and Sir Archibald Sinclair expressed their willingness to represent the Executive on the Organising Committee for the Glasgow Peace Pavilion. Mrs. Dugdale asked leave to postpone her decision until she had had an opportunity of obtaining further information on the subject.

On Minute 37 — The Far East (Telegram from Japanese Association), it was reported that M. Inagaki saw no objection to the telegram from the Japanese Association and the Executive's reply being published. They had accordingly been communicated to the press.

On Minute 39 — Minorities, it was

RESOLVED: "That this minute be confirmed, subject to the addition, in paragraph (4) of the words 'and be incorporated in the resolution proposed by the German League of Nations Society in Czecho-slovakia'."

44. **ABYSSINIA.** The Chairman read to the Committee the following telegram which he had received from Professor Shotwell, President, and Mr. Eichelberger, Secretary, of the American League of Nations Association:

"Concerned over rumour possible recognition Ethiopian conquest. It would disastrously affect your programme for permanent peace based upon law and order."

Lady Layton reported a conversation she had had with Mr. Eichelberger during her recent visit to New York, and said that there were strong rumours current in America concerning a proposed arrangement between Great Britain and Italy by which there would be some kind of quid pro quo in the Mediterranean in return for recognition of the Italian conquest of Abyssinia. It was

RESOLVED: "That the Chairman be asked to reply to the telegram, recalling the resolutions adopted by the General Council and the International Federation of L. of N. Societies concerning the non-recognition of the Italian conquest of Abyssinia; and stating that, so far as the Executive is aware, no danger of recognition exists under present conditions."

45. **MEETINGS OF THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION.** Lady Gladstone reported on the meetings of the International Federation at which fourteen countries had been represented, and stated that M. Borel, President of the French League of Nations Society, had been elected President of the Federation for the coming year.

The Executive had before them the text of the resolutions adopted by the Representative Council, and it was

RESOLVED: "That the resolutions adopted by the Representative Council of the International Federation be communicated to H.M. Government."

46. **VAN ZEELAND REPORT.** After it had been reported that several branches had asked for guidance from the Executive in regard to M. Van Zeeland's report on his 'inquiry into the possibility of obtaining a general reduction of quotas and of other obstacles to international trade', it was

RESOLVED: "That a summary of the Report, together with the observations of the Economic Committee upon it, be prepared for consideration by the Executive at an early meeting."

47. AUSTRIA. The Executive discussed the Berchtesgaden meeting and its results.

Reference was made to an article in the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN expressing the view that the action taken was a direct breach of the pledge given by Herr Hitler when he undertook to respect the political and territorial integrity of Austria.

Mr. Noel Baker thought the Executive would make a mistake if, in its endeavour to be cautious, it failed to state that the recent events might be regarded as an attempt to use the new technique of aggression, that central European politics are of vital interest to Great Britain, and that H.M. Government should stand firmly by the principles of the Covenant.

Sir Archibald Sinclair thought that since there was much difference of opinion on the subject the Executive would find it difficult to pass any helpful resolution at the present meeting. He suggested that members should consider the situation carefully and see how it developed, with a view to a further discussion at the next meeting.

X Lord Cecil suggested that a letter might be sent to the Foreign Secretary, pointing out that the events in Spain and in Memel and now in Austria seemed to be part of a general attempt to circumvent the express provisions against aggression; reminding him of the other countries in Europe which might be faced with a similar danger in the future; and urging that H.M. Government should take some action in the matter.

Captain Cazalet suggested that the letter should not be written until after Mr. Eden had made his statement in the House of Commons that afternoon, and after further discussion it was

RESOLVED:(1) "That it be left to the Chairman and Lord Cecil, at such time as they consider most suitable, to write to the Foreign Secretary on the lines suggested above." X

It was suggested that, when the letter had been sent to the Foreign Secretary and his reply received, the question of publishing the correspondence should be considered.

On the motion of Mrs. Corbett Ashby, seconded by the Duchess of Atholl, it was further

RESOLVED:(2) "That messages be sent from the Executive Committee to the Austrian and Czech League of Nations Societies."

48. SPAIN AND THE MEDITERRANEAN. Sir Archibald Sinclair gave the Executive a detailed account of his conversation with the Foreign Secretary concerning (1) the method of withdrawal of foreign combatants from Spain; (2) the question of belligerent rights; and (3) the possibility of supplies of munitions being imported into Spain after foreign combatants had been evacuated.

The Executive then discussed questions arising out of a possible blockade of Spain. Lord Cecil said that an effective coast blockade was recognised as being extraordinarily difficult at the present time if there were any efficient defending naval force available. He understood, however, that in this case the Spanish Government force was still almost negligible.

The difficulties in the way of a complete blockade of the Mediterranean, and particularly the international complications which were likely to arise from such a blockade, were discussed, and it was

RESOLVED: "That Lord Cecil and Sir Archibald Sinclair be asked to discuss the question of a blockade with the Foreign Secretary."

49. INTERNATIONAL PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY. It was reported that the meetings of the International People's Assembly had been most successful, and twenty-one countries had been represented.
50. ABYSSINIA. A memorandum (S.G.9679) on Italy in Abyssinia, prepared by the secretariat in response to the request contained in minute 21 of the Executive, was laid before the Committee.
51. DEATH OF MR. WAYMAN. The Executive having been informed of the sudden death of Mr. Wayman, who had served the Union as book-keeper for more than fifteen years, it was

RESOLVED: "That an expression of the Committee's profound sympathy be conveyed to Mr. Wayman's relatives."

Confidential

MINUTES OF AN EXTRAORDINARY MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, S.W.1, ON TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 22ND, 1938, AT 11.30 A.M.

PRESENT: Dr. Gilbert Murray (in the Chair), Sir Norman Angell, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, the Duchess of Atholl, Noel Baker, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Captain Cazalet, Lord Cecil, Miss Judith Corcoran, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Philippa Fawcett, W. Arnold-Forster, Miss Megan Lloyd George, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, Lady Layton, Captain B.H. Liddell Hart, James Macdonald, G. le M. Mander, W.T. Pritchard, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, Sir Arthur Salter, Councillor H.F. Shaw, Sir Archibald Sinclair, Nowell Smith, H.S. Syrett, Major Lawrence Wright, and Major Freshwater.

52. **APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE** were received from Mrs. E.P. Beale, Major Anthony Buxton, the Dean of Chichester, Lord Dickinson, Vice-Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Sir Arthur Haworth, J.A. Keyser, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Lord Lytton and Mr. Weaver.
53. **MAJOR BUXTON.** The Chairman reported that Major Buxton was unable to attend the meeting owing to illness and spoke of the difficulties which he had lately been facing on account of the recent flood disaster at Horsey. It was

RESOLVED: "That a letter expressing the Committee's sympathy and their best wishes for his speedy recovery be sent to Major Buxton."

54. **MR. EDEN'S RESIGNATION.** The Chairman stated that immediately following the announcement of Mr. Eden's resignation he had sent him a telegram conveying warmest sympathy and admiration from the L.N.U. A telegram from Lord Lytton to Mr. Eden was also read to the meeting, and Lord Cecil stated that he had sent a message to Sir Alexander Cosgrov which he had asked might be conveyed to Mr. Eden. The Executive warmly endorsed these messages to Mr. Eden.

Dr. Murray expressed gratitude for the admirable speeches made in the House of Commons on the previous day by members of the Executive and particularly by those who were supporters of the Government. He went on to remind the Committee that the Government had not committed itself to anything like an anti-League or a pro-Hitler or pro-Mussolini policy and he felt therefore that this was a moment at which a great expression of national opinion might have a considerable effect. The Union possessed in its three thousand Branches an instrument which no other society had; and he submitted to the Executive a draft resolution which might be sent to the Branches with an invitation to them to express their opinion through such constitutional methods as they thought likely to be effective.

Captain Cazalet spoke in support of Mr. Chamberlain's policy. He believed that in certain respects friendly relations between England and Italy during the next year might be worth a great deal, particularly in regard to Palestine, the withdrawal of troops from Spain and probably from Libya, and the lessening of tension in the Mediterranean.

Lord Cecil thought that no single question of foreign affairs could be considered apart from the whole aspect of foreign policy. Recent events had served greatly to encourage Germany and Italy and to discourage other countries and particularly the United States.

Miss Corcoran stated that members of Youth Groups, at an emergency meeting held on the previous evening, had strongly urged that the Union should do all it could to organise a body of opinion throughout the country on behalf of Mr. Eden and in support of the essential principles of the League's Covenant.

Sir Archibald Sinclair welcomed the proposal of the Youth Groups. If the Government was to be allowed to go on its way unchecked, the present drift of opinion away from the League would continue disastrously for the League and for the Union. Support for the League would consequently weaken in every other country in the world. He urged therefore that the Union should take a firm stand, not against the National Government and certainly not against individual Conservatives, but for the principles in which it believed. He suggested that one or two members of the Executive might forthwith ascertain, on behalf of the Committee, what Mr. Eden's intentions for the future were. If he intended to stand for those principles for which he had already sacrificed so much, the Union could provide him with a platform such as he could not obtain elsewhere.

Lord Cecil agreed with Sir Archibald Sinclair. He suggested that inquiries might be made of Mr. Eden whether he would be willing to attend a luncheon or dinner to which all sorts of people would be invited on a purely non-party basis and which would provide him with an opportunity of explaining to the country what he conceived should be the policy of Great Britain.

Lady Layton, Lady Violet Bonham Carter and Sir Norman Angell suggested that the Union should organise a mass meeting in the Albert Hall.

After considerable discussion, during which messages from Mr. Vyvyan Adams, Lord Allen, Dame Adelaide Livingstone and the Master of Balliol were read to the meeting, it was

RESOLVED: (1) "The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union

Desires to express

Its dismay at the loss by H.M. Government of that Minister who more than any other commands the admiration and confidence of supporters of the League of Nations and indeed of the great mass of the British people; and

Its regret that H.M. Government should have rejected Mr. Eden's policy in circumstances which have created a widespread impression that Mr. Eden and Lord Cranborne were sacrificed to the hostility of certain foreign Governments, a hostility largely due to the support by these Ministers of the League of Nations and of all it stands for.

The Executive would point out that this step has been received with consternation in the countries with which Great Britain is on terms of the closest friendship and with triumph in those whose policies are most opposed to ours;

And desires to insist the peace can only be secured by a policy of firm fidelity to international engagements and not by submission to threats or the sacrifice of principles for the sake of quick and delusive returns."

- (2) "That the above resolution be communicated immediately to the Branches, and that they be invited to express their sense of the gravity of the crisis by public meetings, resolutions, letters to their representatives in Parliament or such other constitutional methods as they find likely to be effective.

The purpose of such protests should be not in any party sense to attack the Government, but to warn it of the disastrous impression that would be made on public opinion at home, in Europe and most of all in America, by a reversal of Mr. Eden's policy or by any action involving or even appearing to involve sympathetic support for the Dictators and abandonment of the League."

- (3) "That the resolution in (1) above be communicated immediately to the press and the B.B.C."

- (4) "That Lord Cecil be asked to enquire privately of Mr. Eden what kind of co-operation from the Union he would be willing to accept, and, in particular, whether he would be willing to attend either a dinner or a luncheon, or perhaps a large public meeting."
- (5) "That an option be taken on the Queen's Hall for the earliest practicable date (since the Albert Hall is not available before March 25th); and that, if Mr. Eden is unable to speak at the meeting, Mr. Winston Churchill and Mr. Lloyd George be invited to do so."

Confidential

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 14 GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1., ON THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 24TH, AT 11.30 a.m.

PRESENT: Dr. Murray (in the Chair), Lord Allen, Sir Norman Angel, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, the Duchess of Atholl, P.J. Noel Baker, Mrs. E.P. Beale, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Captain Cazalet, Lord Cecil, Miss Judith Corroon, A.C. Crossley, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Philippa Fawcett, W. Arnold Forster, Miss Megan Lloyd George, Lady Gladstone, Sir John Harris, Arthur Henderson, J.A. Keyser, Dr. C.W. Klumpp, Lady Layton, Lord Lytton, G. Le M. Mander, W.T. Pritchard, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, Councillor H.P. Shaw, Nowell Smith, General Spears, H.S. Syrett, General Temperley, and Major Freshwater.

55. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Miss K.D. Courtney, Lord Dickinson, Vice-Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Sir Arthur Haworth, and James Macdonald.

56. MR. EDEEN'S RESIGNATION. It was reported that, in accordance with the decision contained in minute 54(5), an option had been taken on the Queen's Hall for Friday evening, March 4th. Names of suitable speakers were suggested by members of the Committee, and it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That a meeting be held in the Queen's Hall on the evening of Friday, March 4th, and that the arrangements be left in the hands of Lord Cecil and the Chairman."

(2) "That the Chairman be asked to write to Mr. Eden, telling him of the arrangements now being made for a meeting in the Queen's Hall and asking for his guidance in the preparation of a resolution for submission to the meeting."

The Committee then discussed the Prime Minister's speech in the House of Commons on February 22nd. Extracts from the speech were read to the Committee.

Captain Cazalet thought the Prime Minister's statement was quite clear and asked whether anyone really thought that Mr. Chamberlain was wrong in his present estimate of the present position of the League in regard to collective security.

Lord Lytton thought Branches of the Union would be looking to the Executive for guidance in regard to the Prime Minister's speech. At the last Election the

Government had said they believed the League was the best machinery for securing international peace; they based their policy upon it; they believed in collective security. Mr. Chamberlain had now stated in the House of Commons that the League was useless as a coercive force but that he still believed in it as a moral force. The whole situation had therefore completely changed since the last General Election and the Government had changed its policy accordingly. The Branches would want guidance from the Executive and it was the Committee's duty to state clearly that the Union did not share the Prime Minister's view and give its reasons.

Lord Cecil read to the Committee a letter from Mr. Behrens of Manchester asking the Executive to consider the desirability of summoning an emergency meeting of the General Council to consider recent events. The Committee took no action in regard to this.

The Chairman thought the resolution adopted by the Executive on February 22nd and the accompanying letter to Branch Secretaries would have made the situation much clearer.

The Committee then discussed the line which should be taken at the Queen's Hall meeting. Lord Cecil suggested that the Union's first business was to keep the country steady regarding the defence of collective security through the League. He reminded the Executive of the resolution adopted by the General Council at Torquay describing in detail how, in the Union's opinion, the machinery of the League ought to be operated. He suggested that the purpose of the Queen's Hall meeting might be to define some such thesis as:

"It is the duty of all members of the League to co-operate in whatever measures may be possible and effective to prevent or stop aggression."

The Executive expressed their agreement with Lord Cecil's proposition.

57. AUSTRIA. Mr. Keyser described the impressions he had received during his recent visit to Austria. The situation in Vienna was vastly different from when he visited that city last year, and many of his friends were already making plans to leave Austria. A leading British journalist who had been in Vienna for some twenty years had expressed the opinion that the recent movement of German troops to the Austrian frontier was carried out in order to test English and French opinion, and that Herr Hitler had now been encouraged to expect no opposition from those quarters in any further step he might take, e.g. in Czechoslovakia. Mr. Keyser suggested that it would be of great value at the present time if an attempt were made to educate the British

public on the evils of German expansion in South-east Europe. He was considering writing a popular pamphlet on this subject, but he asked whether something more could not be done by the Union.

Captain Casaliot reported a conversation he had recently had with Dr. Bruning who held strongly the opinion that the only chance of saving Czechoslovakia or Austria and maintaining peace in central Europe was the re-establishment of the Stresa front.

58. NATIONAL FUND. The Executive considered adjourned minute 14 of the Finance Committee dated February 9th, 1938.

In reply to a question, Lord Lytton stated that any donations given to the Fund for the purpose of assisting any one particular organisation would be allocated to that organisation exclusively. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That general approval be given to the proposals outlined in the Finance Committee's minute; and that the Finance Committee be asked to prepare a detailed scheme, including the names of the Societies which would participate in the Fund, for consideration by the Executive at an early date."

59. MEMBERSHIP. Mrs. Corbett Ashby suggested that the Executive should carefully consider the effect recent events were likely to have on the membership of the Union and particularly on Conservative members. She proposed that Government supporters on the Executive might consider how the question could most effectively be put to their own people.

The Chairmen reminded the Executive of the practice followed in the past of inviting Conservative and other associations to hold meetings at which a speaker from the Union could address their members.

Mr. Fritchard stated that the Membership sub-Committee was meeting on Tuesday, March 1st, and would consider Mrs. Corbett Ashby's suggestion.

Confidential

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 14 GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1., ON THURSDAY, MARCH 3RD, 1938 AT 10.45 A.M.

PRESENT: Dr. Gilbert Murray (in the Chair), Lord Allen, the Duchess of Atholl, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Captain Cazalet, Lord Cecil, Miss Judith Corcoran, Vice-Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Philippa Fawcett, Miss Megan Lloyd George, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, Arthur Henderson, J.A. Keyser, Lord Lytton, James Macdonald, G. Le M. Mander, W.T. Fritchard, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, Sir Arthur Salter, Sir Archibald Sinclair, Nowell Smith, General Spears, H.S. Syrett, and Major Freshwater.

60. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Mrs. E.P. Beale, F.M. Burris, Major Anthony Suxton, Miss K.D. Courtney, Lord Dickinson, Lady Gladstone, Sir Arthur Haworth, and Lady Layton.

61. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

- (a) Finance Committee. (Mr. Syrett reported). The Executive considered adjourned minute 9 of the Finance Committee dated February 1st, 1938. It was reported that, if all members whose papers for use at Executive meetings are sent to addresses more than twenty-five miles from London had asked for their third-class return railway fares to be refunded to them during the five months from October 1st, 1937 to February 28th, 1938, the cost to the Union would have been £129.13s.2d. It was

RESOLVED: "That this information be supplied to the General Council at its Annual Meeting."

Mr. Syrett reported orally on the meeting of the Finance Committee held on the previous day. He referred to a communication which had been sent to Lord Cecil by a lady who was much concerned with regard to the present crisis and the necessity of support for League principles, and to the possibility of her sending a special contribution towards the cost of carrying out a campaign, of which the Queen's Hall meeting might be regarded as the commencement. If advantage were taken of the undoubted public interest which now existed in the League, substantial donations might be secured from members and others who are sympathetic to the Union's work. It was

RESOLVED: "That donations towards the cost of such a campaign be credited to a special Campaign Fund account as part of the general Headquarters fund for the work of the Union."

Admiral Drury-Lowe suggested that all speakers on Union platforms should be asked to urge members of their audiences to increase their subscriptions to the Union.

In reply to a question from Mr. Keyser the Chairman assured him that Mr. Hawkey would visit Kent in the near future for the purpose of making an appeal for the Union.

- (b) National Youth Committee. (Miss Corcoran reported). Subject to the following decision on minutes 14 and 15, the minutes of the Committee dated February 5th, 1938 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: (9) Minutes; (10) Registration and Deletion of Groups; (11) Presidents and Vice-Presidents; (12) Youth Groups Fund; (13) Edinburgh National Council; (14) World Youth Congress; (15) Spain.

On Minute 14 -- World Youth Congress, it was

RESOLVED: "That the Youth Committee be informed that the Executive regrets it is unable to make a special grant towards the expenses of two Youth Group delegates to the World Youth Congress."

It was suggested that Miss Corcoran should consult Mr. Hawkey with a view to his securing special donations for this purpose from a few people.

On Minute 15 -- Spain, the Executive were reminded that the resolution of the General Council had been sent immediately after the meeting to all Branches. The Chairman felt reluctant in the present critical situation to lay special emphasis on a matter on which there was a considerable difference of opinion, and it was

RESOLVED: "That no action be taken at the present time; but that the Youth Committee be asked to bring their resolution before the Executive again at a later date."

- (c) Library Committee. (Mr. Nowell Smith reported). The minutes of the Committee dated February 14th, 1938 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: (1) Minutes; (2) Matters arising out of the Minutes; (3) Composition of Committee for 1938; (4) Resumption of Library Services previously curtailed; (5) Report on the work of the Library during 1937; (6) Book List.

It was suggested that members of the Executive might be asked to offer to the Union's Library any books for which they had no further use.

- (d) Education Committee. (Mr. Nowell Smith reported). Subject to the following decision on minutes 9 and 13, the minutes of the Committee dated February 14th, 1938, were approved and adopted.

On Minute 9 - Easter Expedition to Czechoslovakia. Mr. Nowell Smith asked for guidance from the Executive concerning the desirability or otherwise of proceeding with the plans for the visit to Czechoslovakia of school boys and girls at Easter. The Executive were of the opinion that the situation in Central Europe should be carefully watched, but that in the meantime arrangements for the Easter expedition should be continued.

On Minute 10 - China and Spain, on the suggestion of Mr. Macdonald it was

RESOLVED: "That the leaflet THE DESTRUCTION OF CHINESE CULTURE AND EDUCATION published by the China Campaign Committee be commended to Branches of the Union."

On Minute 13 - International Federation of League of Nations Societies, Mr. Macdonald suggested that use might be made of commercial contacts to strengthen the links between Great Britain and the countries in Central and South Eastern Europe.

- (e) Industrial Advisory Committee. (Lady Hall reported). Subject to the following decision on minutes 19 and 20, the minutes of the Committee dated February 17th, 1938 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: (14) Minutes; (15) Constitution of Committee for 1938; (16) "Peace and Social Justice"; (17) Extended Easter School; (18) International Federation of League of Nations Societies I.L.O. Commission; (19) Preference for States Ratifying Conventions regarding Hours and/or Wages of Labour - Draft Report for General Council; (20) I.L.O. Governing Body - London meetings; (21) Speakers' Reports; (22) I.L.O. Conference; (23) Typographical Association.

On Minute 19 - Preference for States Ratifying Conventions Regarding Hours and/or Wages of Labour, it was

RESOLVED: "That the report prepared by the Industrial Advisory Committee (S.G.9657a) be approved and adopted for submission to the General Council at its Annual Meeting."

On Minute 20 -- I.L.O. Governing Body -- London Meetings, it was

RESOLVED: "That this minute be approved and adopted, subject to the inclusion of the following resolution omitted by error from the minutes:

- (1) That a resolution commending these proposals be submitted for the June meeting of the General Council of the Union.

and subject also to the proposal for the organisation of a reception in honour of the delegates to the Governing Body of the I.L.O. being referred to the Welcome Committee for consideration and report."

- (f) Administration Committee. (Lord Lytton reported) Subject to the following report and decisions on minutes 17(a) and 22, the minutes of the Committee dated February 17th 1938 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: (15) Minutes; (16) Branches, Corporate Members, etc.; (17) Membership; (18) Functions of the Committee; (19) Organisation of the Union; (20) Nottinghamshire; (21) Regional Representatives' Conference; (22) Annual Meeting of General Council; (23) Staff; (24) The Union's Twenty-First Birthday; (25) Mr. Whelen's Article in February HEADWAY; (26) Achievements of International Co-operation.

On Minute 17(a) -- Membership. Lord Allen expressed his readiness to consider the invitation to him to draft the short statement of policy recommended by the Administration Committee.

On Minute 22 -- Annual Meeting of General Council, it was reported that, at the meeting of the Finance Committee on the previous day, it had been suggested that, since it was not possible for the annual meetings of the Council to be held in Birmingham, the Council might meet instead in Leamington. It was felt that the meetings would produce a beneficial effect on the Union's appeal for funds in Warwickshire, and officials of the Union in Birmingham were stated to be favourably disposed to the suggestions. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That Lord Lytton be asked to inform Mr. Eden of the proposal that the Annual Meetings of the General Council should be held in Leamington; and that, if he sees no objection, and provided that the Warwickshire Federal Council (realising that if the meeting takes place in Leamington it is unlikely that the Council would

be willing to meet in Birmingham during the next few years) also agree, the annual meetings in 1938 be held in Leamington at such time after June 14th as best suits local circumstances."

- (g) Overseas Committee. The minutes of the Committee dated February 23rd, 1938 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: (8) Minutes; (9) Spring Meetings of the Federation; (10) Overseas Report; (11) Activity of Societies in Support of the Boycott.

- (h) Mandates Committee. It was

RESOLVED: "That the minutes of the Mandates Committee's meeting of March 1st be adjourned for consideration at the next meeting of the Executive."

62. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Executive received resolutions from the Executive Committee of the Welsh National Council, the Burslem, Wanstead and Bedlington Branches, the Edinburgh Branch Executive Committee and the Sheffield Youth Group. It was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Executive Committee of the Welsh National Council, the Bedlington Branch, the Edinburgh Branch Executive Committee and the Sheffield Youth Group be thanked for their resolutions."

(2) "That the Burslem Branch be thanked and be reminded of the resolutions adopted by the Executive Committee on February 22nd, 1938."

(3) "That the Wanstead Branch be thanked and be reminded of the resolution adopted by the General Council at its meeting last December."

63. MINUTES. Subject to the following report on minute 54, the minutes of the last two ordinary meetings held on February 17th and 24th and of the extraordinary meeting held on February 22nd, 1938, were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 54 - Mr. Eden's Resignation, the Chairman read to the Committee a letter, dated 25th Feb., 1938, from Lord Halifax in reply to the Executive's resolution on February 22nd.

64. MR. EDEN'S RESIGNATION

(a) Queen's Hall Meeting. The Executive considered a draft resolution prepared by Lord Cecil and the Chairman for submission to the meeting in the Queen's Hall on

March 4th. After considerable discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the following resolution be approved and adopted for submission to the Queen's Hall Meeting:

THIS MEETING noting the extreme disquiet caused, both at home and in all the democratic countries, by the resignation of Mr. Eden and by certain passages in the Prime Minister's speeches on that subject;

Reaffirms its conviction that aggressive war is an international crime, and that it is the duty of all members of the League of Nations to co-operate in whatever measures are possible and effective to prevent or stop it; and

Calls upon the League of Nations Union to rally public opinion to the defence of the principles of the Covenant."

(b) Communication from the International Peace Campaign
A letter dated March 2nd from the I.P.C. Committee was reported, expressing the hope that the Union would co-operate in making a success of a large demonstration to be held in Trafalgar Square on Sunday, March 13th. The I.P.C. had been asked by the Council of Action, and the London Federation of Peace Councils, to participate in the demonstration. The China Campaign Committee and the Left Book Club were also co-operating. It was

RESOLVED: "That no action be taken by the Union."

(c) Council of Action's Ballot and Petition for the recall of Mr. Eden. The Chairman reported a communication from the Council of Action inviting the co-operation of the Union's Branches in a postal Ballot which they were organising in a selected number of constituencies. The question to be asked was:

"Do you approve of Mr. Anthony Eden's stand for good faith in international affairs and will you support his demand for the re-establishment of peace and security through the League of Nations?"

It was

RESOLVED: (a) "That the Council of Action be informed that the Executive is unable to recommend Branches to participate in the proposed postal Ballot; and that Branches in the areas concerned be reminded of the resolution adopted by the General Council at Bournemouth in June, 1934."

- (b) "That Branches be not recommended to undertake the collection of signatures to the Petition."

(d) Resolution of the French League of Nations Society. A resolution adopted by the Council of the French League of Nations Society on February 24th (S.G. 9711) was communicated to the Executive, and it was

RESOLVED: "That the Council of the French League of Nations Society be thanked."

(e) Communication from the Bardfield and District Branch. A letter was reported from the Chairman of the Bardfield and District Branch stating that the unanimous opinion of his Committee was that no action should be taken by the Branch in regard to the resignation of Mr. Eden. The terms of the Executive's resolutions of February 22nd were received with consternation in view of the effect they were likely to produce on the membership of the Union throughout the country. No action was taken.

65. LIAISON COMMITTEE WITH THE NEW COMMONWEALTH. Extracts from a letter dated February 2nd from the Secretary of the New Commonwealth (S.G. 9710) were communicated to the Executive. It was

RESOLVED: "That the New Commonwealth be thanked for their letter; that they be assured that if the Liaison Committee can arrive at a new formula which is acceptable to both Executives, steps will be taken to ensure as far as is possible that the agreement will be implemented by the Union's General Council at its Annual Meeting; that the Liaison Committee be asked to meet again as soon as possible; and that the Union's representatives on the Committee be Lord Lytton, Lord Allen and Lord Cecil."

66. REPORT FOR 1937 FOR INCLUSION IN THE YEAR BOOK. It was

RESOLVED: "That the draft report of the Executive for inclusion in the YEAR BOOK be circulated for consideration at the next meeting."

67. STATEMENT ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION. It was reported that the Chairman and Lord Cecil had prepared a statement on the International Situation for circulation at the Queen's Hall meeting on March 4th and for communication to the Union's Branches. After the text of the statement had been discussed it was

RESOLVED: "That the document be issued as a personal statement by Lord Cecil and Dr. Murray."

68. SPAIN. It was reported that at the recent meetings of the International Federation, Professor Jose Xirau, delegate from the Catalonian League of Nations Society, had stated that he was proposing to invite delegations from the International Federation and from the Union to visit Spain. The delegations would be invited simply as observers and would be free to move about as they pleased and would not be expected to make speeches or in any way be connected with the politics of the Spanish Government. It was

RESOLVED: "That Professor Jose Xirau be informed that the Executive is grateful for his invitation but regrets that it is unable to accept it."

69. AUSTRIA. Lord Cecil urged that the Executive should take some action in regard to Austria. So far from its being true that nothing had been done to infringe the independence of Austria, it was quite clear that each day matters were going a little further. H.M. Government had said that they could not intervene by force of arms but were going to rely on the moral force of the League. It seemed to him that the present was the psychological moment for any action of that kind, and he urged that the Union should ascertain from H.M. Government whether or not they proposed to take such action. He added that he proposed to ask a question in the House of Lords on the subject.

Sir Archibald Sinclair agreed that the situation ought to be carefully considered in the light of the Prime Minister's statement, and it was suggested that the Chairman and Lord Cecil might draft a motion for consideration at the next meeting of the Committee. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That it be left to Lord Cecil to make representations to H.M. Government on this subject in whatever manner he thinks best."

70. PONTYPRIDD BY-ELECTION. A report on the Pontypridd By-Election (S.C.9709) was received.

Confidential

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 14 GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1., ON THURSDAY, MARCH 10TH, 1938 AT 11.30 A.M.

PRESENT: Dr. Gilbert Murray (in the Chair), Lord Allen, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, F.J. Neal-Baker, Mrs. E.P. Beale, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, F.M. Burris, Captain Cazalet, Miss Judith Corcoran, A.C. Cressley, Vice-Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Digdale, Miss Philippa Fawcett, Miss Megan Lloyd George, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, Lady Layton, Lord Lytton, G. le M. Mander, W.T. Fritchard, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, Nowell Smith, and Major Freshwater.

71. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from the Duchess of Atholl, Major Anthony Buxton, J.R.H. Cartland, Miss K.D. Courtney, Lord Dickinson, J.A. Keyser, Sir Archibald Sinclair, General Spears, H.S. Syrett, General Tamperley, and F.W. Weaver.

72. MANDATES COMMITTEE. Sir John Harris reported on the minutes of the Committee dated March 1st, 1938, and stated that the resolution on Colonial Territories adopted by the General Council at its December meeting on the motion of the Manchester District Council had caused some anxiety to friends of the League in France and Belgium. It was

RESOLVED: "That, subject to the substitution of the word 'two' for the word 'three' in the last line of the third paragraph, the resolution proposed by the Mandates Committee be submitted to the forthcoming Plenary Congress of the International Federation; and that, provided the approval of the Manchester District Council can be secured, the resolution be also submitted to the General Council at its Annual Meeting."

73. PLACE OF ANNUAL MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL. Lord Lytton read to the Executive a letter he had received from Mr. Eden, suggesting that it might be wiser from all points of view, including that of the Union, not to hold the forthcoming meeting of the Council in Leamington so soon after his resignation speech in that town. After considering the desirability of holding the Council meetings in Stratford-on-Avon, and after a telegram from the Secretary of the Warwickshire Federal Council on this subject had been read, it was

RESOLVED: "That the annual meetings of the General Council be held in London, and that the Chairman decide the date and place."

74. MR. EDEN'S RESIGNATION

- (a) Present Situation. The Chairman felt that now that the Executive and the Branches had made their protest nothing further could be done until the Government's policy became known. A continuous agitation would, in his opinion, be a mistake. He reported a letter from Mr. Clift of Manchester, repeating his request for a special meeting of the Council. The Executive agreed that it was not desirable to summon a special meeting until something more definite was known about which the Union could express an opinion. The present situation afforded an opportunity for a great campaign in order to revivify interest in the League and re-assert our fundamental principles.

Lord Lytton read to the Committee the remainder of Mr. Eden's letter (referred to in minute 73 above) in which he stated that he was about to leave for a short holiday and thought it wiser not to take any step about public engagements until he had had time to consider the whole position away from the turmoil of recent events.

The Chairman reported that he also had written to Mr. Eden, stating that the Union's platform and all its organisation was at his disposal if ever he wanted it. Dr. Murray had received a cordial reply on the lines of that read by Lord Lytton.

- (b) Censorship of the Press. Reference was made to the apparent censorship which was taking place in certain English and foreign Journals in regard to recent events. Dr. Murray understood that an American Journal, TIME, had recently been received by a wholesale distributor in Oxford with the centre pages torn out of all the copies. Miss Rathbone spoke of efforts which were being made to collect extracts from foreign and colonial papers regarding Mr. Eden's resignation with the object of publishing them in pamphlet form. Dr. Murray promised to make further enquiries in regard to the missing pages from TIME and to communicate with Miss Rathbone.
- (c) Statement on the International Situation. It was reported that the personal letter on the International Situation by Lord Cecil and Dr. Murray, copies of which were placed before members of the Executive, had been sent to all the Union's Branches. In reply to a question, the Chairman stated that Branches were at liberty to communicate the statement for publication in their local press if they so desired.

75. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Executive received resolutions from the County Hall (Staff) Branch, Haverfordwest Branch, Kent Federal Council, Cornwall District Council, Kingswood and District Branch, Oxford City Branch, Hayford Branch, Sevenoaks Branch, Chelsea Branch, and the

Sussex Federal Council. It was

- RESOLVED: (1) "That the County Hall (Staff) Branch and the Haverfordwest Branch be thanked for their resolutions, but that no action be taken."
- (2) "That the Kent Federal Council, the Cornwall District Council, the Kingswood and District, Oxford, Heyford, Sevenoaks and Chelsea Branches be thanked for their resolutions."
- (3) "That the Sussex Federal Council be thanked for their resolutions."

It was further reported that resolutions on the lines of that adopted by the Executive on February 22nd had been passed by the Executive Committee of the Bristol and District Council, the Sussex Federal Council and the Liverpool and Merseyside District Council, and 63 Branches. It was

RESOLVED: (4) "That these Branches and District and Federal Councils be thanked."

76. QUEEN'S HALL MEETING. It was reported that the Queen's Hall had been filled for the demonstration on March 4th; that the resolution had been adopted unanimously by the meeting; and that the proceeds of the collection had amounted to £85, sufficient to cover the cost of hiring the hall. It was

RESOLVED: "That the cordial thanks of the Executive be conveyed to the speakers; and that Miss Hollingworth and those who had assisted her be warmly congratulated on their successful organisation of the meeting at such short notice."

77. EXECUTIVE'S REPORT FOR 1937. The Executive had before them the draft report for 1937 for inclusion in the YEAR BOOK. It was

RESOLVED: "That subject to the inclusion of a reference to the work of the Youth movement, and subject also to certain alterations to be decided by the Chairman, the draft Report for 1937 be approved and adopted for inclusion in the YEAR BOOK."

78. AUSTRIA. The Executive considered the situation in Austria. The Chairman read to the Committee a letter which had been sent to the Austrian and Czech League of Nations Societies in accordance with the request contained in the Executive's minute 47 of the 17th February, 1938, together with a copy of a reply which had been received from H.E. Dr. Dumba, the President of the Austrian Society.

It was suggested that a meeting of Members of Parliament might be arranged at which a prominent Austrian speaker might be invited to speak for the purpose of rallying sympathy with and moral support for Austria.

Mr. Crossley suggested that before action of this kind were taken it would be desirable to await the result of the plebiscite on March 13th.

Mr. Noel-Baker urged that the Executive should pass a resolution welcoming the plebiscite and making a reference to Dr. Schuschnig's speech. Such a resolution would provide evidence that forces in this country were watching the situation closely and would no doubt receive wide publicity in Austria. After further discussion it was, on the motion of Lord Allen

RESOLVED: "The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union

Expresses its admiration for the courageous speeches of the Austrian Chancellor upholding the territorial integrity and political independence of Austria; and

Welcomes the announcement that the people of Austria are to be given an opportunity to determine their own destiny.

It believes that this re-assertion of Austria's right to independence is vital at a time when lawful procedure in international affairs has been challenged, and when the maintenance of the principles of the League Covenant is indispensable to world peace."

79. THE FAR EAST. The following resolution from the Executive Committee of the North Staffordshire District Council was reported:

"That the British Government make an offer to withdraw from all Chinese territory now in British possession at the earliest possible opportunity."

It was suggested that the Executive should appoint a small sub-Committee to consider the kind of terms which might be made for the eventual settlement of the whole question of territorial possessions in the Far East. Reference was made to an interesting article in the NATIONAL REVIEW which members of the Executive were advised to read.

The Executive were reminded that the Royal Institute of International Affairs had set up a permanent Far Eastern Committee. Lord Lytton promised to make enquiries concerning the work which was being done by this group and to report to the Executive.

Mr. Noel-Baker suggested that the Executive should pass a resolution expressing its admiration for the resistance of the Chinese and its hope that even now other nations would take some action in accordance with the Covenant to help bring about the cessation of hostilities. He reminded the Committee that such resolutions received great publicity in China and indirectly in various ways in Japan.

Dr. Murray suggested that Mr. Noel-Baker should draft a resolution on the lines he had proposed for consideration by the Executive at its next meeting.

80. ABYSSINIA. Lady Layton spoke of the Abyssinian film to which reference was made in minute 29(21) of the Executive Committee of February 3rd. She understood from Lady Barton that the film had now been purchased and could be made available for exhibition by Union Branches. It was

RESOLVED: "That a notice be included in HEADWAY and in the Branch Letter that copies of the Abyssinian film are available for exhibition at Branch gatherings."

Miss Rathbone read to the Executive answers given by the Prime Minister to questions asked by Mr. Wedgwood Benn and Sir Archibald Sinclair in the House of Commons. It was suggested that Mr. Noel-Baker might draft a resolution on this subject for consideration at the next meeting of the Executive.

Confidential

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF AN EXTRAORDINARY MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 14 GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1, ON TUESDAY, MARCH 15TH, 1939, AT 2.45 P.M.

PRESENT: Dr. Gilbert Murray (in the Chair), Lord Allen, Sir Norman Angell, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, the Duchess of Atholl, Mrs. E.P. Beale, Lady Violet Donham Carter, F.M. Burris, Captain Cazalet, Lord Cecil, Miss Judith Corcoran, Vice-Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Philippa Fawcett, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, J.A. Keiser, Dr. C.V. Kimmins, Lady Lytton, Captain R.H. Liddell Hart, Lord Lytton, James Macdonald, W.T. Pritchard, the Hon. Harold Nicolson, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, Councillor H.F. Shaw, Sir Archibald Sinclair, Nowell Smith, H.S. Syrett and Major Freshwater.

81. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Vyvyan Adams, Lord Dickinson, Sir John Harris, Sir Arthur Haworth, George M. Mander, Sir Arthur Salter, and General Temperley.
82. AUSTRIA AND SPAIN. The Executive discussed recent events in Austria. Motions proposed by Lord Cecil (S.G.9745) together with amendments suggested by Dr. Murray (S.G.9747) were considered by the Committee, as well as a motion drafted by Mr. Nowell Smith. The text of a resolution adopted by the North of Scotland District Council at its meeting on March 12th was also communicated to the Committee. After considerable discussion in which many members of the Executive took part it was

RESOLVED: (1)(i) "In view of the increasing deterioration of the international situation, the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union urges H.M. Government to make a great effort to restore the power and authority of the League of Nations.

- (ii) The Executive Committee expresses its deep resentment at the long-plotted and violent attack upon Austria and its fear of a probable repetition of such violence elsewhere unless it is made absolutely clear beforehand that any aggression will be resisted by combined force.

It therefore calls upon H.M. Government to take whatever steps may be effectual to ensure general co-operation in resistance to further aggression on Central European States, especially Czechoslovakia, and to make a declaration at the earliest possible moment that their policy will be designed to this end.

- (iii) In view of the danger to the general peace caused by the continued intervention of certain Powers in Spain, the Executive Committee urges H.M. Government to secure

the immediate discontinuance of all such outside support or else to permit and facilitate the purchase by the Spanish Government of such materials as are necessary to their defence."

[Note. The final wording of these resolutions was left to the Chairman and Lord Cecil who settled it as above after the meeting.]

- (2) That these resolutions be communicated to H.M. Government, to the press, to the Union's Branches, and to foreign League of Nations Societies.

Miss Corcoran stated that the British Youth Peace Assembly had held an emergency meeting on March 12th and that Youth Groups all over the country were calling special meetings to consider the situation. Youth Groups felt very strongly that the country was only waiting for a really strong lead, and urged that an immediate campaign with a drive for membership should be undertaken by the Union and, with this end in view, an emergency meeting of the Council be summoned.

Lord Cecil agreed that in the present critical situation the Union should make a great effort vastly to increase its membership.

Lady Hall stated that the I.P.C. Executive Committee were meeting that afternoon and referred to the possibility of co-operation in demonstrations in large provincial centres.

After further discussion it was

RESOLVED: (2) That a special meeting of the General Council be summoned at the earliest practicable date in order to consider

(i) the resolutions in (1) above; and if approved,

(ii) action to be taken by the Union in order to rally support for the League through membership of the Union throughout the country.

(Note. The meeting of the General Council is being summoned for Friday, April 1st).

Sir Norman Angell spoke of a message he had received the previous day from Paris regarding the present situation in Spain and suggesting that, if a few members from British organisations such as the Union could meet other people in Paris for an informal conference, the mere fact of the press reporting the proceedings would have a great effect on French opinion. He asked any members of the Executive who felt able to go to Paris for such a meeting to communicate with him. The Duchess of Atholl stated that she had already been invited to speak at a Conference in Paris at the end of March.

- 3 -

Mr. Keyscr reminded the Executive of the present position in this country of Austrians, e.g. members of the Legation staff, who had not been in England long enough to secure naturalisation. The Chairman suggested that H.M. Government should be urged to relax the immigration laws in order to allow Austrian refugees to enter this country. It was agreed that this matter should be further considered by the Executive at the next meeting. A small deputation was sent to speak to Sir Samuel Hoare on this subject.

Confidential

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1., ON THURSDAY 17TH MARCH, 1938, AT 10.45 A.M.

