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MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT 14, GROSVENOR CRESENT, LONDON, S.W. 1., ON THURSDAY, JUNE 20TH, 1935 AT 10.45 A.M.

PRESENT: Professor Gilbert Murray (in the Chair), Lord Allen, Miss Joyce Ansell, P.J. Noel Baker, Michael Berkway, Major Anthony Buxton, L.J. Cadbury, Lord Cecil, Sir Austen Chamberlain, the Dean of Chichester, Miss K.D. Courtney, Lord Dickinson, Admiral Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dugdale, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, Lady Henschel, Dr. Kimmins, Lady Layton, Commander Lewis, Captain Loder, G. le M. Mander, Sir Walter Napier, Professor Webster, Mrs. Wilson-Fox, Major Lawrence Wright, L.M. Wynch.

166. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from F.M. Burris, H.H. Elvin, Lady Gladstone, Captain Green, Mrs. Runciman and H.S. Syrett.
167. PRESENTATION TO DR. AND MRS. MAXWELL GARNETT. The Chairman, on behalf of the Executive Committee, presented a silver coffee pot and milk jug to Dr. and Mrs. Garnett in commemoration of their Silver Wedding on June 1st. Dr. Garnett, in replying to Professor Murray's speech, thanked the Executive most warmly for their outward and visible sign of all the kindness that he and Mrs. Garnett had continuously experienced from the Executive, and especially from the Chairman, President and Treasurer of the Union during the past fifteen years. He counted himself extraordinarily fortunate to have spent so large a portion of his life in the service of such masters, working for such a cause as the Union's and with such able and delightful friends as he had in the secretariat of the Union.

168. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

- (a) Welcome Committee. The Minutes of the Committee dated June 3rd, 1935, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (18) Minutes of last meeting; (19) Secretary's Report; (20) Proposed visit of Canadian Group; (21) Hospitality for International Folk Dance Festival; (22) Albert Hall Meeting; (23) Visit of Austrians; (24) Suggested invitation to Re-join Committee; (25) Extension of Panel of Hostesses; (26) Extension of Union Membership.

- (b) Religious and Ethics Committee. (Professor Murray reported.) The Minutes of the Committee dated June 13th, 1935, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (12) Communication from Executive Committee; (13) Series of Lectures (1936) (14) Youth Group Meetings; (15) Drawing Room Meetings; (16) Corporate Members; (17) Corporate Members' Annual Observance Day; (18) Resolution on the Situation of the Jews in Germany. P.T.O.

169. MR. BALDWIN. Sir John Harris suggested that the Executive should send a letter to Mr. Baldwin, expressing its appreciation of his action in appointing a Minister for League of Nations Affairs in the House of Commons. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the Chairman be asked to write privately to Mr. Baldwin, referring to his recent speech and saying how the Executive is pleased by the prominence he has given to the League in his speeches and in the formation of his Government.

170. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Committee received with interest resolutions from the Nottingham and Croydon Branches. It was

RESOLVED: (1) That a letter be sent to the Croydon Branch, explaining why the Executive is unable to agree to the suggestion contained in their resolution.

(2) That, in future, where time permits, Branch resolutions be considered by the Executive along with the Reports of Committees at the outset of the Executive's meetings.

171. MINUTES. Subject to the following decision and report on Minutes 159 and 160, the Minutes of the Committee dated June 6th, 1935, were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 159 -- General Council, it was reported that Sir Walter Citrine did not feel able to accept co-optation to the General Council since it was not possible for him to give personal attention to the Council's work.

On Minute 160 - The League and the Suppression of Religious Freedom, the Dean of Chichester reported that the Christian Organisations Committee had met on the previous day and had appreciated the resolution adopted by the Executive at its last meeting. The Christian Organisations Committee hoped that the resolution would be submitted to the General Council at its forthcoming meeting and be brought to the notice of the British delegates to the next Assembly of the League. It was

RESOLVED: (1) That the resolution, *mutatis mutandis*, adopted by the Executive at its last meeting be submitted as a matter of urgency to the General Council under item 11 in the Final Agenda.

(2) That the resolution be communicated to members of the British delegation to the next Assembly of the League at Geneva.

The Dean of Chichester expressed his willingness to move the Executive's resolution at the Cambridge meeting of the Council.

172. DISARMAMENT AND SECURITY. The Executive had before them a copy of the reply sent by Sir John Simon to Professor Murray's letter of May 30th.

The Executive then considered the Anglo-German Naval Agreement. Lord Cecil reported that the International Federation at their recent meeting in Brussels had adopted a general resolution on the subject of Disarmament. He suggested that the Executive might find it easier to discuss the present situation on the basis of the Federation's resolution, and it was

RESOLVED: "That further consideration of this item be adjourned until the next meeting of the Executive; and that, in the meantime, the text of the resolution on Disarmament adopted by the International Federation at Brussels be circulated for the information of the Executive Committee."

173. ITALY AND ABYSSINIA. The Committee discussed the recent and disturbing developments in the dispute between Italy and Abyssinia. Professor Webster felt that on this question the whole principle of collective security was going to be tested within the next few months; and he therefore suggested that the meeting in the Albert Hall on June 27th should be used to reinforce the determination of Great Britain to abide by her international obligations, and to assure the Government of the support of the vast majority of the country if they act in the name of the League of Nations in this matter. The Executive were reminded of the resolution adopted at the meeting on May 16th and communicated to H.M. Government. After considerable discussion, in which many members of the Executive took part, it was

RESOLVED: (1) That the Chairman be asked to write to Sir Samuel Hoare, enclosing a copy of the resolution adopted by the Executive Committee on May 16th; reminding the Foreign Secretary of the disturbing developments in the situation since that resolution was adopted; stating that the Executive Committee, while regarding the prevention of Italian aggression upon Abyssinia as absolutely vital to the future of the League, is very anxious not to do anything which would hamper H.M. Government's action; inviting an expression of opinion from the Foreign Secretary regarding any action the Union might take with a view to strengthening the hands of the Government in trying to preserve peace; and stating that, since it would be impossible for the Executive Committee not to present a resolution on the subject to the General Council when it meets in Cambridge, the Committee would be grateful for any indication the Foreign Secretary may care to give concerning the kind of resolution which might be helpful.

P.T.O.

(2) That by means of the Secretary's circular letter to Branches, "Speakers Notes" and HEADWAY, Branches and speakers be supplied with the history of events up to date, including evidence from British witnesses on the spot; and that their attention be drawn to the extreme gravity of the crisis and the importance, on the one hand, of being ready to support the Government in any action they may think necessary and, on the other, of saying nothing which would add to the difficulties of the situation.

174. DEPUTATION TO FOREIGN SECRETARY AND MINISTER FOR LEAGUE OF NATIONS AFFAIRS. It was

RESOLVED: "That, after the meeting of the General Council in July, Sir Samuel Hoare and Mr. Eden be requested to receive a small deputation from the Executive Committee who would submit to them the resolutions adopted by the Nineteenth Plenary Congress of the International Federation and by the Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the General Council."

175. SIXTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL. The Executive considered the proof of the Final Agenda for the Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the General Council to be held at Cambridge from July 3rd to 6th.

On Item II (b) Executive's Report on Action Taken, the Secretary stated that the resolution adopted by the Nineteenth Plenary Congress on the subject of Minorities would be printed in the report on Minute 165.

On Item VI, Election of Officers, it was

RESOLVED: "That the General Council be recommended to appoint Sir Austen Chamberlain a Vice-President of the Union."

On Item VIII, Co-optations to General Council, it was reported that the Kettering Branch had withdrawn their amendment.

On Item IX. 11. The Churches and Peace, the Executive had already decided (see Minute 171(160) above) to move an urgency motion on the subject of the League and the Suppression of Religious Freedom.

On Item IX. 12 (2) Political Work, it was

RESOLVED: (1) "To support the amendment of the Warwickshire Federal Council and to move that paragraph (11) be amended to read as follows:-

(ii) In the meantime (a) to work at by-elections, if any; (b) to watch the situation and to keep the views of

the Union constantly before Members of Parliament by means of Constituency Committees, deputations, personal letters, etc.

- (2) That Dr. Maude Royden be informed of the Executive's amendment to paragraph (ii) and that she be asked if the Fellowship Branch would accept that amendment and also the amendment of the Warwickshire and Birmingham Federal Council to paragraph (i).

On Item X. 20. Refugees, it was, on the motion of Lord Cecil,

RESOLVED: That the motion standing in the name of the Executive Committee be moved in the following amended form:-

The General Council of the League of Nations Union

Observing that there are still over 1,000,000 unfortunate refugees who stand in need of assistance, that over 200,000 are known to be unemployed or destitute, and that the means of earning a livelihood, despite the resolutions of the Assembly of the League of Nations, are more and more frequently denied to refugees;

Viewing with apprehension the proposed suppression in 1938 of the grant made by the League of Nations to the Nansen International Office for Refugees, which is hardly sufficient for the expenses of organization; and recalling the fact that the High Commission for Refugees coming from Germany does not receive any such grant;

Noting that this great body of unemployed or destitute persons constitutes an increasing embarrassment to the countries to which they have fled and is ever present danger to the good relations between such countries and the countries of origin of the refugees;

Considers that the work of the League of Nations in connection with the refugee problem could be carried out with greater efficiency and economy if it were operated through a single system; and

Recommends that a central organisation be maintained under the League of Nations, whose duty it would be to deal with those problems of an international character which affect the well-being of the refugees or the countries in which they reside and to facilitate the operations of those private organisations on which the relief of the refugees depends.



176. REPORT ON NINETEENTH PLENARY CONGRESS OF INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION. The Executive had before them a Report on the XIXth Plenary Congress of the International Federation held in Brussels from June 9th to 12th, 1935 (S.G.7521). It was

RESOLVED: "That the Report be received; and that the text of the resolutions adopted by the XIXth Plenary Congress be circulated for consideration by the Executive at its next meeting."

177. PROPOSED COUNCIL OF ACTION FOR PEACE AND RECONSTRUCTION. The Executive considered two communications from Mr. R. Wilson Black, (1) asking to be supplied with the names and addresses of the Union's Branch Secretaries, and (2) inviting the Union to send three delegates to the Convention at the Central Hall, Westminster on July 1st and 2nd. The Dean of Chichester reported a discussion on the previous day by the Christian Organisations Committee on the Manifesto issued by the Proposed Council of Action for Peace and Reconstruction.

After discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) That, in accordance with the decision recorded in Minute 257 of the Executive's meeting of November 8th, 1934, the names and addresses of the Union's Branch Secretaries be not supplied to the Proposed Council of Action for Peace and Reconstruction.