PRESENT: Dr. Gilbert Murray (in the Chair), Lord Allen, Sir Norman Angell, P.J. Noel-Baker, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, F.M. Burris, Captain Gazelet, Lord Cecil, Miss Judith Corcoran, Mrs. Digdale, Miss Philippe Fawcett, W. Arnold Forster, Miss Megan Lloyd George, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, Arthur Hendersch, J.A. Keyser, Dr. C.W. Kimmins, Lady Leyton, Lord Lytton, James Macdonald, W.T. Pritchard, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, Rowell Smith, H.S. Syrett, General Temperley, F.W. Weaver, together with the Deputy Secretary.

83. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Mrs. E.P. Beale, Miss K.D. Courtney, Lord Rickinson, Vice-Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Sir John Harris, and Sir Arthur Salter.

84. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

(a) Youth Committee. (Miss Corcoran reported). The minutes of the Committee dated March 5th, 1938 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: (17) Minutes; (18) Registration and Deletion of Groups; (19) The Crisis.

(b) Finance Committee. (Mr. Syrett reported). Subject to the following report and decision on minutes 23, 25 and 27, the minutes of the Committee dated March 2nd, 1938 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: (20) Minutes; (21) Financial Statement; (22) Report of Director of Appeals; (23) Appeals Council; (24) Nineteenth Annual Meeting of the General Council; (25) Campaign Fund; (26) National Peace Fund; (27) Empire Exhibition at Glasgow; (28) Passing of Cheques for Payment.

On Minute 23 - Appeals Council. It was reported that April 6th was not a convenient date for Lord Cecil to attend the meeting of the Appeals Council and that an alternative date would be fixed as soon as possible. Mr. Syrett expressed the hope that members of the Executive would give their support to the Council.

On Minute 25 - Campaign Fund. Mr. Syrett reported that Lord Cecil had most generously given the Union a donation of £1,000 from his Nobel Peace Prize. It was

RESOLVED: "That the cordial thanks of the Executive be conveyed to Lord Cecil for his generous donation."

Mr. Lyrett further reported that the lady of whom he had spoken to the Executive on March 3rd (minute 61(a)) had promised a donation of £1,000 in the very near future, and might contribute further money later.

On Minute 27 - Empire Exhibition at Glasgow, it was

RESOLVED: "That a notice be included in HEADWAY concerning the shilling fund for the Glasgow Peace Pavilion."

- (c) Editorial Committee. (Dr. Murray reported). The minutes of the Committee dated March 3rd, 1938 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: (9) Minutes; (10) Advertisements in HEADWAY; (11) Proposed new Publications; (12) Membership of Committee; (13) Posters.

- (d) Refugees Committee. (Mrs. Dugdale reported). Subject to the following report and decision on minutes 4 and 5, the minutes of the Committee dated March 8th, 1938 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: (1) Minutes; (2) Future of the League's Work for Refugees; (3) Status of Refugees from Germany; (4) Propaganda against the Nansen Office; (5) Position of Refugees in the United Kingdom.

On Minute 4 - Propaganda against the Nansen Office, it was suggested that the I.P.C. Committee in France might be able to help in regard to the issue of certain memoranda and pamphlets by the 'Study Centre for Peace and Democracy'. Mr. Arnold Forster stated that he was leaving for Paris that afternoon and, if he could be given all the available material, he would be glad to take the matter up with the Paris Committee of the I.P.C.

On Minute 5 - Position of Refugees in the United Kingdom, Miss Corcoran spoke of the present position of refugees from Germany who came to England five years ago and whose permits had now to be renewed. She feared that a renewal of some of these permits might be refused and asked if the Refugees Committee could do anything in the matter. Mrs. Dugdale stated that, although her Committee concerned itself only with general questions and not with 'case' work, she would bring the matter before the Committee if Miss Corcoran would let her have the necessary details.

85. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Executive received resolutions from the Holborn Branch, the Executive Committee of the Northamptonshire Federal Council, the Withington, Cambridge University, Blackpool, Tunbridge Wells and Southborough, Bishop's Stortford, Putney and Shepton Mallet Branches, and from the Falmouth Youth Group. It was

- RESOLVED: (1) "That the Holborn Branch, the Northamptonshire Federal Council, and the Withington, Cambridge University, Blackpool, Tunbridge Wells, and Bishop's Stortford Branches be thanked for their resolutions."
- (2) "That the Putney and Shepton Mallet Branches and the Falmouth Youth Group be thanked for their resolutions; and that the Falmouth Youth Group be reminded that there is no danger of a lean to Italy but of the granting of export credits."

A resolution adopted by the Westminster Branch at its annual meeting on the previous day was read to the Committee, and it was

- RESOLVED: (3) "That the Westminster Branch be thanked for their resolution."

Lord Cecil suggested that Branches should be reminded that all resolutions submitted to the Executive Committee should be accompanied by an indication of the number of persons present when the resolutions were adopted.

86. MINUTES. Subject to the following report on minutes 69, 72, 73, 79 and 82, the minutes of the last two ordinary meetings held on March 3rd and 10th, and of the extraordinary meeting held on March 15th, 1938 were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 69 -- Austria. Lord Cecil reported that he had discussed the Austrian situation with Sir Alexander Cadogan on 7th March, and had stressed the urgent necessity of some action being taken by H.M. Government.

On Minute 72 -- Mandates Committee. Dr. Murray stated that Mr. Clift, the Secretary of the Manchester District Council had been informed of the resolution which the Mandates Committee had recommended at its meeting on March 1st, and that a conciliatory reply had been received.

On Minute 73 -- Place of Annual Meeting of General Council. It was reported that the Annual Meetings of the Council would be held in the Conway Hall, London from June 15th to 18th.

On Minute 79 -- The Far East. as a result of enquiries made at Chatham House, Lord Lytton reported that some time ago there was a proposal at the Royal Institute for a wide enquiry into the whole question of extra-territoriality. The scope of this enquiry was subsequently

reduced to the Treaty Ports in China. This study was about to be set on foot when the war started, and it was abandoned. Meanwhile, a small study group had been working on the subject of extra-territorial rights at Shanghai. It was suggested that the Royal Institute should be asked whether they would be ready to undertake an enquiry on the lines suggested by the Executive at its last meeting.

On Minute 82 — Austria and Spain, Mr. Nowell Smith and other members of the Executive regretted that more publicity had not been obtained for the Executive's resolution. The Chairman stated that the main purpose of the Executive's resolutions was to give guidance to the Union's Branches.

Mr. Syrett drew attention to the manifesto which had appeared in the press over the signatures of prominent members of the Executive Committee and other people. He regretted that the Committee at its special meeting on March 15th had not been acquainted with the manifesto. Miss Rathbone described the circumstances in which the statement had been prepared.

Mr. Arnold Forster reminded the Executive of the resolution on Spain adopted by the General Council at its last meeting, and expressed the opinion that paragraph (3) of the Executive's resolution on March 15th implied a departure from the policy agreed upon by the Council.

Dr. Murray recalled that the Executive on March 15th, after receiving reports that further large supplies of troops and war material had been sent to General Franco by Italy and Germany, had urged that, if it was not possible to secure the immediate discontinuance of such outside support, the Spanish Government should be enabled to obtain at a nominal figure such materials as were necessary to their defence.

Lord Cecil gave notice that later in the proceedings he would move the following motion, and Mr. Arnold Forster asked leave to second it:

"That in the opinion of this Committee the Non-Intervention Committee has ceased to fulfil any useful purpose and should be abandoned."

(No*P. Owing to the pressure of other business the above motion was not considered by the Committee before the meeting ended.)

87. HEADWAY. Sir Norman Angell made a detailed statement to the Committee in presenting his motion contained in S.G.9741. It was

RESOLVED: "That consideration of Sir Norman Angell's proposal be adjourned until the next meeting of the Executive; and that, in the meantime,

it be referred to a joint meeting of the Finance and Editorial Committees for their observations."

88. AUSTRIA.

(a) Refugees. Mr. Keyser proposed

"That the Home Secretary be urged, in view of the unfortunate plight of numbers of former Austrian citizens who have resided in this country for some time, that they should be offered an opportunity to become naturalised British citizens immediately, even if they have not fulfilled the necessary domiciliary requirements; and further that he should adopt a sympathetic attitude towards refugees from Austria by decreasing the stringency of the present immigration laws."

Captain Cazalet and Mr. Henderson reported that they had put down questions in the House of Commons on this subject.

Mrs. Dugdale stated that when (in accordance with the request of the Refugees Committee) she and Mr. Eppstein discussed with Mr. Gerald Palmer the general question of refugees in the United Kingdom, they would also deal with the specific question raised by Mr. Keyser.

Miss Rathbone stated that she had asked Mr. Geoffrey Lloyd to receive an informal deputation that afternoon in which four members of the Executive who were also Members of Parliament had agreed to take part.

(b) Deputation to H.M. Government. Lord Lytton reminded the Executive of the position in 1914 when H.M. Government were being passionately urged by France to make a definite statement of policy and how Sir Austen Chamberlain and others in responsible positions had held the opinion that, if such a statement had been made, it was conceivable that war might have been prevented. In view of the extreme gravity of the present situation and its similarity with the position in 1914, Lord Lytton urged that an influential deputation should wait upon the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary and urge them to make a statement immediately of their intention to resist, with others, any further aggression in Europe and, to this end, to place all their forces at the disposal of the League. If H.M. Government were feeling anxious and nervous about their military preparations it was all the more necessary that they should make such a statement of policy now as would increase the chance of Great Britain not being required to fight.

Lord Cecil agreed with Lord Lytton's suggestion. He thought H.M. Government should make a definite statement now that Great Britain could not allow Spain to be conquered by Fascist forces and was prepared to assist the French Government in taking whatever steps were necessary

in regard to Spain as well as in regard to Czechoslovakia.

Captain Cazalot agreed that it was vitally necessary that H.M. Government should make a definite statement in regard to Czechoslovakia. But if the question of Czechoslovakia was to be complicated by some statement in regard to Spain he thought we should lose a great opportunity of saving the peace of Europe.

General Temperley spoke of recent conversations he had had with General von Blomberg on the subject of Spain. He added that, in the present state of unpreparedness of Great Britain's armed forces, it was in his opinion a very grave step for the Executive or for any other body of prominent people in this country to try and force the Government to make such a declaration as had been suggested.

Mr. Noel-Baker reported confidentially to the Committee on conversations he had had with responsible persons in Paris on the previous day concerning the international situation.

After further discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary be asked to receive a deputation, and that the arrangements be left in the hands of the Chairman and Lord Cecil."

(c) National Committee. Lord Cecil reported that Mr. Winston Churchill was anxious that what he described as his 'focus' should have a national campaign for peace and Freedom, Collective Security and, for those purposes, Re-armament. Mr. Churchill was prepared to make speeches in Manchester, Bristol, Sheffield and Birmingham. He desired that, in the first place, the campaign should be organised in connection with and under the auspices of the League of Nations Union, and, secondly, that there should be formed a National Committee consisting of influential persons of all parties. Lord Cecil had agreed to serve on such a National Committee.

Lady Hall stated that the I.P.C. were arranging demonstrations in Leeds, Glasgow and Newcastle, and were anxious that the Union should co-operate in these gatherings.

Lord Cecil said that if a National Committee were set up on the lines he had described one of its objects would be to avoid rival meetings in great centres. In the meantime he suggested that there should be a small Liaison Committee between the Union and the I.P.C. to avoid overlapping and duplication of effort.

Miss Corcoran drew attention to certain suggestions for use in a National Membership Campaign which had been prepared.

After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That note be taken of the proposal outlined by Lord Cecil for the establishment of a National Committee; that, in the meantime and as a temporary measure, a Liaison Committee between the Union and the I.P.C. be appointed in order to avoid duplication of effort by the two societies; and that Lady Gladstone, Mr. Pritchard and Miss Corcoran be asked to represent the Union on the Liaison Committee."

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

Confidential

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 14 GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1., ON THURSDAY, MARCH 24TH, 1938 AT 11.30 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Cecil (in the Chair), Lord Allen, Sir Norman Angell, Mrs. Corbett Asby, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, P.M. Burris, Captain Cazalet, Miss Judith Corcoran, Lord Dickinson, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Philippa Fawcett, W. Arnold Forster, Miss Megan Lloyd George, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, J.A. Keyser, Lady Layton, G. le M. Mander, W.E. Pritchard, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, Nowell Smith, H.S. Syrett, together with Major Freshwater.

89. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Mrs. E.F. Beale, Miss K.D. Courtney, Lord Lytton, James Macdonald, Dr. Murray and General Temperley.
90. HEADWAY. Sir Norman Angell presented the report of the Joint Meeting of the Finance and Editorial Committees held on March 22nd (C.82 of 23/3/38). The Executive also had before them a memorandum by Lord Allen (S.G.9769) and a note by the General Editor (S.G.9772).

Lord Allen was anxious that the Executive should make quite certain that the legal foundations of the proposed scheme were thoroughly sound. In particular, he urged that it should be clearly stated that L.N.U. representatives on the Editorial Board should be nominated by the Executive Committee, and that if HEADWAY failed under the new arrangements the Union could regain the legal control of its own paper which was HEADWAY.

Mr. Arnold Forster agreed with Lord Allen and suggested that the word 'HEADWAY' should be substituted for the words 'their own magazine' in paragraph (4).

Lord Cecil suggested that a brief statement of the principles for which the Union stood should be recorded in some way in the proposed agreement with the new company. He suggested that such a statement might take the following form:

Respect of treaties; peaceful change and social justice; international disarmament; and mutual assistance against aggression.

Lord Cecil also urged that, in paragraph (5) there should be a reciprocal obligation on the other parties not to produce any publication that directly competed with HEADWAY in its proposed new form.

After considerable discussion it was

- RESOLVED: (1) "That the proposal contained in the report of the Joint Meeting of the Editorial and Finance Committees be approved in principle; and that Sir Norman Angell, Lord Allen, Lady Violet Bonham Carter and Mr. Syrett be appointed to negotiate with Sir Robert Waley Cohen or his representatives and to submit a detailed scheme to the Executive."
- (2) "That the statement of the Union's principles suggested by Lord Cecil above be approved and adopted."

In reply to a question, Lord Cecil said that he would consider the desirability of informing the General Council at their Emergency Meeting on April 1st of the negotiations now taking place. His opinion, however, was that it was unnecessary to consult the Council at the present stage but that the result of the negotiations should be submitted to them at their Annual Meeting for their approval.

91. **BRANCH RESOLUTIONS.** The Committee received resolutions from the Brightlingsea Branch Committee and the Northamptonshire Federal Council, and it was

RESOLVED: "That the Brightlingsea Branch and the Northamptonshire Federal Council be thanked for their resolutions."

92. **AUSTRIA.** (a) **Refugees.** Miss Rathbone reported that four Members of the Executive who were also Members of Parliament had discussed the question of refugees from Austria with Mr. Geoffrey Lloyd, and subsequently one member of the deputation had spoken also to Sir Samuel Hoare. The deputation understood that sympathetic consideration would be given to each particular case, but they did not obtain an assurance that H.M. Government's policy would be a generous one.

Lady Violet Bonham Carter said that she understood from Sir Robert Vansittart that out of 250 refugees who had applied for admission to this country 240 had in fact been admitted.

Lord Cecil said that the Executive would welcome any further pressure which Members of Parliament might be able to bring on H.M. Government in this matter.

(b) **Proposed Deputation to H.M. Government.** Lord Cecil reported that he had discussed with Mr. Attlee, Mr. Winston Churchill and Sir Archibald Sinclair the proposal that an all-party deputation should wait upon H.M. Government. They had felt, however, that, pending the statement to be made that afternoon by the Prime Minister, there was little advantage to be gained by such a deputation. Lord Cecil had therefore decided that, in these circumstances, it was undesirable to proceed with the proposal.

93. EMERGENCY MEETING OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL. The Executive had before them the following draft motion which the Manchester District Council were proposing to submit to the Emergency Meeting of the General Council:

"The General Council of the League of Nations Union,

Realising that the present grave international situation is directly attributable to successive betrayals of the Covenant of the League, by this and other countries;

That the result has been to put the security of Great Britain and of the Empire in greater jeopardy than at any time since 1918; and

That any further breach of the Peace of Europe is likely to cause a calamity which even the heaviest and most efficient national armaments will be impotent to avert;

Declares that no time must be lost in reinstating the Covenant of the League as an effective instrument.

The General Council therefore

Approves the Resolution of the Executive Committee dated 15th March, 1938, and defines the policy of the Union as follows:-

1. To press for a public and immediate declaration by H.M. Government that this country will co-operate promptly and unstintingly in opposition to any further unprovoked aggression in Europe;
2. To urge that the Government of Spain shall be enabled to enjoy its undoubted right to obtain the food, munitions and other materials necessary for its defence; and
3. To recommend that, as soon as the present danger to peace has been averted, the preliminary conference suggested in the Van Zeeland Report shall be called, on the understanding that H.M. Government will be prepared zealously and generously to share in the making of such concessions as are appropriate to the alleviation of international grievances."

Lord Cecil felt that there were great advantages in a resolution of this kind being submitted to the Council by a local organisation rather than by the Executive. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That it be suggested to the Manchester District Council that the words 'failure

to support' should be substituted for the words 'betrayals of' in the first paragraph, and that the words 'right under the normal working of international law' should be substituted for the words 'undoubted right' in sub-paragraph (2)."

In reply to a question Lord Cecil said that he intended to ask the Council to devote their morning session to a discussion of policy and in the afternoon to consider how that policy might be pressed forward throughout the country.

Mr. Pritchard stated that the Administration Committee at their meeting that afternoon would consider recommendations concerning the procedure to be adopted for carrying out the Council's decisions.

Lady Hall reported a proposal made by the Executive Committee of the I.P.C. that the Union should be invited to take the initiative in arranging a series of round-table conferences with certain Members of Parliament. Such conferences would it was hoped include representatives of all the societies co-operating with the I.P.C. Sir Norman Angell had been asked to prepare a questionnaire for use at these gatherings.

Miss Rathbone submitted a detailed proposal (S.C.97(1) for a nation-wide declaration embodying the policy for the re-creation of collective security which the Union desired the Government to adopt.

It was

RESOLVED: (2) "That it be left to Miss Rathbone to place her proposal on the Council's agenda in her own name if she so desires."

Lord Cecil proposed the following amendment to resolution (1) adopted by the Executive on March 15th for submission to the Council:

"That, in view of the rapid deterioration of the international situation, and the repeated attacks made on various States by aggressive powers,

Calls upon His Majesty's Government to affirm its determination to carry out to the full its obligations under the Covenant, and to summon an immediate meeting of the Assembly of the League, and to present detailed proposals for the protection by collective action of any State Member of the League whose territorial integrity or political independence was threatened by external aggression."

It was

RESOLVED: (3) "That the above be submitted to the General Council as an amendment to section (1) of the resolution already tabled by the Executive Committee."

94. SPAIN AND THE MEDITERRANEAN. The Executive considered a motion proposed by Mr. Arnold Forster and Lord Cecil for submission to the General Council in place of that contained in resolution (2) adopted by the Executive on March 15th, and it was

RESOLVED: "That the following motion be placed on the agenda for the General Council as an amendment to that already tabled by the Executive."

'The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union

Considers that it would serve no good purpose, under present conditions, to continue to rely upon efforts to secure by the action of the Non-Intervention Committee or otherwise the discontinuance of all outside intervention in Spain; and

Urges H.M. Government to permit and facilitate forthwith the purchase by the Spanish Government of such materials as are necessary to its defence. Any further negotiations on the subject should be carried out by the League of Nations.'

(Note. In view of the late hour at which this matter was discussed and the small number of members present it was agreed that no action should be taken on this resolution pending confirmation by the Executive at its next meeting.)

Telegrams from influential persons in Spain and from the Spanish League of Nations Society were reported to the Executive.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

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MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 14 GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1., ON THURSDAY, 31ST MARCH, 1938 AT 10.45 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Cecil (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, P.J. Noel-Baker, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, F.M. Burris, Captain Cazalet, the Dean of Chichester, Miss Judith Corcoran, A.C. Crossley, Lord Dickinsen, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Philippa Fawcett, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, J.A. Keyser, Dr. Kimmins, James Macdonald, G. le M. Mander, Dr. Gilbert Murray, W.T. Pritchard, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, Sir Archibald Sinclair, Nowell Smith, together with Major Freshwater.

95. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Mrs. E.F. Beale, Miss K.D. Courtney, and Lord Lytton.

96. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

(a) Library Committee. (Mr. Nowell Smith reported) The minutes of the Committee dated March 14th, 1938, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included: (8) Minutes of the last meeting; (9) Library Expenditure 1937; (10) Chairmanship of Committee; (11) Formation of Sub-Library at Birmingham; (12) Book List.

(h) Education Committee. (Dr. Kimmins reported) Subject to the following decisions on minutes 34, 37 and 42, the minutes of the Committee dated March 14th, 1938 were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included: (27) Minutes; (28) Arising out of the Minutes; (29) Death of Miss Lloyd Evans; (30) Meetings for Teachers and Schools; (31) British Universities League of Nations Society; (32) International Federation of League of Nations Societies; (33) Report of the Junior Branches Sub-Committee; (34) Proposals for the further development of Junior Branch work; (35) Junior Branches Expedition to America; (36) American School-Children's expedition to England; (37) Fees for Summer Schools, Camps and Expeditions; (38) Literature and other material for the schools and Junior Branches; (39) League of Nations Union Twenty-First Birthday Party; (40) International Conference of Teachers; (41) Nineteenth Annual Meeting of the Union's General Council; (42) I.L.O. Week; (43) Observance of Empire Day; (44) The Easter School; (45) Young Teachers' Conference;

(46) Chair of International Politics, Aberystwyth; (47) British Institute of Adult Education; (48) Adult Education in the South-West; (49) National Union of Teachers; (50) Educational Corporate Members; (51) Junior Branches/

- On Minute 34 -- Proposals for the Further Development of Junior Branch Work, Lord Cecil reminded the Executive of the campaign which the Union's local organisations were to be asked to undertake following the emergency meeting of the General Council on April 1st. He felt a certain hesitation in acting on the Education Committee's recommendations at the present moment and thus adding greatly to the labours of the Secretaries of the Union's Branches and other local organisations. It was then

RESOLVED: "That this minute be referred to the Administration Committee for consideration and report."

On Minute 37 -- Fees for Summer Schools, Camps and Expeditions, it was

RESOLVED: "That this minute be approved and adopted subject to the approval of the Finance Committee."

On Minute 42 -- I.L.O. Week, Mr. Macdonald expressed the hope that the proposed letters to schools and Local Education Authorities would be issued immediately after the summer vacation.

- (c) Economic Committee. The minutes of the Committee dated 15th March, 1938 were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included: (1) Apologies; (2) Minutes; (3) Resignation of Mr. Meade; (4) The Van Zealand Report; (5) Vote of thanks to Mr. Scott./

- (d) Christian Organisations Committee. (Mr. Porter Goff reported) Subject to the following report on minute 23, the minutes of the Committee dated 16th March, 1938 were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included: (14) Minutes; (15) International Morality; (16) Reprint of pamphlet compiled by Coventry Chapter of Clergy; (17) Conference on the Christian Church and the League of Nations; (18) Geneva Cathedral Service; (19) Service in connection with the meeting of the Governing Body of the International Labour Organisation in London next October; (20) Twenty-First Birthday of the Union; (21) Observance of Armistice Sunday; (22) Co-optations to General Council; (23) Day of Prayer; (24) Applications for Corporate Membership/

On Minute 23 - Day of Prayer, Mr. Porter Goff read to the Committee a letter he had received from the Archbishop of Canterbury's Chaplain, explaining why the Archbishop was unable to act on the suggestions made by the Christian Organisations Committee that he should, in consultation with Free Church Leaders, call the nation together for prayer on some day in the near future.

- (e) Industrial Advisory Committee. (Mr. Macdonald reported) Subject to the following decision on minute 29, the minutes of the Committee dated March 17th, 1938 were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included: (25) Minutes; (26) Welcome; (27) Constitution of Committee; (28) The Easter School; (29) I.L.O. Governing Body - Union Activities; (30) 19th Annual Meeting of the General Council; (31) 21st Birthday of the Union; (32) International Federation of League of Nations Societies; (33) Questions in Parliament; (34) Speakers' Reports; (35) Industrial Affiliations/

On Minute 29 - I.L.O. Governing Body - Union Activities, it was

RESOLVED: "That this minute be approved and adopted subject to the addition of the names of Miss Glazebrook, Mr. Judd, and Mr. Porter Goff in paragraph (b) of the resolution."

- (f) Administration Committee. (Mr. Burris reported) Subject to the following decision on minute 32 and report on minute 31, the minutes of the Committee dated March 24th, 1938 were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included: (28) Minutes; (29) Branches, Corporate Members, etc; (30) Emergency Meeting of General Council; (31) I.P.C. Demonstrations and Conferences; (32) Report on the Achievements of International Co-operation; (33) Twenty-First Birthday Celebrations; (34) Organisation of the Union; (35) Functions of the Committee; (36) National Peace Congress;

On Minute 32 - Report on the Achievements of International Co-operation, it was

RESOLVED: "That this minute be approved and adopted subject to the approval of the Finance Committee on paragraph (1) of the Membership Committee's Report; and that paragraphs 2(1), (ii) and (v) of the Report be referred for immediate action by the Editorial Committee."

Lord Cecil suggested that, as a general rule, whenever any of the Executive's sub-Committees put forward an urgent proposal for consideration by the Editorial Committee, the Chairman of that Committee should be consulted with a view to the summoning of an immediate meeting to consider the matter.

On Minute 31 - I.P.C. Demonstrations and Conferences, it was reported that the demonstration organised by the I.P.C. in Leeds would be held on Sunday, April 3rd and not March 27th as stated in the minute.

On Minute 30 - Emergency Meeting of General Council, it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the resolution in paragraph (1) be approved and adopted."

After the agenda for the emergency meeting of the General Council had been considered (see minute 99 below) it was further

RESOLVED: (2) "That the resolution in paragraph (ii) be approved and adopted; and that authority be given for the Membership sub-Committee to add to their number."

(g) Religions and Ethics Committee. (Mr. Wren reported) The minutes of the Committee dated March 24th, 1933 were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included: (1) Minutes; (2) Co-optations to General Council; (3) Composition of Committee; (4) Corporate Members; (5) Current Religious Movements; (6) Code of International Ethics; (7) International Morality; (8) Articles in HEADWAY; (9) Youth Study Group.

97. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Executive received resolutions from the Manchester University League of Nations Society, the Shropshire District Council, the Christchurch Branch and the Reading Branch. It was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Manchester University League of Nations Society, the Shropshire District Council and the Reading Branch be thanked for their resolutions."

(2) "That the Christchurch Branch be thanked for their resolutions; that in regard to resolution (1) they be informed of the Executive's decision on the Van Zealand Report (recorded in minute 96(c) above); and that they be informed that the Executive is not in agreement with their proposal in resolution (2) and that they be reminded of the constitutional means provided in the Covenant for amending that document."

A letter sent by Mr. S. Holdich, the Honorary Secretary of the Cornwall District Council, to Mr. Neville Chamberlain on March 21st was reported to the Executive.

98. MINUTES. Subject to the following report on minutes 84(d), 88(c), 90 and 94 the minutes of the last two meetings of the Committee held on March 17th and March 24th were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 84(d) - 4 - Propaganda against the Nansen Office, the Executive expressed the hope that Mr. Arnold Forster would send to the Refugees Committee a report on his conversations with the Paris Committee of the I.P.C. on this subject.

On Minute 88(c) - National Committee, Lord Cecil stated that he had received no further information concerning the proposal to form a National Committee.

On Minute 90 - HEADWAY, Lord Cecil expressed the hope that the small negotiating committee would meet in the immediate future and present a detailed scheme to the Executive at an early date.

On Minute 94 - Spain and the Mediterranean, Mr. Crossley and Captain Cazalet who were not present when the resolution contained in this minute was adopted, asked that their dissent from it should be recorded.

99. AGENDA FOR THE GENERAL COUNCIL. The Executive had before them the agenda for the emergency meeting of the General Council (D.S.2363) to be held on the following day. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That amendment (f) proposed by the Manchester District Council be supported by the Executive Committee and that the Council be asked to take it as the basis of their discussion; that it be suggested to the Manchester District Council that the words 'than at any time since 1913' be omitted from the second paragraph; and that the following be proposed by the Executive as an additional paragraph to the motion:

- (5) That it is of vital importance that the Spanish war should be brought to an end, and that His Majesty's Government should bring the matter before the League of Nations and make appropriate proposals for that purpose, including plans for the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops and munitions."

It was further

- RESOLVED: (2) "That the Council be informed that the Executive prefers the fourth paragraph of the Manchester amendment to the amendment proposed by Miss Helen Ward."
- (3) "That the amendment of the Remegate Branch be not supported."
- (4) "That motion (2) of the Manchester District Council be supported."
- (5) "That the motions of the Montague Burton Branch be not supported."

Miss Rathbone gave notice that she would propose her motion as an addendum to the Manchester motion.

The Executive also had before them an amendment proposed by the National Youth Committee (S.G.9788). Lord Cecil suggested that if this amendment could be redrafted in order to bring it into line with the policy set forth in the Manchester amendment he would be ready to support it from the Chair at the Council meeting.

100. EMBARGO ON JAPANESE IMPORTS. Mr. Noel-Baker asked that the Executive at its next meeting should consider the question of taking further action in regard to an embargo on Japanese imports. Lord Cecil suggested that Mr. Baker should draft a resolution for consideration by the Executive at that meeting.

101. CLOSING OF OFFICE FOR EASTER. It was

RESOLVED: "That the office be closed from 1 p.m. on Thursday, April 14th, until 10 a.m. on Tuesday, April 19th."

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MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 14 GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1., ON THURSDAY, APRIL 7TH, 1938 AT 10.45 A.M.

PRESENT: Dr. Gilbert Murray (in the Chair), P.J. Noel-Baker, Mrs. E.P. Beale, F.M. Burris, Captain Cazalet, Lord Dickinson, Vice-Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Miss Philippa Fawcett, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, Arthur Henderson, J.A. Keyser, Dr. C.W. Kimmins, James Macdonald, G. Ie M. Mander, the Hon. Harold Nicolson, W.T. Pritchard, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, Sir Arthur Salter, General E.L. Spears, H.S. Syrett, F.W. Weaver, Major Lawrence Wright, together with Major Freshwater.

102. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Sir Norman Angell, the Dean of Chichester, Miss K.D. Courtney, Sir Arthur Haworth, Lord Lytton, and General Temperley.
103. LIAISON COMMITTEE WITH THE NEW COMMONWEALTH. The Executive considered the report of a meeting of the Liaison Committee between the Union and the New Commonwealth held on March 30th, 1938. It was

RESOLVED: "That the following resolution be approved and adopted for submission to the Annual Meeting of the General Council in the names of the Executive Committee and the New Commonwealth:

The General Council of the League of Nations Union

Appalled by the latest examples of air warfare;

Re-affirms the urgent necessity for 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 abuse of civil aviation; and in view of the developments of aggressive international action,

Urges the vital necessity of taking all possible preliminary steps to facilitate sanctions, both economic and military, so that these shall be as prompt and predictable as possible and so that the practical certainty of overwhelming power being immediately available shall prevent war from breaking out at all.

The Council believes that by these means the States members of the League can contribute to a system of international policing as a step towards a more complete system of international police action."

104. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Executive received resolutions from the West Hampstead, Southfields, Streatham, Hampstead Garden Suburb and Golders Green, and Eynsham Branches. It was

RESOLVED: "That the above mentioned Branches be thanked for their resolutions."

105. MINUTES. Subject to the inclusion of Admiral Drury-Lowe's name in the list of apologies for absence, and to the following report on minute 98(90), the minutes of the last meeting of the Committee held on March 31st, 1938, were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 98 -90 -- HEADWAY, it was reported that the small negotiating committee would meet on the afternoon of Tuesday, April 12th.

106. EMERGENCY MEETING OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL. The Executive had before them the text of the resolutions adopted by the General Council on April 1st (D.S.2370).

It was reported that the policy resolution had been communicated to H.M. Government, as well as to the Affiliated Members of the Union, other national bodies and the International Peace Campaign.

Mr. Pritchard stated that requests and suggestions had been sent to Branches concerning action in accordance with the resolutions of the General Council. Special posters and leaflets were being prepared and would be ready at the end of the week.

A communication from the Bury Branch was considered, proposing that, in view of the fact that the Union is incorporated under Royal Charter and also of the danger of the present situation, the decisions of the General Council should be presented to H.M. the King. It was

RESOLVED: "That the proposal of the Bury Branch be not adopted."

107. REPORT OF YOUTH CONFERENCE. The Executive considered a statement of policy (S.G.9796) adopted at a conference of representatives of Youth Organisations held on April 2nd, 1938 to plan a campaign in defence of peace and democracy, together with a memorandum outlining proposed action for such a Youth Campaign (S.G.9804) /copies filed with these minutes for reference. After considerable discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That, subject to the deletion of the penultimate sentence in the statement of policy, and subject also to the approval of the Finance Committee of the grant of £250 for the Youth Campaign, the statement of policy be accepted and the proposed plan of action be approved."

It was understood that the additional temporary office worker asked for by the Youth Committee would be appointed by the Union in the normal way and would be regarded as a member of the Union's staff.

108. ROUND TABLE CONFERENCES. The Committee considered the following resolution adopted by the Executive Committee of the International Peace Campaign on March 16th, 1938:

1. "That Round Table Conferences between leading parliamentary constituents and leaders of the Peace Movement be arranged with Conservative Members of Parliament, in order to put to the Members certain questions concerning the need for a British policy based on Collective Security and to obtain their support for such a policy."
2. "That the League of Nations Union be asked to initiate these conferences, and that Sir Norman Angell be asked to prepare the questions to be put to the Members."
3. "That if the L.N.U. consented to take the initiative in this matter, a communication be sent to the other affiliated organisations asking for their co-operation through their Branches."

Lady Hall explained that the I.P.C. considered that round table conferences in certain constituencies on the lines suggested provided a more satisfactory means of meeting Members of Parliament and discussing various matters with them than did deputations.

Mr. Nicolson expressed the hope that the proposed conferences would be in the nature of deliberative consultations. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the proposal of the I.P.C. Executive Committee be approved in principle; and that Sir Norman Angell be asked to prepare a list of suitable items for discussion with Members of Parliament rather than specimen questions."

See opposite page.

109. PROCEDURE COMMITTEE FOR JUNE MEETING OF COUNCIL. It was

RESOLVED: "That Lady Hall and Mr. Clift, together with a third member to be nominated by the Chairman of the Regions Committee, be appointed to serve on the Procedure Committee for the Annual

Notes a memo. from Sir N. Angell, including suggested bases for discussion, was considered by the Administration Cttee on July 24th, 1938

(28)

Meeting of the General Council, and that they be authorised to prepare the Preliminary Agenda for the Council's meeting."

Mr. Burris expressed the opinion that this procedure would greatly facilitate the work of the Regions Committee.

110. RECOGNITION OF GOVERNMENTS. The Committee were reminded of the resolution which had been submitted by the Manchester District Council to the Torquay meeting of the General Council last June, but which had been withdrawn on the understanding that the Executive would consider a memorandum on the subject to be submitted by Mr. Behrens. The memorandum had been referred by the Executive to the Political Committee on July 22nd, who had asked for the opinion of the International Law Committee. A statement was prepared by Professor Brierly (Chairman of the Committee) but was not ready for circulation before the December meeting of the Council. Mr. Behrens had therefore agreed that the matter be again postponed, and had asked that the Executive should issue its report and table a motion of the next meeting of the Council. He had added that, should this prove impossible, the Manchester District Council should be informed in time to allow it to table its own resolution for the Council's meeting. It was

RESOLVED: "That Mr. Behrens be informed that the Executive Committee does not propose to table a motion on this subject for the Annual Meeting of the General Council, but that Professor Brierly's memorandum be communicated to him for the information of the Manchester District Council in case they wish to submit a motion to the General Council."

Mr. Noel-Baker suggested that, in sending Professor Brierly's memorandum to Mr. Behrens, reference should be made to the resolution adopted by the League in March, 1932 to which H.M. Government (according to answers to questions in Parliament) still adhered in principle.

111. COMMUNICATION FROM THE WESTMINSTER BRANCH. The Executive considered the following resolution from the Westminster Branch:

"The Westminster Branch of the L.N.U., including among its members representatives of all Parties, many of whom have relatives and friends in foreign countries, requests that the Executive will consider, and, if thought fit, pass a resolution pledging the Union not to take any side in the internal or national policies of foreign countries unless they become matters of international importance, threatening the rights of other countries."

Several members of the Executive asked how the above resolution would affect questions concerning Jewish and other refugees, and it was

RESOLVED: "That an enquiry be addressed to the Westminster Branch on this point."

112. SPAIN AND THE MEDITERRANEAN. (a) Relief in Spain.
The Executive had before them the following resolution adopted by the Annual Council of the Women's International League.

"In view of the prolongation of the suffering caused by war in Spain on the civilian population, and especially on the children, who are in some places literally dying of starvation,

This Annual Council of the Women's International League urges the British Government to make an immediate grant to the International Commission which has been set up to help Child Refugees on both sides.

We consider that a generous contribution by H.M. Government would strengthen its hand should an opportunity arise for mediation, with a view to the cessation of hostilities in Spain."

On the motion of Mr. Noel-Baker, seconded by Mr. Macdonald, it was

RESOLVED: "That the resolution of the Women's International League be endorsed by the Executive Committee and communicated to H.M. Government."

(b) Present Situation. Miss Pathbone drew attention to the difficult situation in which both combatants and non-combatants were being and would be placed as a result of General Franco's recent advances. She asked whether representations could not be made to H.M. Government to bring influence to bear on the insurgent authorities to keep League commissioners or observers appointed by neutral States on the spot and to facilitate the admission of refugees to this country, e.g. by helping them to escape in British ships.

General Spears hoped that such representations, if made, would apply equally to both sides.

Captain Cozzalet suggested that if and when Sir Philip Chetwode went to Spain to deal with prisoners he might be asked to point out to General Franco privately that public opinion in Great Britain was very much concerned as to what would happen in the closing stages of the war in regard to the treatment of civilians and to do what he could to secure the prevention of unnecessary murder and injustice.

It was further suggested that H.M. Government might help by co-operating with the French Government in assisting refugees, i.e. contributing towards the cost

of their maintenance; offering to have prisoners interned in this country until the end of the war; and offering asylum in British ports to ships carrying prisoners. It was

RESOLVED: "That the Chairman be asked to write to Lord Halifax, making the suggestions referred to above."

(c) Signor Mussolini's Speech. Reference was made to the speech delivered by Signor Mussolini on 29th March. Mr. Noel-Baker suggested that the Executive ought to direct attention to this official announcement by the head of a Government whose army had been participating in the Spanish conflict. If the Union could now point out that by the official admission of the Italian Government, Spain was the victim of external aggression in violation of the Covenant, the case for the policy adopted by the General Council on April 1st would be enormously strengthened. Reference might also be included to the statement recently published that the Italian Government were proposing to withdraw their troops from Spain after the war was ended. Such a paper would, Mr. Baker thought, be of great help to Branches in carrying out the campaign suggested by the General Council.

The Chairman thought that attention to Signor Mussolini's speech could be directed in speeches on Union platforms and in HEADWAY. After further discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the Membership sub-Committee be asked to prepare a statement on the lines suggested by Mr. Noel-Baker for the use of Branches."

113. AUSTRIA. Mr. Noel-Baker suggested that it would be useful if representations were made to the Foreign Office asking them to do what they could to ensure that the German Government treats with clemency those Austrians now in their power who previously worked for the independence of Austria and who were now under the menace of death or imprisonment in concentration camps. It was

RESOLVED: "That the Chairman be asked to deal with this matter when writing to Lord Halifax as requested in minute 112(b) above."

114. CZECHOSLOVAKIA. General Spears drew attention to the economic position of Czechoslovakia and to the possibility of Germany being in a position to starve the population by putting a duty on exports via the Elbe. He suggested that the Executive might appoint a small committee to consider this question from the point of view of helping the South-eastern and Central European countries to find markets which would enable them to escape from the grip of Germany.

Sir Arthur Salter suggested that the Royal Institute might be able to supply a memorandum on this subject for the information of the Executive in considering the problem. Mr. Keyser promised to make enquiries that evening at Chatham House and to report to the Executive.

115. GERMAN PROPAGANDA. General Spears asked whether the Executive could not include in its study of the above subject the terrific pressure which was being exercised from Germany on neighbouring countries, e.g. Belgium, Denmark, Holland. Reference was also made to the provision made in the German budget for the purpose of stirring up disruption in other countries.

Mr. le Prevost stated that a number of journalists were at present studying this question and had collected a large amount of material. He suggested that the Union might be able to co-operate with them in making their results widely known. The Chairman asked any members of the Executive who had information on this subject in regard to specific countries to communicate it to Mr. le Prevost. Sir Arthur Salter suggested that a member of the Executive might be asked to meet the journalists and discuss the question with them.

It was suggested that the Executive should endeavour to obtain information from Chatham House, and that Sir Arthur Willert should be invited to attend an early meeting of the Executive and speak on this subject.

116. THE FAR EAST. On the motion of Mr. Henderson, seconded by Lady Gladstone, it was

RESOLVED: (1) "The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union

Considering that the present situation in China shows that Japan cannot overcome Chinese resistance without a prolonged and costly struggle, and that Japanese forces are in no position to extend the area of the operations in which they are engaged,

Considering the economic difficulties of Japan,

Declares its conviction that the struggle could be brought to a speedy end by the imposition of a Government embargo on imports from Japan imposed by Members of the League of Nations and other non-Member States willing to take such action, and

Calls upon His Majesty's Government forthwith to put forward proposals to this end."

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

117. **ABYSSINIA.** The Executive discussed the present situation in Abyssinia. Sir John Harris considered it important that Members of Parliament in particular, and public opinion in general, should know that Italy was by no means in effective occupation of the whole of Abyssinia, and he urged that H.M. Government should be pressed to publish the information it possessed on this subject.

The Executive then discussed the question of the recognition of the Italian conquest. Sir John Harris asked, in the event of H.M. Government's recognition, what would be done about the Conventional Basin. He added that there were many reasons why H.M. Government should not surrender any rights that were obtained or given to them by the Emperor of Abyssinia prior to the Italian invasion. Information on these points ought, he urged, to be obtained from H.M. Government before Parliament considered the question of 'recognition'.

Miss Rathbone suggested that it would be useful if Sir John Harris could prepare a short memorandum on the subject which Members of Parliament could use as a basis for obtaining information from the Government in reply to questions.