(2) That the invitation to the Union to send three delegates to the Convention at the Central Hall, Westminster, on July 1st and 2nd, be not accepted.

178. COMMUNICATION FROM MR. R. BOYD. The Executive considered a communication from Mr. R. Boyd, a member of the Purfleet Urban District Council, suggesting that the Union's Branches should be invited to write to their Local Government Authority, asking them to support the following resolution which had been communicated by the Purfleet Urban District Council to every Borough, Urban and Rural Council throughout the country:

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"That this Council views with alarm the present grave international complications. The feeling of insecurity is hindering the recovery of world trade and we earnestly implore His Majesty's Government to pursue a policy of peace."

It was

RESOLVED: "That no action be taken".

179. NATIONAL DECLARATION: It was reported that only a few tickets were now available for the Peace Ballot Meeting in the Albert Hall on Thursday, June 27th. Members of the Executive who wished to be present at the meeting were asked to make immediate application for tickets to Dame Adelaide Livingstone.

180. DATE OF NEXT MEETING. It was

RESOLVED: "That the next meeting of the Executive be held on Thursday, June 27th instead of on Thursday, July 4th when the General Council will be in session at Cambridge."

CONFIDENTIAL.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

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MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD  
AT 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W. 1. ON THURSDAY,  
JUNE 27TH, 1935 AT 10.45 A.M.

PRESENT: Professor Gilbert Murray (in the Chair),  
Vyvyan Adams, Lord Allen, Miss Joyce Ansell,  
W. Arnold-Forster, P.J. Noel Baker, Major  
Anthony Buxton, Lord Cecil, Sir Austen  
Chamberlain, Lord Dickinson, Admiral S.R.  
Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Philippa  
Fawcett, Captain Green, Lady Hall, Sir John  
Harris, Lady Henschel, Dr. Kimmins, Lady  
Layton, Commander Lewis, Captain Loder, G.  
le M. Mander, Sir Walter Napier, Sir John  
Power, Mrs. Runciman, Mrs. Wilson-Fox, Major  
Lawrence Wright, L.M. Wynch.

181. APOLOGUES FOR ABSENCE were received from F.M. Burris,  
L.J. Cadbury, the Dean of Chichester, Miss K.D. Courtney,  
H.H. Elvin, Lord Lytton.

182. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

(a) Christian Organisations Committee. (Admiral Drury-  
Lowe reported) Subject to the following decision  
on Minutes 46 and 47, the Minutes of the Committee  
dated June 19th, 1935, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (44) Minutes; (45) The  
League and Religious Persecution; (46) Church  
Magazine Inset. Discussion by Executive Com-  
mittee on May 30th; (47) Call to Action; (48)  
Campaign in the Churches; (49) Call to Prayer;  
(50) Resignation of Vice-Chairman; (51) Swiss  
Pastors in London; (52) Applications for  
Corporate Membership; (53) Resolutions.

On Minute 46 - Church Magazine Inset. Discussion by  
Executive Committee, it was

RESOLVED: "That, subject to the insertion of the  
words 'appeals for' before the word  
'membership' in the first paragraph,  
this Minute be approved and adopted."

Sir Austen Chamberlain read to the Executive a state-  
ment on the subject of the Church Magazine Inset  
which Admiral Drury-Lowe asked to be allowed to bring  
to the notice of the Christian Organisations Committee.

On Minute 47 - Call to Action, it was

RESOLVED: "That, subject to the insertion of the  
words 'part of' before the words 'the  
substance' in the second sentence, this  
minute be approved and adopted."

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- (b) Branches Committee. (Mr. Wynch reported) Subject to the following decision and report on Minute 46, the Minutes of the Committee dated June 20th were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (36) Minutes; (37) Branches and Junior Branches; (38) Corporate Members; (39) Corporate and Industrial Associates; (40) Junior Sections; (41) Affiliated Members; (42) Membership; (43) Certificate for Sub-Branch; (44) Sunderland Branch; (45) Speakers; (46) National Institute of Industrial Psychology; (47) Youth Committee.

On Minute 46 - National Institute of Industrial Psychology, it was

RESOLVED: (1) That resolution (b) be approved and adopted subject to its being amended to read as follows:

"That in the meantime the Editorial Committee be asked to publish a pamphlet describing the work and ideals of the Union and something of its history."

Major Lawrence Wright reported that a Sub-Committee of the London Regional Federation had, on June 20th, considered the Report of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology. The Sub-Committee hoped that the Executive would appoint a small Committee to discuss with them the various suggestions which had been made. It was

RESOLVED: "That it be left to the Chairman to nominate members of the Executive to discuss with the Sub-Committee of the London Regional Federation the suggestions contained in the Report of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology."

- (c) Education Committee. Dr. Kirmins reported that, at its meeting on June 24th, the Education Committee had decided to ask the President of the Board of Education to receive a deputation from the Committee.
- (d) Overseas Committee. Mrs. Dugdale reported, as a matter of urgency, on the following resolutions adopted by the Overseas Committee at its meeting on the previous day:
- (1) Report of Brussels Congress.

"That the resolutions passed by Congress be printed by the Union and made available at Cambridge for the meeting of the Union's General Council."

(2) Autumn Meetings of the International Federation,

"That the Union's General Council meeting at Cambridge should be asked to authorise an additional expenditure of £30 for the Overseas Travelling Fund for 1935, for the purpose of sending a delegation to the autumn meetings of the Federation."

It was

RESOLVED: "That the above resolutions be approved and adopted."

183. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Executive received with interest resolutions from the Welsh National Council, the Warwickshire and Birmingham Federal Council, and the National Women Citizens' Association.
184. MINUTES. Subject to the following report and decision on Minute 175 and 177, the Minutes of the Committee dated June 20th, 1935, were approved and adopted.

On Minute 175 - Sixteenth Annual Meeting of General Council, it was reported that Dr. Maude Royden had, on behalf of the Fellowship Branch, accepted the amendment proposed by the Executive Committee to paragraph (11) of resolution 12(2), but she was unable to agree to the amendment of the Warwickshire and Birmingham Federal Council to paragraph (1).

On Minute 177 - Proposed Council of action for Peace and Reconstruction, it was, on the motion of Captain Green

RESOLVED: "That the second paragraph of this Minute be deleted."

185. NATIONAL DECLARATION. Lord Cecil reported that the final poll in the Peace Ballot was 11,613,996. The whole of the financial liabilities in connection with the Ballot had now been met, including the £100 advanced by the Union, the rent for the premises at 15a, Grosvenor Crescent, and the gross expenses of the Albert Hall Meeting. Lord Cecil drew the attention of the Committee to the Official History of the Peace Ballot, published by Messrs. Gollancz. Copies of the book were distributed to members of the Executive. He also reminded the Committee of the meeting to be held in the Albert Hall that evening when the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Earl of Home, Dr. Norwood, Mrs. Corbett Ashby and Sir Walter Citrine were to be among the speakers; and he read to the Committee the draft resolutions which were to be submitted to the meeting.
- It was

RESOLVED: (1) That the very hearty congratulations of the Executive Committee be conveyed to Lord Cecil on the remarkable success of the National Declaration.

Lord Cecil, in thanking the Executive for their resolution, said that the success of the Ballot was mainly due, not only to the energy and devotion of the voluntary workers, but also to the extraordinary interest and enthusiasm which the ordinary man and woman had shown in the questions. He felt it was a complete revelation of the way democracy worked.

It was further

RESOLVED: (2) That Lord Cecil be requested, when presenting a report on the National Declaration to the General Council, to ask the Council, in the name of the Executive, to pass a resolution of congratulation to Dame Adelaide Livingstone and her assistants on the very successful organisation of the Ballot.

It was suggested that copies of the Official History of the Ballot should be sent to all Members of Parliament. Lord Cecil promised to talk this suggestion over with Dame Adelaide Livingstone.

In reply to a further suggestion, Mrs. Dugdale reported that the Overseas Committee, at their meeting on the previous day, had recommended that copies of the shilling edition of the book should be given wide circulation at the expense of the Union among League of Nations Societies of other countries, including the British Dominions.

186. NINETEENTH PLENARY CONGRESS OF INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION. The Committee considered the resolutions adopted by the Nineteenth Plenary Congress of the International Federation at its recent meeting in Brussels (S.G.7534). It was

- RESOLVED: (1) That Lord Cecil, in his speech to the General Council at Cambridge, be asked to call attention to the fact that printed copies of the resolutions adopted by the Nineteenth Plenary Congress will be available for members of the Council.
- (2) That the resolutions be referred for consideration and report by the appropriate advisory committees of the Executive.
- (3) That, in presenting the resolutions to the Foreign Secretary and the Minister for League of Nations Affairs, the Union's deputation be asked to draw particular attention to the resolution concerning the Statute of Memel, and to request H.M. Government to urge the Government of Lithuania to bring the matter before the League if it be true that a dangerous situation is developing.

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187. DISARMAMENT AND SECURITY. The Executive considered the resolution adopted by the Nineteenth Plenary Congress of the International Federation on the subject of Collective Security and Disarmament. In reply to a question from Lord Allen, it was

RESOLVED: "That, in accepting the resolution adopted by the Nineteenth Plenary Congress on the subject of Collective Security and Disarmament, it be understood that the Executive is not committing itself, on the question of an International Air Force, beyond the policy set forth in the resolution to be submitted to the General Council at Cambridge."

188. SIXTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL. The Committee had before them the Final Agenda for the Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the General Council. It was

RESOLVED: (1) That the General Council be recommended to appoint all the High Commissioners as Vice-Presidents of the Union.

(2) That the General Council be recommended to appoint the Archbishop of Westminster a Vice-President of the Union in place of the late Cardinal Bourne.

(3) That it be left to the Chairman and Lord Cecil to invite members of the Executive to take charge of the various items included in the General Council's agenda.

(4) That Lord Lytton be consulted on the question whether or not an urgency resolution on the Far East should be submitted to the General Council.

189. ITALY AND ABYSSINIA. The Chairman read to the Executive the letter he had written to Sir Samuel Hoare in accordance with the decision taken at the last meeting. The Foreign Secretary had sent a very friendly acknowledgment, saying that he would write at length later.

The Executive considered the Note sent by the Ethiopian Government to Geneva on June 19th, requesting the despatch of impartial League observers to the present centre of conflict. The Committee had before them a note (S.G.7539) prepared by Mr. Noel Baker on this subject. It was suggested that the resolution to be submitted to the General Council at Cambridge should recall the terms of the decision arrived at by the Council of the League at Geneva which included a pledge by Italy not to seek settlement of the dispute by armed force. After considerable discussion it was

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RESOLVED: "That the Chairman be asked to write a letter to Sir Robert Vansittart, explaining that the Executive does not wish to bother the Secretary of State with a further letter; stating how much the Executive hopes that the proposal to send impartial League observers to Abyssinia will be adopted; suggesting that, in view of the urgency of the matter and since there will be no meeting of the Council before July, it might be desirable to consider making a suggestion to the President of the Council that he should instruct the Secretariat to make all preliminary enquiries and arrangements so that, if the Council should resolve to send observers, that may be done at very short notice; and asking Sir Robert Vansittart, if he sees fit, to bring the letter before the Foreign Secretary."

190. DATE OF NEXT MEETING. It was

RESOLVED: "That a special meeting of the thirty-elected members of the Executive be held on Tuesday, July 9th at 11.0 a.m. for the purpose of co-opting other members of the Committee; and that the next ordinary meeting of the Executive be held at 10.45 a.m. on Thursday, July 11th."



CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE CO-OPTIONS SUB-COMMITTEE HELD AT 15, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, S.W. 1. ON THURSDAY, JUNE 27TH, 1935 AT 10.15 a.m.

PRESENT: Professor Gilbert Murray, Mr. Noel Baker, Lady Layton and Captain Loder.

CO-OPTIONS. The Committee considered the names of those members of the Executive Committee in 1933/34 who had not been re-elected for the year 1934/35, together with other suggested names. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) That the Executive Committee, as elected at the Annual Meeting of the General Council, be recommended to co-opt the following members to serve on the Committee for the year 1934/5:

Mrs. Corbett Ashby  
Mr. Michael Barkway  
Lady Violet Bonham Carter  
Captain Victor Cazalet, M.P.  
Dean of Chichester  
Mrs. Dugdale  
Miss P. Fawcett  
Captain L.H. Green  
Sir Edward Grigg  
Lady Hall  
Sir Fred Hayward  
Major the Rt.Hon. J.W. Hills, M.P.  
Dr. C.W. Kimmins  
Capt. the Hon. J. de V. Loder, M.P.  
Sir John Power, M.P.  
Lord Rhayader  
Mrs. Walter Runciman  
Mr. H.S. Syrett  
Professor C.K. Webster  
Mrs. Wilson Fox

- (2) That Mr. Noel Baker be asked to consult Sir Walter Citrine on the question of obtaining a Trade Union representative to serve on the Executive.
- (3) That the Chairman of the Executive Committee and the Honorary Treasurer of the Union continue to be regarded as ex-officio members of the Executive as are the Presidents and the Honorary Presidents of the Union.

CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF A SPECIAL MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1. ON TUESDAY, JULY 9TH, 1935 AT 11 a.m.

PRESENT: Lord Cecil (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams, Miss Joyce Ansell, Sir Austen Chamberlain, Miss K.D. Courtney, Admiral Drury-Lowe, Lady Gladstone, Sir John Harris, Lady Layton, Councillor Shaw.

191. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from W. Arnold Foster, P.J. Noel Baker, F.M. Burris, Major Buxton, L.J. Cadbury, Sir Arthur Haworth and Sir Archibald Sinclair.

192. CO-OPTIONS. The Committee considered the report of the Co-optations sub-Committee dated June 27th. They also had before them particulars of the voting in the Postal Ballot.

Dr. Garnett reminded the Committee of the provision in the National Constitution for League of Nations Youth Groups adopted by the General Council at its meeting in Cambridge that "The / National Youth / Committee shall invite the Union's Executive to co-opt one representative of the Youth Groups, whom the Committee will nominate for the purpose". Miss Ansell reported that the Youth Committee had not met since the adoption of the Youth Group Constitution.

After discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the following twenty persons be co-opted to serve on the Executive Committee for the year 1935/6:

Mrs. Corbett Ashby  
Mr. Michael Barkway  
Lady Violet Bonham Carter  
Captain Victor Cazalet, M.P.  
Dean of Chichester  
Mrs. Dugdale  
Miss P. Fawcett  
Captain L.H. Green  
Sir Edward Grigg, M.P.  
Lady Hall  
Sir Fred Hayward  
Major the Rt. Hon. J.W. Hills, M.P.  
Dr. C.W. Kimmins  
Captain the Hon. J. de V. Loder, M.P.  
Sir John Power, M.P.  
Lord Rhayader  
Mr. H.S. Syrett  
Professor C.K. Webster  
Mrs. Wilson Fox  
Mr. L.M. Wynch

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MINUTE BOOK

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- (2) That Mr. Noel Baker be asked to consult Sir Walter Citrine on the question of obtaining a Trade Union representative to serve on the Executive.
- (3) That the Chairman of the Executive Committee and the Honorary Treasurer of the Union continue to be regarded as ex-officio members of the Executive as are the President and the Honorary Presidents of the Union.
- (4) That immediately after the election of the Executive Committee by the General Council for each year a letter be sent to the thirty elected members, informing them of their election and asking them whether, in view of the importance of the work of the Executive, they hope to be able to attend more or less regularly.

RESOLVED: (1) That the following twenty persons be co-opted to serve on the Executive Committee for the year 1937:

- Mrs. Corbett
- Mr. Michael Barker
- Lady Noel Gordon Carter
- Captain Victor Casale, M.P.
- John of Winchester
- Mrs. Douglas
- Miss E. Hancock
- Dr. John L. H. Green
- Mr. Robert Girdle, M.P.
- Lady Hill
- Mr. Fred Hayward
- Major the Rt. Hon. G.W. Hills
- Dr. G.W. Kinnear
- Captain the Hon. G. de V. Loder
- Mr. J. G. Foster, M.P.
- Mr. J. G. Foster
- Mr. J. G. Foster

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MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE  
HELD AT 15, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W. 1.  
ON THURSDAY, JULY 12TH, 1935 AT 10.45 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Cecil (in the Chair), Lord Allen,  
Miss Joyce Ansell, P.J. Noel Baker,  
F.M. Burris, Major Anthony Buxton,  
Captain Cazalet, Sir Austen Chamberlain,  
Miss K.D. Courtney, Lord Dickinson,  
Admiral Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dugdals, Miss  
Fawcett, Miss Lloyd George, Lady  
Gladstone, Captain Green, Sir John Harris,  
Dr. C.W. Kimmins, Lady Layton, Captain  
J. de V. Loder, G. le M. Mander, Nowell  
Smith, Lord Rhayader, Sir Archibald  
Sinclair, H.S. Syrett, Mrs. Wilson Fox,  
Major Lawrence Wright.

193. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from L.J. Cadbury,  
Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Sir Edward Grigg, Sir Haworth,  
Professor Murray and L.M. Wynch.

194. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

(a) Office Committee. (Lady Gladstone reported).  
Subject to the following decision on Minutes 40  
and 45, the Minutes of the Committee dated  
June 25th and July 9th were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (33) Half Yearly  
Revision of Wages and Salaries; (34)  
Press Section; (35) Appeals Section;  
(36) Intelligence Section; (37) Library;  
(38) Miss Butler; (39) Union Trip to  
America; (40) Mr. Brinton; (41) Grading;  
(43) Dame Adelaide Livingstone; (44)  
Half-Yearly Revision of Wages and Salaries;  
(45) Follow-up of the Peace Ballot; (46)  
Appeals Section; (47) Typing Room Staff;  
(48) Intelligence Section; (49) Mr. Hubert  
Peasumont.

On Minute 40 - Mr. Brinton, it was

RESOLVED: (1) That subject to the substitution of  
the words 'he begins active work' for  
the words 'the actual contest begins'  
in the resolution, this Minute be  
approved and adopted.

(2) That the Office Committee be asked  
carefully to consider the whole  
question of members of the staff  
standing as Candidates for Parliament,  
and to submit proposals for the con-  
sideration of the Executive.

On Minute 45 - Follow Up of the Peace Ballot, it was

RESOLVED: "That in accordance with the decision contained in Minute 199 below, this Minute be approved and adopted subject to the approval of the Finance Committee.

- (b) Library Committee. (Dr. Kimmins reported) The Minutes of the Committee dated June 24th, 1935, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included: (16) Matters Arising out of Minutes; (17) Book List; (18) Resignation of Miss Newton and Consideration of Filling the Vacancies on the Library Staff; (19) Appeal on Behalf of New Premises of British Drama League; (20) Voks' (Society for Cultural Relations) offer to Present Books on the U.S.S.R. in exchange for L.N.U. Publications; (21) Reprinting of Catalogue; (22) Peace Ballot Meeting at Albert Hall.

- (c) Education Committee. (Dr. Kimmins reported) Subject to the following report and decision on Minutes 80 and 85, the Minutes of the Committee dated June 24th, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included: (73) Arising out of the Minutes; (74) Membership of the Committee; (75) Meetings for Teachers and Schools; (76) Report on Work in Universities and Colleges; (77) Report of the Youth Committee; (78) Report of the Junior Branches Sub-Committee; (79) Scheme of Work for Junior Members; (80) Nansen Hut; (81) Nansen Pioneer Camps at Godshill; (82) First Nansen Pioneer Camp in the Midlands; (83) New Posters; (84) National Conference on the Teaching of International Relations; (85) Deputation to the President of the Board of Education; (86) National Council on the Teaching of International Relations; (87) International Federation of League of Nations Societies; (88) Summer Schools and Conferences; (89) Observance of Empire Day in the Schools; (90) Armistice Day Message to the Schools; (91) Speakers for Elementary Schools; (92) Employment of Leisure; (93) Educational Conferences; (94) Fourteenth Annual Conference of the British Institute of Adult Education; (95) World Federation of Education Associations; (96) Twenty-Seventh Universal Congress on Esperanto; (97) Industrial Co-Partnership Association; (98) National Union of Teachers; (99) Military Displays; (100) Recognition of Junior Branches; (101) Recognition of Junior Sections; (102) Recognition of (Educational) Corporate Members.

On Minute 80 - Nansen Hut, it was

RESOLVED: "That this Minute be approved and adopted subject to the decision contained in the Finance Committee's Minute of May 16th approved by the Executive on May 30th."

On Minute 85 - Deputation to the President of the Board of Education, the Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from the Private Secretary to Mr. Oliver Stanley, stating that the President of the Board of Education was unable, owing to his many other engagements, to receive a deputation from the Education Committee before the end of July but would be glad to do so in October.

- (d) Overseas Committee. The Minutes of the Committee dated June 26th, 1935, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (21) Report of the Brussels Congress; (22) Autumn Meetings of the International Federation; (23) All Peoples' Association; (24) The Peace Ballot.