Lady Gladstone referred to the agricultural and other rights which the natives in Abyssinia had possessed under the Emperor's régime. She felt that if the Italian conquest were recognised by H.M. Government and the rights of the natives were not respected by the Italians, the effect on other native populations in Africa would be very unfortunate, particularly from the point of view of the British Empire.

General Spears suggested that the Executive should study these questions carefully in order that it might make a statement of its policy when the proposed terms for recognition were published. He also referred to the position of the Emperor and the proposal for creating a "Vatican State" in the Amhara area. He believed that the Emperor might be willing favourably to consider such a proposal, provided he were completely independent, and that such a proposal would appeal to the Italians if, as was alleged, they were facing great difficulties in Abyssinia. General Spears urged that these questions, together with that of H.M. Government's rights of Lake Tana, should be considered by a special Committee. It was suggested that Colonel Sandford and Sir Sydney Barton might be invited to serve on such a Committee.

After discussion it was decided not to appoint a special Committee at the present moment but to leave it to Lady Gladstone to discuss the situation with Sir Sydney Barton and to report to the Executive.

Mr. Noel-Baker proposed a resolution dealing with the recognition of the Italian conquest, and it was

RESOLVED: "That consideration of Mr. Noel-Baker's resolution be adjourned until the next meeting."

118. DATE OF NEXT MEETING. It was

RESOLVED: "That the next meeting of the Committee be held on Wednesday, April 13th, at 11 a.m."

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT
NO. 15 GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1. ON WEDNESDAY,
APRIL 13TH AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Dr. Gilbert Murray (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams, Lord Allen, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, P.J. Noel-Baker, Mrs. E.P. Beale, P.M. Burris, Miss Judith Corcoran, Vice-Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Philippa Fawcett, Lady Hall, James Macdonald, G. le M. Mander, W.T. Pritchard, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, General Temperley, Major Lawrence Wright, together with Major Freshwater.

119. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Sir Norman Angell, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, the Dean of Chichester, Miss R.D. Courtney, Lady Gladstone, Lord Lytton, Sir Archibald Sinclair, and H.S. Syrett.

120. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

- (a) Women's Advisory Council. Lady Hall presented the text of resolutions (S.G. 9820) passed at a meeting of the Women's Advisory Council on 8th April, 1938. The full minutes would be submitted to the Executive at a later date. Lady Hall stated that it was proposed to communicate the resolutions to the organisations co-operating in the Women's Advisory Council, asking them to adopt similar resolutions and to send them to H.M. Government.

After Mrs. Dugdale had reported that a resolution and a memorandum dealing in detail with questions affecting refugees were at present being prepared by the Refugees Committee, it was

RESOLVED: (1) That action on resolution D (Refugees) be adjourned until such time as the Refugees Committee's resolution and memorandum are available, and that they be then sent to the co-operating organisations in the Women's Advisory Council together with the resolution of the W.A.C.

- (2) That subject to the above and subject also to the decision on resolution E (Abyssinia) contained in minute 125 below, the resolutions passed by the W.A.C. on April 8th be approved.

- (b) Finance Committee. Major Lawrence Wright reported, as a matter of urgency, that the Finance Committee at its meeting on April 11th had resolved:

- (1) "That authority be given for an expenditure of not more than £250 on the Youth Campaign approved by the Executive on April 7th".

and, on the recommendation of the Membership sub-Committee,

- (2) "That authority be given to expend not more than

(a) £250 on the provision of the posters and leaflets in accordance with the decision of the General Council at the Emergency Meeting on April 1st, and Lord Cecil's letter to members;

(b) £500 on additional travelling and assistance for Regional Representatives (in accordance with their detailed proposals) and other work among the Branches and Districts".

It was

RESOLVED: "That the resolution of the Finance Committee be approved and adopted".

121. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Executive received resolutions from the Executive Committee of the Welsh National Council, the Cromer Branch and the Middlewich Branch. It was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the resolution of the Executive Committee of the Welsh National Council be noted with pleasure and that they be thanked."

(2) "That the Cromer Branch be thanked for their resolution and be informed of the resolution adopted by the Executive in minute 125 below".

(3) "That the Middlewich Branch be thanked for their resolution."

122. MINUTES. Subject to the following report on minutes 112(b), 112(c), 114, 115, and 116, the minutes of the last meeting held on April 7th were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 112(b) Spain and the Mediterranean — Present Situation, the Chairman reported that he had written to Lord Halifax as requested by the Executive, but had so far received only a formal acknowledgment from the Foreign Secretary.

On Minute 112(c) Signor Mussolini's Speech, Mr. Pritchard reported that the Membership sub-Committee at its meeting on the previous day had considered the suggestion of the Executive Committee. They were of the opinion that a

statement such as was suggested, although it might be of help to speakers, would be of little value to French officers. A statement has, however, been prepared and would be available for circulation in response to inquiries.

On Minute 114 -- Czechoslovakia, it was reported that steps were being taken to obtain a memorandum dealing with the economic position of Czechoslovakia from the Royal Institute of International Affairs.

On Minute 115 -- German Propaganda, the Chairman reported that Sir Arthur Willert would be glad to attend a meeting of the Executive after Easter.

He also reported that he had received from General Spears a memorandum giving an extraordinary account of the German propaganda in Belgium and that he had received from a friend a document which was sent regularly to his German housemaid by the German Embassy giving an account of all the Nazi meetings in this country. Mr. Mander said that he was asking a question on this subject in the House of Commons on the following day, and the Chairman promised to send on to him the document to which he had referred.

On Minute 116 -- The Far East, Admiral Drury-Lowe asked to have placed on record that he could not support the Executive's resolution because (1) there was, in his opinion, no likelihood of co-operation of other States, especially the U.S.A., being sufficient to make the embargo effective; and (2) that it was inadvisable to impose a Government embargo unless the Member States imposing it were prepared and ready to support it by armed force in the event of Japan retaliating by military action against them.

123. HEADWAY. The Executive had before them the following memorandum of an agreement on the proposal for a new HEADWAY negotiated at a conference held at Caen Wood Towers on April 12th, 1938 when there were present Sir Robert Waley Cohen, Mr. A.M. Wall, Mr. A.H. Richards, Mr. Nye, Dr. Gilbert Murray, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Lord Allen, Sir Norman Angell, Mr. H.S. Syrett, Major Freshwater and Mr. le Prevost.

1. The prospective company with a proposed paid up capital of from three to five thousand pounds is prepared to guarantee the existing profit made by HEADWAY as established by an agreed auditor's report, the provisional figure for purposes of negotiation being placed at about £1,200 per year. The company is prepared to agree further that a contract between the company and the L.N.U. shall assure the L.N.U. of 2% of any profits after payment of 5% on the ordinary shares.

2. In return the L.N.U. would deliver to the new company the paper as it now exists and undertake to pay to the company half-a-crown per year on behalf of every L.N.U. member who now subscribes 3s.6d. per year or more to the Union and receives HEADWAY or who shall in future subscribe 5s.0d. or more and receives HEADWAY. The company in return would deliver twelve monthly copies of the paper to each L.N.U. member on whose behalf it has received half-a-crown. All current subscriptions would be completed on the same terms, the L.N.U. paying 2½d. per copy for the paper and the company delivering the paper for each such 2½d. The company out of its half-a-crown per year or 2½d. per copy would pay all the costs of producing the paper, including any arising out of services which it might require the L.N.U. to perform on its behalf. The L.N.U. would make its payments to the company from time to time for copies of the paper actually delivered, the precise time of the payment to be decided by negotiation between the Union and the company.
3. The editorship of the paper would be carried on under the direction of an Editorial Board, composed, in the first instance, of the President of the Union, the Chairman of the Executive Committee, the Chairman of the Editorial Committee, Lady Violet Fonham Carter, (these four representing the L.N.U.) Mr. A.M. Wall, Mr. Wickham Steed and Sir Robert Waley Cohen. When an L.N.U. seat on the Editorial Board fell vacant, its new holder would be a member of the Executive Committee, subject to unanimous approval by the Editorial Board. When one of the other three seats fell vacant, its new holder would be appointed by the remaining two members, subject to unanimous approval by the Editorial Board. The appointment of the editor would be made by the Editorial Board, the first editor being the present general editor of the L.N.U. The business management of the paper would be directed by a Board of Management composed of Sir Norman Angell, Sir Robert Waley Cohen, Mr. Jack Beddington, and Mr. Wickham Steed.
4. In the event of there arising disagreement so great and frequent that the L.N.U. feel that the disadvantages of the partnership outweigh its advantages to them, they shall have the right to give notice to terminate the partnership and shall then be free to publish their own magazine. If HEADWAY fails under the new management, it shall be returned to the Union without payment.
5. The L.N.U. would bind itself so long as the partnership continued not to produce any publication that directly competes with HEADWAY in its new form.
6. The L.N.U. would entrust to the new company the production of all its other publications, prepared at

employing Trade Union conditions
of labour was discussed.

(See page 380.)

Headquarters except where agreement had been arrived at to the contrary, the L.N.U. deciding their character and contents and the company undertaking to deliver supplies at competitive prices. Arrangements would be made to keep the company and the Union in close and continual touch so that all danger of conflict or divergence between their publications programmes would be avoided.

In reply to a question it was explained that the word 'production' in paragraph (6) applied only in a technical sense.

The desirability of the printing of the new journal being carried out by a firm ~~paying Trade Union rates of wages was discussed.~~ The Chairman reminded the Executive that since Mr. Wall, a member of the proposed Editorial Board, was Secretary of the London Trades Council, this would in fact be done.

Lord Allen stated that he still felt that the proposal was wrong financially, wrong politically and wrong in law. But, being in a minority, he was ready to accept the Committee's decision and would do all he could to bring about the success of the project. Mrs. Dugdale associated herself with Lord Allen.

The Chairman stated that if the Executive gave general approval to the scheme outlined above, the solicitors would proceed to draw up a formal agreement. It was hoped that the first number of the new journal would be ready in time for the General Council's meeting in June when the Council's approval of the scheme would be sought. It was

RESOLVED: "That general approval be given to the memorandum; that the negotiators be authorised to arrange for a definite agreement to be prepared for approval by the Executive and endorsement by the General Council; and that a notice be included in the Preliminary Agenda for the General Council."

124. ANNUAL MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL

(a) Notice of Motions. It was

RESOLVED: (1) "That notice be given in the Preliminary Agenda for the Annual Meeting of the General Council that the Executive intends to propose motions on international affairs, particularly on Spain and the Far East".

- (2) "That Branches be informed that, in the present difficult and constantly changing political situation, the Executive is not able to include the text of their motions in the Preliminary Agenda; and that the Branches be asked to arrange for their Committees to meet immediately after the Final Agenda is issued (i.e. during the week preceding the Council meeting) in order to instruct their delegates in regard to the Executive's motions."

(b) Appointment of Officers and Co-opted Members. It was

RESOLVED: (3) "That the list of existing Officers and Co-opted Members be included in the Preliminary Agenda for the General Council; and that the co-opted members to the Executive Committee for the time being be also included in the list of members submitted for co-optation to the Council under Bye-Law 6(iii)."

Note was taken that the list of co-optations under Bye-Law 6(iv) for submission to the Council under paragraph (a) Religion and (c) Trade and Industry had been approved by the Executive on the recommendation of the Christian Organisations Committee and the Industrial Advisory Committee respectively on 31st March, 1938. It was further noted that the list of co-optations under paragraph (d) Women's Organisations had been approved by the Women's Advisory Council on April 8th, 1938.

125. ABYSSINIA. Sir Sydney Barton attended the Executive's meeting at the invitation of the Chairman and gave a detailed account of the present situation in Abyssinia and spoke also of the consequences which were likely to arise from recognition by the League of Italy's conquest. Sir Sydney afterwards answered a number of questions put to him by members of the Executive.

In reply to an inquiry from Miss Rathbone, Sir Sydney Barton said that, provided his name was not mentioned, he would leave it to the discretion of members of the Committee what use, if any, they made of the information he had given in the course of his statement.

Dr. Murray, on behalf of the Executive, thanked Sir Sydney most warmly for his statement and expressed the Committee's admiration for all the courageous work he had done for Abyssinia.

The Executive had before them a resolution (S.G.9813) proposed by Mr. Noel Baker at the last meeting of the Executive. Mr. Noel Baker asked leave to withdraw his motion in favour of that which was adopted by the Women's Advisory Council at its meeting on April 8th (see minute 120(a) above).

It was then

RESOLVED: (1) "That the following resolution of the Women's Advisory Council be approved and adopted and be communicated to H.M. Government and to the press:

The Women's Advisory Council

Recalling the resolution adopted by the Assembly of the League of Nations on March 11th, 1932

"that it is incumbent upon the members of the League of Nations not to recognise any situation, treaty or agreement which may be brought about by means contrary to the Covenant of the League of Nations or the Pact of Paris."

Declares its conviction that the recognition of the Italian conquest of Ethiopia would not be consistent with the obligations of Great Britain under the Covenant, and having regard to the recent reports from well-informed sources that the Abyssinian people are still continuing their resistance against Italian invasion and are doing so with increased success, would not even be in accordance with the present facts of the situation".

(2) "That the above resolution be also sent to the International Federation and to its constituent societies, with the suggestion that they should pass similar resolutions for communication to their respective Governments".

Miss Rathbone stated that seven questions were being asked in the House of Commons that day concerning Abyssinia. None of these, however, dealt with the right, if recognition were granted, that Italy would have under international law to demand the extradition of "rebels" who had fled the country. The opinion was expressed that a question asked in Parliament would probably make it more difficult for the Government to take action in the way the Committee would wish. Private inquiries might, however, be helpful.

It was suggested that a short memorandum, containing facts concerning the present situation in Abyssinia, particularly from the military standpoint, should be prepared for consideration by the Executive with a view to its being subsequently communicated to H.M. Government, and it was

RESOLVED: (3) "That a memorandum on the lines suggested be prepared for consideration by the Executive at its next meeting."

126. EXTRA-TERRITORIALITY IN CHINA. The Chairman reported that the Royal Institute were not planning any general study of the question of extra-territoriality in China but were dealing with it within a limited scope in relation to the investigation of "The Future of Shanghai" which was being undertaken by a Chatham House Study Group. It was intended to issue a paper in some two months' time based on the work of this Group, and this would include a section dealing with extra-territoriality. In addition the Secretary of the Group was at present engaged on ad hoc memorandum on extra-territoriality with special reference to Shanghai for the information of the Group. If the agreement of the Group was obtained, the memorandum could be made available to the Union. It was

RESOLVED: "That in view of the study being undertaken by Chatham House no action be taken by the Executive in regard to the resolution from the North Staffordshire District Council (see minute 79 of 10th March)".

127. FULHAM BY-ELECTION. The Executive received a memorandum containing the answers given by Dr. Edith Summerskill (Labour) and Mr. John Rusby (Conservative) to the questionnaire submitted to them in the course of the West Fulham By-Election.

128. DATE OF NEXT MEETING. It was

RESOLVED: "That the next meeting be held on Thursday, April 26th".

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT
No. 14 GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1. ON THURSDAY,
APRIL 28TH, 1938 AT 10.45 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Sir Norman Angell, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Mrs. Beale, F.M. Burris, Captain V.A. Cazalet, Lord Cecil, Miss Judith Corcoran, Vice-Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Mrs. E. Dugdale, Miss Philippa Fawcett, W. Arnold Forster, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, Sir Arthur Haworth, James Macdonald, W.T. Pritchard, H.F. Shaw, Nowell Smith, Major-General A.C. Temperley, Major Lawrence Wright, together with Major Freshwater.

129. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Vyvyan Adams, the Duchess of Atholl, the Dean of Chichester, Miss K.D. Courtney and Dr. Gilbert Murray.

130. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

(a) Finance Committee. (Major Lawrence Wright reported). With the exception of minute 36 which was approved by the Executive at its previous meeting, the minutes of the Committee dated April 11th, 1938, were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: (29) Minutes; (30) Financial Statement; (31) Accounts for 1937; (32) Staff Superannuation Fund; (33) Report of Director of Appeals; (34) Manchester District Council; (35) Kent; (36) Campaign Fund; (37) Report on the Achievements of International Co-operation; (38) Fees for Union Members at Summer Schools and Camps; (39) Mr. Stainton's Car; (40) HEADWAY; (41) Passing of Cheques for Payment

Letter to Members of Executive Committee.

Major Wright drew attention to a letter sent by Mr. Hawkey to members of the Executive, asking them to submit names of persons to whom appeals for donations to the Union might be made. Major Wright expressed the hope that members of the Executive would give sympathetic consideration to this letter.

Mr. MacDonald and Sir Arthur Haworth stated that they had already supplied lists of suitable names to Mr. Hawkey.

(b) Welcome Committee. (Lady Gladstone reported). The minutes of the Committee dated April 11th, 1938 were approved and adopted.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

Reports on Resolutions adopted by the General Council,
1st April, 1938.

2,400 copies of the poster
69,000 " " " leaflet
37,900 " " Lord Cecil's letter to members

have been supplied to 155 Branches and 7 Districts.

14 National organisations have already approved the policy.

Helensburgh: Chairman and Secretary resigned

Giffon: Action would be disastrous, there would be loss of members.

Bristol District: "Labour" and "Liberal" Branches likely to take action.

Tyne District: Sixteen Branches in favour

Evesham: Opposed. Will not support collective military action or arms for Spain.

Heckfield: Opposed, Branch disbanded as protest.

Hunstanton: Opposed, Government knows better than L.N.U. members.

Hampshire Federation: Secretary opposed to proposed action, don't criticise Government, just work for increase of Union membership.

Milton on Sea: Split in Branch. Chairman and Secretary resigned.

Shropshire District: Council opposed.

Sheringham: Much opposition; not taking action.

Rottingdean: Too late to do any good.

Surrey Federation: Executive considers impossible make Government alter decisions. Keep on with educational work and do not clamour in present critical condition of international affairs.

Cheltenham: Opposed, not taking action.

Arborfield: Opposed.

cont. page 377.

These minutes included: (50) Minutes; (51) Report of the Programme Sub-Committee for Visit of Members of American Women's Organisations, July 14th-19th; (52) I.L.O. Proposed Reception to Members of the Governing Body, October 1938; (53) Au Pair Visits; Communication from Miss Parkinson;

On Minute 52 -- I.L.O. Proposed Reception to Members of the Governing Body. Lord Lytton said that he would be willing to do what he could to secure the services of two or three members of the Vic-Wells Ballet to provide an entertainment at the proposed reception. If the necessary information could be sent to him he would bring the request before the governing body which met on the second Friday in each month.

- (c) Women's Advisory Council. (Lady Gladstone reported). Subject to the decisions on the policy resolutions contained in minute 120(a) of the last meeting of the Executive, the minutes of the Women's Advisory Council, dated April 18th, 1938 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: (677) Minutes; (678) Report of Standing Sub-Committee; (679) Co-options to General Council; (680) Reports of Representatives; (681) British Commonwealth League; (682) The European Crisis; (683) Spain; (684) Refugees; (685) Abyssinia; (686) Corporate and Study Associateship/.

The Chairman asked Lady Gladstone to inform the members of her Women's Advisory Council with what great interest its minutes had been received by the Executive and what a high opinion the Executive had of the work being performed by the Council.

131. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Executive received resolutions from the Northwood, Arborfield, Kettering, and Cheltenham Branches. It was

- RESOLVED: (1) "That the Northwood Branch be thanked for their resolution and be reminded of the resolution adopted by the General Council at its meeting last December and communicated to H.M. Government".
- (2) "That the Arborfield Branch be thanked for their resolution".
- (3) "That the Kettering Branch be thanked and be reminded of the Manifesto adopted by the General Council at Torquay in June, 1937".
- (4) "That the Cheltenham Branch be thanked for their resolution".

Kettering: Deprecates 3, not taking action.

St. Albans: Chairman resigned.

Stanmore: Chairman and one Committee member resigned; circulating Lord Cecil's letter to members.

Liverpool and Merseyside District: Urging Branches and probably arranging Conference

Bradford: Right and left wings developed; one wants to continue educational work and not worry Government, the other wants to take definite action.

Bridport: Agrees.

Sussex Federal Council: Secretary opposes.

R.R.'s for North-West, and Western and Southern: Report much opposition.

The Executive then considered the situation arising out of the Emergency Meeting of the General Council on April 1st. It was reported that 2,400 copies of the poster, 69,000 copies of the leaflets, and 37,900 copies of Lord Cecil's letter to members had been supplied to 155 Branches and 7 Districts.

A statement (D.S.2381) containing reports from various Branches and Districts concerning the action taken by the Council was also considered.

Lord Lytton reminded the Executive that there was a sharp distinction between those who thought that the Government was right in coming to terms with Italy at the expense of Abyssinia and those who, with the Union, thought that it was a betrayal of a Member of the League and was contrary to the spirit of the Covenant. It was the Union's duty to help its members to understand what was the meaning of a non-party organisation. The Union had always taken the view that by a non-party organisation was meant an organisation which pursued its policy irrespective of party and was ready to co-operate with any party which supported its policy and to oppose any party which did not. Those who said we must support the Government were simply suggesting that the Union should be turned into a party organisation which was prepared to support the Government in everything it did.

Mr. Arnold Forster was afraid that there would not be a very satisfactory response from many of the Branches to the action taken by the General Council. In the first place they had lately received appeals to take action during a series of crises; and secondly, many Branches felt that the wording of the Council's resolution was in some respects too vague. The reference to 'fully applying the obligations of the Covenant' was by many regarded as something too indefinite for the present situation.

132. MINUTES. Subject to the following report and decision on minutes 122 (115) and 123, the minutes of the last meeting held on April 13th, 1938 were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 122(115) — German Propaganda, it was reported that the Chairman, on his return from Paris, would communicate with Sir Arthur Willert with a view to his attending an early meeting of the Executive.

On Minute 123 — HEADWAY, it was

RESOLVED: "That the first sentence of the ninth paragraph of this minute be amended to read:

"The desirability of the printing of the new Journal being carried out by a firm employing Trade Union conditions of labour was discussed".

133. ANNUAL MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL. Lady Hall presented to the Executive the Preliminary Agenda for the General Council (D.S.2383) which had been prepared by the Procedure Committee in accordance with the Executive's request.

She drew attention to the fact that, in order to meet certain criticisms made at previous meetings of the Council, it was proposed to apportion to each session of the Council certain items in the agenda. Such items as were not able to be taken on the appointed day would be adjourned until the final session of the Council on the morning of June 18th.

Lord Cecil expressed the opinion that it might be difficult to dispose of all the 'urgency' motions of the Executive on international affairs in the one afternoon session which had been allotted to them. Lady Hall said that the Procedure Committee would no doubt wish to make certain adjustments when the Final Agenda was issued. They would also prepare for the use of the Chairman a detailed time table.

Lord Lyttan suggested that if it were found impossible to dispose of all the Executive's urgency motions in the time allotted to them, there should be at least some discussion of each motion at that session.

Mr. Fritchard reported orally on the meeting of the Regions Committee held on the previous day which had

- (i) proposed that a member of the Administration Committee should be asked to make an oral report on the action taken to carry out the proposals contained in the Report on the Achievements of International Co-operation. (Minutes 773 and 804 of the Council);
- (ii) agreed in principle with the proposal of the Stroud Branch regarding the payment of expenses of members of the Executive but suggested that it could not be carried into effect in the Union's present financial position;
- (iii) proposed that after the principle of the Union's 21st Birthday Celebrations had been decided, the subject should be referred for detailed discussion at the Branch Secretaries' Conference, and that the Conference should also discuss (a) the question of holding evening sessions at Council meetings and (b) membership;

(iv) proposed that, since the Council was meeting in London, the President (or Chairman) of the London Regional Federation should be invited to take the Chair at the Branch Secretaries' Conference.

Mr. Macdonald suggested that, as far as possible, a different Chairman should be found for each meeting of the Branch Secretaries Conference; and, after Mrs. Corbett Ashby (President of the L.R.F.) had stated that a previous engagement would make it impossible for her to preside at the Conference, it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the appointment of a Chairman for the Branch Secretaries' Conference be left in the hands of the Chairmen of the Executive, Regions and Procedure Committees, and the Deputy Secretary."

In reply to a question Lord Cecil said that the question of the Election of Officers would have to be considered carefully by the Executive before the Council met. Several questions, some of them political and some concerning the internal government of the Union, would need to be discussed.

Mr. Arnold Forster drew attention to the motion on Colonial Territories and on Negotiations with Germany. He suggested that something should be done to meet what was substantial in the German case concerning their currency problem without the actual transfer of colonial sovereignty. After discussion, Mr. Arnold Forster gave notice that he would prepare an amendment for consideration by the Council.

Mr. Pritchard urged that the Executive should, as soon as possible, consider what, if any, amendments it wished to propose to the motions included in the Preliminary Agenda instead of waiting until the Final Agenda was prepared.

After further discussion it was

RESOLVED: (2) "That the Preliminary Agenda for the Annual Meeting of the General Council be approved".

134. ANGLO-ITALIAN AGREEMENT. Lord Cecil submitted to the Committee a draft statement (S.G. 9846) concerning the Executive's view of the Anglo-Italian agreement, which he had prepared in consultation with Dr. Mirray for circulation in response to inquiries from Branch Secretaries and others.

The Committee also had before them a resolution adopted by the National Council of Youth Groups held at Edinburgh during the Easter weekend (S.G. 9840).

Lord Lytton suggested that, granted H.M. Government were pledged to do something towards recognising the Italian occupation of Abyssinia, there were three possible alternative procedures at Geneva. The first was a resolution by the Council which he could not think would be proposed because he could not conceive of its being carried. The second was for the Council to pass a resolution authorising individual members to take such action as they desired. The third procedure was for the Council merely to receive from each member a statement of the views of its Government in the matter. Lord Lytton thought the latter procedure was the least objectionable since it left each Government with its own responsibility of saying what it intended to do. It would neither seek nor obtain any backing from any other member, and it would leave the League as a body free of any responsibility in the matter.

Captain Cazalet suggested that Lord Lytton should write privately to Lord Halifax on the lines of his statement above, stating that, while the Executive deplored the situation, it felt that, if the proposed recognition of Italian sovereignty over Abyssinia was to be carried through the third procedure would be the least objectionable.

Sir Norman Angell suggested that it should be part of the Union's business to emphasise the fact that H.M. Government were acting on assumptions which were not universally accepted. In the case of the Japanese action in Manchuria in 1931 the League had the Report of the Lytton Commission. There was nothing corresponding to that in the case of Abyssinia.

Extracts from a letter from Miss Rathbone, giving an account of conversations she had had at Geneva with members of the Secretariat were read to the Committee. After further discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That Lord Lytton be asked to write privately to Lord Halifax on the lines suggested above".

Lord Lytton reported to the Executive a communication from the I.P.C. suggesting that representations should be made by the co-operating societies to the President of the Council of the League before May 9th, and enclosing a document containing suggestions for the basis of such messages.

Lord Cecil expressed the opinion that the proper procedure for the Union was to communicate with its own

Government rather than with the President of the Council. He suggested that the British National Committee of the I.P.C. should send such communication as it desired to the international office of the I.P.C. for transmission to the Council. Lord Cecil added that he saw no objection to the Federation of League of Nations Societies, which was an international body, making representations to the Council. It was then, on the motion of Lady Gladstone,

RESOLVED: (2) "That a telegram be sent to M. Borel, the President of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies, asking him to make representations to the President of the League's Council; and that the I.P.C. be so informed".

After further discussion it was

RESOLVED: (3) "That the following statement be approved for circulation in response to inquiries from Branch Secretaries and others:

STATEMENT OF THE VIEWS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
ON THE ANGLO-ITALIAN TREATY

The L.N.U. supports any action which may have the effect of clearing up international misunderstandings or lessening international tension; provided that such action is in accordance with the principles of Justice and the international obligations of this country, including the Covenant of the League of Nations. They therefore welcome so much of the Anglo-Italian proposals as are in accordance with these conditions. They regret that it appears to be proposed that the League should authorise the recognition of the Italian conquest of Abyssinia. This is in conflict with the Resolution of the Assembly of March 11th, 1932, and does not seem to be in accordance with the facts, since the conquest is far from complete.

They also regret that the Government still pin their faith to the Non-Intervention Committee, which seems so far to have failed in its objects. In particular, they note with regret that the Anglo-Italian agreement in effect allows Italy to leave all her war materials in Spain until the war is over, such material being presumably what General Franco needs most. The Committee believe that in fairness the Spanish Government should now be allowed to enjoy its rights under the normal working of international law to obtain the food, munitions and other materials necessary for its defence, since its opponents have been so freely able to import munitions for attack.

THE ITALIAN POSITION IN ABYSSINIAS.G. 9842
25.4.38.

(Note: Supplement to ITALY IN ABYSSINIA — S.G. 9679 12.2.38)

Economic Conditions

News from Abyssinia in 1938 is scanty. THE TIMES on January 4th reported that the former export of coffee, hides, and skins, worth some £1,000,000 annually had ceased, that the natives were practising passive resistance and refusing to cultivate. Trade was strangled by export restrictions exercised by state controls. The Ethiopians refused to accept lire or to part with their own Maria Teresa dollars. The MANCHESTER GUARDIAN of January 17th said that Italian subsidies of 100,000,000 lire monthly were used to purchase necessary imports for the Italians. The country was threatened with famine. It was also reported that Abyssinians would not do road-work, which was being done by Italians at high wages.

On January 16th, one hundred and five peasants were sent to Ethiopia as the first Italian colonists. They have been settled in a group beside the railway-line. On March 30th THE TIMES reported that 10,000 Italian workmen were withdrawn since January. About 20,000 remained to work at 15 lire a day instead of 39 lire.

Military Situation

The military situation remains unsettled. On 22nd January 3,000 troops and Blackshirt militia left Naples for Abyssinia, during the next week 4,500 more. The British United press gave a Roman report that during December and January 16,000 troops were sent out; 4,000 brought home; and that there were 15,000 European and 60,000 native troops in Ethiopia.

The EVENING STANDARD of February 4th reported from Port Said that 11,360 Blackshirts had passed through the Suez in the last few days; and two Italian hospital ships with 1,200 invalids had passed the other way bound for Rhodes.

News of fighting trickled through during the early months of the year. On January 26th the Italian paper ARMED FORCES, reported severe fighting in North-East Abyssinia. In September, 6,834 bombs had been dropped in two weeks on natives surrounding Italian garrisons. The warplanes flew from Dire-dawa and besides attacks supplied the garrisons with 130,000 pounds of supplies, nine tons of munitions and quantities of money (to buy their besiegers off). On February 13th an EVENING STANDARD report from Aden said that troops had left Addis Ababa to suppress revolts in the North West and extreme South. Rome reported that Gobjjem was rapidly returning to normal as a result of armed pressure and political penetration. On March 18th General Teruzzi, Under-Secretary for Italian Africa, told the Chamber of Deputies

cont. on p. 389

(4) "That the resolution of the National Council of Youth Groups be received".

135. SITUATION IN ABYSSINIA. The Executive had before them a memorandum (S.G. 9842) concerning the Italian position in Abyssinia which had been prepared in response to the request contained in minute 125 of the last meeting. It was

RESOLVED: (1) "That a copy of the memorandum be communicated to the Foreign Secretary".

Lord Lytton stated that he had recently received an appeal to subscribe to a private fund for providing an annuity for the Emperor of Abyssinia. He asked whether, in the opinion of the Executive, it was desirable to approach the Government with a view to their taking some action in this matter. From conversations he had had with Lord Halifax in the past, he felt that, if sufficient pressure were brought to bear, it was possible that the Government might be willing to provide some financial assistance for the Emperor.

Lord Cecil suggested, and it was agreed, that Lord Lytton should be asked to have a further talk with Lord Halifax on this matter.

136. THE FAR EAST. Lord Cecil suggested that the Executive Committee should send a message of encouragement to the Chinese, telling them that the Union has faith in their resistance and in their ultimate success, and recognising that they are fighting for the whole of civilisation and for the rule of law in international affairs.

Lord Cecil stated that, from recent conversations, he understood that the Chinese possessed all the rifles they needed, but that in a few months time they would need financial help. Negotiations were proceeding with British sources to secure a private or a Government loan. Lord Cecil thought it would be an infinitely better plan from the point of view of China and of the League, if a League loan could be obtained for China. If H.M. Government were, as he hoped, serious in their desire to do something to rehabilitate the League, here was an unrivalled opportunity. Lord Cecil suggested that the League loan to Austria might perhaps be used as a precedent.

The Executive were reminded of the Convention for Financial Assistance submitted to the League in 1930. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That Lord Lytton be asked to discuss with Lord Halifax the possibility of H.M. Government taking action to secure a League loan for China.

- (2) "That it be left to Lord Cecil to send a message on the lines he had suggested to the Chinese Ambassador, and that the message be afterwards communicated to the press".

that there had been cases of rebellion and brigandage in Amhara. "These acts have compelled us to take repressive measures, which are bringing about a return to completely normal conditions". The MANCHESTER GUARDIAN reported on April 16th that 20 battalions and the greater part of the Italian Air Force in Abyssinia were conducting operations in February.

It appeared that over the greater part of Ethiopia the Italians were only present in garrisons occupying fortified posts. In Northern Tigre, the province marching with Eritrea, there were five isolated garrisons near the border. They were supplied by air. The rest of the province was in Abyssinian hands. In Gonder province there were two garrisons, in Gojjam (South of Lake Tana) none; the Italians were expelled. In Wallega (West of Addis Ababa) there were three posts, in Shoa, two, at Addis Ababa and Ankober. In five southern provinces there were five posts and none in the Danskil and Aussa regions. In Harrar there were garrisons in the towns and along the railway. (MANCHESTER GUARDIAN 14.4.38.) All accounts agree that the railway and the Massowa-Addis road were frequently attacked.

Administration

Marshall Graziani was retired from his post as Viceroy, and sailed for Italy on February 3rd. There may have been a connection between his departure and the release on March 12th of 9,000 native political prisoners held in Somaliland with a public ceremony after which the Abuna exviam hoped they would return home to work under the protection of the Italian government. General Graziani governed by terror. His successor, the Duc d'Aoste may be more mercifully inclined. The Populaire of April 7th published what purported to be the text of a telegram from the Duc to Mussolini:

The situation is really terrible. Italy's influence extends only within gunshot and no further. The whole of the 6,000,000 natives is absolutely hostile. Within 80 kilometres of each Italian garrison, the Ethiopian Rasas rule just as they did before the war. We lack everything; the natives refuse to sell anything to the Italians, having no longer any confidence in the paper money we offer them. The only money in which they have any confidence is the Maria Theresa thaler. The result is that the natives refuse to come to the markets frequented by the Italians; it would cost too much and it would be too dangerous to send bodies of police against them.

Italian financiers (adds the Viceroy) in spite of the Duc's pressure have only invested 150,000,000 francs in Ethiopia, a sum which is altogether insufficient. Much more is necessary; it must be found at once. Blackshirts who had meant to settle down as colonists in the country have decided to return to Italy where they spread most angry stories among their parents and friends. If a European war broke out, we should be chased from the country in a few weeks".

Recognition of Italy's Annexation

Recognition has been granted by Germany, Jugoslavia, Austria, Hungary, Japan, Eire, Holland, Poland, Greece, Turkey, Belgium, Roumania, Nicaragua, Chile, Latvia, Albania, Switzerland, Iran, Haiti, San Marino and General Franco.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1., ON THURSDAY, MAY 5TH, 1938 AT 10.45 A.M.

PRESENT: Gilbert Murray (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, P.J. Noel Baker, Mrs. E.P. Beale, F.M. Burris, Major Anthony Buxton, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Captain V.A. Cazalet, Lord Cecil, A.C. Crossley, Miss Judith Corcoran, Lord Dickinson, Vice-Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Philippa Fawcett, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, Lady Layton, Miss M. Lloyd George, Lord Lytton, James Macdonald, W.T. Pritchard, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, Nowell Smith, Brig.-General E.L. Spears, Major-General A.C. Temperley, together with the Mr. Freshwater.

137. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from the Duchess of Atholl, Mrs. Beale, Miss K.K. Courtney and Sir Archibald Sinclair.

138. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

(a) Youth Committee (Miss Corcoran reported). The minutes of the Committee dated 15th April, 1938 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: (20) Minutes and Further Proceedings; (21) Registrations and Deletions; (22) Spain — Emergency Conference, Queen's Hall; (23) Assistant Secretary

Youth Campaign. The attention of the Executive was drawn to leaflets recently issued for use in the Youth Campaign which bore the imprint;

"This Leaflet is issued as part of the Emergency Youth Peace Campaign, organised by the League of Nations Union Youth Groups, supported by the National League of Young Liberals, the University Labour Federation, the Young Communist League, the Members of the Labour Party League of Youth and University Branches of the League of Nations Union; 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1."

After Miss Corcoran had reminded the Executive that an outline of the proposed Youth Campaign, including a list of the Youth Organisations who were ready to support the L.N.U. Youth Groups in carrying it out, had been carefully considered and approved by the Executive on April 7th, it was

RESOLVED: "That the imprint on the leaflets issued in connection with the Youth Campaign be approved".

S.G. 9854
4.5.38

For consideration under item 4 of the Executive Committee's Agenda for May 5th, 1938.

THE COUNCIL'S DECLARATION OF 1ST APRIL ON L.N.U. POLICY.

(Memorandum by Vice-Admiral Drury-Lowe.)

There appears to be considerable difference of opinion amongst our L.N.U. members (involving some resignations) as to the declaration of Policy adopted at the emergency meeting of the Council on 1st April, and several Branches are holding special meetings to discuss it.

I was unable to attend on April 1st owing to absence abroad, but have been asked to attend some forthcoming meetings to speak on the subject as a member of the Executive; and as unfortunately I do not agree with clauses 1 and 2 of the declaration it seems to me to raise the question whether it is fair to the Executive (and to the Council) to remain on the Executive Committee. In order to avoid taking up valuable time at our weekly meeting I have stated my reasons as briefly as possible below.

(1) Clause 1 of the Union Policy calls for a "public and immediate declaration by H.M. Government that this country will carry out to the full its obligations under the Covenant". It seems to me useless to call for such a declaration in view of the declared policy of the Government, and the Prime Minister's recent statements on our obligations. In the House of Commons on 24th March last the Prime Minister reviewed our existing commitments, viz: (a) defence of France and Belgium against unprovoked aggression in accordance with Locarno Treaty as re-affirmed on 18th March, 1936; (b) obligations by treaty to Portugal, Iraq and Egypt; (c) remaining cases arising out of the League Covenant when "our armaments may be used in bringing help to a victim of aggression in any case where in our judgment it would be proper under the provisions of the Covenant to do so", as stated by Mr. Eden on 20th November, 1936, when he explained there was no automatic obligation to take military action.

The Prime Minister affirmed that the Government stood by these declarations and added: "I cannot but feel that the course and development of any dispute would be greatly influenced by the knowledge that such action as it may be in the power of Great Britain to take will be determined by H.M. Government of the day in accordance with the principles of the Covenant".

(b) Overseas Committee. (Admiral Drury-Lowe reported). The minutes of the Committee dated April 27th, 1938 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: (13) Minutes; (14) XXIIInd Plenary Congress at Copenhagen; (15) Report on Meetings of the Association de la Paix par le Droit; (16) Overseas Report

(c) Joint Selection Committee for Appointment of Secretary of E.U.L.N.E. (Mr. Nowell Smith reported). The minutes of the Committee dated April 28th, 1938 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: (1) Conditions of appointment; (2) Candidates; (3) Appointment

(d) Refugees Committee. Mrs. Dugdale made an oral report on the meeting of the Refugees Committee held on April 29th, 1938, and stated that a carefully reasoned memorandum had been approved by the Committee for submission to the Home Secretary when the proposed joint deputation waited upon him. Mrs. Dugdale dealt briefly with various points raised in the memorandum.

Miss Rathbone suggested that a useful purpose would be served if the Refugees Committee could issue a simple pamphlet summarising the whole situation in regard to refugees and giving practical information, first in regard to the steps to be taken to obtain admission to this country, and secondly on the question of the right to obtain employment after admission.

Mrs. Dugdale welcomed Miss Rathbone's suggestion and promised to lay it before the Refugees Committee at their next meeting.

139. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Executive received resolutions from the Basingstoke, Bishop Auckland and Evesham and District Branches. It was

RESOLVED: "That the Basingstoke, Bishop Auckland and Evesham and District Branches be thanked for their resolutions".

140. MINUTES. Subject to the following report on minutes 131, 132, 133 and 136, the minutes of the last meeting, held on April 28th, 1938 were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 131 — Branch Resolutions and Emergency Meeting of General Council, Admiral Drury-Lowe placed before the Executive a memorandum (S.G. 9854) in which he stated his reasons for being unable to approve of the policy contained in clauses 1 and 2 of the resolution adopted at the emergency meeting of the General Council, and asked for the opinion of the

To the best of my recollection neither the Executive nor the Council considered it necessary after Mr. Eden's statement in November, 1936 to press the Government for any further declaration, and after the Prime Minister's very recent endorsement of it as quoted above, it is surely futile at the present moment to do so.

(2) Clause 2 of the L.N.U. Policy calls for an immediate meeting of the Assembly to present practical proposals for the protection by collective action of any State threatened with aggression. Here again we know the Government's view on collective security, i.e. that in the present grouping of the big Powers collective strength in support of the Covenant cannot be regarded as overwhelming, and I think this view is correct. The first essential should be to ascertain what States -- whether Members of the League or not -- are ready (in Mr. Roosevelt's words at Chicago on 5th October, 1937) "to make a concerted effort to uphold the laws and principles on which alone peace can rest secure, and in opposition to those violations of treaties which are to-day creating international anarchy and instability". When once we know this, it will be possible to take the necessary preliminary steps to facilitate such preventative action, both economic and military, so that it shall be as prompt and predictable as possible.

(3) I do not know whether any approach was made to the U.S.A. after the President's speech, but in any case in view of the Prime Minister's declaration it would seem useless to expect the Government to call an immediate meeting of the Assembly to discuss the matter, and further it would very much prejudice the Prime Minister's present efforts for appeasement with Italy and Germany.

(4) I would like to add that it has always seemed to me best on previous occasions when important differences of opinion on Union Policy have arisen, to accept majority decisions rather than to resign, and, personally, I have always endeavoured to keep a non-party point of view. But in view of the apparently widespread differences of opinion on this latest declaration of policy, and as members of the Executive are certain to be asked to comment on it at forthcoming meetings, I should be grateful to have the opinion of members of the Executive whether disagreement with Clauses 1 and 2 as stated above is inconsistent with continuing to serve.

S.R. DRURY-LOWE.

Executive on the question whether disagreement with these clauses was inconsistent with his continuing to serve on the Committee. Admiral Drury-Lowe added that he had been invited to address a number of meetings in the near future at which the Council's resolution would be discussed.