- (e) Youth Committee. (Miss Ansell reported). Subject to the following decision on Minutes 69, 71, 72, 73 and 74, the Minutes of the Committee dated June 29th were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included: (63) Youth Groups; (64) Youth Peace Rally; (65) Report on Camps and Conferences; (66) Visit of Mr. de Gall; (67) World Youth Congress; (68) Communication from the Communauté Universelle de la Jeunesse; (69) Report of the Continuation Committee Appointed at the Reception of British Youth Organisations; (70) Report of the Conference and Constitution Sub-Committee; (71) Constitution of the New Committee; (72) Affiliation of Other Youth Organisations; (73) Northern (At present known as North Eastern) Youth Groups' Regional Council; (74) Proposals on Youth Group work in the Office.

On Minute 69 - Report of the Continuation Committee Appointed at the Reception of British Youth Organisations, it was

RESOLVED: "That this Minute be approved and adopted, subject to paragraph (1) of the resolution being referred to the Welcome Committee for consideration and report."

On Minute 71 - Youth Groups' New Constitution (Constitution of New Committee), it was

RESOLVED: "That paragraph (1) of this resolution be approved and adopted; and that paragraph (2) be referred to the Branches Committee for consideration and report." P.T.O.

See Minute 207 of July 18th

In reply to a question from Miss Ansell, the Executive expressed its willingness, pending a report from the Branches Committee, to consider recommendations from a body constituted on the lines set forth in paragraph (2).

On Minute 72 - Affiliation of other Youth Organisations, it was

RESOLVED: "That this Minute be referred to the Branches and Finance Committees for consideration and report."

On Minute 73 - Northern (at present known as North Eastern) Youth Groups Regional Council, it was

RESOLVED: "That this Minute be referred to the Finance Committee for consideration and report; and that a member of the Youth Committee be invited to attend the Finance Committee when the subject is under discussion."

On Minute 74 - Proposals on Youth Group Work in the Office, it was

RESOLVED: "That this Minute be received; and that two representatives of the Subcommittee to which these proposals have been referred back, be asked to discuss their recommendations with Lord Rhayader and Dr. Garnett before presenting them to the Youth Committee."

(f) Refugees Committee. It was

RESOLVED: "That Minute 6 (Pamphlet on the Refugee Problem) of the meeting dated June 25th be referred for consideration and report by the Editorial Committee; and that the remaining Minutes of the Committee be adjourned for consideration at the next meeting of the Executive."

195. WELCOME. Lord Cecil welcomed Captain Victor Cazalet, Sir Archibald Sinclair and Mr. Nowell Smith who were attending the Committee for the first time.
196. MINUTES. Subject to the following report on Minutes 189 and 192, the Minutes of the ordinary meeting dated June 27th and of the special meeting dated July 9th were confirmed as circulated.

(On Minute 189 - Italy and Abyssinia, the Chairman read to the Committee the letter written by Professor Murray to Sir Robert Vansittart on June 27th, together with the reply which had been received.

On Minute 192 - Co-optations, the hope was expressed that, for the future, every person whose name is proposed for inclusion on the Ballot Paper with a

view to nomination for election to membership of the Executive Committee, shall first be asked to give an undertaking of his or her intention to attend the meetings of the Committee more or less regularly if elected.

197. ITALY AND ABYSSINIA. The Executive discussed the Italo-Abyssinian dispute. The opinion was expressed that it would be desirable to have a meeting of the Council to discuss the situation as soon as possible, but if the Council formally met and formally disbanded without doing anything at this stage it would be a very great blow to the prestige of the League. If the Council were to meet, H.M. Government ought to be prepared with a policy which it could press on the Members of the Council; and Italy and Abyssinia might be asked to furnish a statement of their respective points of view. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) That Lord Cecil be asked to write to Mr. Eden, stating

That the Executive Committee has observed the violent attacks that have been made upon him for the offer he made to Signor Mussolini and that the Committee wishes to assure him that it has no sympathy with attacks of that kind;

That the Executive realises that the moment for action must be left to H.M. Government, but it is united in feeling that the recent declarations of Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Eden express the true policy of Great Britain; and

That, when the Council meets, H.M. Government ought to say openly that we are prepared to fulfil our obligations under the Covenant and call upon all other Members of the League to support us.

- (2) That Lord Cecil be asked to send to the Prime Minister and to the Foreign Secretary, for their information, a copy of his letter to Mr. Eden.

The Executive Committee expressed their approval of the interim statement on THE ABYSSINIAN DISPUTE which had been prepared by the secretariat and published in pamphlet form for the convenience of speakers and others.

198. SIXTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL. The Executive had before them the text of the resolutions adopted by the Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the General Council (S.G.7570). It was reported that copies of the resolution on Italy and Abyssinia had been immediately communicated to the Prime Minister, the Foreign Secretary, the Lord Privy Seal and all members of the Cabinet.

Lord Cecil stated that the Council Meetings had been most successful. The attendance had been larger and more representative than ever before. It was

RESOLVED: "That it be left to the Chairman to decide which of the Council's resolutions should be communicated to H.M. Government."

199. RESUMPTION OF HOUSE TO HOUSE CANVASS. The Executive considered a proposal to follow up the Peace Ballot by the resumption of the house-to-house canvass for members which had been decided upon by the Executive on February 8th, 1934, but which had been interrupted owing to the Peace Ballot in the following July. The Committee had before them Minute 45 of the Office Committee dated July 9th. After considerable discussion, it was

RESOLVED: (1) That it is desirable to resume the campaign for new membership and that, subject to the approval of the Finance Committee, the Executive Committee approves of the proposals of the Office Committee on this subject.

It was further

RESOLVED: (2) That a Sub-Committee, to be nominated by Lord Cecil, be appointed to advise the Executive in regard to all questions connected with the canvass; and that Lord Cecil be invited to act as Chairman of the Sub-Committee.

It was suggested that, since it was expected that the Youth Groups would play an important part in the house to house canvass, a Youth Group representative should be invited to join the Sub-Committee.

200. PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO STATUTES OF INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION. Lady Gladstone proposed that, since Societies of Emigres were not now eligible for election to membership of the International Federation, and if the French League of Nations Society were prepared to join with the Union in making the proposal, the Representative Council of the Federation at its Autumn meetings should be asked in the joint names of the British and French Societies to agree to the following Article being added to the Statutes of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies.

Article 42:- Societies which are members of the Federation which do not conform to the provisions stipulated in Article 3 of the Statutes shall continue to be members of the Federation in an advisory capacity.

After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That, subject to any further decision which this Committee may take in the light of such



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observations as the Overseas Committee may make upon the subject, Lady Gladstone's proposal be adopted."

201. NATIONAL DECLARATION. Lord Cecil reported on the meetings of the National Declaration Conference and Committee held on June 26th and July 8th. It was

RESOLVED: "That further consideration of these Minutes be adjourned until the next meeting of the Executive."

202. ADJOURNMENT. It was

RESOLVED: "That the remaining items on the agenda be adjourned until the next meeting of the Executive on Thursday, July 18th, 1935."

CONFIDENTIAL.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

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MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD  
AT 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W. 1., ON THURSDAY,  
JULY 18TH, 1935 AT 10.45 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Cecil (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams,  
Miss Joyce Ansell, W. Arnold-Forster,  
Mrs. Corbett Ashby, P.J. Noel Baker,  
Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Captain Victor  
Cazalet, Sir Austen Chamberlain, the Dean  
of Chichester, Miss K.D. Courtney, Lord  
Dickinson, Admiral Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dugdale,  
Miss P. Pawcett, Miss M. Lloyd George,  
Lady Gladstone, Sir Edward Crigg, Lady  
Hall, Sir John Harris, Dr. Kimmins, Lady  
Layton, G. le M. Mander, Nowell Smith,  
Sir Archibald Sinclair, Major Lawrence  
Wright, L.M. Wynch.

203. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from P.M. Burris,  
L.J. Cadbury, Captain L.H. Green, Sir Arthur Haworth,  
Major Hills, Commander Lewis, Captain Loder, Professor  
Murray, Sir John Power, Lord Rhayader and Mrs. Wilson-Fox.

204. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

- (a) Refugee Committee. (Lord Cecil reported). Subject  
to the following decision and report on Minutes 2  
and 3, the Minutes of the Committee dated June 25th,  
1935, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included:(1) The Supervisory  
Commission; (2) Finances of Refugee Settlement;  
(3) Inclusion of the Refugee Problem in the Agenda  
of the Assembly; (4) Petition to the Assembly;  
(5) Report of the Save the Children Fund on  
Russian, Armenian, German and Saar Refugees in  
France; (6) Pamphlet on the Refugee Problem;  
(7) Co-optations.

On Minute 2 - Finances of Refugee Settlement, Lord  
Cecil reported that the German Refugee Governing  
Body, at its meeting on the previous day, had ex-  
pressed the opinion that it would be better not to  
raise any complicated questions at the present time  
when an effort was being made to get its work trans-  
ferred to a League organisation, but to leave the  
League organisation when it was set up to make what-  
ever proposals it thought right, and it was

RESOLVED: "That, in view of Lord Cecil's statement,  
Minute 2 of the Refugee Committee be  
received."

On Minute 3 - Inclusion of the Refugee Problem in  
the Agenda of the Assembly, Lord Cecil stated that  
the Norwegian Government had agreed to raise this  
question at the next Assembly. He hoped His  
Majesty's Government would support the proposals.

P.T.O.

Assyrian Refugees. Sir John Harris drew attention to the statement made by Sir Samuel Hoare in the House of Commons on July 15th on the subject of Assyrian refugees, and it was

RESOLVED: "That the Chairman be asked to draft a resolution for consideration at the next meeting of the Executive, urging H.M. Government not to allow any proposal for the migration of the Assyrians to Syria to fail for lack of funds."

- (b) Education Committee. (Dr. Kimmins reported). Subject to the following decision on Minute 110, the Minutes of the Committee dated July 8th, 1935, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included: (104) Minutes; (105) Arising out of the Minutes; (106) Meetings for Teachers and Schools; (107) Report on Work in Universities and Colleges; (108) Report of the Youth Committee; (109) National Council on the Teaching of International Relations; (110) New Edition of "The World War and After"; (111) Recognition of Junior Branches; (112) Recognition of (Educational) Corporate Members.

On Minute 110 -- New Edition of the "World War and After", it was

RESOLVED: (1) That this Minute be approved and adopted, subject to paragraph (1) being amended to read as follows:

'That the office be asked to enquire into the advisability of producing a 16 mm. sound film version in addition to a 16 mm. silent version of the film.'