The Chairman suggested that at such meetings the Admiral should explain his reasons for not agreeing with the whole of the Council's resolution but that he should avoid opposing the policy. Mr. Murray added that in its general appeal for membership the Union should emphasise its long term policy rather than confine itself to the resolution of the emergency meeting of the Council which embodied a short term policy for an immediate crisis on which there was a great difference of opinion.

Lord Cecil thought the difference of opinion between himself and Admiral Drury-Lowe was extremely small. He reminded the Admiral that, in regard to his first point, the reason why the Executive thought it necessary to ask for an immediate declaration by H.M. Government was because there had been several statements by members of the Government, and particularly by the Prime Minister, which seemed to be quite inconsistent with support of the Covenant and which had produced all over Europe the unfortunate impression that the Government was about to abandon the League in effect. It was felt that a clear statement that this was not so would be desirable. With regard to Admiral Drury-Lowe's second point, he was merely re-stating the policy adopted by the General Council at Torquay. Lord Cecil could therefore see no reason why the Admiral should not continue his membership of the Executive.

On Minute 132 -- 122 -- German Propaganda, the Chairman stated that he would communicate again with Sir Arthur Willert with a view to his attending an early meeting of the Executive.

On Minute 133 -- Annual Meeting of General Council, the Chairman stated that it was proposed to ask the Executive, at their next meeting on May 12th, to consider what, if any, amendments they wished to submit to the motions contained in the Preliminary Agenda for the General Council.

On Minute 136 -- The Far East, it was reported that Lord Cecil had written, as requested, to the Chinese Ambassador and that the letter had afterwards been published in THE TIMES, the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN, and the DAILY HERALD. Lord Cecil read to the Executive the Ambassador's reply in which he thanked the Executive for their message and stated that he had transmitted the text to China by cable and felt sure that his compatriots would be further fortified by the message in their resistance against aggression.

144. OFFICERS OF THE UNION. Lord Cecil stated that he was now finding it difficult to discharge all the duties of President of the Union and that it would be of immense help to him if he could be relieved of some of those duties. He would particularly welcome assistance in connection with the General Council meetings when his work as President was very heavy. He therefore suggested to the Executive that the time had come to restore the constitution of the Union as it was during the first ten years of its existence when Lord Grey and he were Joint Presidents; and, with this end in view, proposed to ask the Council, at their Annual Meeting to elect Dr. Murray to the office of Joint President. Lord Cecil added that it would be a great honour to himself to have Dr. Murray as his colleague, and he was sure that every member of the Union would feel that this was a proper recognition of the enormous value that was attached to the self-sacrificing and disinterested service which he had given to the Union since its foundation. Lord Cecil further proposed that Lord Lytton should be nominated to succeed Dr. Murray as Chairman of the Executive. The appointment of a Vice-Chairman could be settled by the Executive itself at a later date.

Lord Dickinson warmly endorsed Lord Cecil's proposal and expressed his deep satisfaction that it was possible to make so great an adjustment in the internal government of the Union with so little trouble.

Dr. Murray, in thanking Lord Cecil, said that he would feel it an immense honour to be elected Joint President with him.

Lord Lytton expressed his gratitude to Lord Cecil and to the Committee for the honour they had shown him, and reminded the Executive that with the many other calls upon him he might not be able to give the necessary time to attend to work in the office, apart from the meetings of the Executive. He was ready to fulfil the duties of Chairman so far as he was able, on the understanding that the Executive would be ready to attend the office sufficiently often. It was then unanimously

RESOLVED: "That the proposal to be made by Lord Cecil to the Annual Meeting of the General Council that Dr. Murray be elected a Joint President of the Union and that Lord Lytton be elected Chairman of the Executive Committee be warmly approved".

143. TIME OF EXECUTIVE MEETINGS. On the motion of Lord Lytton it was

RESOLVED: "That for the future all regular meetings of the Executive Committee be held at 11 a.m."

143. ABYSSINIA. The Chairman read to the Committee the letter which Lord Lytton had written to Lord Halifax in accordance with the request contained in minute 134 of the last meeting. Lord Lytton reported that so far he had received only an acknowledgment of his letter.

In reply to a question Lord Cecil reminded the Executive that the League as such could take no action in regard to the recognition of Italian sovereignty over Abyssinia; it was for each Government to take such action as it thought fit.

Mr. Noel Baker referred to the possibility of an attempt being made to exclude the Emperor from the meeting of the Council and suggested that it would be extraordinarily difficult for the Council to take up such a position since, according to the terms of the Covenant, it was the Assembly's duty to determine whether a State was a member of the League or not. The opinion was expressed that until formal recognition of Italian sovereignty had taken place the Council had no locus standi for excluding the Emperor from its deliberations. Lord Lytton suggested that if the Council decided to discuss the question on its merits it must clearly hear the party most concerned. On the other hand the Council might decide that it was not a matter for it to discuss but for the individual members to take what action they might see fit.

The Committee discussed the suggestion made by Lord Lugard in THE TIMES of April 28th that Italy might offer to the Emperor a comparatively small area in which he would be granted internal autonomy under the suzerainty of Italy. Such an area might be the province of Gojjam.

Lord Cecil did not think it would be reasonable to ask the Italians to consider any proposal of this kind unless they were to have some control over the foreign policy of the Emperor once he had been restored.

Mr. Baker expressed the hope that the Union would not urge the proposal on H.M. Government, since he did not believe the Italians or the Abyssinians would accept it and since it might be seriously misrepresented in Geneva and elsewhere.

Lord Lytton stated that he was to see Lord Halifax on the following day and would discuss with him the question of financial assistance for the Emperor.

G

S.G. 9845
27.4.38.HOW FAR IS CZECHOSLOVAKIA SELF-SUPPORTING?

"Czechoslovakia is very nearly self-sufficient in basic foodstuffs. Outside of colonial products and food luxuries, her own production supplies about 90 per cent. of her food requirements, and of some of the foodstuffs she produces she even has an exportable surplus." (Economic Nationalism of the Danubian States: Pasvolsky) page 248).

"On the whole, Czechoslovakia is very favourably situated with regard to basic raw materials and fuel and power resources. Like all highly industrialised countries, she has to import some raw materials but the proportion of her requirements supplied from home sources compares favourably with other industrialised areas of Europe". (Economic Nationalism of the Danubian States', Pasvolsky: p. 255).

Czechoslovakia generally secures a slight excess of exports over imports, and is not therefore dependent on foreign loans for financing trade. During the last few years a favourable diversion of export trade has occurred as the share of the "clearing" countries has declined, and that of the free markets has increased. Thus Czechoslovakia has been able to take more of its imports from the United States and Great Britain, and rather less from Germany and Italy, though Germany remains easily the largest source of supply as 17½ per cent. of her imports are from Germany.

On the other hand the State incurs annual deficits on its budgets, so that the Public Debt has been rising steadily and amounted on January 1st, 1936, to 41 million Crowns. At the same time the National Bank possessed a gold stock of 2,691 million Crowns. In 1935 and 1936 interest rates fell and State loans were converted. Thus in 1936 new Treasury Notes were issued with a nominal rate of 3½ per cent. and the average effective yield of State bonds amounted to 4½ per cent.

Lord Cecil said that if, at the present stage, financial assistance from H.M. Government were offered to the Emperor it might have the appearance of a bribe to induce the Emperor to consent to the policy of recognition. The time to offer assistance would be after 'recognition' had taken place.

Captain Cazalet said that conversations he had had at the Foreign Office led him to think that the Government were sympathetic to the proposal for financial assistance for the Emperor. But there were certain practical difficulties in that the Government had similar applications from certain other quarters to which they were just as deeply committed.

Miss Rathbone reminded the Executive of Annex 8 of the Anglo-Italian Agreement and asked if Lord Lytton, when talking to Lord Halifax, could discuss the position of British missions in Abyssinia. Lord Cecil expressed the opinion that this question was outside the scope of the Union.

144. CZECHO-SLOVAKIA. Dr. Murray stated that he had received a memorandum prepared by the Royal Institute of International Affairs on the economic position of Czechoslovakia. This paper would be circulated for consideration by the Executive at their next meeting. In the meantime, an office memorandum (S.G. 9845) was laid before the Committee.

A lengthy discussion followed in which Captain Cazalet and Mr. Wyvyan Adams reported the impressions they had received during their recent visits to Czechoslovakia and Hungary, and General Spears commented on the military situation.

SOME DETAILS OF CZECHOSLOVAKIAN RESOURCES

1. Foodstuffs

Sugar: Production considerably exceeds home consumption.

Beer: Production slightly exceeds consumption.

Wheat and Rye: No imports necessary.

Oats and Barley: She has a surplus.

Potatoes and Other Vegetables: Home supply adequate.

Meat: Imports 10 per cent. of consumption.

Fats: Is dependent on imports for half of consumption; 28 per cent. of fat imports from Holland, and 20 per cent. of same from Hungary.

2. Raw Materials.

Food; Porcelain, Glass & Timber: Industries derive their raw materials from home sources.

Coal: Output in 1935 equalled or exceeded home consumption in all qualities.

Iron & Iron Manufactures: Imports amount to approximately 5 per cent. of home production.

Mineral Oil: Home production one-fifteenth of total consumption; almost entirely dependent on outside supplies, chiefly from Roumania (50 per cent.) and from United States (25 per cent.)

Minerals: Czechoslovakia has important silver mines and one gold mine. She produces small quantities of zinc, nickel, tungsten, manganese and other metals. She has large water-power resources, of which only about 10 per cent. are now in use.

Rubber: Dependent on outside supplies, of which she imported in 1936, 9,600 metric tons, mainly from British Malaya (33 $\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. and British India (20 per cent.).

Chemicals: She must import a certain quantity from outside: 50 per cent. of imports are supplied by Germany.

Leather: She must import a certain quantity: 50 per cent. of imports of hides are from the Argentine and 20 per cent. from Brazil.

Cotton: Entirely dependent upon imports, mainly from U.S.A. and from shipments through Hamburg and Bremen. On the other hand in peace time Czechoslovakia exports cotton goods equivalent in value to the raw cotton which she imports. If foreign trade broke down she could therefore afford to dispense with most of her imports of raw cotton.

Wool: Largely depending on imports mainly from France, Belgium and Gt. Britain, but also exports almost as great a value of woollen goods as she imports in raw wool.

Flax & Jute: Imports a part of her requirements.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT No. 15, GROSVENOR PLACE, LONDON, S.W.1. ON THURSDAY, MAY 12TH, 1938, AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Dr. Gilbert Murray (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams, Mrs. E.P. Beale, P.M. Burris, Major Anthony Buxton, Lady Violet Romham Carter, Captain V.A. Cazalet, Lord Cecil, the Dean of Chichester, Miss Judith Corcoran, Vice-Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Philippa Fawcett, Miss M. Lloyd George, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, Arthur Henderson, J.A. Keyser, Lady Layton, Lord Lytton, James Macdonald, W.T. Pritchard, Nowell Smith, Brig.-General E.L. Spears, H.S. Syrett, P.W. Weaver, Major Lawrence Wright together with Mr. Freshwater.

145. APLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Miss K.D. Courtney and Major-General A.C. Temperley.

146. MINUTES OF EXECUTIVE. It was

RESOLVED: "That, for the future, minutes of the Executive be submitted for confirmation at the meetings on world affairs (held on the second and fourth Thursdays) as well as at the ordinary meetings."

147. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Executive received resolutions from the Tunbridge Wells & Southborough Branch, the Epsom, Ewell & Tadworth Branch, the Bournemouth District Council and the Bourneville Works Branch. It was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Tunbridge Wells & Southborough Branch, the Epsom, Ewell & Tadworth Branch, the Bournemouth District Council, and the Bourneville Works Branch be thanked for their resolutions".

It was reported that the Secretary of the Bourneville Works Branch had written congratulating Lord Perth on the Anglo-Italian Agreement, and that a member of the Branch had written a strong letter of protest to the secretary. The opinion was expressed that, while such action had been very improper on the part of a Branch Secretary, the matter was one for the local Branch rather than for the Executive to deal with.

The Executive also had before them resolutions adopted by the L.R.P. Executive Committee, the Holborn Branch and the Cornwall District Council (S.G.9874).

CAN GERMANY STARVE CZECHOSLOVAKIA?

Germany's capacity literally to starve Czechoslovakia depends ultimately on the extent to which Czechoslovakia is self-sufficient in foodstuffs.

Since the War, thanks to a policy of intensive protection which contrasts unfavourably with her advocacy of Danubian economic co-operation, Czechoslovakia has reduced her dependence upon imports of foodstuffs to a remarkable degree. The volume of her imports of farm products fell by 75 per cent. between 1928 and 1935.* As regards cereals, she had in 1936 small export surpluses of wheat, barley, and oats, and sufficient rye, although she still had to import approximately 25 per cent. of her maize. The surpluses, however, partly represented re-exports of Rumanian and Yugoslav cereals imported in earlier years. She was also more or less self-sufficient in potatoes, vegetables, and dairy products, whilst she remained a leading world exporter of beet sugar and hops. As regards meat, she had sufficient cattle, but was still very dependent upon imports of pigs. She had also to import most of her fruit. Even more important, she remained a large importer of fertilisers.

In fact, pigs, fruit, and maize are her only key imports of food and feeding-stuffs. In other respects she is approximately self-sufficient given good harvests and adequate imports of fertilisers.

To judge by the statistics, therefore, it should at least be a difficult matter to starve Czechoslovakia. But in practice it might be possible to cause very considerable physical suffering by disorganising the economic system through an economic blockade.

The success of such a policy would depend on four main factors:

- (1) the extent to which Czechoslovakia depends on imported raw materials;
- (2) the extent to which her productive system depends on export markets;

* ECONOMIST, May 30, 1936.

It was

RESOLVED: "That these resolutions be received with interest."

148. ECONOMIC SANCTIONS. The Executive considered the following resolution adopted by the Tyne District Council on 16th April, 1938:

'That if economic sanctions are to be made effective, it is of paramount importance that Clause 3 of Article 16 should receive greater attention than it yet has, and that consideration of this scheme should be given in any proposals which H.M. Government may put forward for protection by collective action of any State threatened with aggression.'

It was

RESOLVED: "That the above resolution be received with thanks, and that the attention of the Tyne District Council be drawn to the report on the Reform of the Covenant published in July, 1936".

149. ANNUAL MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL. The Chairman reported an invitation from the West of Scotland District Council for the General Council to hold its forthcoming Annual Meeting in Glasgow. The Chairman felt that, in the short interval now remaining before the Council met, it was impossible to alter the existing arrangements, and it was

RESOLVED: "That the West of Scotland District Council be thanked for their invitation, but be informed that the Executive regrets it is unable to accept it".

The Executive then considered the Preliminary Agenda for the Annual Meeting.

On Minute 813 -- Report of Investigation Committee. Mr. Pritchard was asked to be prepared to reply to any questions concerning the action taken by the Executive to give effect to the proposals in the Investigation Committee's Report.

On Item 5 -- Election of Officers. Lord Cecil stated that in view of his proposal, approved by the Executive at its last meeting, that at the Council Meeting Dr. Murray be elected a Joint President and that Lord Lytton be elected Chairman of the Executive Committee, it would be necessary to appoint someone to succeed Lord Lytton as Treasurer. After two names had been suggested for the appointment, it was

(3) the proportion of her foreign trade which is normally conducted with Germany (including Austria) and Germany's potential collaborators in a policy of blockade;

(4) the proportion of her trade with other countries which passes through Germany and her potential allies.

(1) By comparison with many other industrial countries, Czechoslovakia is well supplied with indigenous resources. She is a very large exporter of timber. She has also more than enough brown, though very little black, coal, and can supply more than half her own requirements of iron ore. She produces some oil, zinc, manganese and other minerals, but these are not sufficient to meet all her needs. She is also a large importer of raw cotton and wool.

(2) Czechoslovakia was recently described by the British Commercial Secretary in Prague as "one of the world's most strongly marked exporting countries". Some years ago it was calculated that approximately 30 per cent. of her home production was exported.** This was not so high a proportion as in the case of Belgium and Denmark (51 per cent.), Finland, Switzerland, Norway, Austria, Estonia, Holland, and Brazil. But it was higher than the proportion in the case of Great Britain (25 per cent.), France (24 per cent.), Germany (23 per cent.), U.S.A. (7 per cent.), the U.S.S.R. (4 per cent.), and many other countries.

In the case of certain industries the proportion of total output exported is particularly high.***

Textiles	70%
Agricultural Machinery	75%
Enamel ware	80-90%
Paper mills	c.60%
Glass and ceramic products	50-75%
Sugar	50%

*D.O.T. Report on Economic and Commercial Conditions in Czechoslovakia, February, 1937, page 1.

** Economic Forces of the World, Dresdener Bank, 1930.

*** Pasvol'sky: Economic Nationalism of the Danubian States (1928), page 255. These figures are, of course, some years out of date.

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Finance Committee be asked to consider the question of the appointment of Treasurer and to make recommendations to the Executive at its next meeting".

It was further

RESOLVED: (2) "That Lord Cranborne and Lord Snell be proposed for election as Vice-Presidents of the Union".

On Item 8 -- Urgency Motions, it was

RESOLVED: (3) "That urgency motions on (i) the Far East, (ii) Spain, (iii) Abyssinia, (iv) Czechoslovakia, and (v) Refugees be submitted to the General Council (see minutes 150, 151, 152, and 154 below); and that the provisional text of these motions be included in the Final Agenda, with a note to the effect that the course of events may necessitate some change in the wording by the time the Council meets".

On Item 11 -- Meetings of I.L.O. Governing Body, it was suggested that the Council should be informed of the reception which the Union proposes to organise for the delegates to the forthcoming London meeting of the I.L.O. Governing Body.

On Item 15 -- Collective Security, it was

RESOLVED: (4) "That, bearing in mind the circumstances in which the joint resolution with the New Commonwealth has been prepared for submission to the General Council, the Procedure Committee be asked to consider the amendment standing in the name of the Harrow Branch with a view to suggesting to the Branch such slight modifications of the text as would enable it to be proposed as an additional motion."

On Item 16 -- Colonial Territories, it was

RESOLVED: (5) "That the motion of the Balham and Tooting Branch be not supported".

On Item 17 -- Negotiations with Germany, it was reported that the amendment of which Mr. Arnold Forster had given notice at the Executive's meeting on 28th April, 1938, had not yet been received.

(3) Germany is Czechoslovakia's largest market and source of supply, whilst Austria is her second largest market. It is nevertheless easy to exaggerate the economic importance of Gross-deutschland to Czechoslovakia. Czechoslovakia has deliberately developed her trade with the Anglo-Saxon countries in preference to Germany (vide the new U.S.-Czech commercial treaty), whilst her trade with Austria has fallen still more abruptly. In 1922 Grossdeutschland supplied 36 per cent. of Czechoslovakia's imports and took 41 per cent. of her exports. But in 1937 the proportions were 19 per cent. and 21 per cent. respectively.

Czechoslovakia: Direction of Trade

	Imports			Exports		
	1922 %	1928 %	1937 %	1922 %	1928 %	1937 %
Germany	28	25	15	19	22	14
U.S.A.	18	6	9	5	5	9
United Kingdom	5	4	6	7	7	9
France	3	4	5	22	15	7
Romania	3	3	4	2	4	5
India	3	?	5	4	4	4
Austria	8	7	4			

One-fifth of a nation's foreign trade is an important but not a decisive part. Italy survived the loss even of two-thirds of her customers during the period of sanctions.* On the other hand, it is, of course clear that certain Czechoslovak industries (and notably those in the German-speaking areas) could be exceptionally hard-hit. Germany takes the greater part of Czechoslovakia's timber exports, whilst she and Austria together take practically all her coal. The Austrian market for Czechoslovak coal will presumably be lost to the Ruhr in any case. As against this, certain German interests would suffer from retaliatory Czech measures.

The argument that reinforced with the help of Hungary and Poland Germany could have Czechoslovakia at her mercy ignores the fact that thanks to a protracted trade war with Hungary only 2 per cent. of Czechoslovakia's exports are taken by that country, whilst the Polish share is equally small.

* But sanctions, of course, were only maintained for nine months. A more significant precedent occurred in 1906-10, when Serbia successfully defied an economic boycott by Austria-Hungary which normally took 84 per cent. of her exports by developing her markets in Germany and elsewhere. cf. Pasvolsky, op.cit. pp.57-60; and Prager Presse, March 26, 1938.

On Item 19 -- Recognition of Governments, it was

RESOLVED: (6) "That consideration of the action to be taken by the Executive on this motion be adjourned until it is known what, if any, amendments to the motion will be submitted".

On Item 20 -- The Van Zeeland Report, it was

RESOLVED: (7) "That copies of the memorandum prepared by the Economic Committee on the Van Zeeland Report be printed for distribution to the delegates at the Council's meeting."

On Item 21 -- Minorities, it was reported that the Minorities Committee had suggested an amendment to this motion which would be submitted to the Executive at its next meeting.

On Item 22 -- The Union's 21st Birthday, it was

RESOLVED: (8) "That the words 'or other suitable hall' be inserted after the words 'Albert Hall'."

150. CZECHOSLOVAKIA. The Chairman read to the Committee the following telegram which Lord Cecil, Lord Lytton, and Sir Archibald Sinclair and himself had, in their personal capacities, sent to Lord Halifax on May 9th:

'Venture assure you of support in any effective action you can take to prevent German aggression on Czechoslovakia and maintenance of political independence and territorial integrity of that country'.

The Executive expressed their warm approval of this message.

The Committee then considered the present situation. Lady Layton urged that it must be left to Czechoslovakia herself to decide what was necessary for her own independence, and that no pressure should be brought to bear by Great Britain which would weaken the position of Czechoslovakia unless we were prepared as a quid pro quo to guarantee her resistance.

Mrs. Lugdale suggested a plebiscite in certain districts on the lines of that taken in the Saar and guaranteed by an international force.

General Spears thought that such a plebiscite was quite impracticable under present conditions.

(4) The one really formidable weapon in Germany's hands, therefore, is the fact that Czechoslovakia is a landlocked country. All her trade must pass through one of her neighbours -- Germany (including Austria), Hungary, Poland or Rumania -- and the bulk of it does in fact pass through Germany (to Hamburg) or Austria (to Trieste). Germany is therefore in a position to block Czechoslovak trade with the outside world by charging prohibitive rates for transit traffic. There is already talk of Germany's raising the Adriatic tariff on Czechoslovak goods passing to or from Trieste.* The natural result of such a policy would be to cause a diversion of trade via Hungary (Fiume or Trieste) Poland (Gdynia or Danzig), and Rumania (Constanza and the Black Sea ports.) In order to achieve success, therefore, Germany would need to secure the co-operation of at least Hungary and Poland in a policy of strangulation.** The co-operation of Rumania would be less essential, since the extra distance involved in that route would in most cases prove prohibitively expensive.

* Prager Presse, April 15, 1938

** It is, however, said that Poland has recently offered Czechoslovakia special transit rates to Gdynia.

Lord Cecil then suggested the following as the basis for the motion to be submitted by the Executive to the General Council:

"That in view of the threats being addressed to Czechoslovakia to accept changes in her political independence and territorial integrity on pain of forcible military or economic action, the Council insists that the British Government should not do anything to encourage or assist such threats and should state clearly that we should regard the use of force against Czechoslovakia as an unfriendly act to ourselves".

After further discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That Lord Cecil be asked to draft, for consideration by the Executive at its next meeting, a motion for submission to the General Council on the basis of the above text".

The Executive had before them a memorandum prepared by the Royal Institute of International Affairs on "Can Germany Starve Czechoslovakia?" (S.G. 9861). A suggestion was considered that a small sub-Committee should be appointed to consider the economic situation; but no action was taken.

Lord Cecil stated that it had been suggested that a large public meeting on the subject of Czechoslovakia should be organised. The Committee felt that consideration of this proposal should be adjourned until after the League Council Meeting.

151. SPAIN. Dr. Murray reported on a conference which he had recently attended in Paris at which supporters of the Spanish Government and of General Franco had been present. The evidence given at that meeting convinced the Chairman that great masses of the Spanish people, though afraid to speak openly, ardently desired some sort of settlement. Dr. Murray proposed that an endeavour should, in the first place, be made to get an armistice for the purpose of withdrawing troops; that one leader from General Franco's side and one leader from the Government should then meet and agree on the nomination of a third party; and that this triumvirate should then form the beginning of a provisional Government for Spain. But if it proved impossible to get mediation on reasonable terms, the Spanish Government should be enabled to enjoy its ordinary rights to obtain arms in the hope that the military situation would stabilise itself when a further attempt at mediation could be made.

Lord Cecil suggested that the Union should welcome the statement made by Lord Halifax that he was anxious to mediate and that he thought the proper body for this purpose was the Council of the League of Nations; and should express the hope that the Government would make this a definite part of their policy and make it clear

CZECHOSLOVAKIA, 1936

(in thousand metric tons)

	<u>Production</u>	<u>Surplus</u>
Wheat	1,513	+33
Rye	1,436	-1
Barley	1,019	+57
Oats	1,218	+19
Maize	314	-95
Potatoes	10,702	—
Cattle*		-1
Beef	172 ¹	—
Pigs*		-289
Fork	175 ¹	—
Beet sugar	635	+192
Butter	11	+21
Tobacco	17	-9
Cotton	—	-91
Wool	1	-20
Flax	10	-17
Hemp	6	-3
Timber (round)	?	+717 ¹
" (sawn)	?	+214
Pulp-wood	?	+95
Iron ore	1,072 ²	-474
Copper ore	12 ²	—
Copper, etc.	?	-28
Lead ore	4 ²	—
Lead etc.	?	-10
Zinc ore	1	-13
Zinc etc.	?	-10
Bauxite	—	—
Chrome ore	?	-6
Magnesite, etc.	44	+40
Graphite	3	—
Antimony, etc.	3 ²	+1
Pyrites	19	-164
Manganese	92	-54
Coal & Coke	29,662	+2,104
Petroleum and allied products	18	-394

* In thousand heads. In 1935 there were 1,728,000 cattle and 4,005,000 pigs slaughtered.

1 1935

2 In terms of metal

to each side in the conflict that their attitude which would be very largely effected by the attitude which the two parties took towards a proposal of this kind. Lord Cecil would like to see H.M. Government add that they regard the continuance of the Spanish war as a disgrace to civilisation and a great danger to European peace and are determined to do their utmost to put an end to it. No amount of non-intervention was adequate to deal with the danger.

After further discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That Lord Cecil be asked to draft, for consideration by the Executive at its next meeting, a resolution for submission to the General Council".

152. **ABYSSINIA.** Lord Lytton reported a conversation he had had with Lord Halifax on May 6th concerning the letter which he had written to him at the Executive's request on 28th April, 1936. The Foreign Secretary had stated that his information was that there was a great deal of resistance still going on in Abyssinia but though this was definitely anti-Italian, there was no evidence that it was in favour of the Negus. He added that the British delegation would take no part in the discussion whether or not the Emperor had a right to be heard by the Council. Lord Halifax then went on to indicate the line which he would take at the Council in regard to 'recognition'. While H.M. Government did not want to alter in any way the condemnation which the League had passed upon the methods applied, it felt that it was quite impossible for every country to be governed for all time by the League's resolution of March, 1932. He added that that resolution would in fact apply just as much to Austria as to the present situation in Abyssinia. H.M. Government did not want to ask the League to express any opinion whatever about either the facts or the action that countries should take. They would like, if it were possible, to secure a unanimous decision of the Council that it was a matter which did not concern them but in which the individual countries should do as they pleased. If there was no chance of this being done, H.M. Government would simply state its view and the action it proposed to take.

The Executive had before them the text of a letter written by Sir Norman Angell and published in the NEWS CHRONICLE, the DAILY HERALD and the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN on May 11th, 1936, suggesting that if at the League Council there were conflicting accounts of the situation in Abyssinia, an impartial commission of inquiry should be sent to ascertain the facts. The Chairman asked if the Executive felt it could do anything to support Sir Norman Angell's suggestion. But the general opinion was that there was nothing to be gained by sending a telegram to Geneva on the subject at the present late hour.

ADDITIONAL BRANCH RESOLUTIONS

L.R.F. Executive Committee 10th May, 1938

The Executive Committee of the London Regional Federation records its strong disapproval of the British initiative at the League Council to facilitate the recognition of Italian aggression.

The Committee heartily approves the efforts now being made by the L.N.U., the I.P.C., and by Sir Norman Angell to oppose such recognition as a betrayal of the Covenant and the League's decision in 1932 not to recognise the fruits of aggression.

The Committee notes that while advantages are provided by the Anglo-Italian Agreement for Britain and Italy with a view to ensuring peace, no guarantee is provided for the future benefit of the Abyssinian people whose claims are sacrificed in order to procure the above peace.

The Committee emphasises its distrust of peace built on such cynical betrayals.

This Resolution is being sent only to the Union's Executive, but in doing so I was instructed to express the hope that the Executive would give as wide a publicity as possible, preferably through the national Press, to the statement of its own views contained in S.G.9849 - a statement which my Committee heartily endorses.

Holborn Branch (May 2nd, 1938) 30 present

(1) This meeting of members of the Holborn Branch of the League of Nations Union expresses its dismay at the prospect of H.M. Government making any proposal to the League Council which would imply League recognition of the Italian conquest of Abyssinia; in defiance of the League's own previous findings and the purpose of the Covenant; and while the Italian conquest is still far from complete.

This meeting furthermore notes with dismay that the Anglo-Italian Agreement allows Italy in effect to leave all her war material in Spain until the war is over, and thereby appears to frustrate the previously declared condition of the agreement, namely that Italy should cease her intervention.

Lord Cecil reminded the Executive that, in the past, it had always been laid down that when a new political condition was to be recognised, the parties to the recognition must be quite satisfied not only that the new condition actually existed but that it had every prospect of permanence. He suggested that this should be pressed upon H.M. Government with a view to obtaining from them a reasoned statement. After further discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That this matter be adjourned for consideration at the next meeting of the Executive in the light of the action taken at the meeting of the League's Council; and that, in the meantime, Lord Lytton be asked to draft a resolution for submission by the Executive to the General Council".

Lord Lytton reported a further conversation he had had with Lord Halifax concerning the question of financial assistance for the Emperor. The Foreign Secretary had stated that, for reasons which we all recognised, nothing could be done at the present time lest it might have the appearance of a bribe. Efforts had, however, been made to get help from a private source which were, in fact, very promising; but these had broken down owing to the inability of the Emperor's advisers to accept the condition that such private assistance should take the place of a public appeal. If at some later stage it was found that a public appeal did not produce a satisfactory result, Lord Halifax would see whether the promise that had been secured privately could be renewed.

153. HUNGARY. Dr. Murray stated that he had received from Mr. Keyser a memorandum dealing with the present situation in Hungary which would be circulated to members of the Executive for consideration at the next meeting.

154. THE FAR EAST. The Committee discussed the question of the private boycott of Japanese goods. Lady Layton expressed the hope that at the meeting of the General Council delegates would be reminded of the great effect which could be produced by private individuals refusing to purchase goods of Japanese origin. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Chairman be asked to draft, for consideration by the Executive at its next meeting, a resolution on the Far East for submission to the General Council; and that a brief statement be prepared for the information of delegates describing the practical steps which can be taken in a private boycott of Japanese goods, together with evidence of what has already been done in this direction".

- 2 -

This meeting therefore trusts that the Executive Committee will do all in its power to urge the above convictions on H.M. Government and the public opinion of the country.

2. That this meeting asks Headquarters to make available to members of the L.N.U. information about the non-political activities of the League in a much greater measure than previously.

Cornwall District Council

In view of the urgency of the situation, the Cornwall District Council requests the National Executive of the League of Nations Union to take what steps it can to get a Commission of the League of Nations forthwith to investigate and draw up a scheme to solve the minority question in Czechoslovakia.

- 8 -

The Chairman read to the Executive the following cablegram received from General Chiang Kai-Shek in reply to the message which Lord Cecil had sent to the Chinese Ambassador and which was reported in minute 136.

"Your two letters February concerning International Peace Campaign and report May 2nd meeting Committee League of Nations Union read with appreciation. Chinese people grateful for courageous outspoken stand you and others taking for justice, international law, order. We hope whole people of democracies will uphold righteous cause for which China now fighting so that victory over forces evil and anarchy will help to establish world security tranquility".

It was

RESOLVED: (2) "That General Chiang Kai-Shek's message be communicated to the press".

Lord Lytton reported a conversation he had had with Lord Halifax on May 6th concerning financial assistance for China. The Foreign Secretary sympathised with the proposal and stated that he had had several interviews with the Chinese Ambassador on the subject. He was not certain whether the procedure suggested by the Ambassador was that contained in the Convention of Financial Assistance to the victim of aggression or in Clause 3 of Article 16. He had been advised that there were certain difficulties in applying the particular procedure suggested, but he was exploring the possibility of securing financial assistance in some way or other.

CONFIDENTIALLEAGUE OF NATIONS UNIONE
C.13.
23.5.38.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT
No. 14 GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1. ON THURSDAY,
MAY 19TH, 1938, AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Dr. Gilbert Murray (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams, P.J. Noel Baker, Major Anthony Buxton, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Captain V.A. Cazalot, Lord Cecil, Miss Judith Corcoran, A.C. Crossley, the Dean of Chichester, Lord Dickinson, Vice-Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Lord Dugdale, Miss Philippa Fawcett, Miss M. Mrs. Lloyd George, Lady Hall, Arthur Henderson, J.A. Keyser, Lord Lytton, James Macdonald, Harold Nicolson, W.T. Pritchard, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, Nowell Smith, H.S. Syrett, Major Lawrence Wright together with the Deputy Secretary.

155. APOLGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Mrs. Beale, Miss K.D. Courtney, Lady Gladstone, Lady Layton, Major-General A.C. Temperley.

156. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

(a) Minorities Committee. (Major Buxton reported)
Subject to the following decision on minute 7,
the minutes of the Committee dated May 5th, 1938
were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: (5) Minutes;
(6) Federation Minutes; (7) Resolutions
for the Federation Congress; (8) Shoreditch
Resolution for L.N.U. Council; (9) Member-
ship of Committee/

On Minute 7 — Resolutions for the Federation
Congress, it was

RESOLVED: "That this minute be approved and
adopted, subject to the order of
paragraphs 3 and 4 of the amendment
contained in section (c) being
transposed".

Mr. Keyser suggested that it might be helpful
if a small study group could be formed within the
Minorities Committee for the purpose of discussing
and reporting on minority treatment in general.
Lord Cecil suggested that Mr. Keyser should put
his proposal in the form of a resolution for con-
sideration by the Minorities Committee.

- (b) Administration Committee. (Lord Lytton reported) Subject to the following report on minute 48, the minutes of the Committee dated May 5th, 1938 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: (38) Minutes; (39) Communication from the L.C.C. (Staff) Branch; (40) Branches Corporate Members, etc.; (41) Resolutions of the Emergency Meeting of the Council; (42) Exhibitions; (43) Report of Membership sub-Committee; (44) Statement of Policy; (45) Literature; (46) Hostels; (47) Twenty-First Birthday Celebrations; (48) Functions of the Committee; (49) Pinoll Lunches; (50) General Council Meetings; (51) Junior Branches; (52) Staff; (53) Peace Pledge Union.

On Minute 48 — Functions of the Committee. Lord Lytton explained the reasons which had led the Administration Committee to make the proposals contained in their minute. He stated that if the Executive considered the scheme favourably, some alterations would need to be made in the composition of the Administration Committee which would probably have to meet more frequently. Lord Lytton added that proposals involving expenditure of money would still need the Finance Committee's approval; and he agreed that, if the new scheme were put into practice, the Administration Committee should be instructed to report to the Executive before taking action on any matter on which there was a serious difference of opinion. It was suggested that, in order that the contact between the Executive and Administration Committees might be as close as possible, the Chairmen of the Administration Committee should be appointed by the Executive.

Lord Lytton also referred to the desirability of a small sub-Committee being appointed to examine questions of policy on world affairs and to prepare concrete proposals for consideration by the Executive. If this were done the attention of the Executive would be focussed on whatever matters were most urgent at any particular time, and the work of the Committee would thus be more expeditiously conducted.

On Minute 53 — Peace Pledge Union. Lord Cecil said that he had attended the Conference of Regional Representatives on May 13th and had gained the impression that there was no great ground for apprehension regarding the growth of the P.P.U.

(c) Christian Organisations Committee. The Dean of Chichester reported, as a matter of urgency, that the following resolution had been adopted by the Committee at their meeting on the previous day:

We believe that it is the will of God that nations should live together as one family, and that obedience to that will involves a readiness to make sacrifices for the common good by co-operation and consultation and mutual protection against aggression.^x

1. Believing that members of the Christian Church must assert that obedience to the God and Father of Jesus Christ and not to the claims of blood, race and class, is the first duty of mankind;
2. Believing that the creation of a commonwealth of nations, expressed in a system of international order, is the first requisite for carrying out the will of God in this respect, and for saving the nations from mutual destruction, the Churches must insist that loyalty to the nation must be of such a character that it promotes that greater loyalty to the world of nations;
3. Believing that the Covenant of the League of Nations, while not yet perfect, provides the best available instrument in the political sphere for achieving these ends and avoiding a mere balance of power, we are convinced that the application of the principles embodied in the League of Nations is the most practical policy at the present time;
4. We hold that the Churches should bring all their influence to bear at this time for the strengthening of the League as a system for the peaceful adjustment of differences, for promoting mutual protection against aggression; and to that end, they should repudiate, as violations of the moral law, breaches of international law or acts of aggression.

^x Certain members of the Committee cannot include the use of arms in the scheme of mutual protection against aggression.

The Dean added that, if the Executive approved the resolution, he proposed to send it to Lord Halifax with a personal letter expressing deep concern that H.M. Government should appear to be putting moral principles behind political expediency. It was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the resolution of the Christian Organisations Committee be approved".

The Executive then discussed the debate which had taken place in the House of Lords on the previous day, and particularly the speeches made by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Durham. It was suggested that the speech by the Bishop of Durham might be printed in HEADWAY.

The Dean of Chichester further reported that the Christian Organisations Committee had discussed the desirability of holding a Churches' demonstration in Hyde Park or in some large hall during July. It was intended that responsibility should be shared by Church Organisations and the Union. It was

RESOLVED: "That the proposal to organise a Churches' Demonstration be approved in principle; and that the Christian Organisations Committee be asked to prepare and submit to the Executive a detailed scheme, including particulars of the secretarial and other help which would be required".

(d) Finance Committee. Mr. Syrett reported as a matter of urgency on the minutes of the Finance Committee dated May 16th. He drew the Executive's attention to the present serious financial position of the Union and to the urgent need for reducing expenditure.

Mr. Syrett stated that the Finance Committee had agreed to advance not more than £475 to meet the cost of the National Youth Rally on June 12th, on the understanding that this sum would be repaid out of the amount received from the sale of tickets and programmes, collection at the Rally and special donations; and that the full minutes would be formally submitted to the Executive for approval at the next ordinary meeting.

157. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Executive received resolutions from the Cambridge University Branch, the Wilmslow and District Branch, and the Sutton and Cheam Branch. It was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Cambridge University Branch and the Sutton and Cheam Branch be thanked for their resolutions".

(2) "That the Wilmslow and District Branch be thanked for their resolution and be reminded of the statement of policy adopted by the Executive Committee on April 28th, 1938."

158. MINUTES. Subject to the following report on minutes 140 (132) and 149, the minutes of the last two meetings held on May 5th and May 12th, 1938 were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 140 -- 132 -- German Propaganda, the Chairman reported that Sir Arthur Willert was unable to accept the invitation to attend a meeting of the Executive in the immediate future.

On Minute 149 -- 20 -- The Van Zeeland Report, it was decided that, in order to save expense, the memorandum prepared by the Economic Committee on the Van Zeeland Report should be given to the delegates at the General Council's meeting in roneod instead of in printed form.

159. COMMUNICATION FROM THE WESTMINSTER BRANCH. The Executive further considered the communication from the Westminster Branch referred to in minute 111 of 7th April, 1938.

On the motion of Lord Cecil it was

RESOLVED: "That the Chairman be asked to write to the Westminster Branch reminding them of the broad proposition with which the Executive is wholly in agreement that the League, and therefore the Union, ought not to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries".

160. CZECHOSLOVAKIA. Mr. Harold Nicolson gave the Executive an account of the talk which he and other Members of Parliament had had with Herr Henlein during his recent visit to London. Captain Cazalet also spoke of a conversation he had had with Herr Henlein.

The Executive then considered a draft resolution (S.G.9884) prepared by Lord Cecil for submission to the Annual Meeting of the General Council. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the following resolution be included in the Final Agenda for the Annual Meeting of the General Council:

'While recognising that it is of great importance that a system of equality and justice for all racial and religious minorities should be maintained in Czechoslovakia as elsewhere,

Nevertheless in view of the current reports that pressure is being put on Czechoslovakia to accept changes in her political independence and territorial integrity on pain of forcible military or economic action, in defiance of the principles laid down in the Covenant of the League of Nations,

The General Council of the League of Nations Union holds strongly that the British Government should not do anything to encourage or assist such threats and should, in concert with other peace-loving States, give notice that they would regard any aggression on Czechoslovakia, whether by military or economic measures, as an unfriendly act to themselves.'

161. ABYSSINIA. The Executive considered a draft resolution (S.G.9886) prepared by Lord Lytton for submission to the Annual Meeting of the General Council. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the following resolution be included in the Final Agenda for the Annual Meeting of the General Council:-

'The General Council of the League of Nations Union,

Recalls the pledges given to the Abyssinian Government in the Covenant and otherwise to respect and preserve her political independence, and

Deeply regrets that H.M. Government, in breach of such obligations, should have been willing to purchase Italian friendship at the expense of Abyssinia without even demanding evidence that the Italian occupation of that country was effective.

In view of the conflicting reports about the present situation in Abyssinia, the Council would welcome the appointment by the League of Nations of a Committee of Inquiry into the facts.'

162. SPAIN. The Executive considered a draft resolution (S.G.9887) prepared by Lord Cecil for submission to the Annual Meeting of the General Council. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the following resolution be included in the Final Agenda for the Annual Meeting of the General Council:

'The General Council of the League of Nations Union

Reaffirms its resolution on the subject of Spain passed at the Council meeting in April, viz:

To urge that the Government of Spain shall be enabled to enjoy its rights, under the normal working of international law, to obtain food, munitions and other materials necessary for its defence.

It welcomes the statement of Lord Halifax at Geneva deploring the long-drawn agony of the Spanish war and suggesting that peace might be sought by mediation of the League of Nations.