- (2) That the Chairman be asked to write a letter of thanks to Mr. C.W.A. Scott for his kindness in making a commentary on the film.

- (c) Women's Advisory Council. (Lady Gladstone reported) Subject to the following report and decision on Minutes 570 and 571, the Minutes of the Council dated 10th July, 1935, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included: (570) Reports of Representatives; (571) Status of Women; (572) Annual Meeting of General Council; (573) Air Disarmament; (574) Italy and Abyssinia; (575) XVI Assembly and Conference with Woman Delegate; (576) Applications for Corporate Associateship;

On Minute 570 -- Reports of Representatives. Miss Courtney stated that it was the Women's Peace Crusade and not the Women's International League

which had opened a shop in Great Russell Street for the sale of literature, exhibition of posters and the like.

On Minute 571 -- Status of Women, after considerable discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That this Minute be received ."

- (d) Editorial Committee. (Dr. Garnett reported) Subject to the following decision on Minutes 41-34, 47, 52, 53, 56 and 57, the Minutes of the Committee dated July 11th, 1935 were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included: (41) Minutes; (42) Report of Guildhall Education Conference; (43) Report of International Labour Conference; (44) Broadcast on Minorities by Mr. Macartney; (45) How to form a Branch; (46) L.R.F. Membership Form; (47) Collective Security; (48) Proposal for Youth Posters; (49) Illustrated Cards Showing Children of League Countries; (50) Sale of Union Publications; (51) Youth Song Sheet; (52) Pamphlet on Refugees; (53) Child Welfare; (54) Price List; (55) History of the Union; (56) Handbook for Youth Groups; (57) Pamphlet on Economic Sanctions.

On Minute 41 -- 34, Peace Calendar, it was

RESOLVED

RESOLVED: "That this Minute be approved and adopted subject to the insertion of the words 'picture and a' before the word 'quotation' in the resolution."

On Minute 47 -- Collective Security, for action see Minute (d) 57 below.

On Minute 52 -- Pamphlet on Refugees, Lord Cecil said he had received information which led him to think that there was a considerable demand for an up-to-date pamphlet on Refugees. The question was to be discussed at the forthcoming Assembly, and he thought a number of people might find it a great convenience to have a statement of the facts. It was

RESOLVED: "That a pamphlet on the Refugee problem be prepared in time for circulation before the meeting of the League's Assembly."

On Minute 53 -- Child Welfare, Lady Gladstone reported that the Women's Advisory Council were in great need of leaflets suitable for women's institute meetings and similar gatherings, and it was

RESOLVED: (1) That, in the light of the decisions of the forthcoming assembly in relation to child welfare, a four-page leaflet

on the League and Child Welfare be prepared and printed in time for circulation at the beginning of October.

- (2) That the Editorial Committee at its next meeting be asked to consider the question of literature on the subject of Health and Child Welfare.

On Minute 56 - Handbook for Youth Groups, it was

RESOLVED: "That this Minute be approved and adopted subject to the insertion of the words 'outline and summary of' before the words 'Handbook for Youth Groups.'"

On Minute 57 - Pamphlet on Economic Sanctions, it was

RESOLVED: "That this Minute be approved and adopted subject to the last sentence of the resolution being amended to read as follows:

'The Committee agreed that the manuscript should be submitted to Sir Arthur Salter before the pamphlet is presented to the Executive for authority to publish'."

It was suggested that the leaflet which it was proposed to print on collective security should be considered by the Acting-Chairman of the Executive in relation to the pamphlet on Economic Sanctions (see Minute (d) 47 above).

205. RESOLUTIONS. The Executive received resolutions from the Downham Market Branch, Clapham Group of the Auxiliary Movement, Streatham Liberal Association, Bury Branch, Co-operative Congress and the Belgian League of Nations Society. It was

- RESOLVED: (1) That the point of view of the Executive Committee be explained by letter to the Secretary of the Downham Market Branch.
- (2) That the Clapham Group of the Auxiliary Movement be thanked for sending their resolution, and that it be explained to them that the Executive Committee hopes that aggression in Abyssinia will be averted by peaceful means.
- (3) That the Streatham Liberal Association be thanked for sending their resolution, and that a copy of the resolution passed by the General Council be sent to them.

- (4) That Lord Cecil be asked to reply to the Bury Branch.
- (5) That the Belgian League of Nations Society be thanked for sending their resolutions; and that the Co-operative Union be thanked for sending the resolution passed at the Co-operative Congress.

206. WELCOME. The Chairman welcomed Sir Edward Grigg, Mrs. Corbett Ashby and Lady Violet Bonham Carter as new members of the Executive.

207. MINUTES. Subject to the following report and decision on Minutes 194(e) (74), 197 and 199, the Minutes of the Committee dated July 12th, 1935, were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 194(e) - 74. Proposals on Youth Group Work in the Office, it was

RESOLVED: "That the Executive's resolution be amended to read as follows:

'That this Minute be received; and that the National Youth Committee be asked to invite Lord Rhayader and Dr. Garnett to discuss the revised proposals with them before these proposals are adopted.'

On Minute 199 - Resumption of House to House Canvass, Lord Cecil proposed that the Sub-Committee should consist of Professor Murray, Mrs. Dugdale, Mr. Jenkins and Mr. Syrett. He would be glad to act as Chairman of the Sub-Committee. It was

RESOLVED:"That the nominations proposed by Lord Cecil for the Sub-Committee be approved."

On Minute 197 - Italy and Abyssinia, Lord Cecil reported that he had written to Mr. Eden and had sent a copy of the letter to Sir Samuel Hoare, asking him if he saw fit, to show it to the Prime Minister. Copies of Lord Cecil's letter had been circulated to members of the Executive, and Lord Cecil read to the Committee Mr. Eden's reply.

208. ITALY AND ABYSSINIA. The Executive discussed the Italo-Abyssinian dispute, and began by expressing to Sir Austen Chamberlain their warm appreciation of the admirable peroration to his speech in the House of Commons on July 11th.

It was suggested that in view of the critical condition of the negotiations the Union should for the present refrain from making positive suggestions as to action to be taken and content itself with assuring the Government of the full support of the Union in any action they might take.

The attention of the Committee was drawn to a talk on the Italo-Abyssinian dispute broadcast by Mr. Voigt on July 8th and published in the current number of THIS LISTENER. Extracts from the talk were read to the Committee. The Chairman stated that the Secretary had already communicated with Major Gladstone Murray of the B.B.C. and had drawn his attention to four passages in Mr. Voigt's broadcast which he considered objectionable. Major Murray had promised to bring the matter before the proper authorities. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That Lord Cecil be asked to write to Lord Bridgeman, protesting against the unfortunate character of certain passages in Mr. Voigt's broadcast of July 8th, and requesting that a further broadcast talk be given, by a speaker to be agreed upon later, on the peace-keeping powers and functions of the League; and that Lord Cecil be asked to send a copy of his letter to Sir John Reith."

The Executive considered the question of the export of arms to Italy and Abyssinia. It was understood that application had been made by the Board of Trade for two licences; that neither of them had been granted; but that the question of granting them and other similar licences was under consideration by H.M. Government. Mr. Mander drew attention to the fact that Italian aircraft were being allowed to fly over Egyptian territory. The Chairman suggested that members of the Committee who were also Members of Parliament should make private enquiries on this subject.

The Dean of Chichester reported that, in accordance with the request made by the Christian Organisations Committee at its meeting on the previous day, he had written a letter to the TIMES expressing the concern of Christian people at the seriousness of the situation.

Lord Cecil reported correspondence he had had with Signor Giannini, President of the Italian League of Nations Society. He also reported a letter from the French League of Nations Society stating that they were proposing to send a deputation to their Prime Minister on the subject of the Italo-Abyssinian dispute.

209. NATIONAL DECLARATION. The Executive considered Minute 70 of the National Declaration Conference and Committee dated July 8th, 1935, regarding the future of the National Declaration Committee. The Executive had before them the following explanatory note prepared by Lord Cecil:

The proposal with regard to the National Declaration Committee is as follows. The National Declaration Committee was brought into existence for a particular purpose which has been accomplished, viz: the organisation and carrying out of the Peace Ballot. For that purpose machinery was created consisting of a Headquarters staff and a number of local committees. It operated with

great success and achieved a very remarkable response. If at any time it was desired to take action in support of some other similar international cause the same machinery could be used. Though there is no present idea of action of this kind it seems a pity to allow machinery of such proved efficiency to disappear altogether. Could it not be kept in existence in some rudimentary form so as to be ready for use at the proper opportunity? It is thought that it could.

It is accordingly suggested that the Central Committee should adjourn sine die but should not dissolve and that the same action might be taken by the local committees. No future action should be taken by either the central or local committees without the assent of the various bodies including the League of Nations Union which they represent. In the meantime some kind of register should be kept of those persons who in the provinces have taken an active part in the ballot and the same should be done in London. The only headquarters staff kept in being for these purposes would be Dame Adelaide Livingstone; and the League of Nations Union should be asked to permit her to use a small part (not exceeding on the average half an hour a day) of her time and of her secretary's, it being understood that her work and that of her secretary for the League of Nations Union must be their first consideration.

The postal address of her office for this purpose would be 16, South Eaton Place, S.W. 1.

After considerable discussion it was, with three dissentients,

RESOLVED: "That, in the light of Lord Cecil's statement above, the proposals contained in Minute 70 of the National Declaration Conference and Committee be approved and adopted."

210. DEPUTATION TO FOREIGN SECRETARY AND MINISTER FOR LEAGUE OF NATIONS AFFAIRS. Lord Cecil suggested that, in view of the very great pressure of public affairs at the present moment, the resolutions adopted by the XIXth Plenary Congress of the Federation and by the XVIIth Annual Meeting of the General Council should be communicated in writing to the Foreign Secretary and the Minister for League of Nations Affairs instead of being presented by a deputation from the Executive. It was

RESOLVED: "That the resolutions of the XIXth Plenary Congress and of the XVIIth Annual Meeting of the General Council be communicated by letter to the Foreign Secretary and the Minister for League of Nations Affairs."

211. COMMUNICATION FROM ALL PEOPLES ASSOCIATION. The Committee considered a communication dated July 4th from the All Peoples Association, asking the Union to circulate



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among its members one thousand leaflets advertising the APA Summer Conference at Oxford. It was

RESOLVED: "That the leaflets advertising the APA Conference be not circulated among the Union's members."

212. WEEKLY MEETINGS OF EXECUTIVE. On the motion of Lord Cecil it was

RESOLVED: "That for the present weekly meetings of the Executive Committee be held except during vacations; that the last meeting of the present session be held on Thursday, August 1st; that the Committee then adjourn until September 16th; but that it be left to the discretion of the Chairman to call a meeting at an earlier date if he thinks such a course desirable."

It was suggested that, in view of the above decision, the Executive should revert to its earlier practice of meeting at 11 a.m. but that the Minutes of the previous meeting of the Executive should be taken, as at present, not later than 11.30 a.m. It was

RESOLVED: "That consideration of this proposal be adjourned until the next meeting."

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MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD  
AT 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W. 1., ON THURSDAY,  
JULY 25TH, 1935 AT 10.45 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Cecil (in the chair), Vyvyan Adams, Lord Allen, Miss Joyce Ansell, P.J. Noel Baker, F.M. Burris, L.J. Cadbury, Captain Victor Cazalet, Miss K.D. Courtney, Lord Dickinson, Admiral Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss P. Fawcett, Lady Gladstone, Captain L.H. Green, Sir John Harris, Dr. C.W. Kimmins, Lady Layton, Commander Norman Lewis, Captain J. de V. Loder, Lord Lytton, G. le M. Mander, Nowell Smith, Sir John Power, Councillor Shaw, Sir Archibald Sinclair, Major Wright, L.M. Wynch.

213. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Sir Austen Chamberlain, the Dean of Chichester, Sir Edward Grigg, Sir Arthur Haworth, Professor Murray and Mrs. Wilson-Fox.

214. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

- (a) Christian Organisations Committee. (Admiral Drury-Lowe reported). The Minutes of the Committee dated July 17th, 1935, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included: (55) Minutes; (56) Vice-Chairman of Committee; (57) Italy and Abyssinia; (58) The League and Religious Persecution; (59) Week-end Meetings for General Council; (60) Church Magazine Inset; (61) Athenaeum Dinner; (62) Observance of Armistice Sunday; (63) National Peace Sunday; (64) Effect of Peace Ballot (65) Applications for Corporate Membership.

- (b) Finance Committee. (Major Lawrence Wright reported) The Minutes of the Committee dated July 17th, 1935, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included: (35) Minutes; (36) Travel Bureau; (37) Financial Statement; (38) Composition of Committee; (39) Office Committee; (40) International Federation; (41) Youth Committee; (42) Legacies; (43) Union Trip to America; (44) Lockers for use of Members of the Staff; (45) Kent Federal Council and Surrey Federation; (46) Passing of Cheques for Payment.

- (c) Industrial Advisory Committee. (Captain Green reported) Subject to the following decision on Minute 67 and 74, the Minutes of the Committee dated July 18th, 1935, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included: (66) Minutes; (67) Membership of Committee; (68) Trades Union Congress, Margate; (69) Conference on the I.L.O.; (70) Nineteenth International Labour Conference - Union P.T.O.

Party; (71) International Labour Conference - Attendance of Minister of Labour; (72) Recruitment of Native Labour; (73) International Federation of League of Nations Societies; (74) "The Whole Status of Women"; (75) Mr. Gillinder's Report; (76) General Council of League of Nations Union; (77) 1936 Annual Conference; (78) Industrial Affiliations.

~~On Minute 74 - "The Whole Status of Women," the Executive were reminded of the decision taken at their previous meeting on the resolution of the Women's Advisory Council on this subject, and it was~~

~~RESOLVED: "That this Minute be received".~~

On Minute 74 - "The Whole Status of Women," the Executive were reminded of the decision taken at their previous meeting on the resolution of the Women's Advisory Council on this subject, and it was

RESOLVED: "That this Minute be received".

- (d) Appeals Committee. (Sir John Power reported) Subject to the following decision on Minute 7, the Minutes of the Committee dated July 19th, 1935, were approved and adopted.

[These Minutes included (1) Minutes; (2) International Ball, 1935; (3) International Ball, 1936; (4) Report of Appeals Department to Date; (5) Programme for the Future; (6) Assistance in the Appeals Department; (7) Accommodation.]

On Minute 7 -- Accommodation, after receiving a report from the Secretary on the urgent need for additional accommodation for the secretariat, and on the negotiations which had taken place with a view to securing a lease of the premises at No. 6 Grosvenor Crescent, it was

RESOLVED: "That the Secretary be authorised to make an offer of £500 per annum for a seven year lease of the premises at No. 6 Grosvenor Crescent."

215. MR. PENMAN. Admiral Drury-Lowe reported that Mr. F.G. Penman had, on behalf of the Union, entertained a party of twenty-five German schoolboys at his house at Watford. Admiral Drury-Lowe and Mr. Alec Wilson had addressed the party. It was

RESOLVED: "That a letter of thanks be sent to Mr. Penman for his very generous hospitality."

216. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. the Committee received resolutions from the Stockport, St. Marylebone, Battersea and Eccles Branches. It was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Stockport and St. Marylebone Branches be thanked for sending their resolutions."

(2) "That the Battersea and Eccles Branches be thanked for submitting their resolutions to the Executive in accordance with resolution 578 of the General Council of the Union at Bournemouth, and that they be informed that the Executive sees no reason why these Branches should not send their resolutions to the Foreign Secretary and the Minister for League Affairs if they so desire."

217. MINUTES. Subject to the following report and decision on Minutes 204(d) (57), 208 and 210, the Minutes of the Committee dated July 18th, 1935, were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 204(d) 57 - Pamphlet on Economic Sanctions, the Chairman reported that in view of his illness, Sir Arthur Salter was unlikely to be able to consider the draft pamphlet on Economic Sanctions now being prepared by Mr. Arnold Forster. Lady Layton thought Sir Walter Layton would be willing to look through the material if it could be sent to him during the coming week-end. It was

RESOLVED: "That the Secretary be asked to communicate immediately with Mr. Arnold Forster and, if possible, to submit the draft pamphlet to Sir Walter Layton for his perusal during the week-end."

On Minute 208 - Italy and Abyssinia, the Executive had before them a copy of the letter which Lord Cecil had sent to Lord Bridgeman and Sir John Reith. Lord Bridgeman had acknowledged the letter and had said that it would save time if he referred the letter to Colonel Dawnay who would reply direct to Lord Cecil. Colonel Dawnay had not yet done so.

Captain Green suggested that in the new edition of the pamphlet on ABYSSINIA, more information should be given concerning the 1925 Treaty made between Mussolini and Sir Auston Chamberlain. It was stated that the new edition of the pamphlet would not be completed until after the meeting of the League's Council, but that Captain Green's suggestion would be carefully considered.

On Minute 210 - Deputation to Foreign Secretary and Minister for League Affairs, Lord Cecil reported that shortly after the last meeting of the Executive the Secretary had received a message from the Foreign Office stating that the Foreign Secretary and Mr. Eden would be glad to receive a small deputation from the Executive at 5.15 p.m. on Wednesday, July 24th. Lord Cecil had thought it right to accept this invitation.  
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The deputation had consisted of Lord Lytton, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, Lord Cecil and the Secretary.

The deputation had presented to the Ministers the resolutions adopted by the Plenary Congress of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies at Brussels and those passed by the Union's General Council at Cambridge. The deputation had drawn particular attention of the Ministers to the resolutions on Refugees, Disarmament and the Italo-Abyssinian crisis (see below Minutes 219, 220 and 221.)

218. MEETINGS OF EXECUTIVE. It was

RESOLVED: "That, in view of the present decision to hold weekly meetings of the Executive—except during vacations, the Committee should resume the practice of meeting at 11 a.m. but that the Minutes of the previous meeting of the Executive should be taken, as at present, not later than 11.30 a.m."

219. ITALY AND ABYSSINIA. Lord Cecil reported that the Union's deputation had a confidential talk with the Foreign Secretary and Mr. Eden concerning the position in Abyssinia. The deputation had spoken of the anxiety felt by the Union and of the serious consequences anticipated if the League failed to prevent or stop a war of aggression in North-East Africa. The deputation had raised the question of sending League Observers to the frontier, as well as the question of the export of arms to Italy and Abyssinia. It was

RESOLVED: (1) That a paragraph should be included in the next circular letter to Branches, reminding them of the peroration to Sir Austen Chamberlain's speech in the House of Commons on July 11th; stating that the Executive are carefully considering the situation in Abyssinia, and that they believe that the country is wholeheartedly in support of the Government in any measures, however drastic, which they may consider wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations and maintain the supreme authority of the League in international affairs; and suggesting that it would be desirable for the Branches in whatever way they think fit, to urge their view upon their representatives in Parliament.

(2) "That a letter be sent to Professor Ruyssen, suggesting that he should be ready to summon a special meeting of the Federation if a crisis in the Italo-Abyssinian dispute occurs before the next ordinary meeting of the Federation at the end of September."

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Mr. Baker reported that an International Rotary Conference was to be held in Venice in September. He felt that since such conferences were primarily concerned with peace and concord, it would be rather a paradox if the forthcoming meeting were held in Venice. Mr. Baker's opinion was widely shared; but the Executive felt that this was not a matter in which they could act.

220. DISARMAMENT AND SECURITY. It was reported that the deputation to the Foreign Secretary and Mr. Eden had discussed the proposal of February 3rd for a Western Air Pact. The difficulty as was well known was that, while France desired to treat this matter as part of a much larger problem, Germany had so far been unwilling to discuss it except by itself.

The speech made in the House of Commons on July 22nd by the first Lord of the Admiralty had been mentioned and Lord Cecil had stated that he had put down a question in the House of Lords for Monday next on this subject. It was

RESOLVED: "That Sir Bolton Eyres Monsell's speech be considered at the next meeting of the Executive."

221. REFUGEES. Lord Cecil reported that the deputation had urged that H.M. Government should support the Norwegian proposal for the consolidation of refugee work under the League of Nations. The Foreign Secretary had taken full notes of Lord Cecil's arguments.

The Executive considered a resolution on the subject of Assyrian refugees, drafted by Lord Cecil in accordance with Minute 204(b) of the last meeting. It was

RESOLVED: "That the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union welcomes the statement made by Sir Samuel Hoare on July 15th on the subject of the Assyrian Refugees and trusts that His Majesty's Government will not allow the proposed migration of the Assyrians to Syria to fail for lack of funds."

222. NATIONAL DECLARATION. Lord Cecil reported that a deputation on behalf of the National Declaration had waited on the Prime Minister, the Foreign Secretary and the Minister for League Affairs on Tuesday, July 23rd. The Prime Minister had said "You call it a National Declaration and we accept it as such" and had added that the Government valued highly the support which had been given to them by the Ballot.