It hopes that H.M. Government will not allow this suggestion to fall to the ground but will make it a definite part of their policy and use the whole of their influence to secure that it is put into effect.'

163. THE FAR EAST. The Executive considered a draft resolution (S.G.9885) prepared by the Chairman for submission to the Annual Meeting of the General Council. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the following resolution be included in the Final Agenda for the Annual Meeting of the General Council:-

'The General Council of the League of Nations Union,

Recalling that the Assembly of the League, by a unanimous vote, has not only condemned the Japanese aggression upon China but has specifically called upon each Member State to afford such help to China as it finds possible, and

Observing that this vote has been emphatically endorsed by the Council at its last meeting;

Begs His Majesty's Government to consider again what steps it may take, with or without the co-operation of other nations, towards fulfilling its obligations under the Covenant and bringing the war to an end; for example

- (i) the provision of financial assistance to China;
- (ii) the provision of food or medical requirements to China;
- (iii) imposition of such economic pressure on Japan as will most speedily put an end to her aggression, particularly the

prevention of all imports coming from Japan, and the refusal of all military supplies, including oil, to that country.

In the meantime the Council recommends members of the Union to continue and increase their efforts to produce in this country a general refusal to buy Japanese goods, on the lines which have already had marked success in America.

164. REFUGEES. The Executive had before them a report on two meetings of the Refugees Committee dated April 12th and April 29th, together with a memorandum on the Treatment of Refugees in the United Kingdom (S.G.9807b) prepared for submission to the Home Secretary. It was reported that the Archbishop of Canterbury had agreed to lead the deputation to the Home Office, and extracts from a letter from Judge Hansson were read to the Committee. It was

RESOLVED: "That the report of the Refugees Committee be approved and adopted".

The Executive then considered a draft resolution (S.G.9896) for submission to the General Council at its Annual Meeting, and it was

RESOLVED: "That the following resolution be included in the Final Agenda for the Annual Meeting of the General Council:

'The General Council of the League of Nations Union,

Notes that the Refugees Committee of the Council of the League of Nations has made its own plan which this Union and the International Federation of League of Nations Societies has consistently proposed, namely that there should be a single organisation, under a High Commissioner, to supervise the legal protection of and co-ordinate assistance for all refugees recognised as such by the League of Nations, and that this plan will be laid before the Assembly of the League at its next session;

Expresses its satisfaction at H.M. Government's advocacy of this solution; and

Earnestly hopes that the Assembly of the League of Nations will unanimously adopt a detailed plan based upon these principles, so that the necessary and urgent task of aiding and settling the Armenian, Russian, German and Austrian refugees, which the League had rightly undertaken, may be honourably fulfilled;

Welcomes the proposal of the United States for joint action between the Governments to facilitate the migration of political refugees from Germany and Austria; and

Trusts that the International Conference convened for this purpose at Evian on July 6th will put an end to the present deplorable practice of closing frontiers to these unfortunate victims of tyranny and expelling them from one country after another, and will result in satisfactory schemes of permanent settlement for them.'

165. REMAINING ITEMS ON THE AGENDA. It was

RESOLVED: "That the minutes of the Library and Education Committees together with the other items on the agenda which had not been considered be adjourned until the next meeting."

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT
No. 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1. ON THURSDAY,
MAY 26TH, 1938 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Mrs. Corbett Ashby, P.J. Noel Baker, F.M. Burris, Major Anthony Buxton, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Captain V.A. Cazalet, Lord Cecil, Miss Judith Corcoran, A.C. Crossley, Lord Dickinson, Vice-Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Philippa Fawcett, Miss Megan Lloyd George, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, Sir Arthur Haworth, J.A. Keyser, Dr. C.W. Kimmins, Lady Layton, G. le M. Mander, Harold Nicolson, W.T. Pritchard, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, Sir Archibald Sinclair, Nowell Smith, Major Lawrence Wright, and Mr. Freshwater.

166. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Vyvyan Adams, Mrs. Beale, Miss K.D. Courtney, James Macdonald and Dr. Gilbert Murray.

167. DEATH OF MRS. ARNOLD FORSTER. The Committee having been informed of the death of Mrs. Arnold Forster, it was

RESOLVED: "That an expression of the Committee's profound sympathy be conveyed to Mr. Arnold Forster".

168. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

(a) Education Committee. (Dr. Kimmins reported) Subject to the following decision on minute 61, the minutes of the Committee dated May 9th, 1938 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: (53) Minutes; (54) Arising out of the Minutes; (55) Death of Mr. F.J. Gould; (56) Membership of Committee; (57) Meetings for Teachers and Schools; (58) British Universities League of Nations Society; (59) Appointment of Successor to Mr. John Davison; (60) International Federation of League of Nations Societies; (61) International Conference of Teachers; (62) Easter School; (63) Wireless Talks; (64) Competition for League of Nations Film; (65) Pioneer Expedition to Belgium; (66) List of Books for Children and Teachers; (67) British and Russian Textbooks; (68) Arrangements for Summer Schools; (69) Adult Education in the South-West; (70) West Lambeth Teachers' Association; (71) Parents' National Educational Union; (72) National Youth Committee; (73) Educational Corporate Members; (74) Junior Branches

On Minute 61 -- International Conference of Teachers,
it was

RESOLVED: "That this minute be approved and adopted subject to the approval of the Editorial and Finance Committees on paragraph (3) of the resolution".

- (b) Library Committee (Mr. Nowell Smith reported).
The minutes of the Committee dated May 9th, 1938 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: (14) Mr. Nowell Smith; (15) Minutes of the Last Meeting; (16) Matters Arising out of the Minutes; (17) Library Staff; (18) Library Equipment; (19) Elimination of Out-of-Date Stock; (20) Library Leaflet; (21) Library Conferences; (22) Book List; (23) Mr. Bailey

169. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Executive received resolutions from the Sussex Federal Council Executive Committee, the Plumpton and District Branch, the Leicester Branch Executive Committee, the Church End Finchley Branch and the St. Marylebone Branch. It was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Executive Committee of the Sussex Federal Council be thanked for their resolution and be reminded of the resolution on the subject of the Van Zeeland Report adopted by the Executive Committee on 31st March, 1938, and communicated to H.M. Government, as well as of item 20 in the Agenda for the Annual Meeting of the General Council".

- (2) "That the Plumpton and District Branch be thanked for their resolution; be reminded of the proposals for the Reform and Development of the League published by the Executive in July, 1936 and communicated to H.M. Government; and be informed that the Executive, in common with the Prime Minister and Mr. Eden are against proposals for changing or re-considering the Covenant at the present time. The Executive desires to see the Covenant improved and not spoiled; any recasting of it would, at the present time, be most likely to result in a mere weakening of obligations".

- (3) "That the Leicester Branch and the St. Marylebone Branch be thanked for their resolutions".

- (4) "That the resolution of the Church End Finchley Branch be noted with pleasure.

MEMORANDUM ON A VISIT TO BUDAPEST.

APRIL 1938

by John A. Keyser.

Preliminary Note.

This memorandum was prepared before the changes in the government of Hungary were announced in the press of May 18th.

The intention of the visit was to ascertain, as far as possible the effects of the Anschluss upon (a) the Internal and (b) the External situation of Hungary.

(a) Internal

The extent of the propaganda spread by Nazi agents from Germany has very considerably increased since the Anschluss. It is the general opinion that subsidies are being supplied by Germany to assist this work. Four sections of the population are mainly selected as recipients for this propaganda and there is no doubt that, in varying degree, they readily react to it. The four sections are, (1) the German minority of about 800,000, the main body of which has been settled in Hungary since the 17th century. It is highly significant that whereas over the last 2-300 years these Germans had become almost entirely assimilated, as a direct result of Nazi propaganda a noticeable process of dissimilation has begun to take place. In the past this group had always been a completely satisfied minority in everything but the question of schools and that was receiving attention. Now there is a small Nazi group, subsidised by Berlin, and led by a Professor of Debrecen University, (2) the Hungarian extremists who seek to install a Hungarian-nationalist-extremist Government and whose policy is mainly anti-Semitic and anti-capitalist. They take great pains to make it clear that all they want is a Hungarian-Nazi government entirely independent of Berlin. They are led by young Count Tostetics and have three Deputies in parliament. They are badly organised but the definite possibility exists that, unless checked, they might be able to form a government, (3) the peasantry and the agricultural unemployed whose standard of life remains at a very low level and (4) the so-called "intellectual unemployed" - in other words the thousands of young people who leave the Universities each year (about 4,000 per annum) and for whom jobs are extremely scarce.

In recent months, however, the army, the police and government officials in general have become increasingly infected with the Nazi virus. It is the general opinion that a clear majority of the army are Nazi sympathisers. In this connection, the position of the Regent is of importance. Little is known of his exact views. It is known, however, that he would not be altogether averse to some more P T.O

170. MINUTES. The minutes of the last meeting of the Committee held on May 19th, 1938 were confirmed as circulated.

171. CZECHOSLOVAKIA. Lord Lytton expressed the opinion that the easing of the recent tension in Czechoslovakia provided a striking illustration of the fact that the only thing that could keep the peace at the present time was evidence that an attack would be vigorously resisted.

Major Burton spoke of the reports appearing in the press concerning the possibility of British observers being sent to Czechoslovakia to investigate alleged violations of the frontier. Mr. Mender urged that neutral observers should be sent to both sides of the frontier. It was in his opinion equally important to ascertain what concentration of troops there was on the German side as on the Czechoslovakian side.

172. MEMBERSHIP CAMPAIGN. Lord Cecil suggested that, in the present state of Europe, crises were bound to recur, and he suggested that a campaign should be planned for the autumn to increase the membership of the Union. He felt there was some truth in the criticisms received from Branches from time to time that the Union was too much absorbed in the day to day questions that arose and that they spent too much energy in laying down proposals for action in regard to the situation existing in various countries. An essential part of the Union's business was to build up a solid support for the League, and for that purpose a campaign should, he urged, be organised for increasing support for the Union.

Mr. Pritchard expressed the opinion that members obtained as a result of a special campaign frequently paid no more than an initial subscription and were of little value to the Union in the long run. What was needed was a renewed effort by the Branches in their day-to-day work. He urged that more should be done to educate the Union's existing members in the work and activities of the League in order that they might persuade their friends to join.

Mr. Mender suggested that in the proposed campaign an endeavour should be made to enlist the help and support of Mr. Eden.

Miss Corcoran welcomed the proposal for a membership campaign, and urged that immediate steps should be taken to prepare plans.

Mr. Noel Baker suggested that in preparing a plan of action consideration should be given to the suggestions made some years ago for endeavouring to get Branches themselves to organise machinery for obtaining members. He believed that many members of Branches who were unable to make speeches or to undertake house-to-house canvassing

"militarist" government. A complete dictatorship would be entirely alien to the essential individualism of the Magyar character. But Admiral Horthy's military upbringing and surrounding, his advancing years, the confused question of his successor, indeed the anomalous position of a Regent at all in Hungary, all contribute to anxiety as to his intentions.

Then, the Jews, against whom legislation has recently been introduced, chiefly in order to "strike the gains" of the extremists, are both dissatisfied and alarmed. This has led to a most noticeable strangulation of the "luxury life" of the capital. Further, in order to retaliate, the Jews threatened passive resistance, such as refusal to make use of the public services. As there are half-a-million Jews in Hungary, the damage which they could do in this way is considerable.

In general, the internal situation in Hungary since the Anschluss is highly unsatisfactory, not to say alarming. It is fairly obvious that "extremism" has not yet secured a stronghold on the population. But, there is a considerable danger that it may shortly have achieved this unless immediately checked. It is on this account that the greatest anxiety exists. The Deranyi Government is essentially weak and inactive. It derives its inspiration, in the main, from M. Tibor Scherbert's opposition Small Landowners' Party. It confines its repressive methods against the extremists to words rather than deeds. It also has the further disadvantage of being a legacy of the right-wing semi-authoritarian government of the late General Gombos - in fact in the Cabinet formed immediately after the death of Gombos the six most important offices were held by the same men as before. In the Deranyi Government as at present constituted, (it differs little from its original form) three members, M. Mikocz (Justice), Dr. Homan (Education), and M. Bornemisza (Commerce and Industry) are known to be Nazi sympathisers. The present government is therefore unlikely to take any strong measures to repress the extremists and, in general, it is believed that, if no change takes place, a distinct possibility of the extremists forming a government must be reckoned with. This would mean the end of Hungarian independence for, despite the profession of their pure Hungarianism such a government would be bound to take orders from Berlin. Sensing this very real danger, strong political forces are now at work trying to prevail upon the Regent to replace Deranyi by either his powerful predecessor Count Stephen Bethlen or by his almost equally powerful colleague Dr. Imredy, Governor of the National Bank and Minister without Portfolio. The indications are that these efforts will succeed before the Autumn. If either of these two men were to lead the country the chances of avoiding an internal upheaval would be increased - unless, of course, too much damage is done in the meantime.

would be prepared, in their individual capacities, to concentrate their efforts on maintaining and expanding the membership of the Union.

Lord Lytton reminded the Executive that a special membership sub-Committee had recently been appointed by the Administration Committee, and, after further discussion, it was

RESOLVED: "That the Membership sub-Committee, with the help of the secretariat, be asked to prepare a plan of action for a nation-wide Membership Campaign in the autumn for submission to the Administration Committee and thereafter to the Executive".

The Executive were reminded that the question of membership was included in the agenda for discussion at the Conference of Branch Secretaries in connection with the forthcoming Council meeting.

173. HUNGARY. Mr. Keyser presented to the Executive a memorandum on his visit to Hungary in April (S.G.9883). He explained that the memorandum was written before the changes in the Government of Hungary were announced in the press of May 13th. He felt it was rather early yet to say what difference such changes in the Government would make in the situation.

Captain Czalet stated that Mr. Keyser's interesting memorandum substantiated everything he had heard during his short visit to Hungary. He urged that the British Government should bring pressure on both the Czechs and the Hungarians through their representatives to get together and settle their differences. He believed there had never been a moment when the Hungarians would take so little and the Czechs would give so much. A small rectification of the frontier would he thought meet the case. He dealt with the possibility of a monarchy being established in Hungary as part of a settlement with the Czechs. Captain Czalet also spoke of the economic aspects of the situation which he felt were apt to be overlooked. No one could visit Hungary to-day without being appalled by the very low standard of living in the country districts.

Mr. Nicolson thought the Government were considering the question of sending out some kind of economic mission.

Lady Violet Bonham Carter drew the Executive's attention to an article by Mr. Graham Hutton in the last number of THE ECONOMIST. She was convinced that economic reconstruction was the only way to consolidate a block of peace-loving people.

(b) External.

The main result of the Anschluss upon Hungary has been to fix that country firmly within the German sphere of influence. All other results are dependent upon this fact. The removal of independent Austria deprives Hungary of her solitary friendly neighbour, terminates the effective life of the Rome Protocols - Hungary's one and only post-war international Agreement and denies Hungary of direct access to the West. She is therefore, the virtual slave of Germany. Apart from all this, the psychological effect of the proximity of the German Colossus is most noticeable.

Then again three former possible lines of foreign policy are now permanently closed to Hungary:- (1) the "solution a triangle", Budapest-Vienna-Prague, is now impossible, not only because of the disappearance of Vienna, but also because any attempt at reconciliation between the remaining "corners" Budapest and Prague, which in any case is unlikely, if it were not initiated by Berlin would be construed as an unfriendly act towards Germany. (2) all hopes of Restoration can now be interred and (3) a gravitation towards closer dependence on the Western Powers could not now be initiated by Hungary. It could only come from England or France.

These are the reasons why, in the opinion of serious-minded observers, at least in present circumstances, Hungary is restricted to a narrow foreign policy friendly to, taking its direction from and controlled by Germany.

There is, however, in the opinion of Budapest, one distinct advantage for Hungary to be gained as a result of the Anschluss. The importance of this psychologically, and even perhaps materially, must not be overlooked. The commanding position of Germany in Middle Europe - economically, politically and strategically - has, among other things, administered the coup de grace to the power of the Little Entente as an influential unit in European affairs. As that power had been largely directed against the renaissance of Hungary, the latter now feels, in the words of Count Bethlen, "that she has emerged from the humiliation of Trianon". The revisionists are jubilant - if somewhat guardedly. They see in the present embarrassment of Czechoslovakia the possibility of regaining a part, if not all, of Slovakia which they were forced to yield after the war. They are quite sure, in their own minds, that the attainment of this goal is worth the price of an increase in subjugation to Germany which they would almost certainly have to pay for it. This is a point of considerable importance. For Hungary it is all-important. But it has its complications. If, in its ultimate conception, such a territorial adjustment ended in the formation of a common Polish-Hungarian frontier, this would be of first-class importance to Hungary. At the same time it would not be

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Mr. Keyser urged that Great Britain should take some more direct interest in the situation in Hungary. If, for example, a well-known statesman could be persuaded to visit Hungary, it would have an enormous effect both in that country and in Germany.

Mr. Noel Baker suggested that if Lord Cecil, Dr. Murray and Lord Lytton could make a tour of the countries in Central and South-eastern Europe, and, through the League of Nations Societies and the I.P.C. movement, make a series of speeches, they would find a tremendous response.

Mr. Crossley expressed the opinion that if rectification of the frontier were justified at the present time, even assuming agreement between the two countries could be obtained, it would be impossible to defend from the moral point of view the preservation of the existing Czechoslovakian-German frontier. He felt that, in regard to the economic aspect, much could be done to make friends with Hungary, Roumania and Bulgaria but at the same time care should be taken to avoid interfering with what might be called the legitimate German trade, lest Germany should be driven to an economic situation in which war would become very much more desirable to her people.

Lord Dickinson agreed with Mr. Crossley's remarks concerning the rectification of the frontier. If the Hungarians, the Poles and others were encouraged to think of a solution on such lines, we should be bound to admit the German contention that the three million Germans in Western Bohemia should be similarly treated.

Lord Lytton suggested that, from the general point of view, if Article 19 of the Covenant could be actually used and machinery developed under it for the discussion and settlement, by agreement, of particular frontier problems, it would be an enormous gain to the whole principles of the League in dealing with these international questions.

174. SPAIN AND THE MEDITERRANEAN. Mr. Noel Baker drew the Executive's attention to the fact that Signor Mussolini, in three different speeches, had now declared that Italy was committing Covenant-breaking aggression against the Spanish Government. He urged that the Committee should carefully consider this important point.

Lord Cecil felt that, unless the whole question could be put into the hands of a really international authority and not a private committee of a semi-diplomatic character, no satisfactory solution would be obtained. He reminded the Committee of statements recently made by Lord Halifax that the British Government was ready to mediate if the parties in Spain would ask it to do so. But no single nation would, Lord Cecil felt, ever be tolerated in Spain as a mediator; therefore some vigorous, positive, constructive action was needed at Geneva.

altogether in Germany's interests. Therefore, under the present restrictions on her foreign policy, Hungary can only indirectly, and with considerable caution, proceed in such a direction.

The general opinion in Hungary is that Germany is not likely to attempt any direct anti-Hungarian (nor in their opinion any anti-Czech) act at least for some time to come, because (1) as things are at present Hungary is already her vassal, (2) she will take some time to "digest" Austria, economically and militarily and (3) the foreign situation as a result of the Anglo-Italian Agreement and the strengthening of the French Government, is not nearly so favourable for another coup as it was at the time of the Anschluss. In other words, there will probably now ensue a breathing space which in Hungarian opinion, will probably afford the last chance to the Western Powers to construct an effective barrier against German Eastern expansion. As yet there may still be time to rally the smaller Powers in South-Eastern Europe to an Anglo-French lead. But already the Hungarians say that they have "faith, but no hope" in England.

Sir Archibald Sinclair stressed the desirability of bringing about an armistice in Spain and spoke of the efforts of international committees in Paris in this direction. He urged that the Union should keep in close touch with the work of these Committees.

Lord Lytton suggested that the most desirable thing at the moment was that the British Government should make itself responsible for a demand for an armistice in order that the accepted formula for the withdrawal of so-called volunteers from Spain could be made effective.

The Committee then reconsidered the text of their resolution, adopted at the last meeting, for submission to the General Council in June, and, after discussion, it was

RESOLVED: "That it be left to Lord Cecil to redraft, in the light of the Executive's discussion, the resolution for submission to the General Council."

(Note: The following is the text of the resolution as it was finally settled by the Chairman of the meeting:

The General Council of the League of Nations Union,

Convinced that the continued intervention of foreign powers in the Spanish civil war constitutes a grave danger to the peace of Europe, and that the closing of the land frontiers of Spain in the name of a policy of non-intervention which is so openly violated constitutes an injustice to the Spanish Government,

Believing that the recent decision of the non-intervention Committee to send neutral observers to Spain will not secure the withdrawal of foreign troops while fighting is going on,

Urges H.M. Government to press for an armistice for the purpose of securing the immediate and complete withdrawal from Spain of all foreign troops, and if agreement for such an armistice is not obtained to recognise the failure of a policy of non-intervention and the right of the Spanish Government to import the arms necessary for its defence.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT
NO. 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1. ON THURSDAY,
JUNE 2ND, 1938 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Dr. Gilbert Murray (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams, Sir Norman Angell, P.J. Noel Baker, Miss Judith Corcoran, the Dean of Chichester, Vice-Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Digdale, Miss Philippa Fewcett, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, J.A. Keysor, Lady Layton, Miss M. Lloyd George, Lord Lytton, James Macdonald, G. le M. Mander, Harold Nicolson, W.T. Pritchard, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, Sir Archibald Sinclair, Nowell Smith, H.S. Syrett, F.W. Weaver, Major Lawrence Wright, together with Mr. Freshwater.

175. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Mrs. Beale, Major Anthony Buxton, Miss K.D. Courtney and Major-General A.C. Temperley.

176. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

(a) Finance Committee. (Mr. Syrett reported). The minutes of the committee dated May 16th, 1938 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included: (42) Minutes; (43) Financial Position; (44) Report of Director of Appeals; (45) Youth Campaign; (46) Nottinghamshire; (47) Northamptonshire; (48) Treasurer; (49) Travelling Exhibition; (50) B.U.L.N.S.; (51) Proper Share of Income of H.C.; (52) Passing of Cheques for Payment

On Minute 43 -- Financial Position, Mr. Syrett reported on the present serious financial position of the Union and reminded the Executive of the great difficulties which were facing the Appeals officers in obtaining new money at the present time. Having given the matter a great deal of thought he was of the opinion that no mere reduction of expenditure would solve the problem. He thought the Executive would have to consider an alteration of the character of the Union's organisation. But he did not see any reason why the Union should not be able to continue the great work it was doing on a considerably reduced budget.

Dr. Murray felt that one cause of the Union's present trouble was the profound difference of opinion in this country. The Union had been of late opposing the Government's policy, which had been that of the majority of the country. He referred to the

fact that several influential people who had been among the Union's earliest and strongest supporters were now resigning. He thought this provided a great argument for cutting our losses and looking ahead.

Admiral Drury-Lowe referred to the fact that the Union's membership had decreased following on the Council's statement of policy of April 1st. He had already given reasons for disagreeing with that statement, and it seemed to him a matter of real concern that important resolutions were sometimes passed by enthusiasts at Council meetings which did not represent the considered opinion of a large and influential section of Union members whose consequent resignations seriously affected our financial situation.

Lord Lytton said that he would, as a matter of urgency, ask the Administration Committee at their meeting that afternoon to take steps to set up a body to make a preliminary study of the whole problem.

On Minute 44 -- Report of Director of Appeals. Doubt was expressed by several members of the Committee concerning the desirability of spending a large sum of money in connection with the Union's 21st Birthday Celebrations.

(b) Christian Organisations Committee. The Dean of Chichester reported on minutes 30 (International Morality) and 32 (Visit of Dr. Bednar from Prague) of the meeting of the Committee held on 18th May, 1938. These minutes were approved and adopted.

The Dean of Chichester also reported on the inquiries he had been making with a view to arranging a Churches' deputation to Lord Halifax on the subject of Abyssinia and read letters he had received from certain Bishops. The Dean felt that, in the circumstances, the proposed deputation would have to be abandoned.

(c) Industrial Advisory Committee. Lady Hall reported on minute 40 (Constitution of Committee) of the meeting held on May 19th, 1938. It was

RESOLVED: "That the Industrial Advisory Committee be asked to consider and make a recommendation to the Executive concerning the nomination of another member to succeed Mr. Henderson on their Committee".

177. HEADWAY NEGOTIATING COMMITTEE. The Executive considered a report, circulated with the Agenda of the present meeting, of a meeting of the HEADWAY Negotiating Committee held on May 24th, 1938.

Lord Lytton referred to a copy he had received of a letter on the subject to Sir Norman Angell from Mr. le Prevost.

Mr. Syrett stated that the action covered by the Agreement was different from what he had originally understood and spoke of certain amendments which he would like to see made and which were outlined in the report.

Sir Norman Angell recognised the fairness of Mr. Syrett's statement and said he had always regarded it was inevitable that the purely business and managerial side of the paper would be handed over to the new Company. But it was vital for the Union to be sure that it had control of policy. He reminded the Executive that it was not proposed to hand over the paper to an ordinary business concern but to men who had broadly the same political interest as the Union. We had arrived at a very critical point in our career and if we could secure the co-operation of people who were prepared at this juncture to invest money in the development of an organ to promote broadly our policy, he did not think the Executive should be too critical on this point.

The same consideration applied to handing over the names and addresses of the Union's subscribers. A paper could not develop its circulation properly unless it had those data.

But Sir Norman agreed with Mr. Syrett in his criticism of the three years' trial period. He was meeting the representatives of the Company that afternoon and would do what he could to persuade them either to lengthen the three-years period or to give a quid pro quo linked up in some way with conditions under which the whole arrangement might be terminated if difficulties were encountered.

He agreed with Mr. Syrett that if payment were made to the company of the whole of members' 2s.6d. subscriptions as and when received it would deprive the Union of a certain working capital. He did not think the Company's representatives would make difficulties about accepting monthly payments for the copies actually supplied to members.

Sir Norman concluded by saying he felt justified in asking the Executive to give the Chairmen authority to complete the agreement if, in his judgment, the points of difference between the representatives of the Company and of the Union were not vital.

Mr. le Prevost added that there was in the Agreement a provision that the Management Committee was bound to conduct the paper in such a way as to promote the policy laid down by the Editorial Board.

After further discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That on the understanding that an endeavour will be made to persuade the Company's representatives to reconsider points of detail, authority be given for the Agreement, in which it was understood certain alterations would be made to meet the Union, to be signed and sealed on behalf of the Union".

178. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Executive received resolutions from the West Cumberland District, the Aberystwyth Branch, the North Hackney Branch, and the Liberal Party Assembly. It was

RESOLVED: "That the West Cumberland District, the Aberystwyth and North Hackney Branches, and the Liberal Party Assembly be thanked for their resolutions".

Mr. Weaver reported that, at a recent meeting in Matlock of the Branches in the Derbyshire Federal Council, a resolution was proposed asking for the deletion of the Prime Minister's name from the list of the Union's Honorary Presidents. But at Mr. Weaver's suggestion, and on the understanding that he would convey to the Executive an expression of the feeling of the meeting, the resolution was not formally submitted.

The Chairman thanked Mr. Weaver and stated that this question would almost certainly be raised at the meeting of the General Council. He reminded the Executive that the Union had always opposed anything in the nature of a heresy hunt against any member; and, if Mr. Neville Chamberlain felt he was in sympathy with our general objects, the Union was glad to have him as one of its Honorary Presidents. Sir Norman Angell stated that the subject had been discussed at a special meeting of a Finchley Branch and that all the officers had resigned as a result of the decision to oppose the re-election of the Prime Minister.

Lady Hall suggested that an alteration should be made in the procedure by which new Honorary Presidents of the Union were elected.

179. MINUTES. Subject to the following decisions on minutes 172 and 174, the minutes of the last meeting held on May 26th, 1938 were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 172 -- Membership Campaign, it was decided that an introductory sentence should be inserted in the minute book recording the remarks made by Mr. Nowell Smith.

On Minute 174 — Spain and the Mediterranean, the Executive approved the terms of the resolution on Spain which had been drafted after the close of the last meeting. It was explained that, owing to his absence in Oslo, Lord Cecil had not seen the final text of the resolution as settled by Lord Lytton.

Miss Corcoran stated that the Youth Committee were unable to support the last paragraph of the resolution which dealt with an armistice and said that an amendment would be moved at the Council Meeting.

180. COLLECTIVE SECURITY DECLARATION. A memorandum by Dr. Sydney Havelock, Chairman of the Tyne District Council (S.C. 9908) was considered, together with a suggestion by the Tyne District Council that the Executive should submit a resolution to the Annual Meeting of the General Council on the lines of the pledge outlined in the memorandum.

Lord Lytton felt that the Union would get into great difficulties if it were to try and make itself responsible for laying down conditions under which people in this country should or should not enlist or accept national service. It was entirely a matter of conscience for each member of the community to decide for himself.

Miss Corcoran stated that the Youth Committee, at a recent meeting, had considered a similar proposal and were opposed to it on the ground that it was open to a great deal of misinterpretation.

Mr. Mander expressed sympathy with the idea underlying the proposal and wished it were capable of being carried out in practice.

Miss Rathbone suggested that if a group of young men would initiate the scheme it might be useful since it might exercise some political influence if the Government thought there was a really large body of young people taking that line.

After further discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That Dr. Havelock be thanked for his memorandum but that no action be taken".

181. A UNITED NATIONAL PEACE POLICY. A suggestion was considered from Mr. Valentine Davis, Treasurer of the Cheshire District Council, that the Executive should submit, as a matter of urgency, a resolution to the Annual Meeting of the General Council (on the lines suggested in S.C. 9909) with a view to securing from

all the national and local political parties and allied organisations as well as from national and local Churches and Friendly Societies, agreed statements on a peace-making foreign policy, in order that the Executive might proceed to synthesize and publish before the next General Election a united and national policy for the establishment of world peace.

After discussion, during which members of the Executive recalled the efforts already being made by the Union to secure the co-operation of such bodies, it was

RESOLVED: "That no action be taken".

182. THE FAR EAST. Lord Lytton read to the Executive a report dated May 22nd from Hankow concerning the actual military situation in China. Lord Lytton also reported that he had, at the suggestion of the China Campaign Committee, undertaken to sign with others a letter for publication in the press protesting against the bombing of Chinese civilians as an attempt to destroy the morale of China. He added that the China Campaign Committee were proposing to organise a public meeting in the Queen's Hall on the evening of Wednesday, June 15th, and would welcome the co-operation of the Union.

Mr. Pritchard reminded the Executive that the London Regional Federation were proposing to hold a reception for the delegates to the General Council Meeting on the evening of June 15th. If the Union decided to support the China Campaign Committee's meeting he would endeavour to arrange for the party to be held earlier in the evening. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the meeting to be organised by the China Campaign Committee in the Queen's Hall on June 15th be supported by the Union; and that notices of the meeting be sent out with the Final Agenda to the Union's Branches."

It was suggested that an announcement of the meeting might be made at the Youth Committee's demonstration in the Empress Stadium on Sunday, June 12th.

The Chairman read to the Committee a telegram addressed to Lord Cecil by the Canton Committee for Justice concerning the bombing of Chinese civilians.

Mr. Noel Baker spoke of the British Government's guaranteed loan to Turkey, and suggested that this new precedent provided an overwhelming case for a guaranteed loan for China.

Lord Lytton reminded the Executive that he had already, at their request, discussed the question of a loan to China with Lord Halifax, and he understood that the matter was at the moment being considered by the Cabinet. He had also discussed with the Chinese Ambassador the desirability of getting someone, e.g. Mr. T.V. Soong, to come over from China and arrange the matter with the Government. Lord Lytton hoped that the Executive would take any action which was likely to be effective in bringing pressure to bear on the Government.

Mr. Noel Baker said he had been given to understand that THE TIMES was in favour of a loan to China, and suggested that a letter, followed by a leader, in THE TIMES would be helpful.

Lady Gladstone was asked to discuss the matter with Mr. Geoffrey Dawson and, if he favoured the proposal, to ascertain what he considered would be the best means of obtaining the influence of THE TIMES in the desired direction. Lord Lytton expressed his readiness to sign a letter to THE TIMES if it were needed.

183. CZECHOSLOVAKIA. The Chairman felt that the vigorous change of the Government's policy in Czechoslovakia was a matter of extreme importance.

Mr. Mander stated that since the events of ten days ago the Government appeared to be suggesting to the Czechs that they should do certain things which had considerably alarmed them. The Prime Minister had given an interview to the American press recently in which he had hinted that the idea of frontier rectification was a matter which must be considered at some time and that Czechoslovakia could not go on in its present form. Reference was made to the answer given by the Prime Minister to a question asked by Mr. Mander in the House of Commons on the previous day.

184. ITALY. Miss Rathbone drew the Committee's attention to a memorandum on the Anglo-Italian Agreement recently issued by the Council of Action in which it was stated that either a loan or export credits would shortly be granted to Italy. She asked whether members of the Executive had any reason to suppose that this was correct. If so, she thought that public opinion would feel very strongly on the matter, and that the Union ought to protest while there was yet time.

The Chairman reminded Miss Rathbone that he had already communicated with Lord Halifax on this subject, and that, in the present state of things, it did not seem likely that the Anglo-Italian Agreement would come into force for some time.

185. DATE OF NEXT MEETING. It was

RESOLVED: "That the next meeting of the Committee be held on Thursday, June 9th".

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT
NO. 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1. ON THURSDAY,
JUNE 9TH, AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Dr. Gilbert Murray (in the Chair), Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Mrs. Beale, Major Anthony Buxton, Miss Judith Corcoran, the Dean of Chichester, Vice-Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Miss Philippa Fawcett, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, Sir Arthur Haworth, Arthur Henderson, J.A. Keyser, Lady Layton, Lord Lytton, James Macdonald, W.T. Pritchard, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, Sir Archibald Sinclair, Nowell Smith, Major Lawrence Wright, together with Mr. Freshwater.

186. APLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from P.J. Noel Baker, F.M. Burris, Lord Cecil, Miss K.D. Courtney, and Major-General A.C. Temperley.

187. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

(a) Administration Committee. Lord Lytton reported

- (1) that the Administration Committee, at its meeting on June 2nd, had appointed a sub-Committee, consisting of Dr. Murray, Mr. Syrett, Mr. Pritchard and himself to consider and make proposals for reducing Headquarters' expenditure. The sub-Committee would hold its first meeting at 3 p.m. that afternoon.
- (2) that the number of subscriptions paid during the first five months of 1938 was 112,751 which was 13,600 less than during the corresponding period in 1937.
- (3) that the Administration Committee had recommended that, since the question of posters was so closely concerned with membership, they should in future be consulted with regard to the publication of posters, and it was

RESOLVED: "That this recommendation of the Administration Committee be approved and adopted".

(b) Christian Organisations Committee. The Dean of Chichester reported that the Committee, at its meeting on the previous day, had recommended

- (1) That the Committee organise throughout the country a number of private conferences of clergy, ministers and other representatives of the Churches on the basis of the resolution adopted at the meeting on 18th May, with a view to rallying Christian opinion in support of the principles embodied in the Covenant of the League of Nations.
- (2) That the Executive of the Union be asked to suggest to the Federal and District Councils, Branches of large cities and towns, that they should organise demonstrations similar to that so successfully arranged by the Northamptonshire Federal Council at Peterborough, emphasising the moral aspect of the League of Nations.

It was

RESOLVED: "That the recommendation in paragraph (1) be approved and adopted, and that the recommendation in paragraph (2) be referred to the Administration Committee".

Admiral Dryry-Lowe drew the Executive's attention to a pamphlet issued by the Federal Council of Protestant Churches in Czechoslovakia and containing 'an appeal to the conscience of the world'. He hoped that copies of the pamphlet, which could be obtained from the Czechoslovakia Legation, would be made available in the office and that the attention of members of the Union would be drawn to it.

188. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Executive received resolutions from the Farnworth and Kearsley Branch, the Sussex Federal Council and the Hull Branch. It was

RESOLVED: "That the Farnworth and Kearsley Branch, the Sussex Federal Council and the Hull Branch be thanked".

189. MINUTES. Subject to the following report on minutes 177 and 182, the minutes of the last meeting of the Committee held on June 2nd, 1938 were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 177 — HEADWAY Negotiating Committee, the Chairman reported that a discussion with the representatives of the Company had taken place on the afternoon of June 2nd and that agreement had been obtained on almost all the points of detail discussed at the last meeting of the Executive. He added that the Agreement had not yet been signed.

On Minute 182 -- The Far East, Lady Gladstone reported that, as requested by the Executive, she had written to Mr. Geoffrey Dawson asking whether, if a letter were written to THE TIMES furthering the idea of a loan to China, he would be ready to back it up with a leader. She read to the Committee Mr. Dawson's reply in which he said that he had not considered the matter to the point of giving an opinion upon it, but that he would be glad to give sympathetic consideration to any letter that was sent to him for publication.

Lord Lytton expressed his willingness to write a letter to THE TIMES, but said that he would first have a further talk with Lord Halifax on the subject since it would be helpful if he could tell Mr. Dawson that the Government would welcome the approval of THE TIMES in regard to a proposed loan for China.

190. ANNUAL MEETING OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL. The Executive considered the Final Agenda for the Annual Meeting of the General Council to be held from June 15th to 18th. It was

RESOLVED: "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(c) Report on Action Taken by the Executive:
Dr. Murray

Item 3. Presentation of the Annual Report: Dr. Murray

Item 5. Election of Officers: That the proposals for the election of President, Honorary Presidents and other Officers, and Executive Committee be moved from the body of the hall.

Item 8. Czechoslovakia: Lord Cecil to move.

Item 9. Abyssinia: Lady Layton to move, and to accept an amendment to be moved by Lady Hall to insert the words 'and to do so' before the word 'Abyssinia' in line 10.

Item 10. Spain. Miss Rathbone to move the Executive's resolution but amended by the substitution of the words 'in the meantime' for the words 'if agreement for such an armistice is not obtained' in lines 17 and 18, and further amended by the substitution of the last paragraph of the motion as originally drafted by Lord Cecil for the first part of the last paragraph as printed in the Agenda, if the Council prefers.

Item 11. The Far East: (a) Lord Lytton to move;

(b) to ask the Chairmen to draft a further resolution, to be submitted to the Council as a matter of urgency at the outset of the meeting, protesting against the bombing of civilians both in the Far East and in Spain.

Admiral Drury-Lowe drew attention to the fact that the resolution asked H.M. Government to consider what steps it might take with or without the co-operation of other nations towards fulfilling its obligations under the Covenant and went on to quote as an instance the imposition of economic pressure. He thought the Executive's view was that such action could only be taken in co-operation with other States whose assistance was necessary to make it effective.

Dr. Murray reminded the Admiral that each nation had been asked by the Council of the League to consider what steps it could take individually. The Executive's resolution suggested certain steps which Great Britain could certainly take alone and went on to ask the Government to consider also what other steps it could take with or without the co-operation of other nations. It was not suggested that Great Britain should embark on a complete economic blockade of Japan. This did not effect the question of a private boycott. Lord Lytton was asked to deal with this point in moving the resolution.

Item 12. Presentation of the Audited Balance Sheet:
Mr. Syrett

Item 13. HEADWAY: Sir Norman Angell or Dr. Murray.

Item 14. MEETINGS of I.L.O. Governing Body:
Mr. Patrick Early

Item 15. Further Development of Junior Branch Work:
Miss V. Baker

Item 16. Expenses of Members of Executive Committee:
To support the recommendation of the Regions Committee.

Item 17. World Youth Congress: To leave it to Miss Corcoran to arrange for two Youth delegates to propose and second the motion.

Item 18. Collective Security: To ask Mr. Vyvyan Adams or Mr. Geoffrey Mander to propose the motion on behalf of the Executive Committee and the New Commonwealth, and a representative of the Welsh National Council to second it; and to leave the Kensington Branch's amendment to the discretion of the mover and seconder.

Item 19. International Control of Civil Aviation: To support the motion, and to ask Dr. Murray to speak to it on behalf of the Executive, if necessary.

Item 20. Colonial Territories: (a) Dr. Murray to move the resolution; to oppose the amendment of the Cornwall District Council; and to accept the amendment of the Kensington Branch;

(b) to ask Mr. Macdonald to endeavour to persuade the Birkenhead Branch to withdraw their amendment on the understanding that, if this is done, the Executive's motion will be amended as suggested by the Kensington Branch and by the insertion before the present sub-paragraph (1) of a new sub-paragraph to read:

'Any such change must form part of a general settlement'.

Item 21. Negotiations with Germany: Lord Lytton to oppose the motion of the Edgbaston Branch on the ground that the Union has always been opposed to bilateral negotiations between this country and any other Government outside the League; but to support the amendment of the New Commonwealth if the words 'or by the International Court' are inserted after the word 'negotiation' in the eleventh line.

Item 22. The Status of Women: Mrs. Corbett Ashby to take charge of this motion and to support it or otherwise on behalf of the Executive in the light of the explanation given to the last sentence by the mover of the resolution.

Item 23. Recognition of Governments: Lord Cecil to take charge of this motion on behalf of the Executive and to support it or otherwise at his discretion.

Item 24. Refugees: To ask the Refugees Committee at their meeting on June 10th to suggest a mover for the resolution.

Item 25. Van Zealand Report: To support the motion of the London Regional Federation; to accept the amendment of the Barton Hill Branch; and to leave the amendment of the Birkenhead Branch to a free vote by the Council.

Item 26. Minorities: Major Buxton to move the Executive's amendment.

Item 27. International Morality: To ask Mr. Porter Goff to arrange for a mover for the resolution.

Item 28. The Union's 21st Birthday Celebrations: Lord Lytton to ask leave of the Council to move the resolution in the following amended form:

'That all districts, branches, corporate members, Youth Groups, Junior Branches, etc., be urged to utilise the occasion of the 21st Birthday of the Union in 1939 to stimulate interest in the League of Nations and to increase their membership. All activities in each area should be co-ordinated to this end. That the special Birthday activities should culminate in a whole day Festival at the Albert Hall or other suitable hall in October, in which representatives from all parts of the country should take part, and that the Executive Committee be asked to prepare printed matter appropriate to this special effort, both for free distribution and for sale.'

Item 29. Time of Meetings of General Council: Lord Cecil to deal with this motion and the several amendments at his discretion.

Item 31. Procedure Committee: Lord Cecil or Dr. Murray to move.

Item 32. Regions Committee: Mr. Burris to move.

Conference of Branch Secretaries: To ask Lord Lytton to take the Chair at the Conference.

It was further

RESOLVED: "That the name of Mr. J.B. Condliffe, who was until recently a member of the League's Economic Section, be added to the list of members for co-optation to the General Council under Bye-Law 6(iv) (Economics).