223. THE FAR EAST. Lord Lytton reported that he had not yet had an opportunity for a conversation with Sir Samuel Hoare and Mr. Eden. He suggested therefore that the Far East should no longer appear as a regular item on the agenda of the Executive, but that if and when he

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had something to report he would inform the Secretary in order that a notice might then be included on the agenda. This was agreed to.

224. CLOSING OF OFFICE FOR AUGUST BANK HOLIDAY. It was

RESOLVED: "That the office be closed from 5.30 p.m. on Friday, August 2nd, until 10 a.m. on Tuesday, August 6th."

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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, AUGUST 1ST, 1935 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Cecil (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams,  
P.J. Noel Baker, Michael Barkway, Lady  
Violet Boham Carter, Captain Victor  
Cazalet, Sir Austen Chamberlain, Miss  
K.D. Courtney, Admiral Drury-Lowe, Mrs.  
Dugdale, Miss P. Fawcett, Lady Gladstone,  
Captain Green, Sir Edward Grigg, Lady  
Hall, Sir John Harris, Dr. Kimmins,  
Commander Lewis, G. le M. Mander, Nowell  
Smith, Lord Rhayader, Major Lawrence  
Wright, L.M. Wynch.

225. APCLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were reported from Miss Joyce  
Ansell, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, F.M. Burris, L.J. Cadbury,  
the Dean of Chichester, Miss Lloyd George, Sir Arthur  
Haworth, Lady Layton, Captain J. de V. Loder, Lord Lytton,  
Professor Murray, Sir Archibald Sinclair and H.S. Syrett.

226. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

- (a) Sub-Committee on Political Resolutions of the Inter-  
national Federation, (Lord Cecil reported). Subject  
to the following decision on Minute 4, the Minutes  
of the Committee dated July 23rd, 1935, were approved  
and adopted.

These Minutes included (1) Communication from  
the Secretary-General; (2) Refugees; (3)  
Definition of Aggression; (4) Representation  
of China on the Council; (5) Tribunal in  
Equity; (6) Prevention of War; Possibilities  
of Majority Action; (7) Presidency of the  
Federation; (8) Italy and Abyssinia.

On Minute 4 - Representation of China on the Council,  
it was

RESOLVED: "That, subject to the deletion of the  
words 'any difficulty arising therefrom  
solvetur ambulando, this minute be  
approved and adopted."

- (b) Overseas Committee. (Mrs. Dugdale and Lady Gladstone  
reported). Subject to the following decision on  
Minute 27, the Minutes of the Committee dated July  
24th, 1935 were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (26) Minutes; (27)  
Situation of Emigré Societies within the Federa-  
tion; (28) President of the Federation for  
1936; (29) Overseas Report.



On Minute 27 - Situation of Emigré Societies within the Federation, it was, on the motion of Mrs. Inggale,

RESOLVED: "That this Minute be adjourned for further consideration."

227. RESOLUTIONS. The Executive received resolutions from the Macclesfield and Leatherhead and Fetcham Branches, as well as from the Australian League of Nations Union and the Netherlands League of Nations and Peace Association. It was

RESOLVED: (1) That the Macclesfield Branch, the Australian League of Nations Union and the Netherlands League of Nations Association be thanked for sending their resolutions.

- (3) That the Leatherhead and Fetcham Branch be thanked for sending their resolution and be informed that a deputation from the Union has already made representations to H.M. Government in the sense indicated in the resolution.

228. LORD DICKINSON. The Executive Committee were deeply grieved to learn of Lord Dickinson's bereavement, and it was

RESOLVED: "That the Chairman be asked to convey to Lord Dickinson an expression of the Committee's profound sympathy in his great loss."

229. MINUTES. Subject to the following decision and report on Minutes 214(c)67, 214(d)7, the Minutes of the Committee dated July 25th were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 214(c)67(b) - Industrial Advisory Committee - Executive Vacancy, it was, on the motion of Captain Green,

- RESOLVED: (1) That this Minute be deleted from the last Minutes of the Executive.  
(2) That Commander Norman Lewis be invited to continue to represent the Executive on the Industrial Advisory Committee."

On Minute 214(d) Appeals Committee, the Secretary drew the attention of the Committee to the terms of appointment of Mr. H. Beaumont as assistant to Mr. Hawkey which had been approved by the Executive at its last meeting. It was

RESOLVED: "That Mr. H. Beaumont be appointed as assistant to Mr. Hawkey for a period of nine months from October 1st, 1935, subject to one month's notice on either side, at a salary at the rate of £500 per annum."

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On Minute 214(d) 7 - Accommodation, the Secretary reported that the Union's offer of £500 per annum for a seven year lease of the premises at No. 6, Grosvenor Crescent had been accepted.

230. ITALY AND ABYSSINIA. The Executive considered a resolution drafted by Lord Cecil and it was

- RESOLVED: (1) "That the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union tenders to Mr. Eden its best wishes for success in his very difficult task, and hopes that, whatever else happens, he may find an opportunity for publicly re-stating to the Council that the British Government is prepared to join with other Members of the League in upholding the Covenant at all hazards."
- (2) "That the League of Nations Societies in the Dominions be asked to use their influence with their Governments to support this declaration."
- (3) "That resolution (1) be telegraphed to Mr. Eden and be also communicated to the Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary and be published; that resolution (2) be also sent to H.M. Government for their information; and that resolutions (1) and (2) be telegraphed to the Dominion League of Nations Societies."

The Secretary drew the attention of the Executive to a communication from Lord Olivier suggesting that meetings should be promptly organised in the Albert Hall and throughout the country on the subject of the Italo-Abyssinian dispute. It was

RESOLVED: "That the Secretary be asked to inform Lord Olivier that, in the opinion of the Executive, it would be a mistake to organise an Albert Hall Meeting or to ask the Branches to organise meetings at the present critical stage; but that an option on the Albert Hall for the evening of September 24th be obtained so that arrangements for a public meeting may be made while the Assembly is still in session if such a course appears desirable."

Lord Cecil drew the attention of the Executive to a letter dated July 26th which he had received from Colonel Dawney concerning Mr. Voigt's broadcast talk. Lord Cecil proposed to send a personal reply to Colonel Dawney, disclaiming his thesis and repeating the suggestion that it would be desirable to arrange a broadcast explaining what is the machinery at the disposal of the League for the purpose of keeping the peace.

The Executive had before them a note (S.G.7652) by Mr. Noel Baker, drawing attention to certain passages in a speech delivered by Lord Londonderry at Southampton on July 29th. Mr. Noel Baker did not suggest that the Executive should take any action in this matter.

231. DISARMAMENT AND SECURITY.

- (a) Sir Bolton Eyres Monsell's Speech of July 22nd.  
The Executive considered the speech delivered by the First Lord of the Admiralty on July 22nd, and the reply given by Lord Londonderry to the question asked by Lord Cecil in the House of Lords on July 29th. The Executive had before them a note (S.G.7643) by Mr. Noel Baker on the subject suggesting that the Executive should again call the attention of H.M. Government to the principles contained in the resolution adopted at the XIXth Plenary Congress of the International Federation. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That further consideration of this item be adjourned."

- (b) Leaflet on Collective Security. The Secretary reported that since the paper on Economic Sanctions which Mr. Arnold Forster was preparing had not been ready in time to be submitted to Sir Walter Layton for his comments during the previous week-end, the draft of a four-page leaflet on Collective Security was submitted to the present meeting of the Executive so that publication need not await the Executive's acceptance of Mr. Arnold Forster's paper. Comments on the draft leaflet from Mr. Arnold Forster and Lord Allen were read. After discussion, in the course of which further amendments to the leaflet were suggested, it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That Mr. le Prevost be asked to amend the leaflet on Collective Security in the light of the suggestions made by Mr. Arnold Forster and other members of the Executive; and that, subject to Lord Cecil's approval, the leaflet in its amended form be printed for immediate circulation."

- (2) "That Lord Allen be invited to prepare, at his leisure, a further leaflet on Collective Security on the lines suggested in his letter for consideration by the Executive after the vacation."

232. PAMPHLET ON ECONOMIC SANCTIONS. The Executive had before them the first part of Mr. Arnold Forster's draft pamphlet on Economic Sanctions. The Secretary stated that he had received a further MSS that morning and understood that Mr. Arnold Forster hoped to be able to send him the remainder of the pamphlet within the next

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day. He read to the Committee an extract from Mr. Arnold Forster's letter urging that the pamphlet should be produced as soon as possible, but after discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That consideration of Mr. Arnold Forster's pamphlet on Economic Sanctions be adjourned until the next ordinary meeting of the Executive on September 19th; but that, in the meantime, the Secretary be authorised to send a copy of the draft pamphlet to Miss Eleanor Rathbone for her confidential information."

233. RUSSIAN REFUGEE WOMEN IN CHINA. The Secretary reported an invitation to the Union to appoint a representative to attend a meeting on October 3rd to consider the question of arranging a public meeting for the relief of women of Russian origin in China. It was

RESOLVED: "That the Executive be not officially represented at the meeting on October 3rd, but that, if possible, a member of the Secretariat be asked to attend the meeting as an observer."

234. DECEMBER MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL. It was

RESOLVED: "That the next meeting of the General Council be held on December 4th and 5th, 1935."

235. RECOGNITION OF BRANCHES.

(a) Branches and Junior Branches. the formation of the following Branches was reported:-

Caerlon: The Training College (Mon.); Deeside (Flints.); Hambleton (Lancs.); Leven (Fife); New Romney (Kent); Noltun Haven (Pembrokes.); Penistone (Yorks.); Plymouth: St. Mary's Church, Laira (Devon.); Rhuddlan (Denbigs.); St. Halier and Morden (Surrey); Ware (Herts.); Woodhouse and District (Yorks.); Woolacombe and Morteohoe (Devon.).

RESOLVED: "That the above mentioned Branches be recognised and that a certificate of constitution bearing the seal of the Union be issued."

The formation of the following Junior Branches was reported:-

Tilton Road Senior Girls' School, Birmingham; Dulwich Central School; Beresford House School, Lee (London).

RESOLVED: "That the above mentioned Junior Branches be recognised and that a certificate of constitution bearing the seal of the Union be issued."

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- (b) Corporate Members. Receipt of applications for admission as Corporate Members was reported from:

Alexandria Parade Methodist Church, Glasgow;  
 Mother's Association, Kirkcaldy Girls' Club,  
 Kirkcaldy; Bourne End Methodist Church,  
 Bourne End (Bucks.); Church of Christ, King  
 Street, Workington (Cumb.); Cannon Street  
 Baptist Church, Accrington (Lanc.); Kettering  
 Branch of the National Union of Shop Assistants,  
 Warehousemen and Clerks, Kettering (Northants);  
 Carville Methodist Church, Newcastle; (Northumberland);  
 Wingrove Presbyterian Church Bible Class;  
 Newcastle (Northumberland); Chapel Royal,  
 Brighton (Sussex); Spen Valley Sunday School  
 Union, Cleckheaton (Lanc.).