191. STATEMENT OF POLICY. The Committee had before them copies of the Statement of Policy (S.G.9914) prepared by Dr. Murray at the invitation of the Administration and Executive Committees. Lord Lytton expressed the cordial thanks of the Administration Committee for Dr. Murray's admirable paper, and hoped it would be widely used. It was suggested that the statement should be printed in an attractive form, with illustrations to bring home vividly to readers some of the points explained in the text. Mr. Pritchard stated that the Membership sub-Committee intended to make the fullest possible use of the statement, and had been asked by the Administration Committee to make proposals. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the thanks of the Committee be conveyed to Dr. Murray for his Statement of Policy, and that the Statement be approved and adopted".

(2) "That copies of the Statement be supplied in roneod form to the delegates attending the General Council's meeting."

(3) "That the form in which the Statement shall afterwards be published and the use to be made of it be left in the hands of the Administration Committee".

192. THE FAR EAST. After Lady Gladstone had stated that Mrs. Chancellor, the wife of the Head of Reuters, had recently returned from China and would be ready to meet members of the Executive and to answer questions concerning the present situation in the Far East, it was

RESOLVED: "That Mrs. Chancellor be invited to meet the members of the Executive Committee at 12 noon on Thursday, June 23rd."

193. CO-OPTIONS TO EXECUTIVE.

RESOLVED: (1) "That a sub-Committee, consisting of Dr. Murray, Lady Layton, Mr. Noel Baker, Mr. Vyvyan Adams (or another Conservative member) be asked to meet at 3 p.m. on Monday, June 13th for the purpose of considering and making recommendations to the thirty elected members of the Executive for additional co-optations for the year 1938/39".

- 8 -

- (2) "That a special meeting of the thirty elected members of the Executive be held at 11 a.m. on Tuesday, June 21st for the purpose of considering the report of the Co-optations sub-Committee".
- (3) "That the next ordinary meeting of the Executive be held at 11 a.m. on Thursday, June 23rd."

REPORT OF CO-OPTIONS SUB-COMMITTEE

The sub-Committee, after considering the names of those members of the Executive in 1937/38 who had not been re-elected, together with other suggested names, submits the following report:

- (1) That the members of the Executive Committee, as elected at the Nineteenth Annual Meeting of the General Council, be recommended to invite the following persons to serve on the Committee for the year ending June, 1939:

Rt. Hon. Anthony Eden, M.P.	} or Brig.- } General
Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill, M.P.	
Viscount Cranborne, M.P.	} Spears, M.P. } or Mr. Mark } Patrick, M.P.

J.R. Leslie, M.P.	} or Professor Brodetsky
R.R. Stokes, M.P.	

Lady Violet Bonham Carter
 Captain V.A. Cazalet
 Dean of Chichester
 Miss Judith Corcoran
 Rt. Hon. Lord Dickinson
 Mrs. Dugdale
 Miss P. Fawcett
 Lady Hall
 Sir John Harris
 Captain Liddell Hart
 Dr. Kimmins
 Mr. J. Macdonald
 H.S. Syrett
 Major-General Temperley

- (2) "That an inquiry be made of Lord Davies whether he desires to continue as a member of the Executive".

It was also decided that the name of Professor Brodetsky should be considered either (a) as an alternative to Mr. J.R. Leslie M.P. or Mr. R.R. Stokes M.P. if either of them is unable to accept membership, or (b) as a representative of the Jewish Faith.

NOTE.

In the event of Mr. Eden and/or Mr. Churchill being unable to accept membership of the Committee it was decided further to consider the following names: Mr. R.A. Pilkington M.P. Brig. General Spears, M.P., Mr. Mark Patrick M.P., Captain Victor Cazalet M.P. and Mr. Gathorne Hardy.

MINUTES OF A SPECIAL MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 15, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1., ON TUESDAY, JUNE 21ST, 1938 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Dr. Gilbert Murray (in the Chair), Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, J.W. Keyser, Lady Layton, Harold Nicolson, W.T. Pritchard and Major Lawrence Wright, together with Mr. Freshwater.

194. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Vyvyan Adams, P.J. Noel Baker, W. Roberts and Sir Archibald Sinclair.
195. CO-OPTIONS TO COMMITTEE FOR 1938/39. The report of the Co-optations Sub-Committee (S.G.9946) was considered and, after discussion, it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That private enquiries be made of Mr. Anthony Eden and Mr. Winston Churchill whether they would be willing to accept an invitation to join the Executive Committee.

See note on opposite page.

- (2) "That an inquiry be made of Lord Davies whether he desires to continue as a member of the Executive".
- (3) "That the following persons be invited to serve on the Committee for the year ending June, 1939:

Viscount Cranborne, M.P.
 Lady Violet Bonham Carter
 Dean of Chichester
 Miss Judith Corcoran
 Rt. Hon. Lord Dickinson
 Mrs. Dugdale
 Miss P. Fawcett
 Lady Hall
 Sir John Harris
 Captain Liddell Hart
 Dr. Kimmins
 J.R. Leslie, M.P.
 Mr. J. Macdonald
 R.R. Stokes, M.P.
 H.S. Syrett
 Major-General Temperley."

- (4) "That further consideration be given to the desirability of getting another representative of Youth to serve on the Executive, and that in this connection inquiries be made concerning the possibility of Mr. Michael Barkway being able to resume membership of the Committee".

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27.6.38.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD
AT GAS INDUSTRY HOUSE, 1, GROSVENOR PLACE, LONDON, S.W.1.
ON THURSDAY, JUNE 23RD, 1938 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Mrs. Corbett Ashby, the Duchess of Atholl, P.J. Noel Baker, F.M. Burris, Lord Cecil, Miss Judith Corcoran, Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Mrs. E. Dugdale, Miss Philippa Fawcett, Miss Megan Lloyd George, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, Lady Layton, G. le M. Mander, Dr. Gilbert Murray, W.T. Pritchard, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, Wilfred Roberts, Sir Archibald Sinclair, H.S. Syrett, and Major Lawrence Wright together with the Deputy Secretary.

196. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Vyvyan Adams, Mrs. Beale, Major Anthony Buxton, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Dr. C.W. Kimmins, James Macdonald and Major-General A.C. Temperley.

197. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Executive received resolutions from the Shipley, Swindon, Peaddington, Carshalton and Wallington, and Marylebone Presbyterian Church Branches and it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That these Branches be thanked for their resolutions and be informed of the resolution on the subject of Abyssinia adopted at the Annual Meeting of the General Council."

The Executive also received resolutions adopted by the Welsh National Council at their Annual Meeting on June 4th, and it was

RESOLVED: (2) "That the Welsh National Council be thanked for their resolutions and be reminded of the resolutions on international affairs adopted at the Annual Meeting of the General Council".

198. MINUTES. Subject to the following report on minutes 189(182) and 195, the minutes of the last ordinary meeting held on June 9th and of the special meeting held on June 21st were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 189(182) — The Far East, the Chairman reported a conversation he had had with Lord Halifax on the subject of financial assistance to China and the possibility of obtaining the blessing of the

Government for a letter on the subject to THE TIMES. He had not been greatly encouraged by his talk with the Foreign Secretary, but he had subsequently drafted a letter, extracts of which he read to the Executive. He proposed to show it in the first place to Lord Halifax and, if it met with his approval, to ask Mr. Geoffrey Dawson if he would publish it in THE TIMES with a leader supporting the proposal for financial assistance to China. The Committee expressed their thanks to the Chairman for his efforts.

On Minute 195 -- Co-optations to Committee for 1938/39, the Chairman reported that he had spoken to Mr. Eden concerning the possibility of his being willing to join the Executive Committee. Mr. Eden had promised to consider the matter carefully and it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That a further approach be made to Mr. Eden at a later date, and that in the meantime a vacancy be kept on the Executive".

Lord Cecil reported a conversation which he and Dr. Murray had had with Mr. Winston Churchill on the previous day. Mr. Churchill had agreed to accept the General Council's invitation to become a Vice-President of the Union but he had not been able to give a definite answer regarding the likelihood of his being able to accept membership of the Executive. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: (2) "That when the formal invitation to become a Vice-President of the Union is conveyed to Mr. Winston Churchill he be also invited to accept membership of the Executive Committee".

It was further

RESOLVED: (3) "That Captain V.A. Cazalet, M.P. be co-opted to the Executive for the year 1938/39".

It was reported that inquiries had been made of Mr. Michael Barkway concerning the possibility of his being able to accept membership of the Executive but that he was unable, owing to the present circumstances of his employment, to give a definite answer immediately. It was agreed that at the next meeting further consideration should be given to the question of inviting another representative of Youth to serve on the Executive. In the meantime Miss Corcoran was asked to submit suggested names for consideration by the Committee.

199. ANNUAL MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL. The Executive had before them the text of the resolutions adopted at the Nineteenth Annual Meeting of the General Council, and it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the following resolutions be communicated to H.M. Government:

1. Czechoslovakia; 2. Abyssinia;
3. Spain; 4. The Far East; 5. The Massacre of Non-Combatants; 6. Collective Security; 7. International Control of Civil Aviation; 8(a) Colonial Territories; 11. Recognition of Governments; 12. Refugees; 13. The Van Zeeland Report; 14. Minorities; and 15. International Morality."

In connection with the resolution on The Far East the Executive had before them a memorandum prepared by Colonel Carnegie (S.G.9956) explaining the reasons for the amendment he submitted to the Executive's motion at the Council meeting with the object of limiting the economic pressure to stop supplies of arms to Japan and also her power to make arms.

After discussion it was

RESOLVED: (2) "That the Editorial Committee be asked to consider whether the memorandum by Colonel Carnegie can be used by the Union and, if so, in what form".

It was further

RESOLVED: (3) "That resolution 8(b), Colonial Territories, be referred to the Mandates Committee for consideration and report."

(4) "That resolution No. 9, Negotiations with Germany, be referred to the Political Committee and that they be asked to prepare in ample time for adequate consideration by the Executive, a draft motion for submission to the General Council at its December meeting".

(5) "That resolution No. 10, the Status of Women, be communicated to Professor Gutteride, the Chairman of the Committee responsible for the investigation into the legal status of women".

P.T.O.

The Chairman suggested that the Union was likely to exercise more effective influence on H.M. Government if the General Council at its meetings, instead of continually passing resolutions on every aspect of international affairs, confined its attention to those matters that were particularly urgent and pressing at the time. As a step in this direction he suggested that, if the Executive agreed that it was desirable to focus more attention on particular subjects, they should, in the future, endeavour to restrict as far as possible the number of resolutions which they submitted to the General Council, and that the Branches should be so informed. He further suggested that, before each meeting of the Council, Branches should be notified of the subjects which, in the Executive's opinion, were most deserving of special attention at the time.

In regard to the resolutions on Union Affairs adopted by the General Council it was

RESOLVED: (6) "That the attention of Branches be particularly directed to the following resolutions:

- 18. Meetings of I.L.C. Governing Body;
- 19. Further Development of Junior Branch Work; 21. World Youth Congress."

(7) "That resolution No. 20, Expenses of Members of the Executive Committee, be referred to the Finance Committee for consideration and report".

(8) "That resolution No. 22, The Union's 21st Birthday, be referred to the Administration Committee, and that the inquiry indicated in the resolution be made of the Union's Branches, etc."

(9) "That resolution No. 23, Time of Meetings of General Council, be referred to the Administration Committee for consideration and report".

200. APPOINTMENT OF TREASURER. On the motion of Lord Cecil, seconded by the Chairman, it was unanimously

RESOLVED: "That Mr. H.S. Syrett be appointed Honorary Treasurer of the Union".

201. THE FAR EAST. Mrs. Chancellor, whose husband is the Head of Reuters in the Far East and who had recently returned from China, attended the Committee and answered a number of questions concerning the present situation in the Far East. The Chairman expressed the Committee's warm thanks to Mrs. Chancellor for her attendance at the meeting and for the information she had given the Executive.

The Executive had before them a memorandum (S.G.9932) prepared by the China Campaign Committee outlining proposals for a campaign in connection with the meeting of the League Assembly in support of the demands made on the League by the Chinese and Spanish delegates. The co-operation of the Union was invited in the campaign.

It was reported that the I.P.C. at their meeting that afternoon would also be considering the question of co-operating in the campaign.

Lord Cecil suggested that the Union should remind its Branches of the desirability of supporting the claims of China and of Spain at the Assembly within limits.

Miss Corcoran expressed the hope that any campaign in which the Union engaged in future should be a campaign for the increase of its membership.

Mr. Pritchard did not think it was a practical suggestion to ask Branches to co-operate in the proposed campaign.

Lord Cecil agreed with Miss Corcoran and expressed the hope that any effort on the lines indicated by the China Campaign Committee would be closely linked with the campaign which he hoped the Union would undertake in the autumn for the increase of its membership and finances. After further discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That general approval be given to the proposal that the Union should take part in the campaign, and that it be left to the Administration Committee to decide what action shall be taken".

202. SPAIN. The Executive discussed the debate which had taken place in the House of Commons on June 21st regarding the Spanish situation. Miss Rathbone referred in particular to the speeches made by Mr. Noel Baker and Sir Archibald Sinclair in the course of the debate and expressed the hope that the Union would reprint Mr. Noel Baker's speech and give it a wide circulation. It was

RESOLVED: "That the question of reprinting Mr. Noel Baker's speech be referred to the Editorial Committee for consideration and report."

The Committee then discussed the procedure which had been suggested for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Spain.

Lord Cecil expressed the opinion that it was absolutely vital that before Parliament adjourned for the summer vacation an assurance should be obtained from H.M. Government in the most specific and definite terms that they would not recognise the Italian conquest of Abyssinia until the conditions already mentioned had been fulfilled. He stated that there was to be an important conference in Paris on 18th July, organised by the French Committee of the I.P.C. and mainly concerned with the situation in Spain, and that it was hoped that a strong delegation from the Union would attend the meeting.

The Chairman, Lord Cecil and Dr. Murray were asked to consider this matter and make suggestions to the Executive.

203. INTERNATIONAL PEACE CAMPAIGN. The Executive had before them an extract from the minutes of the British National Committee held on May 26th (No. 14 International Affairs, and No. 16 Japanese Boycott). It was

RESOLVED: "That these minutes be received".

204. ALEXANDRETTA. Dr. Murray drew the Executive's attention to the recent action of the Turks in Alexandretta in refusing to recognise the League Committee. He understood that the situation was very serious and that there was great danger of a massacre of the Syrians.

Lord Cecil suggested that an inquiry might be made of the French League of Nations Society concerning possible action by the Union in this matter. After further discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That a memorandum on the situation in Alexandretta be prepared for consideration by the Executive at its next meeting".

205. GLASGOW PEACE PAVILION. Admiral Drury-Lowe drew attention to letters which many members of the Executive Committee had received from Lady Aberdeen appealing for subscriptions towards the cost of the Peace Pavilion at the Glasgow Empire Exhibition. He expressed the hope that the Union would send a small donation.

The Committee were reminded that appeals on behalf of the Peace Pavilion had appeared in HEADWAY, and that the Finance Committee had been unable to recommend a contribution to the cost of the Peace Pavilion. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the Finance Committee be asked to reconsider the question of a donation being sent from the Union towards the cost of the Glasgow Peace Pavilion".

206. ABYSSINIA. Miss Rathbone spoke of the desire of the Abyssinia Association that the subject of non-recognition of Abyssinia should be placed prominently on the programme of any important meetings which the Union's local organisations were arranging during the next few months, and asked whether the Abyssinia Association could be permitted to take up collections on behalf of Abyssinia at such meetings. The Chairman stated that, while the Union had no control over collections taken outside a place of meeting, it could not approve of collections for purposes other than its own funds being made at meetings organised on its behalf.
207. REVISION OF THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES. The Committee considered a communication from the Godalming Branch suggesting that 'in the interests of justice and because of the possible effect on public opinion on the Continent, the L.N.U. should advocate revision of the Treaty of Versailles at a suitable conference, not necessarily at Geneva, in the light of post-war events and experience'. It was
- RESOLVED: "That the Godalming Branch, be informed that the Executive is not, at the present time, in favour of advocating the immediate revision of the Treaty of Versailles, and that an invitation be sent to the Branch for one or more of its officers when in London to call at the office to discuss the subject".
208. CZECHOSLOVAKIA. Mr. Mander drew the Committee's attention to an account of an interview which the Prime Minister had given on 10th May to a private gathering of American and Canadian journalists, as well as to a question on the subject which he (Mr. Mander) had subsequently asked in the House of Commons and the reply he had received. Mr. Mander promised to send to the Chairman a note of the interview.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1., ON THURSDAY, JUNE 30TH, 1938, AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Mrs. Corbett Ashby, P.J. Noel Baker, Mrs. Beale, F.M. Burris, Major Anthony Buxton, Captain V.A. Cazalet, Lord Cecil, the Dean of Chichester, Miss Judith Corcoran, Lord Cranborne, Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Phillipa Fawcett, Miss M. Lloyd George, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, Captain B.H. Liddell Hart, J.A. Keyser, Lady Layton, G. le M. Mander, Dr. Gilbert Murray, W.T. Fritchard, Miss E. Rathbone, H.F. Shaw, Nowell Smith, R.R. Stokes, H.S. Syrett, Major-General A.C. Temperley, F.W. Weaver, and Major Lawrence Wright, together with the Deputy Secretary.

209. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Dr. C.W. Kimmins, James Macdonald, W. Roberts and Sir Archibald Sinclair.

210. VISCOUNT CRANBORNE AND MR. STOKES. The Chairman welcomed Viscount Cranborne and Mr. Stokes who were attending the new Committee for the first time.

211. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

(a) National Youth Groups Council. Miss Corcoran reported on minutes 13 (International Affairs) and 15 (Collective Security and the Government's Foreign Policy) of the Third National Youth Groups Council held from April 16th to 18th, 1938.

RESOLVED: "That minute 15 (Collective Security and the Government's Foreign Policy) be received, and that Miss Corcoran be asked to inform the Youth Groups Council of the Executive's reasons for not adopting the resolution."

(b) Christian Organisations Committee. The Executive had before them minutes 38 (Follow-Up of Conference on the Christian Churches and the League of Nations) and 44 (Resolutions of the General Council) of the meeting of the Committee dated 8th June. Minute 38 had already been approved by the Executive on June 9th after an oral report by the Dean of Chichester.

On Minute 44 — Resolutions of the General Council of the Union, it was

RESOLVED: "That copies of the Preliminary Agenda for meetings of the General Council be

circulated to the Christian Organisations Committee and to such other advisory committees of the Executive as desire to have them".

- (c) Finance Committee. Mr. Syrett submitted, for the information of the Executive, minute 55 (Financial Position) of the Committee dated June 8th, 1938.

Following a question by Admiral Drury-Lowe concerning the desirability of circulating the full minutes of the Finance Committee to the Executive, it was agreed to leave it to the Chairman of the Finance Committee to decide which minutes should be submitted to the Executive.

- (d) Youth Committee. Miss Corcoran reported on minutes 27 (Election of Officers), and 32 (Mr. Winston Churchill's meetings); and 33 (Honorary Presidents of the Union). It was

RESOLVED: "That the first resolution on minute 27 (Election of Officers) be approved and adopted; and that the second resolution be adjourned for consideration at the next meeting along with information concerning the practice which has been followed in the past in regard to paid officers of the Union serving as members of Committees which are able to take executive action, or of sub-Committees of the Executive".

- (e) Political Committee. The minutes of the Committee dated June 22nd, 1938, dealing with the 22nd Plenary Congress of the International Federation were approved and adopted.
- (f) Education Committee. Mr. Nowell Smith reported on minute 89 (International Federation of League of Nations Societies) of the Committee dated June 13th, 1938. This minute was approved and adopted.
- (g) Overseas Committee. The minutes of the Committee dated June 29th, 1938 were approved and adopted.
- These minutes included: 18 (Minutes);
19 (XXIInd Plenary Congress at Copenhagen);
20 (Instructions for Delegates to Copenhagen Congress); 21 (Allocation of Subjects for Copenhagen Congress); 22 (Executive Committee);
23 (Representative Council)
- (h) Editorial Committee Minute 18 (Reprints of Speeches) of the meeting dated June 23rd, 1938 was submitted to the Committee.

In reply to a question from Lady Hall concerning the future control of Union publications, the Chairman stated that this matter would be considered by the Administration Committee at their meeting that afternoon.

212. BRANCH RESOLUTION. The Executive received resolutions from the Sevenoaks Branch, and Mr. Keyser gave information about the meeting at which the resolutions were adopted.

RESOLVED: "That the Sevenoaks Branch be thanked for their resolutions endorsing the General Council's policy."

213. MINUTES. Subject to the following report and decision on minutes 198 (189), 198 (195) and 205, the minutes of the last meeting held on June 23rd were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 198(189) — The Far East. Lord Lytton reported that he was hoping to send a letter to THE TIMES at an early date:

On Minute 198(195) — Co-optations to Committee, it was reported that the Executive Committee at present consisted of forty-six members who had been elected or had accepted co-optation. It was further reported that Mr. Leslie was unable to accept membership of the Committee, and it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That inquiries be made of Mr. Arthur Henderson whether he would be willing to rejoin the Committee".

Miss Corcoran suggested that since the Youth Groups were already represented on the Executive, any additional representative of Youth should be someone from the B.U.L.N.S. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: (2) "That it be left to Miss Corcoran, after consultation with the B.U.L.N.S., to suggest a name or names for consideration by the Executive Committee."

Lord Cecil gave notice that, when a further vacancy occurred on the Executive, he would propose Dame Adelaide Livingstone for co-optation.

On Minute 205 — Glasgow Peace Pavilion. Mrs. Corbett Ashby expressed the strong opinion that, in its present financial situation, the Union ought not to send a donation to the Glasgow Peace Pavilion.

214. ALEXANDRETTA. The Executive expressed their thanks for the valuable and interesting memorandum on Alexandretta (I.M.136) which had been prepared by the Intelligence Section in response to the Committee's request.

Dr. Murray thought that there was no action which the Executive could take at the moment. Members of the Committee were asked to study the memorandum in case there was anything the Union could do later on.

RESOLVED: "That the situation in Alexandretta be included as an item on the agenda for future meetings of the Executive."

215. SPAIN AND THE MEDITERRANEAN. Lord Cecil reported that the 'World Conference for Action on the Bombardment of Open Towns and the Restoration of Peace' which was being organised by the I.P.C. would meet in Paris on July 23rd and 24th, and not on July 15th as stated at the last meeting. Lord Cecil hoped that a good British delegation would attend the conference, and that many members of the Executive Committee would be included in it. A strong French delegation had already been promised.

RESOLVED: "That a letter be sent to all members of the Executive, giving particulars of the Paris Conference and asking whether they would be willing to join the British delegation."

The Committee discussed the situation arising out of the bombing of ships in Spanish ports, and the correspondence on the subject which was appearing in THE TIMES. Particular reference was made to the letter by Mr. Fachiri which, it was felt, accurately represented the legal position.

Captain Liddell Hart expressed the opinion that the British Government were making a grave mistake in doing anything to allow a precedent to be established. One argument against our taking any action was that it might prejudice our own position in a future war. Instead of establishing neutral ports, Great Britain might choose anchorages in different ports and protect them.

General Temperley doubted the advantage of neutral ports. If they were to be of any advantage to the Spanish Government, they would have to be within easy reach of the firing line. It was not to be expected that General Franco would agree.

Lord Cecil felt that the great necessity of the Spanish Government was not so much munitions as food for the civil population. He suggested that the Nyon precedent should be followed as far as possible. He would like to see the British Government ask the Nyon Powers to assist in the maintenance of what was the common right of all neutral countries and to send a warship to whatever was thought to be the proper place to prevent further bombing.

216. SECRETARYSHIP OF THE UNION. A discussion took place on this subject and was adjourned till the next meeting of the Executive Committee on July 14th.

217. NEXT MEETING. It was

RESOLVED: "That since some members of the Executive will be attending the Plenary Congress of the International Federation in Copenhagen next week, the next meeting of the Committee be held on July 14th instead of July 7th".

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

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, the Duchess of Atholl, P.J. Noel Baker, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Captain V.A. Cazalet, Miss K.D. Courtney, Lord Cranborne, Lord Dickinson, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Philippa Fawcett, Miss M. Lloyd George, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, Sir Arthur Haworth, Arthur Henderson, J.A. Keyser, Lady Layton, G. de M. Mander, Harold Nicolson, W.T. Pritchard, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, Wilfred Roberts, Sir Arthur Salter, Sir Archibald Sinclair, Nowell Smith, R.R. Stokes, H.S. Syrett, F.W. Weaver and Major Lawrence Wright, together with the Deputy Secretary.

218. APLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from General A.C. Temperley, Major Anthony Buxton, Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Lord Cecil and Miss Judith Corcoran.
219. MINUTES. Subject to the following report and decision on minutes 213(109) and 213(195) the minutes of the last meeting dated June 30th were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 213-189 -- The Far East, the Chairman reported that he had sent his letter to THE TIMES, but owing to the absence of Mr. Geoffrey Dawson to whom the letter had been personally addressed, THE TIMES leader on the subject of China had appeared on July 9th while the letter was not published until July 11th.

On Minute 213-195 -- Co-optations to Committee, The Chairman reported a conversation he had had with Mr. Eden who had expressed his pleasure that Lord Cranborne had joined the Executive. Mr. Eden, however, felt that since his views were represented by Lord Cranborne and since he wished to retain the fullest possible measure of freedom, he had better not accept membership of the Executive himself. But he would maintain the closest and most cordial co-operation with the Union and hoped that Lord Cranborne might serve as liaison between him and the Executive. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That Mr. Emrys Evans, M.P. be invited to join the Executive in place of Mr. Eden".

It was suggested that the Executive should bear in mind the desirability of organising a big meeting in the autumn and inviting Mr. Eden to address it.

A letter from Mr. Winston Churchill was reported thanking the Committee for their invitation which he was carefully considering. On the motion of Miss Rathbone it was

RESOLVED: (2) "That the Chairman be asked to invite Mr. Winston Churchill to attend the next meeting of the Executive on July 21st in order to discuss the present international situation".

It was also reported that Mr. Arthur Henderson had expressed his willingness to be co-opted to the Executive and, on the Chairman's instructions, a formal invitation had been sent to him and had been accepted.

A letter from Lord Davies was reported, declining the invitation extended to him to join the Committee but stating that he would be glad to receive the papers in order to be kept in touch with the Committee's business and to have the opportunity of putting forward his views in writing on any particular matter under discussion.

After a letter from Miss Corcoran had been reported, it was

RESOLVED: (3) "That Mr. Wallis Jones be invited to join the Executive Committee as the second representative of Youth".

220. ADMINISTRATION COMMITTEE. The Chairman presented a report on action taken by the Administration Committee (C.97. 11.7.38.)

221. MINUTES OF COMMITTEES

(a) National Youth Committee. The Executive resumed consideration of minute 27 of the meeting dated 11th June, 1938. After the Committee had been reminded of the practice followed in the past in regard to the Secretary and other members of the staff serving on sub-Committees of the Executive and ad hoc committees and conferences of outside bodies, it was

RESOLVED: "That no objection be raised to the appointment of Mr. Carritt by the National Youth Committee to represent it on the British Youth Peace Assembly, and

That it be an instruction to Mr. Carritt not to represent B.Y.P.A. on other organisations or Committees without the consent of the Secretary of the Union".

LORD CECIL LEAGUE NATIONS UNION LONDON

KINDLY TRANSMIT FOLLOWING MESSAGE EUROPEAN UNIVERSITIES LEAGUE NATIONS UNIONS INTERNATIONAL PEACE CAMPAIGN PRESS QUOTE WE INVITE YOUR ATTENTION RUTHLESS BOMBING BY JAPANESE AIRPLANES OF UNFORTIFIED CHINESE CITIES PARTICULARLY CANTON DELIBERATE SHELLING SUNYATSEN UNIVERSITY LINGNAN UNIVERSITY AND KILLING LARGE NUMBERS NONCOMBATANTS INCLUDING WOMEN AND CHILDREN STOP WE URGE CONCERTED ACTION AGAINST FOREIGN MERCHANTS CONTINUING SUPPLY AIRPLANES MUNITIONS TO JAPANESE MILITARISTS THEREBY AIDING ABETTING INTERNATIONAL BRIGANDAGE

SIGNED:

CHIALUEN LO, Chancellor National Central University
 LU TSOU, Chancellor National Sunyatsen University
 MONLIN CHIANG, Chancellor National Peking University
 KECHEN CHU, President National Chekiang University
 W. SCHANG, President National Szechwan University
 HSINKUNG WANG, President National Wuhan University
 YICHI MEI, President National Tsinghua University
 CHIHLOH WENG, President National Tunchi University
 SUNGMING HSU, President National Peiping University
 TSUNGSEIH PI, President National Hunan University
 TSUKAN WANG, President National Chungcheng Medical College
 SHUFANG CHUANG, President North-Eastern University
 YUKUANG CHEN, President Nanking University
 LINKAO CHANG, President West China Union University
 YIFANG WU, President Ginling College
 NANHSUAN MWOO, President Fudan University
 SHOUYUNG CHANG, President Kwanghua University
 SHUHUA HU, President Chungking University

(b) Christian Organisations Committee. The Executive considered minute 51 of the meeting dated July 6th, 1938 (Follow-up of Conference — Replies from Archbishops, Bishops and Free Church Leaders). In view of the Union's financial position it was

RESOLVED: "That the decision contained in minute 51 of the Christian Organisations Committee

'That when a Bishop is unwilling to summon a conference, steps be taken to arrange conferences in some other way'

be not approved."

Miss Fawcett suggested that the letter from the Archbishop of York and certain Bishops recently published in the press should be reprinted as a leaflet and given a wide circulation. The Chairman said that he had already been informed that the letter had aroused considerable interest and had suggested that it should be reprinted in HEADWAY.

(c) Women's Advisory Council. The Chairman reported that, as a matter of urgency, he had authorised the Secretary to communicate the resolution minute 694 to the Evian Conference.

RESOLVED: "That minute 694 of the Women's Advisory Council be approved and adopted".

Captain Cazalat and Mr. Eppstein who had just returned from Evian gave the Committee brief accounts of the Conference. Mr. Eppstein was asked to prepare a report on the proceedings for circulation to members of the Executive.

222. MISS COURTNEY. The Chairman welcomed Miss Courtney on her return from Australia and New Zealand. Miss Courtney was asked to give the Committee an account of her experiences at the meeting on July 28th.

223. THE FAR EAST. Copies of two cablegrams from (1) the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in Hankow (S.G. 9986) and (2) a number of Chancellors and Presidents of Chinese Universities (S.G. 9997) were communicated to the Executive.

Copies of NOTES FROM CHINA published by the Union of Democratic Control were also submitted to the Committee. The U.D.C. had offered to supply further copies of the Notes if they could be enclosed with the next circular letter to Branches. The Chairman felt the Executive could not make itself responsible for the circulation of such a document. But he drew attention to extracts from letters from Mr. W.H. Donald (confidential adviser to General Chiang Kai-Shek) also issued by the U.D.C. which provided an interesting commentary upon the news which had been published from time to time by the Japanese. He suggested that, if the U.D.C. were willing to supply further copies of this paper, they should be circulated to members of the Executive.

S.G. 9986

The following telegram has been received from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Hankow, dated 30.6.38.

For fear of guerilla attacks on their rear the Japanese cut the Grand Canal dykes, flooding many districts in north Kiangsu. Rescue operations are proceeding under the direction of the Kiangsu Provincial Government. Thousands of labourers are feverishly erecting dams in the effort to stem the flood.

Bitter fighting continues in the Matang sector. Though the Chinese first line of defence has been levelled by the intense Japanese naval bombardment, the forts further inland are intact.

Chinese Embassy, London.

30th June, 1938.

224. ALEXANDRETTA. Recent events in Alexandretta were discussed. The opinion was expressed that although it was no doubt in accord with the interests of British policy to be on good terms with Turkey on the Eastern Mediterranean, the situation in Alexandretta seemed to indicate that the French and British Governments had swept aside League machinery.

Mr. Mander suggested that the matter ought to be discussed by the League Council. Lord Cranborne thought that the French Government was very ready to come to an agreement, and that since the object of the League was to settle disputes between nations, the Council would take no exception if the two nations were ready to reach agreement.

225. SPAIN AND THE MEDITERRANEAN. The Committee discussed the statement made in the House of Commons on the previous day concerning the bombing of British ships and the decision of H.M. Government to send British observers to the areas that were being subjected to air raids.

Miss Rathbone thought it very unfortunate that a purely British delegation should be sent. In reply to a question in the House she had been informed that, for various reasons, the Government had failed to secure an international commission. She had received no answer to a further question asking which nations had been approached. The Chairman thought that it was better to have a purely British commission than to abandon the idea altogether.

226. ANGLO-AMERICAN TRADE AGREEMENT. Sir Arthur Haworth reported a letter from Admiral Drury-Lowe, drawing attention to the Anglo-American Trade agreement and asking if anything could be done to urge again the importance of concluding such an agreement and to enquire into the causes of delay. It was suggested that it was of great importance that H.M. Government should relax none of their efforts to bring about an Anglo-American Trade Agreement from which other agreements might quickly arise.

Lady Layton thought that at the moment the causes of the delay were technical rather than political.

227. REPORT OF MEETING OF PLENARY CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF LEAGUE OF NATIONS SOCIETIES. It was agreed to adjourn consideration of this report until the next meeting of the Executive.

228. SECRETARISHIP OF THE UNION. The Chairman reported that as a result of opinions expressed at the last meeting he had written to each member of the Committee stating that at to-day's meeting a motion might be made to terminate Dr. Garnett's tenure of the office of Secretary. He considered the matter of such importance that he wished to know the opinion of all the members and asked those who could not attend the meeting to send him their views in writing. The matter was then discussed, and after those present who had not previously written or spoken had expressed their views, the Chairman announced that a small majority of the whole Committee, contrary to his advice and that of the two Presidents, had, on widely differing grounds expressed themselves in favour of a change of Secretary. He therefore undertook to report this fact to Dr. Garnett.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT
NO. 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1. ON THURSDAY,
JULY 21ST, 1938 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Cecil (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams, the Duchess of Atholl, F.J. Noel Baker, Mrs. E.F. Beale, F.M. Barris, Captain Cazalet, the Dean of Chichester, Miss K.D. Courtney, Lord Dickinson, Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss F. Fawcett, Miss M. Lloyd George, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, J.A. Keyser, Lady Layton, G. le M. Mander, W.T. Pritchard, Miss E. Rathbone, W. Roberts, H.S. Syrett and Major Lawrence Wright, together with the Deputy Secretary.

229. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Miss Judith Corcoran, Captain E.H. Liddell Hart, Arthur Henderson, James Macdonald, Sir Archibald Sinclair, R.R. Stokes, and Major-General A.C. Temperley.
230. MINUTES. Subject to the following report and decision on minutes 219(213) and 221(b), the minutes of the last meeting held on July 21st were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 219-213 -- Co-optations to Committee, a letter was reported from Mr. Emrys Evans, thanking the Committee for their invitation but regretting that, since he had engagements every morning in the City, he was unable to accept membership of the Executive. It was

RESOLVED: "That Brig.-General Spears be invited to rejoin the Executive".

It was also reported that Mr. Winston Churchill had informed Lord Lytton that he was unable to attend the present meeting of the Committee but that he could do so on July 28th. Lord Lytton felt that, owing to the approach of the holidays, that meeting was not likely to be a very representative one and had therefore suggested that Mr. Churchill should postpone his visit until after the vacation, to which Mr. Churchill had agreed.

On Minute 221(b) -- Christian Organisations Committee, the Dean of Chichester reminded the Executive of the circumstances which had led the Christian Organisations Committee to propose the holding of conferences in the different dioceses and recalled the resolution on International Morality which had been unanimously adopted by the General Council last month. He emphasised the importance of the Union's work in the Churches at the present time and urged the Executive to reconsider the decision taken at their last meeting.

From Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Secretary of the League of Nations Union to the Earl of Lytton, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Union.

21, Well Walk,
N.W.3.

14th July, 1938.

My dear Lord Lytton,

Eighteen years ago this month the Executive Committee and the General Council voted — I believe unanimously — for my appointment as General Secretary of the League of Nations Union. This morning, I understand, the Executive decided by a small majority of the members voting, that they would prefer to have a new Secretary in my place.

As you know, I have never failed to carry out any decisions of the Executive or of the Council while I have been the chief executive officer of the Union. Nor am I conscious of any serious faults which might justify the Executive in ending my appointment.

On the other hand, I believe that I have come to be regarded by some of those who voted in the majority this morning as the principal obstacle to the Union's being used as an instrument of political propaganda. In my view it would be the greatest possible mistake, perhaps amounting to a breach of our Royal Charter, were education in League principles that have the support of all parties to be sacrificed to agitation on behalf of a single school of political thought. Hitherto a majority of the Executive has shared this opinion. You have been good enough to tell me that it is also yours, and that you would look forward with pleasure and confidence to having me as Secretary of the Union while you are Chairman of its Executive Committee. For my part, I should welcome the privilege of working with you as I worked with Dr. Gilbert Murray for the League and for the Union. I have devoted my best years to this service because no other public work seemed, or seems, to me so important for men or women of our generation.

Since the advocates of political agitation, who raised the issue discussed this morning, obtained a majority in the voting, I fear that they may prevail again and again. I hope I am wrong; but, while the danger exists, I would not remain Secretary even if this morning's vote were reversed in the near future. I therefore ask the Executive to accept three months' notice of my resignation.

Lady Lytton supported the Dean of Chichester and expressed the opinion that unless real support could be obtained from the Churches the work of the Union's branches would inevitably drift into more political channels.

After the Dean had stated that the Christian Organisations Committee would not be meeting again until October, it was

RESOLVED: "That the Dean of Chichester and Mr. Porter Goff be asked, on behalf of the Christian Organisations Committee, to prepare a definite scheme and, in consultation with the Chairman of the Finance Committee, to submit proposals, including detailed estimates of the cost, to the next meeting of the Executive".

On Minute 228 — Secretaryship of the Union, The Executive had before them copies of the letters exchanged by Lord Lytton and Dr. Garnett. The Chairman expressed on behalf of the Committee the warmest thanks to Dr. Garnett for his services and he was asked to write a letter to be published in HEADWAY in that sense.

RESOLVED: "That Lord Lytton's acceptance of Dr. Garnett's resignation be noted and that no other change be made in the present arrangements as to the Secretaryship until after the summer holidays."

231. MINUTES OF COMMITTEES

(a) Education Committee. The Executive had before them minutes 97, 113, 114, and 115 of the meeting held on July 11th, 1938. Subject to the following decisions on minutes 97 and 115, these minutes were approved and adopted.

On Minute 97 — Resignation of Mr. John Bell, the Executive associated itself with the Education Committee in recording their deep appreciation of the services rendered to the educational work of the Union, and in particular to its Education Committee, by the High Master of St. Paul's.

On Minute 115 — International Federation of League of Nations Societies, it was

RESOLVED: "That this minute be approved and adopted, subject to paragraph (ii) of the resolution being adjourned for consideration until Dr. Gilbert Murray is present".

(b) Finance Committee. The minutes of the Committee dated July 12th, 1938 were received.

Although I am laying down my office, I shall always treasure my memories of many splendid people whom I have learned to love and honour in the Union, on its Committees, and among the members of its Secretariat.

Yours very sincerely,
(Signed) MAXWELL GARNETT

From Lord Lytton to Dr. Maxwell Garnett.

Knebworth House,
KNEBWORTH.

July 16th, 1938.

Dear Garnett,

Thank you for your letter. In the circumstances I have no alternative but to accept your resignation which I do with very great regret. I beg you to believe that, although a small majority of the Executive Committee believed that a change of Secretary was desirable in the interests of the Union, not one of our number ever made any reflection on your ability or your character, and everyone of us recognises with appreciation and gratitude the single-minded devotion which you have shown to the cause of the Union since you became our Secretary.

I can also assure you, however difficult you may find it to believe, that the decision of last Thursday was not a vote for a policy of political propaganda as against one of education in League principles. Such a change in our policy was not suggested by anyone in the course of the discussion. It is inevitable, I am afraid, in an organisation as large as ours, containing as it does members of all the political parties, that there should be differences of opinion as to the ways in which our common policy should best be expressed and as to the emphasis which should be given to different features of it from time to time, but during the years in which I have been actively connected with the Union I have remarked with wonder and satisfaction how rarely its platform has been abused or the all-party character of its work been departed from.

I hope that in time you will yourself become satisfied that whatever may have been the reasons --

These minutes included: (62) Minutes; (63) Financial Position; (64) Report of Director of Appeals; (65) Kent; (66) Manchester; (67) Conference of Clergy and Ministers; (68) Glasgow Peace Pavilion; (69) Legacies; (70) Passing of Cheques for Payment

232. VICE-CHAIRMANSHIP OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. The Chairman asked for consideration of this item to be adjourned until the next meeting in order that he might consult some of the older members of the Committee with regard to possible candidates.
233. REPORT ON MEETINGS OF PLENARY CONGRESS OF INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF LEAGUE OF NATIONS SOCIETIES. The Committee had before them a report on the meetings of the Plenary Congress, together with the text of the resolutions on juridical and political questions (S.G.9587). After discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the text of the political and juridical resolutions be communicated to the Foreign Office with a covering letter, stating that they were adopted by the International Federation of League of Nations Societies at Copenhagen on July 3rd to 9th, but that they have not yet been examined in detail by the Executive Committee and it must not therefore be taken that the Executive Committee is in all respects in agreement with the resolutions; and pointing out that, since the resolutions on Refugees and the Jewish Problem were passed before the Evian Conference took place, the Executive desires, before expressing any opinion, to consider them in the light of the results of the Conference.

- (2) "That the resolutions on Reform of the Covenant, Abyssinia, the Far East, Spain and Czechoslovakia be referred to the Political Committee for consideration and report; and that in connection with the resolution on the Reform of the Covenant a statement be prepared for the information of the Political Committee showing the action already taken by the Union in this matter.

(NOTE: For further decisions regarding the resolutions on Refugees and Spain see minutes 234 and 235 below)

Lady Gladstone stated that the autumn meetings of the International Federation would be held in Geneva on 17th and 18th September. Members of the Executive who would be in Geneva at that time and would be willing to

and they were very diverse — which caused some members of the Executive to desire a new secretary, a wish to alter the policy of the Union in the sense you fear was not one of them, and then I hope you will consent to become a member of the Executive and continue to co-operate with us for a cause which, as you so rightly say, is of the greatest importance to the men and women of our generation.

At a moment which cannot be otherwise than very distressing to you, I hope it will be some consolation to you to remember from what a small beginning you have worked the Union up to the great organisation which it has become while you have been its Secretary, and I can assure you that we shall never forget the conspicuous service which you have rendered to our common cause.

I am,
Yours sincerely,

(Signed) LYTTON

With the compliments of the LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION
15 Grosvenor Crescent,
London, S.W.1.

For the Favour of Notice.

to join the Union's delegation were asked to send in their names to the Secretary, and it was

RESOLVED: "That the composition of the Union's delegation to the autumn meetings of the Federation be left in the hands of the Chairman and Secretary of the Overseas Committee".

234. EVIAN CONFERENCE ON REFUGEES. A memorandum prepared by Mr. Eppstein on the Evian Conference (S.5) was considered. In view of the inclusion in the paper of the names of certain persons, members of the Executive were asked, after reading the paper, to return their copies to the Secretary. The memorandum would be re-issued later after the necessary deletions had been made.

Captain Cazalet made an oral report on the Conference and referred to the helpful memorandum which Mr. Eppstein had prepared for submission to the Conference. He said that the Evian Conference had dealt only with German Jews and full-blooded Jews but that these were only a small percentage of the people in Germany and Austria who had already, or would in the course of the next few months, suffer the same disabilities.

Lord Cecil regarded the main conclusions of the Conference as retrograde and not an advance. He had never believed that the refugee question could be solved by infiltration. The numbers were already too big and there was every probability that they would increase. Moreover, infiltration would create the elements of a new anti-Semitic movement in the countries to which large numbers of Jews were admitted. The only solution, in his opinion, was to provide some kind of settlement. He would like to see an expert committee drawn from different countries whose business it would be to study the matter strictly as a refugee problem and, after examination of the different possibilities, draw up a plan.

The Dean of Chichester and Mr. Noel Baker regretted that the Evian Conference had not dealt with the problem of refugees as a whole.

Mr. Eppstein said that he had not formed the impression from the actual results of the Conference that its scope of action was restricted to the full Jews.

Mrs. Dugdale reminded the Executive that the Union's Refugee Committee was the only one in this country which had a representative of every single expert body. She hoped that the Committee would, in due course, be able to draw up a policy. Mrs. Dugdale also drew the Executive's attention to the report in THE TIMES of Lord Halifax's conversation with Herr Wiedemann on the subject of refugees, and suggested that the thanks of the Committee might be sent to the Foreign Secretary for his statement.

After further discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the memorandum on the Evian Conference be referred to the Refugees Committee for consideration and report".

(2) "That consideration of the resolutions adopted by the International Federation at Copenhagen on Refugees and the Jewish Problem be adjourned until the report of the Refugees Committee is available".

235. SPAIN. The Executive discussed the closing of the Pyrenean frontier. Miss Rathbone reminded the Executive that the Prime Minister had substantially repudiated any responsibility by Great Britain for the closing of the frontier, and suggested that H.M. Government should be urged, as a matter of justice and commonsense, to make clear that it would welcome the re-opening of the frontier by the French Government. The frontier had been closed four weeks before the proposal for the restoration of control on the land and sea frontiers had passed the Committee, and two months were likely to elapse before the control was implemented. Such a gross breach of neutrality and fair play to the Spanish Republic was, she feared, likely to have a disastrous influence on the Continent. She suggested that the Executive should pass a resolution on the lines of paragraph (3) of the International Federation's resolution which might conclude by urging the French Government to abandon any measures they may have taken for the control of the Pyrenean frontier. Mr. Noel Baker supported Miss Rathbone.

Captain Cazalet opposed.

The Chairman reminded Miss Rathbone that the Executive had already decided to communicate the Federation's resolutions forthwith to H.M. Government. He felt that there was nothing to be gained by sending yet another resolution from the Executive, whose views had been repeatedly expressed to the Government. But he saw no objection to the point made by Miss Rathbone being communicated to the Government in the covering letter accompanying the Federation's resolutions. In reply to a further question from Miss Rathbone, Lord Cecil said that the Secretary would convey to the Union's representatives to the Paris Conference the general feeling of the Executive that the closing of the Pyrenean frontier was viewed with the greatest anxiety.

236. GERMAN ECONOMIC PENETRATION. Mr. Keyser gave notice that at the next meeting of the Committee he would table a motion on the subject of German economic penetration in South-eastern Europe.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT
NO. 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1. ON THURSDAY,
JULY 28TH, 1938 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Cecil (in the Chair), P.J. Noel Baker,
I. M. Burris, Lady Violet Bonham Carter,
Captain Cazalet, Miss K.D. Courtney,
Lord Dickinson, Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe,
Miss Philippa Fawcett, W. Arnold Forster,
Miss M. Lloyd George, Lady Hall, Arthur
Henderson, J.A. Keyser, G. le M. Mander,
Miss E. Rathbone, Councillor H.F. Shaw,
Brig.-General E.L. Spears, H.S. Syrett and
E. Wallis-Jones, together with the Deputy
Secretary.

237. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Mrs. Beale,
Miss J. Corcoran, James Macdonald, W. Roberts, R. Stokes,
General A.C. Temperley, F.W. Weaver and Major L. Wright.

238. MINUTES. Subject to the following report and decision
on minutes 230 -- 221 and 231(a) 115, the minutes of
the last meeting held on July 21st were confirmed as
circulated.

On Minute 230 -- 221 -- Christian Organisations
Committee, after the Chairman had stated that
the Christian Organisations Committee desired a
guarantee of £35 for the purpose of organising
eleven conferences in twelve months, and that it
had been suggested that £25 might be taken out of
the special campaign fund and £10 be contributed
from a private source; and after Mr. Syrett on
behalf of the Finance Committee had expressed
approval of the suggestion, it was

RESOLVED: "That the proposal of the Christian
Organisations Committee to organise
eleven conferences in dioceses where
the Bishop is unwilling or unable to
summon such a conference be approved,
and that for this purpose a guarantee
of £25 from the special campaign fund
be authorised".

In reply to suggestions from the Chairman and
Admiral Drury-Lowe, Mr. Porter Goff stated that
the Christian Organisations Committee, when it
re-assembled in the autumn, would consider the
question of inviting further support for the
Union from the Archbishop of Canterbury and the
Churches generally.

On Minute 231(a) - 97 - Resignation of Mr. John Bell, it was suggested that the Education Committee should endeavour to enlist the help of Mr. John Oakeshott, the new High Master of St. Paul's and the question was referred to the Education Committee.

On Minute 231(a) - 115 - International Federation of League of Nations Societies, after a letter had been reported from Dr. Gilbert Murray, agreeing that for the most part the resolution of the International Federation on Intellectual Co-operation should be adjourned till he could be present, asked that so much of it as approved the 'International Act' concerning Intellectual Co-operation should be approved, it was

RESOLVED: "That the resolution adopted by the International Federation on the 'International Act Concerning Intellectual Co-operation' be approved and communicated to H.M. Government."

239. PEACE PENNY FUND. The Chairman reminded the Committee of the proposal to which reference had been previously made for the organisation of a Peace Penny Fund. Sir Norman Angell had now obtained provisional support and approval from two large newspapers. After consultation with him and with others, the Chairman had decided to devote £2,000 out of the Nobel Peace Prize to work the scheme for a year, and had appointed Mr. V. Duncan Jones as secretary. It was hoped to have an organisation similar to that of the Hospital Fund, the money collected would be allotted to peace societies which were working for the Covenant as a whole. Trustees would be appointed, as well as a small advisory committee consisting of representatives of societies taking part in the collection of the money. The Chairman did not think that such a scheme would interfere with the finances of the Union, but the Union's Treasurer would be kept closely informed of everything that was done. If the scheme proved successful he thought it should be made a fulcrum by which members of the Union could be obtained. He hoped that members of the Executive would communicate to him any suggestions they might wish to make on the subject.

Mr. Syrett thought the scheme could be made to succeed and suggested that the Administration Committee should be consulted on points of detail.

The Chairman, in reply to several questions, said it was necessary to avoid individual societies appealing separately to the public for financial assistance. He was not opposed to an arrangement whereby local organisations would be given a proportion of the money they collected.

It would be necessary to provide a statement of the objects for which the collection was being made. This might be, broadly speaking, a summary of the Covenant.

After further discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That general approval be given to the proposal for a Peace Penny Fund."

240. MR. NOWELL SMITH. Lord Cecil reported a letter from Mr. Nowell Smith, stating that on the whole he preferred to maintain his resignation from the Executive Committee.

RESOLVED: "That Mr. Nowell Smith's resignation be accepted with regret, but that he be asked to remain a member of the Education Committee".

241. VICE-CHAIRMAN. On the motion of the Chairman it was unanimously

RESOLVED: "That Miss Courtney be elected Vice-Chairman of the Executive Committee".

Miss Courtney expressed her deep appreciation of the confidence placed in her and assured the Committee of her readiness to do everything possible to promote the welfare of the Union.

242. AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND. Miss Courtney reported on her recent visit to Australia and New Zealand. There was a great interest in international affairs in those countries, stimulated by recent happenings in the Far East, but there was little knowledge of the League. Much work was needed to put the League of Nations Societies into the position they ought to occupy. It was impossible for the General Secretary of the Australian Society to keep in touch with the work of Branches in the various states. She suggested that, in future, the Union should correspond with the individual Secretaries in Sydney, Adelaide, Perth, Brisbane, etc. as well as with the General Secretary. Advantage should be taken by the Union of the new air mail service to Australia and New Zealand to keep the Branches in touch with the work in this country and to stimulate their interest.

243. CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES. Mr. Arnold Forster reported on his recent visit to Canada and the United States. He had found everywhere a very ready response to the League, but the L. of N. Society in Canada was weak, he thought that it should collaborate on a footing of equality with the other federated bodies working for peace.

There was in the United States a profound interest in world affairs. He was convinced that in January there would be a very big move in Congress, supported by the Administration, for a drastic revision of the Neutrality Law. The League of Nations Society, though not strong, was doing gallant work. He believed a new effort to consolidate the peace movement on collective security lines had a better chance than ever before.

244. GERMAN ECONOMIC PENETRATION. The Committee considered a resolution drafted by Mr. Keyser on German Economic penetration in Central and South-east Europe. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union

Gravely alarmed at the progress of German economic penetration in Central and South-East Europe which has steadily increased in the last few years and which now threatens the countries in that area with complete loss of economic independence and which, in consequence, has successfully prepared the way for the acquisition of political control over them by Germany,

Being firmly convinced that this process has widely surpassed the limits of natural trade intercourse between Germany and those countries,

Yet recognising the necessity of normal trading between Germany and the countries of that area and emphatically repudiating any intention of attempting the economic or political encirclement of Germany,

Regards the present situation as very serious and as requiring immediate action, and,

Assures the Government of their support in any measures they may think it possible to take in assisting the States of Central and South East Europe in order to counteract the present dangerous tendency of allowing them to fall completely under German economic domination.

245. PARIS CONFERENCE. The Chairman, Mr. Noel Baker, and Miss Rethbone reported on the Conference held in Paris on July 23rd and 24th when the situation in Spain and the Far East was discussed. Some eleven hundred delegates from thirty-four different countries had attended the Conference, and great enthusiasm had prevailed. The Chairman expressed the hope that on future occasions a longer preparation and closer organisation of such meetings might be possible.

246. THE FAR EAST. The Executive discussed the speech made by Lord Halifax on the previous day and particularly its reference to the proposal for financial assistance to China.
247. FRANCE. General Spears spoke of the general desire that this country should keep in close accord with France, and drew attention to two matters which he feared might adversely affect the relations between the governments of the two countries. In the first place, if the British Government arrived at an understanding with Italy without having made provision for an understanding between the Italians and the French, there was likely to be a disastrous feeling aroused in France. Secondly, the people of Great Britain did not recognise the sacrifice which the French workers had made in accepting the closing of the Pyrenean frontier; rightly or wrongly they believed it was done to satisfy this country. If, as a result of that, the Spanish Government were defeated for what would appear to the French to be selfish English motives, he believed there would be a revulsion of feeling in France. If, for either of these reasons, there was the slightest wedge driven between ourselves and the French, he feared that the Germans would immediately take advantage of it.

The Chairman agreed that the British Government had under-rated the strength of pro-Spanish Government feeling in France. He also agreed that it was unfortunate that, in regard to the Anglo-Italian treaty, the Government should have put themselves in a position of appearing to desert the French. But the Italians had refused to negotiate with the French and no provision appeared to have been made in the Anglo-Italian Agreement that it should be only a prelude to a Franco-Italian agreement.

General Spears thought that H.M. Government should be urged to make it clearly understood to Italy that it could not ratify the agreement unless it was laid down that at some future time negotiations with the French Government would be entered upon.

The Chairman said that he would speak to Lord Halifax on the subject of the closing of the Pyrenean frontier and the present state of feeling in France. He would also ask the Foreign Secretary what, if any, proposals H.M. Government intended to make at the forthcoming meetings of the League's Assembly for amending the Covenant.

248. INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF LEAGUE OF NATIONS SOCIETIES.

A letter was reported from M. Forêt, President of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies, stating that, following the resignation of Professor Ruyssen, the post of Secretary to the Federation would become vacant in the autumn of 1939. Members of the Executive who wished to suggest the names of candidates for appointment as Professor Ruyssen's successor were asked to send them to the Secretary. The salary attached to the appointment was between 12,000 and 16,000 Swiss francs, according to age, qualifications and experience.

249. CZECHOSLOVAKIA. Mr. Wallis-Jones referred to the resolution adopted at the Paris Conference concerning the proposed recognition of the 20th anniversary of the independence of Czechoslovakia. He suggested that the Union should consider taking some action in the matter. He also referred to propaganda being carried out in this country against the Czech policy. The Czech League of Nations Society was doing what it could to remove ignorance on the subject of Czechoslovakia by organising for the second time an international school which would meet at the end of August. He suggested, and it was agreed, that a message of sympathy with the Czech people should be sent from the Union.

250. DATE OF NEXT MEETING. It was

RESOLVED: "That the next ordinary meeting of the Committee be held on Thursday, September 22nd, but that it be left to the Chairman to summon a special meeting during the vacation if, in his opinion, such a meeting is desirable."

MINUTES OF A SPECIAL MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
HELD AT 15, GROSVENOR CRESCENT ON 8TH SEPTEMBER, 1938
AT 3 P.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Mrs. E.P. Beale, Lord Cecil, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Philippa Fawcett, Lady Hall, J.A. Keyser, Dr. C.W. Kimmins, James Macdonald, G. le M. Mander, Dr. Gilbert Murray, W.T. Pritchard, Miss E. Rathbone, H.F. Shaw and H.S. Syrett, together with Mr. Freshwater and Mr. Eppstein.

251. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Sir Norman Angell, Lord Allen, F. Burris, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, the Dean of Chichester, Miss Judith Corcoran, Miss K.D. Courtney, Vice-Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Lady Gladstone, Sir John Harris, Sir Arthur Haworth, Arthur Henderson, Wilfred Roberts, Sir Archibald Sinclair, R.R. Stokes, Major-General A.C. Temperley, F.W. Weaver.

252. GERMANY AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA. A general discussion of the crisis took place during which it was reported by Mr. Mander that a note had been presented by the British Minister in Prague to the Czech Government, to the effect that the support of H.M. Government would be withdrawn unless the extensive concessions (as embodied in the "final offer" of September 7th) were made to the Sudeten Germans. It was in response to this extreme pressure that the offer, which involved grave risk to the political security and independence of the state had been made with Lord Runcimen's approval.

This account of the latest stage of the negotiations was confirmed in a letter from Mr. Wallis-Jones written from Prague.

During a discussion of the German Government's intentions it was stated that Herr Hitler was likely at the conclusion of the Nuremberg celebrations to demand a plebiscite in the Sudeten German areas accompanied by a forty-eight hour ultimatum. The Committee was united in opposing any exertion of pressure by H.M. Government on Prague in favour of concessions which might place in jeopardy the political independence and integrity of Czechoslovakia; in urging British resistance, in conjunction with other States, to any attempt by the German Government to achieve its ends by intimidation or military action; in believing that these sentiments were shared by the bulk of the British people; and in hoping that

COPY OF LETTER FROM LORD LYTTON TO LORD HALIFAX,
WRITTEN AT THE REQUEST OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,
SEPTEMBER 2TH.

Dear Edward,

At an emergency meeting of the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union this afternoon I was asked to convey to you the unanimous feelings of the members present on the subject of the critical situation in Czechoslovakia.

- (1) We welcome the British efforts to secure by agreement a just and satisfactory solution of the Sudeten German problem.
- (2) We read with consternation the suggestion made by the "Times" yesterday at the end of its leading article that Czechoslovakia might cede to Germany its Sudeten fringe and we trust that no official hint had been given to the "Times" that such a suggestion would be timely.
- (3) We are also profoundly anxious at the statements from Prague that strong pressure had been put upon the Czech Government to concede in full the demands made by Herrlein at Carlsbad. We consider that some of these demands are inconsistent with the independence of the Czechoslovak State, which we think it essential to maintain, and we earnestly hope that H.M. Government is not seeking peace by recommending surrender to German intimidation.
- (4) We are convinced that peace can be preserved not only in this area but in other parts of the world by a clear intimation that the employment of military force will be resisted, and we are equally sure that surrender to intimidation in one area will only invite a renewed aggression in another.
- (5) We can assure you that the whole strength of our organisation will always be used to secure support throughout the country for a policy on those lines, viz:- the maximum of effort for appeasement coupled with a clearly avowed determination to resist aggression, just as it will always be used to condemn a policy of hesitation in the fulfilment of our Covenant obligations or of nervousness in the face of threatened aggression. It would be better for us to keep out of international negotiations altogether than to take part in them without courage or honour.

I am very sorry to hear that you have had to give up attending the Assembly of the League in person, but I hope that whoever represents us at Geneva will make use of the opportunity to seek the co-operation of other States in such a policy as I have indicated.

the fullest opportunity would be taken at the forthcoming meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations to secure the co-operation of other powers in the realisation of this policy. It was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Chairman be asked to write a letter to the Foreign Secretary on these lines".

[Text of letter attached]

(2) "That the following resolution be published and made available to branches and enquirers".

The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union

Recognising the vital importance to all Europe of maintaining the independence of the Czechoslovak State,

Trusts that His Majesty's Government will do its utmost to resist any attempt by the German Government to settle the Sudeten question by intimidation or by military action;

Believes that that policy has the support of this country; and

Trusts that the Government will utilise the coming meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations to secure support for that policy by the countries there represented.

253. SPAIN. Lord Cecil stated that he had had a conversation with Lord Halifax as requested by the Committee and gave an account of this conversation.

254. ARTICLE XVI OF THE COVENANT. Lord Cecil reported that on the same occasion he had discussed with Lord Halifax the British Government's attitude with regard to the so-called Reform of the League of Nations, and in particular the application of Article XVII. At the Foreign Secretary's request Lord Cecil had sent him a memorandum expressing the Union's view on this subject, as shown in the resolution adopted by the General Council at Torquay in 1937.

255. CONSERVATIVE PARTY CONFERENCE. Mr. Vyvyan Adams reported that the following resolution would be moved at the forthcoming Conservative Party Conference.

"That this Conference deploras the action of the League of Nations Union in making use of schools for the dissemination of propoganda which is strongly partizan in character".

The evidence produced in favour of the accusation contained in the resolution consisted principally in the fact that two documents emanating from the Union had been found affixed to a school notice-board. One was a memorandum entitled "Statement of the Views of the Executive Committee on the Anglo-Italian Treaty" adopted by the Executive on 28th April, 1938. The second was a leaflet issued by the Emergency Youth Peace Campaign entitled "Spain is the Key to Peace".

The Committee agreed that the Union should not conduct political propoganda in schools, and had, in fact, never been responsible for any such propoganda. The documents in question had not gone before the Education Committee and had not been communicated by the Union to schools. It was, however, impossible for the Executive Committee to prevent members of the Union who were schoolmasters or schoolmistresses affixing what they chose to school notice-boards.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 14, GLOUCESTER CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1. ON THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 22ND, 1938, AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams, Lord Allen, Sir Norman Angell, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, P.J., Noel Baker, Mrs. L.F. Beale, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Major Buxton, Lord Cecil, Miss Judith Corcoran, Miss K.D. Courtney, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Philippa Fawcett, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, Arthur Henderson, J.A. Keyser, Dr. Kimmins, Lady Leyton, James Macdonald, C. le M. Mander, Dr. Gilbert Murray, W.T. Pritchard, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, W. Roberts, Sir Arthur Salter, Sir Archibald Sinclair, H.S. Syrett, E. Wallis-Jones, Major Lawrence Wright, together with the Deputy Secretary.

256. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from the Dean of Chichester, Lord Cranborne, Miss Megan Lloyd George, Brig.-General L.L. Spears, R. Stokes, and P.W. Weaver.

257. REGIONAL REPRESENTATIVES. On behalf of the Executive the Chairman welcomed the Regional Representatives who were attending a meeting of the Executive for the first time. He felt it was a good thing that the Committee, when it proceeded to discuss matters of deep and grave concern, should do so in the presence of those who were in close touch with the Branches throughout the country.

258. MINUTES. The minutes of the last ordinary meeting of the Committee held on July 23rd and of the special meeting held on September 8th, 1938 were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 255 - Conservative Party Conference, it was reported that it was now unlikely that the resolution quoted in this minute would be moved at the forthcoming Conservative Party Conference.

259. GENERAL SMUTE. Sir John Harris, who had lately returned from South Africa, conveyed to members of the Executive greetings and warm regards from General Smuts.

260. Finance Committee. The Minutes of the Committee dated September 14th, 1938 were received.

[These Minutes included: (72) Minutes; (73) Financial position; (74) Report of Director of Appeals; (75) Sussex; (76) Northamptonshire; (77) Conferences of Clergy and Ministers; (78) League News; (79) Loan to member of staff; (80) Mr. Le Prevost; (81) Bury Peace Week; (82) Passing of Cheques for Payment.]

S. 103.
22.9.38.

Draft Resolution submitted by Dr. Murray.

The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union,
Seeing that the present disturbed state of the world
is mainly due to the repeated failures of members of the
League to fulfil their collective obligations

While the terror caused in neighbouring states by
Herr Hitler's successful aggression upon Czechoslovakia
has made them eager as never before to stand together for
Collective Defence if the Great Powers of the League will
stand with them:

Urges H.M. Government to seize this opportunity of
re-building the League machinery for resistance to aggression
by forming a strong group of powers definitely pledged to
carry out reciprocally the full obligations of the Covenant.

On Minute 74 — Report of Director of Appeals, Mr. Syrett reported that the National Union of General and Municipal Workers, in addition to giving the Union a donation of 200 guineas, had issued an appeal to all their Branches to assist in the work of the Union and in meeting its financial needs.

261. **BRANCH RESOLUTIONS.** The Executive received resolutions from the Waterloo, Crosby, Seaforth and Litherland Branch and the Sevenoaks and District Branch. It was

RESOLVED: "That the Waterloo and Sevenoaks Branches be thanked for their endorsement of the Executive's resolution of 8th September."

262. **CZECHOSLOVAKIA.** The Chairman read to the Executive the following reply, dated September 10th, from the Foreign Secretary to his letter of September 8th:

"I am writing one line to thank you for your letter of September 8th. As regards what you say about the suggestion in THE TIMES of September 7th, you will have seen the Government ~~dementi~~. As for the rest of your letter, I can assure you that these considerations are constantly in our minds."

The Chairman reported that he had invited Mr. Winston Churchill to attend the meeting of the Executive, but his other engagements prevented him from being present. Lord Lytton hoped to talk with Mr. Churchill during the afternoon and would then invite him to attend a future meeting.

The Committee then considered the situation arising out of Mr. Chamberlain's visit to Herr Hitler and the plan subsequently proposed by the British and French Governments and accepted, under pressure, by the Czech Government. It was stated that large numbers of people throughout the country were bewildered by recent events and were looking to the Union for a lead. The Chairman made special reference to a letter on this subject which he had received from Dr. Gray. Receipt of a letter from the Dean of Chichester was also reported. The Chairman hoped that the Executive would pass a resolution indicating its attitude and at the same time consider what steps could be taken to focus the opinion of those who shared its views.

Telegrams from Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Professor Shotwell and the Secretary of the Melbourne League of Nations Society were read, and copies of a telegram received by Lord Cecil from Prague on September 20th were circulated to members of the Committee.

Miss Corcoran, on behalf of the Youth Groups, submitted a statement, (copy filed with these minutes for reference) and expressed the fervent hope that the Executive would give to the country a strong lead in the present critical situation.

The Committee also had before them a draft motion by Dr. Gilbert Murray (S.103).

A letter from the London Regional Federation was reported, requesting the Executive to consider the desirability of summoning an emergency meeting of the General Council.

A proposal was also considered for a mass meeting in the Albert Hall or Queen's Hall. Lord Cecil hoped that, if such a meeting were held, an effort would be made to persuade the leaders of the chief political parties, and if possible Mr. Eden, to speak.

After prolonged discussion in which many members of the Committee took part, it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That a small Committee, consisting of Lord Cecil, Dr. Murray, Miss Courtney, Lord Allen, Mr. Wallis Jones and the Chairman, be appointed to draft a resolution for immediate communication to H.M. Government and to the press.

(Note. The text of the resolution as settled by the sub-Committee reads as follows:

The Executive Committee of the L.N.U.

Having always advocated the removal of grievances by international discussion and agreement,

Repudiates the policy adopted by H.M. Government in relation to Czechoslovakia of seeking peace by surrender to force,

Believes that such a policy is disastrous to British interests and fatal to British honour and, whatever may be its immediate results, will in the end lead to war,

Urges the publication of the full text of the proposals and the immediate recall of Parliament."

*Also
Lord Lytton
wrote to Bonar
asking them to ask
for a recall of Parliament
and the publication of the
text submitted by the
P.M.*

(2) "That the Chairman be asked to draft a considered statement of the Executive's policy, taking as a basis the statement prepared by the Youth Groups; and that a special meeting of the Executive be held on Friday, September 23rd to discuss the statement and the action to be taken by the Union to obtain support for it in the country."

S.106.
25.9.38.CZECHOSLOVAKIADraft Statement proposed by Lord Lytton

The League of Nations Union has repeatedly during the past months urged H.M. Government to ensure peace by accompanying its efforts at appeasement with an unequivocal declaration that it would resist any attempt to settle the Sudeten problem by force. The Government has chosen a different procedure. By hesitation when firmness was required, and by last minute concessions to threats they have brought discredit upon this country without making peace secure.

Instead of appealing for the support of other nations for the maintenance of law by collective action — a support which we are confident would have been forthcoming if British co-operation had been assured — they have yielded to force, thereby inviting its continued application. They have thus allowed the terror caused in neighbouring states by unchecked German aggression on Austria and Czechoslovakia to create despair in the value of any collective procedure, whether in the redress of grievances or resistance to aggression, and they have encouraged the belief that violence is the only policy that can secure results.

In the grave situation thus created the League of Nations Union refuses to believe that the policy pursued by H.M. Government reflects the will of the people of this country. They see in this policy nothing but a progressive abandonment of the pledges made before the last election, and believe that even if war has been postponed it has not been averted.

MINUTES OF A SPECIAL MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1. ON FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 23RD, 1938, AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Lord Allen, Sir Norman Angell, P.J. Noel Baker, Lord Cecil, Miss Judith Corcoran, Miss K.D. Courtney, Miss Philippa Pawcett, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, J.A. Keyser, Captain B.H. Liddell Hart, Dr. Gilbert Murray, W.T. Pritchard, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, W. Roberts, Sir Arthur Salter, Sir Archibald Sinclair, H.S. Syrett, E. Wallis-Jones, together with the Deputy Secretary.

263. CZECHOSLOVAKIA. The Executive Committee formally approved the text of the resolution (recorded in minute 262) which had been prepared by the sub-Committee and communicated to H.M. Government and to the press on the previous day.

The Chairman submitted to the Committee a draft statement of policy (S.106) prepared in response to their request, and after considerable discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Statement be approved and adopted in the following form:

The League of Nations Union has repeatedly during the past months urged H.M. Government to ensure peace by accompanying its efforts at appeasement with an unequivocal declaration that it would oppose any attempt to settle the Sudeten problem by force. The Government has chosen a different procedure. By hesitation when firmness was required, and by last minute concessions to threats they have brought discredit upon this country, without making peace secure.

They ought therefore to have appealed for the support of other nations for the maintenance of law by collective action — a support which we are confident would have been forthcoming if British co-operation had been assured. Instead, they have yielded to force, thereby inviting its continued application. They have thus allowed the terror caused in neighbouring states by unchecked German aggression on Austria and Czechoslovakia to create despair in the value of any collective procedure, whether in the redress of grievances or resistance to aggression, and they have encouraged the belief

Germany's demand for the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia is part of a repeatedly declared policy of domination in Central Europe which will be carried out step by step unless the democracies resolve that it shall be stopped, and a return resolutely be made to the maintenance of law and the resistance of force in the settlement of international disputes.

For twenty years the League of Nations Union has worked for peace along the only lines by which they believe it can be secured. They have supported every action of the Government which is consistent with their principles. They refuse to abandon those principles because others have brought us to the brink of war by neglecting them, and they will continue to work by every means in their power to secure from their Government a foreign policy which is honourable for this country and helpful to the League of Nations which they were established to support.

that violence is the only policy that can secure results.

In the grave situation thus created, the League of Nations Union refuses to believe that the policy pursued by H.M. Government reflects the will of the people of this country. They see in this policy nothing but a progressive abandonment of the pledges made before the last election, and believe that even if war has been postponed it has not been averted.

The German demand for the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia is, we believe, part of a settled policy of domination in Central Europe which will be carried out step by step unless the peace-loving nations resolve that it shall be stopped, and a return resolutely be made to the maintenance of law and the resistance of force in the settlement of international disputes.

For twenty years the League of Nations Union has worked for peace along the only lines by which they believe it can be secured. They have supported every action of the Government which is consistent with their principles. They refuse to abandon those principles because others have brought us to the brink of war by neglecting them, and they will continue to work by every means in their power to secure from their Government a foreign policy which is honourable for this country and helpful to the League of Nations which they were established to support."

- (2) "That the resolution and Statement of Policy be immediately communicated to all the Union's Branches."

The Executive then proceeded to discuss what action could be taken to obtain support for their policy in the country.

Lord Lytton reported that at the conference of members of the Administration Committee with the Regional Representatives on the previous afternoon the opinion was expressed that it was unlikely that the Branches would be willing to organise meetings of protest with anything like the unanimity that was manifested in 1935. The proposal for an emergency meeting of the General Council was not received with general favour, and the representatives of the London Regional Federation said their Committee would be willing to withdraw their request for such a meeting. General agreement was expressed with the proposal for an Albert Hall meeting, to be followed by demonstrations in, say, a dozen large

COPY

Royal Albert Hall,
Kensington Gore,
London, S.W.7.

26th September, 1938.

Miss Clare Hollingworth,
League of Nations Union,
15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.7.

Dear Madam,

Your letter of the 25th instant was considered at a Special Meeting of my Council this evening, and I am instructed to inform you that it was unanimously resolved that the Royal Albert Hall shall be closed to all Public Meetings during the present crisis, and I therefore regret that I am unable to accede to your request for a letting on Friday next.

Yours faithfully,

REGINALD ASKEW

Manager and Secretary.

*This statement was subsequently put into
the form of a typed memorandum
S. 127.*

provincial towns, provided that first-class speakers could be secured for such meetings. A list of towns was suggested in which the E.N.'s thought Branches might be willing to organise meetings. The names of suitable speakers were also suggested.

A proposal by Miss Hathbone for the organisation of a representative memorial for signature by selected groups of people was circulated to the Committee. This proposal was not favoured in view of the extreme difficulty, in a situation which was developing hourly, of securing for any document the large number of signatures which would be required to make it effective.

A letter from Mr. Victor Gollancz was reported, enclosing a copy of a leaflet entitled THE HITLER MENACE, inviting the Union to adopt the leaflet, and stating that a fund had been raised for inserting advertisements in the public press in which the leaflet would be reproduced and an appeal made for volunteers to distribute it. The Chairman thought the expression of views in the leaflet would not be acceptable to all the Union's members and that its adoption by the Executive might therefore result in accentuating the present decline in membership. Lord Cecil drew attention to the fact that the leaflet contained no reference of any kind to the League of Nations. It was

RESOLVED: (3) "That the invitation of Mr. Victor Gollancz be not accepted; but that Sir Norman Angell be asked to prepare a leaflet containing in a popular and attractive form the Executive's resolution and statement of policy for widespread distribution by the Union's Branches."

← Captain Liddell Hart made a detailed statement on the military situation in Czechoslovakia, as well as in France, Great Britain, Russia and Germany, and replied to a number of questions from members of the Committee.

The proposal for a mass meeting in the Albert Hall was then discussed, and it was

RESOLVED: (4) "That a meeting be held in the Albert Hall on Friday, September 30th:

see opposite page

That Lord Lytton be asked to convey to Mr. Eden a cordial invitation to speak on the lines of his recent speech at Siretford on Avon;

That the terms of the resolution to be submitted to the meeting, and the other persons to be invited to speak, be left in the hands of Lord Lytton and Mr. Eden.

(At this point in the proceedings Lord Lytton left the meeting and the Chair was taken by Miss Courtney).

It was further

- RESOLVED: (5) "That all Branches be immediately asked to take all possible action to obtain support in their localities for the Executive's resolution and statement of policy."
- (6) "That a letter be immediately sent to the Branches in the towns suggested by the Regional Representatives, telling them of the meeting to be held in the Albert Hall and asking them to organise meetings in their own localities."
- (7) "That Lord Lytton and Lord Cecil be asked to write personal letters to the speakers whose names had been suggested by the Regional Representatives, informing them of the towns in which it is hoped to organise meetings and inviting their help as speakers."
- (8) "That a small committee, consisting of Sir Norman Angell, Miss Courtney, Miss Corcoran, Mrs. Dugdale, Lady Hall, Mr. Wallis Jones and Mr. Wilfred Roberts, with power to add to their number, be appointed to prepare for submission to the Chairman suggestions for further action by the Union during the present crisis."

Lord Cecil hoped that Branches would be urged to do their utmost to bring pressure to bear on their Members of Parliament.

MINUTES OF AN EMERGENCY MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
HELD AT NO. 15, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1, ON
MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 26TH, 1938, AT 8 P.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams,
Sir Norman Angell, P.J. Noel Baker, Lady Violet
Bonham-Carter, Lord Cecil, Miss Judith Corcoran,
Miss K.L. Courtney, Vice-Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe,
Mrs. Dufdale, Miss Philippa Fawcett, W. Arnold-
Forster, Lady Hall, A. Henderson, J.A. Keyser,
Lady Layton, Dr. Gilbert Murray, W. Roberts,
Sir Arthur Salter, Brig.-General E.L. Spears,
H.S. Syrett, E. Mallis-Jones, F.W. Weaver
together with the Deputy Secretary.

264. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Lord Allen,
Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Lady Cladstone, Captain B.H. Liddell
Hart, Miss Eleanor Rathbone and Sir Archibald Sinclair.

265. GERMANY AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA. The Chairman suggested that,
in a situation which was changing hourly, there was one
thing to which the Union might direct its activities and
which would be relevant whatever the outcome of the next
few hours and days might be, namely, to demand the forma-
tion of an emergency Government representative of all the
political parties and one which would command the support
of the whole country. If, as seemed inevitable, a state
of war were declared within a few days, it would be
necessary to have a Government which could speak for the
whole nation. If, on the other hand, by some miraculous
chance of events, the actual outbreak of hostilities were
postponed, the situation would still be one which would
call for a state of affairs very little removed from war.
All our industries would need to be put on a war footing
and preparations made for such a firm stand as would pre-
vent a similar situation arising in the future. In these
circumstances also it would be necessary to have a
thoroughly representative Government which could issue the
necessary orders and whose orders would be accepted with-
out question.

A discussion followed in which arguments for and
against the proposal were stated. But finally it was
generally felt that it was not within the Union's province
to take any action on these lines.

Mr. Vyvyan Adams then suggested that the Union
should immediately issue a statement to H.M. Government,
the B.B.C. and the press, declaring its whole-hearted
support for the statement made that afternoon by Mr.
Winston Churchill, and after discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) That the Executive Committee of the
League of Nations Union, at a special
meeting held this evening, associates
itself wholeheartedly with Mr. Winston
Churchill's statement that

There is still one good chance of pre-
serving peace. A solemn warning
should be presented to the German
Government in joint or simultaneous
Notes by Great Britain, France and

Russia that the invasion of Czechoslovakia at the present juncture would be taken as an act of war against these powers. The terms of this Note should be communicated to all neutral countries, some of whom may be balancing their actions, and most particularly to the Government of the U.S.A.

If such steps had been taken a month ago it is improbable matters would have reached their present pass. Even at the last moment clear and resolute action may avert the catastrophe into which we are drifting. Not only the German Government but the German people have a right to know where we all stand.

If the Government and people of the U.S.A. have a word to speak for the salvation of the world, now is the time and now is the last time when words will be of any use. Afterwards, through years of struggle and torment, deeds alone will serve and deeds will be forthcoming. It will indeed be a tragedy if this last effort is not made in the only way in which it may be effective to save mankind from martyrdom.

The Executive Committee further strongly urges that the question between Germany and Czechoslovakia should be tonight laid before the Council of the League.

- (2) "That the Chairman, Lord Cecil and Dr. Murray be asked personally to communicate the above statement to H.M. Government at the close of the Executive's meeting; and that the statement be immediately circulated to the B.E.C. and to the press."

Dr. Murray drew attention to the leaflet authorised in minute 263(3) of the last meeting. It was reported that some 200,000 copies had already been issued, but that no further copies would be distributed.

A draft leaflet entitled "HITLER'S ULTIMATUM: WHY DO THE CZECHS REJECT IT?" was placed before the Committee. It was agreed that the leaflet could be set up in type but be not printed off without the Chairman's authority.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT
No. 14 GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1. ON THURSDAY,
SEPTEMBER 29TH, 1938 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Sir Norman Angell, P.J. Noel Baker, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Lord Cecil, Miss Judith Corcoran, Miss K.D. Courtney, Vice-Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Lugdale, Miss P. Pawlett, W. Arnold Forster, Miss Megan Lloyd George, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, Arthur Henderson, James Macdonald, G. le M. Mander, Dr. Gilbert Murray, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, H.F. Shaw, R.R. Stokes, H.S. Syrett and E. Wallis-Jones, together with the Deputy Secretary.

266. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Mrs. Beale and Sir Arthur Heworth.
267. MINUTES. The minutes of the last three meetings of the Committee held on September 22nd, 23rd, and 26th, 1938 were confirmed as circulated.
268. EDUCATION COMMITTEE. The Executive had before them minute 115(c) of the Education Committee dated July 11th, consideration of which had been adjourned until Dr. Murray could be present. Dr. Murray expressed his willingness to attend the next meeting of the Education Committee and explain the situation regarding the proposed International Act concerning Intellectual Co-operation.
269. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Executive received resolutions from the Ilford, Bromley, Wilmslow & District, and Falmouth Branch Committees.

RESOLVED: "That these Branch Committees be thanked for their resolutions".

270. GERMANY AND CZECHO-SLOVAKIA. The Chairman recalled the amazing rapidity with which events had moved since the Executive held its last meeting. If, as seemed likely, we had to prepare to accept a peace which many would feel was both dishonourable and insecure, the Union would be confronted with the most difficult position it had had to face since it was first created. But it would be suicidal to take any action at the moment which would run counter to the universal sense of relief and joy that existed throughout the country that the danger of war had been averted, or to criticise the Prime Minister, who, whatever might be thought of the technique he had employed, would, if he

S. 125.
29.9.38.

This meeting, representative of a large number of peace organisations and others,

Shares the relief occasioned by the lifting of the instant menace of war - a lifting due, we believe, to the last minute stand of the British, French and Russian Governments for the principle of collective security, with moral support from President Roosevelt,

But urges that we shall be faced with renewal of the acute danger, perhaps in worse form, unless this collective stand for the rule of law in place of the rule of force is made permanent and effective through the League of Nations,

Insists that, in the coming negotiations Hitler should not be allowed by menaces to wring yet further concessions from Czechoslovakia,

1. Protests at the omission of Russia and Czechoslovakia from the Munich Conference.
2. Warns the country against the danger of a Four Power Pact excluding Russia, which would be the antithesis of what the League of Nations stands for.
3. Expresses its deep apprehension lest the final betrayal of democratic Spain should be made part of the price of Mussolini's participation at Munich.
4. And urges that the terms brought back from Munich should be published immediately and submitted for Parliamentary approval.

now succeeded, be regarded not only as a national but a world hero. In these circumstances, the Chairman felt the Union had to begin to build up again its organisation from its foundation. We had to suffer the discredit, together with the League itself, due to the events that had recently taken place; we had to make clear to our members where we had always stood in regard to these crises and why we did not feel as happy and confident at what had happened as others might be; and we had to settle down to intensive educational work in order to make everyone understand what our position had been in these respective crises and what it would be to others that might arise in the future, and to point out how the danger had grown with increasing momentum from the moment that the present Government deliberately threw the League over and declared that it was useless for anybody to look to the League for security in the future. The Chairman added that he had been given a number of letters from various parts of the country protesting against the Executive's recent resolution and statement of policy. Copies of a statement (S.123) which he had prepared, dealing with the criticisms and complaints were circulated to members of the Committee.

The Chairman reported that a meeting had been held on the previous day at which representatives of the Union had been present along with representatives of many other organisations. The text of a resolution adopted at this meeting (S.125) was placed before the Executive. Owing to a mistake in the office of the NEWS CHRONICLE the resolution had been described in that paper as being passed by the L.N.U. Lord Lytton proposed to protest to the NEWS CHRONICLE and hoped the mistake would be corrected.

Mr. Myrett objected strongly to the resolution being described as a resolution of the Union, and after discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) That a letter be sent to the NEWS CHRONICLE, pointing out that the resolution printed in their issue of this morning was not adopted by the League of Nations Union but by a meeting at which representatives of the Union and of a large number of other peace organisations were present, and adding that it must not be assumed that this necessarily meant that the Executive Committee disapproved of the resolution; and

That the NEWS CHRONICLE be asked, in the light of this information, to correct the misleading impression given by their headline to the resolution".

Lord Cecil read to the Committee the following telegram which he and his co-President of the International Peace Campaign (M. Piere Cot) had addressed to Mr. Chamberlain and M. Daladier:

"As Joint Presidents of the International Peace Campaign representing some forty million persons we venture to express our warmest wishes for the success of the Munich Conference. We hope that it may conduce to the re-establishment and strengthening of the rule of law in international relations which is the only secure basis for peace. It is clear that any further concessions to violence will only impede this result".

It was

RESOLVED: (2) "That the Executive Committee warmly associates itself with this message to the Prime Minister and M. Daladier."

The Chairman further reported that at the meeting on the previous day it had been suggested that the Conference should be continued in being and that the small sub-Committee, appointed by the Executive on September 23rd (minute 263(8)) should work with it. He thought it would be a great mistake for the Union at this moment to offer suggestions or recommendations to H.M. Government as to what the course of the negotiations should be. He did, however, think it might be desirable for the Union's Parliamentary Committee to meet before Parliament resumed with a view to action in Parliament by members of both Houses when they re-assembled. Lord Lytton agreed that, for the next few days at any rate, it was desirable that the Union's sub-Committee should be in permanent session to consider any action that might be taken other than the expression of opinion on the progress of negotiations, and he was willing to meet the Committee from time to time for this purpose. After further discussion, in which some of the Chairman's views were criticised, it was

RESOLVED: "That the sub-Committee appointed in minute 263(8) should continue in being and, where it is considered advisable,

seek the co-operation of representatives of other bodies; but that no action be taken by the Committee except with the approval of the Chairman of the Executive and provides also that, where expenditure by the Union is involved, the approval of the Finance Committee or the Treasurer is also obtained.

Sir Norman Angell suggested that the Union should take immediate advantage of the recent movement throughout the country in favour of collective security. The Union ought carefully to consider how it could best discharge its two main functions: (1) the scientific presentation of its case and (2) its dissemination.

Dr. Murray agreed with Sir Norman and considered that the present provided a most favourable moment for putting forward the Union's complete programme as given by Lord Lytton in his statement. H.M. Government might be brought round to definite support of the collective security system.

Mr. Noel Baker suggested that material should be prepared for an educational pamphlet on the present crisis and how it has developed from the abandonment of collective security.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT
NO. 14 GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1. ON TUESDAY,
OCTOBER 4TH, 1938 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Sir Norman Angell, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Mrs. Beale, Major Anthony Buxton, Miss Judith Corcoran, Miss K.D. Courtney, the Dean of Chichester, Vice-Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dugdale, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, Miss Philippa Fewcett, W. Arnold Forster, Miss M. Lloyd George, Lady Glasstone, J.A. Keyser, Lady Layton, C. le M. Mander, Dr. Gilbert Murray, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, H.F. Shaw and H.S. Syrett, together with the Deputy Secretary.

271. APCOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Lord Allen, F.M. Burris, Sir Arthur Haworth, James Macdonald and R.R. Stokes.

272. MR. F. BURRIS. On the motion of the Chairman it was

RESOLVED: "That the congratulations and good wishes of the Committee be conveyed to Mr. Burris on the occasion of his marriage".

273. CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

(a) Relief Fund. The Chairman reported that, on the previous day, he had discussed with Lord Halifax the question of a public fund for Czechoslovakia, after learning from Mr. Syrett that the Lord Mayor had received many requests to issue such a fund and was ready to do so if he felt sure that such a course would meet with the approval of H.M. Government. The Foreign Secretary had stated that the immediate necessities of the Czech Government had, he hoped, been met by the fact that £10 million had been placed at their disposal by H.M. Government without qualification or condition. He thought it would not be fair to the public to let it be known, especially with the authority of the Lord Mayor, that there was great distress in Czechoslovakia which could only be met by private subscription when it had been met by a special donation from the Government. He thought, however, that the question of opening a private fund might be considered if the organisers were satisfied that the results of such an appeal would be adequate, and the facts should be made known to those who might meet for the purpose. Lord Lytton therefore suggested that, if the Executive agreed, the Lord Mayor should be asked to call a small meeting of some of those who had been making representations to him in order to discuss (1) the definition of the ground of his appeal (if he would make one) and (2) assurances from those who would like him to make the appeal that they would use their best efforts to ensure its success.

Dr. Murray reminded the Committee of the difficult position of the German Jews, Catholics, Social Democrats and other people who had offended the Hitlerite Government, and whom the Czechs would doubtless be unable to protect.

Mrs. Corbett Ashby suggested that steps might be taken to organise assisted group migration of Germans within the British Empire and possibly also in the United States.

Lord Cecil suggested that, in order that all efforts on behalf of the refugees should be co-ordinated, the Union's Refugees Committee should be asked to meet immediately and discuss the situation with Mr. Ribble and with the Czech Legation. Mrs. Dugdale, as Chairman of the Committee, promised that this would be done.

After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That Lord Lytton be asked to see the Lord Mayor as soon as possible; to report on his conversation with Lord Halifax; to inform him that the Executive Committee is strongly in favour of a private fund being launched for relief in Czechoslovakia; and to invite him to call a conference of suitable persons to discuss the objects and purpose of such a fund."

In reply to a question from Miss Fawcett the Chairman saw no objection to her sending an appeal, as Chairman of a local Branch of the Union, for subscriptions.

It was suggested that action might be taken in appropriate quarters with a view to the Nobel Peace Prize for 1938 or, if this was not possible, for 1939, being awarded to Dr. Benes.

(b) Emergency Committee and Future Policy of the Union.

Lord Lytton paid tribute to the splendid work which had been done by the sub-Committee (appointed by the Executive in minute 263), and to the assistance rendered by the staff. He thought, however, that there was no longer any need for the Committee to continue in being but that questions concerning the future policy of, and action by, the Union should be settled by the Executive.

Miss Corcoran, on behalf of the Youth organisations, urged that the Union should take a strong stand on League principles and state, in concrete terms, its policy for the immediate future. Such questions as the situation in Spain, co-operation of Russia, prevention of the break-up of the Franco-Soviet Pact, and the organisation of a world conference should be dealt with. She added that the Youth organisations were proposing to hold a mass demonstration in the Kingsway Hall on Friday, October 7th,

and asked for the approval of the Executive.

This approval was given on the understanding that no financial obligation is incurred by the Union and that the terms of the resolution for submission to the meeting be approved beforehand by the Chairman of the Executive Committee.

Lady Hall, Lord Cecil and other members thought it desirable that a small sub-Committee of the Executive should be kept in permanent session. Lady Hall thought that the present moment provided a great opportunity for increasing support for the Union's policy of collective security.

Miss Rathbone suggested that the Union might consider organising a meeting in the Albert Hall, not in order to protest at what had happened, but for the practical purpose of raising money for relief in Czecho-Slovakia, of increasing the knowledge of the general public in regard to Czecho-Slovakia and of maintaining their present feeling of gratitude and enthusiasm.

After it had been reported that a further meeting of the Emergency sub-Committee had been summoned for that afternoon, it was decided that the Committee should then be asked to draw up a detailed programme of any further action it was suggested the Union should take for consideration by the Executive at its next meeting on October 6th.

The Chairman said it was desirable that a full discussion should be given to the Union's policy within the next few months. He urged, however, that such a discussion should take place at a fully representative meeting of the Executive. He reminded the Committee of the importance of the Union concentrating upon the work which members of all parties could do together and leaving to other organisations activities which could only be done by people of certain political opinion. Major Buxton, Lord Cecil and other members supported Lord Lytton.

S.73
7.9.38.

REPORT OF THE SECOND WORLD YOUTH CONGRESS
HELD AT VASSAR COLLEGE, NEW YORK, AUGUST 15-23, 1938

Representation

The Congress was attended by over 600 delegates from 54 countries of the five continents. There were also representatives of 17 international youth organisations. This is an increase of 16 on the number of countries which were represented at the Geneva Congress 1936.

The important new participants came from South America (200 delegates from 10 states), Central America (75 delegates from 6 states), the Near East (Palestine, Syria, Iraq) and the Far East (China, Japan, Indonesia, India) and the Colonial countries.

The nature of the delegations

The large delegations, e.g. France, Czechoslovakia, U.S.A., Canada, China, Spain, Mexico, Chile, etc., represented the various trends of their national youth movements.

For example, the British delegation included delegates and observers from six Christian organisations, five political youth movements, four social organisations and the major youth and student movements of a non-political and non-sectarian nature.

Factors contributing to the importance of the Congress

1. The place of meeting was in the U.S.A. Over 60 American Youth Organisations sent 100 representatives. A very influential American patronage committee sponsored the Congress. Mrs. Roosevelt addressed the opening session and attended several subsequent sessions.

Assistant Secretary of State Berle spoke at the New York rally and said "I am sure I speak for my Government in saying that we look forward to the results of your deliberations with the highest hope."

2. The Congress was attended by large official delegations from China, Spain and Czechoslovakia which brought a message of urgency and also of determination into the sessions and considerably affected the attitude of the Congress.
3. The two hundred delegates from South America, most of them primarily concerned with their national liberation movements, welcomed the 'good neighbour' policy of President Roosevelt, and the prospect of Pan-American co-operation, and warned by the extent of Nazi penetration in their own countries, declared themselves in favour of collective action to prevent aggression, wherever it might take place.
4. For the first time representatives of most of the colonial countries were able to speak at a World Youth Congress and tell the delegates what were the conditions and needs of their people and what contribution to international organisation and social justice, they could and would make.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT
NO. 14 Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1. ON THURSDAY,
OCTOBER 6TH, 1938, AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Mrs. Beale, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Lord Cecil, Miss Judith Corcoran, Miss K.D. Courtney, Admiral S.R. Diary-Lowe, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Philippa Fawcett, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, J.A. Keyser, Dr. C.W. Kinnings, Lady Lytton, J. Macdonald, G. le M. Mander, Dr. Gilbert Murray, W. Roberts, H.S. Syrett, E. Wallis-Jones and Major Lawrence Wright, together with the Deputy Secretary.

274. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from F.M. Farris, the Dean of Chichester and Major-General A.C. Temperley.
275. MRS. STREET. On behalf of the Committee the Chairman welcomed Mrs. Street, a member of the Executive of the Australian League of Nations Society, who was attending the Committee at his invitation.
276. MINUTES. The minutes of the last two meetings of the Executive held on September 29th and October 4th were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 273(a) Czechoslovakia -- Relief Fund, the Chairman reported that he had spoken with the Lord Mayor who had, on the afternoon of the previous day, summoned a meeting at the Mansion House. Lord Lytton, who had to be in the House of Lords at that time, was unable to be present. Mr. Syrett reported on the meeting and said that he had assured the Lord Mayor that if he would issue a Mansion House Fund the Union would cordially welcome it and would do its best to ensure a satisfactory response. He had also promised that the Union would be glad to give clerical and other assistance in connection with the Fund if such help were needed.

After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That Branches of the Union be informed that in response to numerous inquiries the Executive Committee had communicated with the Lord Mayor of London with a view to his opening a Mansion House Fund for Relief in Czechoslovakia; that the Executive had been represented at the meeting called by the Lord Mayor at which it

5. There were present delegations from the small European and Central European States which are at present retiring from the League, or even playing with the idea of neutrality. These delegates in turn expressed the opinion that if the Great Powers chose to make collective security a safer investment than subservience to a single Great Power, their people would feel encouraged to press their Governments to support such a policy.

The main resolutions and recommendations of the Congress

A. Concerning the organisation of Peace

1. A Peace Pact was signed by 53 nations declaring the conviction of the representatives of 40,000,000 young people that the collective system of upholding law can be rebuilt and immediately operated against aggressors.

The main articles

Condemn any war of aggression

Pledge the youth of the signatory nations never to participate in any war of aggression against other States.

Pledge youth to bring pressure to bear upon their Governments, to take the necessary concerted action to prevent aggression and bring it to an end and to assist the victims of aggression.

Recognise that permanent peace demands social justice between nations and within nations, and the right to self-determination of countries and colonies seeking their freedom and requires that the youth movement undertakes in a peaceful manner to set right injustices against peoples, regardless of race, creed or opinion.

2. The congress further declared support

- (1) for the successful methods brought into being by the Nyon agreement,
- (2) for the extension of Regional Pacts within the framework of the League, such as the Franco-Soviet Pact; and
- (3) expressed the conviction that democratic procedure both within and between nations was a great safeguard of peace.

It is important to note

- (1) that the American delegation supported this position with a 5-1 majority.
- (2) that while an unambiguous attitude was adopted to the policies and methods of the totalitarian states, the Congress placed on record its desire to establish friendly relations with the official youth movements of Germany, Italy and Japan.

was decided to launch the Fund; that Mayors, Provosts and Chairmen of Councils throughout the country are being invited to make appeals in their own localities in support of the Fund; and that Branches of the Union be invited to co-operate with their local Mayors, Provosts or Chairmen of Councils in the holding of Town Meetings and in other efforts to ensure a satisfactory response to the appeal.

In reply to a question from Dr. Murray concerning the administration of the Fund, Mr. Syrett said that a member of Lord Runciman's commission had already gone to Prague to discuss arrangements, and he understood that Lord Runciman had placed his organisation at the disposal of the Government in Prague for this purpose.

277. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Executive had before them resolutions from the Selby Branch Committee and the Kew and Kew Gardens Branch. It was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Selby Branch be thanked for communicating their resolution to the Executive".

- (2) "That the Kew and Kew Gardens Branch be thanked for their resolution and that it be referred to the Education Committee for consideration and report."

Copies of additional resolutions from the London County Hall (Staff) Branch and the Broadstone Branch Committee, received too late for inclusion in the papers circulated to the Executive, were distributed to members present. It was

RESOLVED: (3) "That the resolutions of the London County Hall (Staff) Branch and the Broadstone Branch Committee be received."

278. SECOND WORLD YOUTH CONGRESS. Consideration was given to a report (S.73) on the Second World Youth Congress held at Vassar College, New York from August 15th to 23rd, 1938. At the invitation of the Chairman, Miss Atherton (Assistant Secretary of the Youth Committee) who had attended the Congress, gave an oral report. The Chairman expressed his warm thanks to Miss Atherton for her admirable account of the proceedings, and it was

RESOLVED: "That the Report on the Second World Youth Congress be received and that the organisers be congratulated on having achieved such a remarkable gathering".

B. Concerning the Social and Economic Problems of Youth

Agreement was reached on recommendations to remedy the main problems of youth in the fields of Education, Vocational Training, Industry, Unemployment, Health and Leisure.

The recommendations were based on the existing proposals of the I.L.O. and proposals submitted in the Youth Charters of various national delegations.

Special attention was given to the conditions and problems of Agrarian Youth and of the youth in the colonies.

The main decisions of the Congress were:

1. That the World Youth Congress Movement set up a Special Committee to assist the Literacy Campaign in India and Colonial countries, by co-ordinating and distributing information.
2. That a special investigation be made of the needs and problems of youth working and living on the land with a view to assisting the Agrarian Youth Conference to be called by the Polish Peasant Youth Movement in Warsaw, 1939.
3. That international delegations be organised to those countries where co-operation is invited to establish a youth movement to serve the aims of the W.Y.C.M.
4. It was proposed by the American delegation and by representatives of the Y.W.C.A. that special steps be taken to win the interest and co-operation of wider sections of the working class youth through the Trade Union and Co-operative movements.
5. That in consultation with the I.L.O. a Draft for an International Charter of Youth be prepared on the basis of the recommendations of the national Charters, and that the national sections of the W.Y.C.M. continue to work for the realisation of their own Charter. To this end the Congress recorded its support for the plans of the B.Y.P.A. to conduct a Parliament of Youth in Spring 1939.

It should be noted that great assistance was given to this commission of the Congress by the National Director of the American National Youth Administration.

The Congress expressed appreciation of the projects initiated by the Administration and carried out in close co-operation with the free Youth movement, and it is hoped that developments might be initiated in a similar manner in other countries.

C. Concerning the Religious and Philosophical Bases of Peace

The conditions of co-operation

This Commission which brought together representatives of many religions with Communists and students of philosophy, emphatically declared support for the aims and objects of the W.Y.C.M. as a basis of co-operation for the whole Youth movement.

279. AUTUMN MEETING OF INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION. The Executive had before them a report (S.117) of the Autumn Meetings of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies held in Geneva on 17th and 18th September. After Miss Courtney and Admiral Drury-Lowe had spoken it was

RESOLVED: "That the report on the Autumn Meetings of the International Federation be received; and that the congratulations of the Committee be conveyed to Mr. Figures on his appointment as Secretary-General of the Federation".

280. EMERGENCY COMMITTEE. Lady Hall presented to the Executive a report on the activity of the Emergency Committee, together with the minutes of the last meeting of the Committee held on October 4th containing arguments in favour of the continuance of the Committee and proposals for future action (C.104) prepared in accordance with the request of the Executive in Minute 273(b). A note from Mr. V. Gollancz to Lord Cecil (S.137) was also before the Executive.

The Chairman thought the continuance of the Emergency Committee and the acceptance of its policy amounted to an abdication by the Executive and the Editorial Committee of their functions. He hoped that careful consideration would be given by the Executive to the question of literature to be published in the immediate future. Such literature, he hoped, would be produced for sale and not for free distribution and would be educative and informative and not merely stimulating. He reminded the Committee that the Union existed for the sole purpose of persuading the people of this country to pursue peace through the machinery of the League of Nations. So long as this was kept in the forefront of the Union's programme, members of widely different political views might co-operate together.

Mr. Syrett agreed with Lord Lytton and said that the present financial position of the Union was such that it could not afford to adopt the proposals of the Emergency Committee. He objected to separate appeals being made by the Emergency Committee since they would of necessity cut across the work of the Union's Appeal officers.

During the discussion which followed it was suggested that if the Emergency Committee were continued in being as an advisory committee of the Executive, it would, by making concrete proposals for action by the Union, save much of the Executive's time in discussing varied proposals for publicity and action and, since representatives of one or two other organisations were members of the Emergency Committee, it would provide a means whereby the Union might maintain friendly contact with such organisations. It was finally

Having urged that such co-operation of all sections must be based on recognition of the worth of the individual and the solidarity of man and on respect for differences both of persons and beliefs, the Commission made recommendations for more practical co-operation in this field.

Special steps will be taken to enable delegates to the Congress to take part in the Occumenical Youth Conference at Amsterdam 1939 and for the material of the Vassar Congress to be placed at the disposal of all Christian Youth organisations which are preparing for Amsterdam.

The Christian organisations submitted proposals for the development of the W.Y.C.M. in the Youth movement of the Churches.

Immediate Future Tasks

1. To strengthen and extend the basis of the W.Y.C.M. in each country, e.g. in England to enlist the co-operation of Young Conservatives, Y.M.C.A., Boys' Clubs, etc.
2. To acquaint all members of the 30 National Youth organisations, brought together in the B.Y.P.A., with the recommendations and decisions of the Congress.
3. To present a report of the Congress and a copy of the Peace Pact to the Prime Minister and national leaders in the religious, political and cultural life of the country.
4. To carry forward plans for the Youth Parliament 1939 to mobilise the whole Youth movement to serve the nation and humanity in the spirit of the World Youth Congress Movement.

RESOLVED: "That the officers of the Union (the two Joint Presidents and the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Executive) be appointed as a Committee to consult together immediately concerning the future policy of the Union and the desirability of appointing a publicity committee to advise the Executive upon the most effective means of carrying it out".

281. DECEMBER MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL. The Executive were reminded that the Procedure Committee would meet on October 11th to prepare the Preliminary Agenda for the December meeting of the General Council, and that the Agenda should be circulated to Branches by 21st October.

RESOLVED: "That the Committee of the Union's Officers, appointed in the preceding minute, be asked to decide the subjects on which motions might be submitted by the Executive to the General Council, and to submit drafts of such motions for consideration by the Executive at its next meeting".

Members of the Executive who had suggestions to make on this subject were invited to send them to the Chairman.

282. CHINA CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE. A letter dated August 26th (consideration of which had been adjourned from previous meetings) was read. The letter invited the co-operation of the Union in celebrating October 10th, China's National Independence Day, as a gesture of sympathy and support for the Chinese people.

The Chairman hoped that members of the Committee would make a note of this date and do whatever they could in their personal capacities. He felt, however, that there was no action which the Union as a body could take.

283. RESIGNATION OF DR. BENES. It was

RESOLVED: "That a message of admiration and sympathy be sent to Dr. Benes from the Union, and that Dr. Murray be asked to draft it".

(Note. The message read as follows:

"The League of Nations Union begs to express its profound admiration for Your Excellency's dignified and heroic attitude during intolerable trials; sees in your resignation the

S.117
26.9.38

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF LEAGUE OF NATIONS SOCIETIES.

REPORT ON AUTUMN MEETINGS

The Executive Committee and Council of the International Federation met at Geneva on the 17th and 18th September, 1938, under the Presidency of M. Borel. The following countries were represented: Belgium, Canada, China, Denmark, Spain, Estonia, United States of America, France, Great Britain, Hungary, Holland, Poland, Sweden, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

In addition M. Jezequel and Mr. Floud were present, representing the International Peace Campaign and the World Youth Congress Movement. The emigré societies of Georgia and Ukraine were also represented.

In private business, the budget for the coming year was adopted, and Mr. F.E. Figgures was elected to succeed Professor Th. Rayssen as Secretary of the Federation. A resolution congratulating the World Youth Congress Movement on the striking success of the Second World Youth Congress, wishing it success in the future, and urging the national societies to do all in their power to assist the movement, was adopted.

In public business there was a full discussion on the situation in Czechoslovakia. There was a unanimous feeling that the very considerable reforms proposed by the Czechoslovak state went far beyond what might have been thought possible but a short time ago, that they should be implemented as soon as possible and in as liberal a spirit as possible, but that any proposals for the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia would be a violation of the Covenant and entirely contrary to the desires of the German population in Czechoslovakia as expressed at the 1st elections. A resolution to this effect was adopted unanimously. A copy of it was sent to every delegate at the Assembly.

M. Prochadzka, the representative of the Czechoslovakian L.N.U. expressed the view very strongly that it would be impossible for any government in Czechoslovakia to accept a plebiscite or frontier revision, and that they would fight to prevent it, even though they fought alone.

On the Far East, the resolution of Copenhagen was recalled, and the hope expressed that in considering the Chinese request for the application of Article 17, the Assembly would not adopt yet another merely verbal condemnation of the Japanese aggression.

tragic end of a most noble achievement; has confidence in the indestructible vitality of the Czech people and knows that Your Excellency will keep for ever a high place in the hearts of all who have known you and in the pages of history.")

284. BRANGL LETTER 145. The Committee expressed their deep appreciation of the letter sent by the Chairman to the Union's Branch Secretaries on September 30th. It was reported that the letter would shortly be available in printed form, and it was

RESOLVED: "That the Secretaries of the Union's Branches be asked to obtain wide publicity for Lord Lytton's statement in their local press, and otherwise".

S.137
5.10.38

From Mr. Victor Gollancz to Lord Cecil

I find two states of mind prevalent — both of them, I think, disastrous.

1. Many people are talking as if Munich had never happened, i.e. they are still saying: "We must get together with France and the Soviet Union." This is, of course, totally unrealistic. Munich has happened: the first serious moves have been taken towards a Four Power Pact: and Russia is clearly at the moment likely to withdraw into isolation.
2. Even more prevalent is the feeling that a vast war of some kind — in a few months, in a year, in two years, in five years — is inevitable. Some think it will be a war to defend the British Empire (with or without allies) from the fascist bloc: others a war between the fascist bloc and the Soviet Union, with ourselves lined up on the side of the fascist bloc: and so on.

I believe that the peace forces must above all fight against this feeling that war is inevitable. For my own part, I believe that if war came, after another period of intensive rearmament and still more devilish inventions, the result would be something so utterly vile that it were better that the human race had never come into existence.

It seems to me clear, also, that everything is likely to turn on what action is taken during the next few months, weeks, and particularly days.

The crisis has revealed two emotions which have at the moment immense dynamic power: love of peace and hatred of fascist aggression. The love of peace is clearly universal (so far as the peoples are concerned), and applies as much to Germany as to Great Britain: and I don't think there is very much doubt that there is hatred of fascist aggression among large sections of the German people.

These two emotions must be immediately canalised: and in doing so we must work forward from the existing situation — i.e. the conversations at Munich, and the intention to

P.T.O.

MINUTES OF MEETINGS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD ON THURSDAY, OCTOBER 13TH, 1938 AT 11 A.M. AT GAS INDUSTRY HOUSE, AND AT 5 P.M. AT 15, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, S.W.1.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Mrs. E.P. Beale, Major Anthony Buxton, Lord Cecil, Miss Judith Corcoran, Miss K.D. Courtney, Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss P. Fawcett, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, Arthur Henderson, J.A. Keyser, Lady Layton, James Macdonald, Dr. Gilbert Murray, W.T. Pritchard, Miss E. Rathbone, General E.L. Spears, E. Wallis-Jones, F.W. Weaver, Major Lawrence Wright, together with the Deputy Secretary.

Mr. McLeod of Canada and Mrs. Street of Australia attended by invitation.

285. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Lord Allen, F.M. Burris, the Dean of Chichester, Miss M. Lloyd George, Sir Arthur Haworth, R.R. Stokes, H.S. Syrett and Major-General A.C. Temperley.
286. MINUTES. The minutes of the last meeting of the Committee dated October 6th, 1938 were confirmed as circulated.
287. ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES. The Chairman stated that he had suspended action on Minute 284 in the belief that the Executive might wish to consider whether the new Statement of Policy when it had been adopted by the Executive was not the document for which publicity in the national and provincial press should be sought rather than the statement contained in his letter to Branch Secretaries of September 30th.

It was agreed that requests to publish the latter statement in the press should not be refused but that no active steps should be taken to secure publicity for it.
288. DR. GARNETT. The Chairman reminded the Executive that at the time of Dr. Garnett's resignation the question of making suitable financial provision for him had been left to the Officers of the Union to consider. The Officers, after consulting the Treasurer, had agreed to offer Dr. Garnett a pension at the rate of £500 a year, on the following conditions:

- (1) the ability of the Union to pay the pension;
- (2) the pension to be subject to reconsideration in any case at the end of five years;
- (3) the pension to be subject to reconsideration at any time within the next five years should Dr. Garnett's own financial circumstances materially alter either by the receipt of salaried work of otherwise.

P.T.O.

- 2 -

continue them. What I want to plead for, then, is an immediate campaign in which all the appropriate organisations should co-operate, and on a scale as great as that of the peace ballot, in support of Attlee's and Sinclair's demand last night for an immediate and all-in international conference — with, of course, the United States and the Soviet Union as indispensable participants.

Such a campaign would receive over helming support from men and women of every class and every opinion — support so great, I believe, that any government that refused to adopt it would fall, and be replaced by a government that accepted it.

At a conference of this kind there would be such a preponderance of the peace powers that the whole trend to disaster would be immediately reversed, collective security established, and a real opportunity for peaceful remedying of grievances created for the first time — for the first time, because the results of the refusal to remedy them are now seen.

I do beg that the possibilities of an immense campaign on these lines should be at once considered.

Lord Lytton reported the receipt of a letter from Dr. Garnett gratefully accepting both the offer of the pension and the conditions attached to it.

289. INDUSTRIAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE. The Executive received an extract from the minutes of the Industrial Advisory Committee dated October 6th, 1938, containing the text of a letter written by Mr. H.R. Butler of the I.L.O. to the Chairman of the Committee. The Executive expressed their warm appreciation of the letter.

290. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Committee received resolutions from the North Chingford Branch, the Walthamstow Branch Committee and the Marlborough Branch Committee. It was

RESOLVED: "That the above Branches be thanked for their resolutions and be informed of the motions which the Executive will submit to the General Council in December."

291. REFUGEES. Mrs. Dugdale reported that the Refugees Committee, which was composed of representatives of all the larger societies working in this country on behalf of Refugees, had met on the previous day to consider the present situation in Czechoslovakia, particularly as it affected German and Jewish refugees who were being sent back into the surrendered areas. Mrs. Dugdale read to the Committee the draft of a communication which it was proposed to send to the Foreign Secretary (S.154) and expressed the hope that the communication might be taken personally to Lord Halifax by Lord Lytton and Lord Cecil.

The Chairman reported a letter from the Lord Mayor of London regarding the administration of his Relief Fund.

After it had been ascertained that the Foreign Secretary would be willing to meet representatives of the Executive Committee at 3.30 p.m. that day at the Foreign Office, it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That Lord Lytton, Lord Cecil and Mrs. Dugdale be asked to see the Foreign Secretary, to place before him the communication prepared by the Refugees Committee, to urge H.M. Government to use every conceivable means to ensure that, at least for a temporary period, the German Czech refugees shall remain in Czechoslovakia, to provide adequate funds for this purpose, and to help to provide permanent asylum for such refugees outside Czechoslovakia at the end of that period."

It was suggested that Lord Halifax should be reminded that the advance by H.M. Government of £10 million to the Czech Government and the promise of further financial

assistance might be used as a lever to prevent the removal of further refugees to the surrendered areas.

Miss Rathbone suggested that unless satisfactory assurances in this matter were forthcoming from H.M. Government, the Union should immediately circularise its Branches and urge them to take action in the matter. She placed before the Committee a draft letter for this purpose. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: (2) "That a further meeting of the Executive be held at 5 p.m. to receive a report from Lord Lytton, Lord Cecil, and Mrs. Dugdale on their conversation with Lord Halifax and to consider what further action, if any, the Union should take."

Mrs. Corbett Ashby suggested that communications might be sent to the League of Nations Societies in the Dominions, asking them to take action with regard to the settlement of refugees within the Empire. Mr. McCLeod felt sure that the Canadian Society would be glad to take what action it could, and would welcome representations on the lines suggested. Mrs. Street thought the co-operation of all parties in Australia would be forthcoming in the solution of this problem, particularly if the British Government or some private organisation would give financial assistance, at any rate for a temporary period.

292. FUTURE POLICY OF THE UNION. The Executive had before them a report of the sub-Committee of the Union's Officers (S.144) together with a draft of a short Statement of Policy (S.143), a longer Statement of Policy (S.147 and S.150), and draft motions for submission by the Executive to the General Council (S.145). Amendments by Lord Cecil to the longer statement (S.152) and a statement submitted by seven members of the Executive (S.15c) suggesting how the general principles contained in the Statements might be applied to the immediate situation, were also before the Committee.

The Chairman explained that the shorter Statement had been approved by the sub-Committee of the Union's Officers, but that the longer Statement had not yet been considered by the sub-Committee in detail. It had, however, been shown to the Christian Organisations Committee at their meeting on the previous day and had been warmly supported by them. Lord Lytton suggested that when the Statements of Policy had been approved, the Executive should set up a committee, which would no longer be an emergency committee but would be a body which would sit much more frequently than any of the existing Committees, and would consider any urgent questions which arose concerning the application of the general principles to the immediate situation, and, in particular, the best method of getting publicity for the Statements in quarters where they would be most helpful.

S.145.
10-10-38.

RESOLUTIONS

1. The Council approves the Statement of Policy issued by its Executive Committee and urges its Branches to do everything possible to secure support for it throughout the country.
2. The Council believes that the present state of the world urgently requires the application of the principles of the Covenant, and the strengthening of the League of Nations.
3. In present conditions the Council regards the maintenance and strengthening of British armaments as essential. In particular, it urges that all defensive precautions should be taken.
4. The Council rejoices in the continued success of the humanitarian, social and intellectual efforts of the League, and trusts that the States Members of the League will provide ample funds for these purposes.

After considerable discussion, during which various amendments to the draft Statements were suggested, it was

RESOLVED: "That the Statement of Policy in both the longer and shorter form be referred back for further consideration by the sub-Committee of the Union's Officers; that the shorter Statement, when amended by the sub-Committee in the light of suggestions made by Dr. Murray and the Vice-Chairman, be circulated to the Union's Branches with the Preliminary Agenda for the General Council with a note explaining that it is issued as an advance Statement and will be followed by a longer Statement; and that the longer Statement, as amended and approved by the sub-Committee, be submitted to the Executive for consideration at its next meeting."

Members of the Executive who wished to suggest amendments in the longer Statement were invited to send them to the Chairman.

293. DECEMBER MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL. The Executive considered the draft motions prepared by the sub-Committee of the Union's Officers (S.145) for submission to the December meeting of the General Council. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the following motions be included in the name of the Executive in the Preliminary Agenda:

- (1) The General Council of the League of Nations Union
 - (1) Believes that the present state of the world urgently requires the application of the principles of the Covenant and the strengthening of the League of Nations;
 - (ii) Regards, in present conditions, the maintenance and strengthening of British armaments as essential to the discharge of our duties under the Covenant, and in particular urges that all defensive precautions should be taken.
- (2) The General Council rejoices in the continued success of the humanitarian, social and intellectual efforts of the League, and trusts that the States Members of the League will provide ample funds for these purposes.

LONGER STATEMENT OF POLICY

The crisis through which we have recently passed in connection with Czechoslovakia will cause all members of the League of Nations Union to consider anxiously what steps can be taken to prevent a recurrence of such a situation. 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. We must if possible avoid the repetition of a situation in which the only alternative to war is a hurried removal of one injustice by the creation of another.

The Treaty of Versailles, which it is fashionable to criticise to-day, 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 machinery for the gradual removal of the injustices which it had inflicted, as the feelings of the signatory countries towards each other became modified by time, and for the settlement of future disputes by peaceful means.

Had that machinery been used, as the framers of the Covenant intended it to be used, the crisis through which we have recently passed would never have taken place.

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. But as that failure has led to a war in Africa, which is scarcely over, a war in Asia which is still raging -- in both of which the weaker country was invaded by a stronger -- and to similar invasions of territory in Europe, though these were accomplished without actual warfare, because the victims of the aggression were unable to resist, it is imperative for those who have so narrowly escaped from a repetition of the horrors of 1914-1918 to consider, while there is yet time, what measures should now be taken to ensure that the lessons of September, 1938 shall not be neglected.

Recrimination about the past can only lead to disunion and passion, whereas unity and wisdom are required if a recurrence of the lawless disturbances of International Peace which have taken place in the Far East, in Abyssinia, in Austria and in Czechoslovakia is to be prevented.

- (3) The General Council approves the Statement of Policy issued by its Executive Committee and urges its Branches to do everything possible to secure support for it throughout the country.

Dr. Murray stated that he had been asked by the Education Committee to table a motion on the subject of Intellectual Co-operation for the December meeting of the Council. He read to the Committee the draft of such a motion. It was suggested that Dr. Murray should consider this in the light of the resolution in (2) above.

294. THE LEAGUE ASSEMBLY. Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Miss Courtney, Admiral Druce-Lowe and Miss White reported their impressions of the recent meeting of the League Assembly. Special mention was made of the discussions in the Assembly concerning responsibility for collective action by League members in cases of aggression, and the approval by the League of the Spanish proposal for the despatch of a commission to Spain to supervise the withdrawal of volunteers on the side of the Spanish Government.

MEETING AT 5 P.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Lord Cecil, Miss K.D. Courtney, Miss Judith Corcoran, Mrs. Dugdale, Lady Hall, J.A. Keyser, Lady Layton, W.T. Pritchard, Miss E. Rathbone. Apologies for absence were received from Miss Fawcett.

295. REFUGEES. Lord Lytton reported on the conversation which he and Lord Cecil and Mrs. Dugdale had had with Lord Halifax earlier in the afternoon, and stated that the memorandum (referred to in minute 291) had been left with the Foreign Secretary. Lord Cecil and Mrs. Dugdale supplemented the Chairman's report.

In reply to Miss Rathbone's suggestion that a communication should be sent to the Union's Branches asking them to take action, the Chairman stated that, in his opinion, the representations made to the Foreign Secretary that afternoon were likely to be more effective than resolutions submitted to H.M. Government by Union Branches.

Lord Cecil suggested that Branches of the Union should be informed of the interview with the Foreign Secretary and of the assurances which Lord Halifax had

The League of Nations Union believes that the only effective measure of prevention is insistence on the principles embodied in the Covenant of the League — namely:-

1. That aggression is an international crime which it is the duty of all civilised nations to prevent or stop.
2. That any war, or threat of war, is therefore a matter of concern to all.
3. That all disputes between nations should be submitted to some form of third party judgment.
4. That effective machinery should, therefore, 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 when a sufficient sense of security has been created by the application of these principles, that security should be increased by a limitation of national armaments by international agreement.

The principal lesson of the recent crisis is that failure to deal effectively with the Sudeten question in time gave a pretext for the German aggression on Czechoslovakia, and caused the hesitation of other States to afford her protection while that injustice remained. Moreover, so hurried and inconsiderate was the settlement of this grievance made under the threat of war in a few hours, that new grievances were created, new injustices inflicted, some lives sacrificed and much misery caused — all of which might have been prevented had an orderly procedure been possible.

Other features of the settlement made after the last war are still felt to be unjust. The immediate need of the moment, therefore, is a careful and sympathetic examination of these grievances before they are exploited and embittered to a point where they will either precipitate a war or bring about a hurried settlement which will create new injustices.

The Treaties made after the Great War in 1919 have failed to make peace secure. What is required, therefore, is a new Peace Treaty framed by agreement and not by dictation. Nothing else is comparable in importance with this.

given, and the hope expressed that everything possible would be done to support H.M. Government in their action. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That a statement be prepared of the action taken by the Executive Committee and the subsequent interview with the Foreign Secretary; that the statement be submitted to Lord Halifax's private secretary for his approval; and that it be subsequently communicated to the press.

The Committee agreed that the private secretary should be informed that the Union is willing, to the extent of its ability, to help in providing emergency accommodation for refugees if such is required.

(NOTE: The statement sent to Lord Halifax's private secretary read as follows:

The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union has considered as a matter of urgency the terrible condition of the refugees in Czechoslovakia and particularly the information that many of the German-speaking refugees and the Jews were being sent back to the Sudeten areas. Statements had been made on behalf of those in power in those areas to the effect that on their arrival some or all of these refugees would be sent to concentration camps. The Committee felt that the matter was so urgent that it should be brought immediately to the personal notice of the Foreign Secretary. Lord Lytton (Chairman), Lord Cecil (President) and Mrs. Dugdale (Chairman of the L.N.U. Refugees Committee) accordingly saw Lord Halifax. They represented to him that at that very time large bodies of these refugees were being sent back, that every hour increased the evil and that since private efforts had failed to stop it the only possibility left was action by the British Government. They also pointed out that the Government had given some £10 million partly for the purpose of dealing with these refugees and had said that they might give more. This seemed to afford an opportunity to point out to the Czech Government that any extra expense incurred by keeping the refugees in Czechoslovakia for a period of, say, two months might be met by the British Government. During that period further plans could be made for dealing permanently with the problem. Lord Halifax replied that the Government were fully conscious of the urgency of the matter, that they had already made representations to the two Governments concerned, that they would now renew those representations and would make use of the considerations put before him. The Government had already made enquiries as to localities overseas, where the refugees might be sent and they would pursue those enquiries with energy. The deputation assured

The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union calls upon all its branches and members to unite in demanding the summoning of an International Conference at as early a date as is compatible with adequate preparation and due consideration of the conditions under which it should be held, to secure the removal if possible of political and economic conditions likely to lead to war.

We believe that a World Conference, such as the Economic Conference recently held in London, summoned without preparation and outside the machinery of the League, would not be likely to achieve the desired result. In our opinion the Conference must be held in 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.

Although the summoning of such a Conference is a matter of extreme 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. There would be little hope of success in a Conference summoned to settle the terms of peace by agreement unless the States taking part in it were to sign a non-aggression pact or agree to co-operate to prevent a breach of the peace by violence.

We feel also that disarmament by international agreement is unattainable 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. A continuance of the present insane competition in armaments — which there is no hope of arresting in existing causes of war between nations which should be removed. There can be no prosperity while it continues. Prosperity depends on confidence; confidence depends on security, and security depends on goodwill and organised co-operation between nations to secure justice and maintain peace.

In the universal relief at 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

Lord Halifax of their readiness to help in any way possible and informed him that offers had already been received to give hospitality to some of the refugees. Finally Lord Halifax's attention was called to the refugees who had already been sent back and Lord Halifax said he would bring the matter to the notice of the German Government. He was reminded that these people had the right to opt whether they would remain in the transferred territory or whether they would prefer to live in Czechoslovakia. He entirely agreed that was so.

The Executive Committee feel that all the members of the Union will wish to do their utmost to help the Government in coming to the assistance of these innocent victims of recent events.

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 days of the crisis the whole nation was united and resolute. When the shadow of immediate war was removed that unity vanished and was replaced by controversy of the bitterest kind. This may be partly accounted for, perhaps, by the different conception of peace held by different people. 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. To these peace signifies the establishment of an international relationship by which fear is lessened and charity increased. 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. Savages can enjoy the first, the second is an attribute only of the highest civilisation. 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. The desire to attain it has caused an appeal to be made to-day for "moral re-armament". The meaning of these words -- which have not been very happily chosen -- is the generation of spiritual energy without which positive peace cannot be brought within reach. 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.

S.152.
12.10.38.

AMENDMENTS TO THE LONGER STATEMENT OF POLICY (S.147)

SUGGESTED BY LORD CECIL.

NOTE:- If any of these amendments are accepted, the drafting should be referred back.

- Page 1. paragraph 4. After "Europe" insert "not to speak of intervention in Spain which has become practically an invasion".
- Page 2. sub-para. 5 Adopt sub-paragraph 5 of the Short Statement (S.143)
- Page 2. last para. The second sentence to run:
"What is required therefore is something in the nature of a new Peace Treaty....." etc.
- Page 3. para. 3. Leave out from "agreement" to the end of the paragraph, and insert:-
"unless aggression were definitely banned and machinery to prevent or stop it on the lines of the Covenant as interpreted in the Resolution of the Council at Torquay were accepted".

S.156.
13.10.38.

IMMEDIATE AIMS

(1) Refugees from Czecho-Slovakia

The Union should urge H.M. Government to recognise that the plight of the refugees of the Sudetenland is a direct result of the Munich Agreement and that therefore the British Government has a responsibility for these people which can only be met by:

- (a) a large financial contribution;
- (b) by providing within the British Empire a temporary shelter for those who cannot be received within the shrunken boundaries of Czecho-Slovakia;
- (c) by making representations to the Dominions to make a special case for large scale admission of the Sudeten refugees.

(2) Spain

Great Britain must not acquiesce in the further extension of totalitarian influence in Spain, until the complete withdrawal of Italians (including airmen and technicians).

In view of the intention of the Spanish Government to evacuate the whole of their foreign combatants under the auspices of the League of Nations, we call upon the British Government not to agree to the confirmation of the Anglo-Italian agreement at least until the withdrawal from the insurgents of foreign combatants has been equally complete, and is safeguarded by an effective system of control.

Further we urge that the wholesale starvation of the civilian population of Spain, brought about by the illegal bombardment of merchant ships and non-military objectives should be met by the active co-operation of League Members at the initiative of Great Britain.

P.T.O.

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(3) Abyssinia

To oppose recognition of Italian sovereignty over Abyssinia.

(4) China

Seeing that Great Britain concurred in the declaration of the League that China was the victim of unprovoked aggression, H.M. Government be urged to grant substantial financial assistance.

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