RESOLVED: "That the applications be accepted and a certificate bearing the seal of the Union be issued."

- (c) Corporate Associates. Receipt of applications for admission as Corporate Associates was reported from:

Lanercost Women's Institute (Cumberland);  
 St. Mary Cray Women's Institute (Kent);  
 Wyke and Normandy Women's Institute (Surrey).

RESOLVED: "That the applications be accepted and a certificate bearing the seal of the Union be issued."

## LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

C.13  
16.8.35.CONFIDENTIAL.

MINUTES OF A SPECIAL MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT 15, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W. 1., ON MONDAY, AUGUST 12TH, 1935 AT 3 P.M.

PRESENT: Lord Cecil (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams, Sir Norman Angell, Michael Barkway, F.M. Burris, the Dean of Chichester, Miss F. Fawcett, Commander Norman Lewis, Professor Murray, Nowell Smith and L.M. Wynch.

236. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Miss Joyce Ansell, W. Arnold-Forster, Major Anthony Buxton, L.J. Cadbury, Captain Victor Cazalet, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Miss K.D. Courtney, Admiral Drury-Lowe, Captain L.H. Green, Sir Arthur Haworth, Miss M. Lloyd George, Dr. Kimmins, Sir Archibald Sinclair and H.S. Syrett.
237. LORD DICKINSON. Lord Cecil read to the Committee a letter which he had received from Lord Dickinson expressing his profound gratitude to the Executive for their sympathy in his bereavement.
238. ITALY AND ABYSSINIA. Lord Cecil reported that Mr. Noel Baker and Dr. Garnett who had lately been in Geneva had urged very strongly that the situation was extremely critical, but that League circles were convinced that war would still be prevented if the Members of the League, and especially Italy, could be convinced on or before September 4th that the British Cabinet had definitely decided that - being bound by their undertakings in the Covenant and elsewhere to prevent any state from resorting to war in breach of its obligations under the Covenant, and recognising that this is an obligation of honour binding this country and other Members of the League - Britain was ready to bear its part in any action, however drastic, that may be necessary for the purpose. Lord Cecil had therefore felt it right to call a meeting of the Executive in order to consider what could be done to help in the present situation.

At the request of the Chairman, the Secretary reported on the meeting of the League Council on August 3rd at which he had been present, and on conversations he had had in Geneva.

The Chairman drew the attention of the Committee to a memorandum (S.G.7663) submitted by Admiral Drury-Lowe and he read to the Committee letters he had received from Lady Layton and Mr. Arnold-Forster.

The Executive then considered a draft resolution (S.G.7665) and memorandum (S.G.7666) prepared by the Secretary. After discussion it was left to Professor Murray, Sir Norman Angell and the Secretary to draft the resolution. It was as follows

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

In view of the fact that collective action, which is indispensable if war between Italy and Abyssinia is to be prevented, will be rendered more difficult by any uncertainty as to the part which the British Government is prepared to take,

Urges His Majesty's Government to decide without delay to communicate a statement to the Members of the Council on or before September 4th, making it clear that the British Government are bound to fulfil the undertakings they have given in signing the Covenant; that this is an obligation of honour binding this country and other Members of the League; and that the British nation will be ready to bear its part in any action, however drastic, that may be necessary for the purpose.

It was also

- RESOLVED: (2) That Lord Cecil be asked to send a copy of the resolution to Mr. Baldwin with a personal covering letter.
- (3) That Lord Cecil and Sir Austen Chamberlain be asked to see or to write personal letters to Sir Samuel Hoare and to convey to him a copy of the resolution.
- (4) That copies of the resolution be sent by the office to every other Member of the Cabinet, and be communicated to the press.
- (5) That Constituency Committees or League of Nations Union Branches in all constituencies be asked to urge their respective Members of Parliament to press the Cabinet to authorise Mr. Eden to communicate a statement (on the lines suggested in the Executive's resolution) to the Members of the Council on or before September 4th.
- (6) That a short paper dealing with the consequences of allowing war to happen in Abyssinia be communicated to the Secretaries of the Union's Branches along with resolutions (1) and (5) above.

Sir Norman Angell asked if anything could be done to bring home to M. Laval the situation as seen by the Union, and suggested that it might be well to send a letter to M. Avenol or to Mr. Frank Walters, reminding them of the progress of opinion in this country and of the people who have declared themselves in favour of resolute action. It was

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RESOLVED: (7) That letters be written on the lines suggested by Sir Norman Angell.

238. PROPOSED ALBERT HALL MEETING ON SEPTEMBER 24TH. The Secretary reminded the Executive that an option had been obtained on the Albert Hall for the evening of September 24th. The Dean of Chichester expressed the hope that if a public meeting were held on that date a representative of the Church would be among the speakers.

239. AUTUMN MEETINGS OF INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION. The Chairman reported communications from Signor Giannini, the President of the International Federation, and from the secretariat concerning the proposal to hold a meeting of the Federation during the first week of September, and it was

RESOLVED: "That the Executive Committee recommends that the Bureau of the International Federation should meet in Geneva on the day following the League Council, viz: September 5th, and that the whole of the autumn meetings should take place between the 5th and 9th September; but that any items on the agenda which the secretariat cannot sufficiently prepare by the first week in September be adjourned until the Spring meeting which might perhaps take place a little earlier than usual."

The Secretary reported a cable from the Australian League of Nations Society stating that their Executive Committee had on August 10th unanimously adopted a resolution approving Mr. Eden's pronouncement that the British Government is prepared to join with other States Members of the League in fulfilling its obligations under the Covenant. The resolution had also urged the Australian Government to instruct its representative to stand solidly behind Mr. Eden in the position he had adopted. It was agreed that this communication should be published.

240. COMMUNICATION FROM THE INTERNATIONAL AFRICAN FRIENDS OF ABYSSINIA. The Secretary reported a communication from the International African Friends of Abyssinia, inviting the Union to send a representative to speak at a meeting on the Italo-Ethiopian dispute in London on August 18th. It was

RESOLVED: "That the International African Friends of Abyssinia be thanked for their invitation, but that they be informed that since the Executive thinks it undesirable to hold public meetings at the present time on the subject of the Italo-Abyssinian dispute, they are unable to send a speaker to the meeting on August 18th."



C. 13.  
5.9.35.

MINUTES OF A SPECIAL MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE  
COMMITTEE HELD AT 15, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, S.W.1.  
ON THURSDAY, AUGUST 29TH AT 3 P.M.

PRESENT: Professor Murray (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams, M.P., Sir Norman Angell, F. M. Burris, L. J. Cadbury, Lord Cecil, the Dean of Chester, Miss P. Fawcett, Sir John Harris, Commander N. Lewis, Lord Lytton, Nowell Smith, J.C. Smuts, H. S. Syrett and L.M. Wynch, together with the Secretary and Deputy Secretary.

241. APOLGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Lord Allen, Major Anthony Buxton, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Miss K. D. Courtney, Gwilym Davies, Admiral Drury-Lowe, W. Arnold Forster, Miss Megan Lloyd George, Captain L. H. Green, Sir Edward Grier, Sir Arthur Haworth, Dr. C. W. Kimmins, H. F. Shaw and Professor A. E. Zimmern.
242. ACTION TAKEN ON MINUTE 238 OF AUGUST 12TH. Dr. Garnett reminded the Committee of the resolution on the Italo-Abyssinian dispute adopted by the Committee at its last meeting, and reported that he had written to the branches enclosing a copy of the resolution and a memorandum. Forty-three branches are known to have forwarded the Resolution to their Members of Parliament or to have written on similar lines.
243. COMMUNICATIONS FROM MEMBERS OF EXECUTIVE. The Committee's attention was drawn to communications from Sir Edward Grier, Admiral Drury-Lowe and Major Anthony Buxton. The letter from Admiral Drury-Lowe raised the question of appointing a Commission of neutral observers. It was explained that this suggestion had already been made by the Union's deputation to the Foreign Office, and the Secretary was asked to find out whether any action was being taken.
244. SANCTIONS. The Chairman stated that he had invited Sir Arthur Salter to attend the Committee and put his views before them. Sir Arthur made a statement on the possibilities and the difficulties, legal and otherwise, of action by States Members of the League for the purpose of preventing or stopping a war between Italy and Abyssinia. He considered that diplomatic or economic pressure would be ineffective unless the aggressor nation believed that they had behind them sufficient collective force and a collective determination to apply further sanctions if necessary. In his view the application of the milder forms of sanctions involved at this stage as great a risk of war as the more immediately effective sanctions, such as the denial of access to the Suez Canal and the Straits of Gibraltar. As regards the legality of denying access to the Suez Canal, he considered that this question need not, and should not, be raised. The Covenant gave the League the right, and in certain cases the duty, of stopping the ships of an aggressor anywhere on the high seas, and in the

present case the most convenient place to stop them would be the approaches to the Canal or the Straits of Gibraltar. He considered that the British Government should do its utmost to secure the co-operation of other League Members in applying sanctions, but that it should not act alone. If naval sanctions had to be used, it would suffice if France would co-operate with Britain in carrying out a League decision, and it was not of the first importance how powerful the French naval contingent should be to start with.

Lord Cecil, while agreeing with Sir Arthur Salter that Members of the League must be ready to use the strongest measures if League action was to be effective, considered that the procedure laid down under Article 16 (as explained by the Committee of 1921) must be followed although it would necessarily be slow. Military (i.e. naval) action should be avoided as long as possible because of the difficulty of getting it accepted both in France and in this country, and no such action would be possible unless it were supported by public opinion in the countries concerned. He considered that the most effective sanction would be the refusal of Members of the League to accept exports from Italy.

Sir Norman Ansell, while agreeing with a great deal that Sir Arthur Salter had said, thought it was the first duty of the Union to educate public opinion in regard to these matters. He considered that if Italy actually went to war against Abyssinia the feeling against her would be so strong that a boycott of imports from Italy might easily be effected. Even in circles which professed to love the British Empire and to hate the League, the dangers to the British Empire of having an expansionist and reckless state on an important line of communication were beginning to be realised.

Professor Murray was asked to communicate with Sir Samuel Hoare on the subject of the raising of the arms embargo against Abyssinia.

The Committee finally

RESOLVED: (1) "In view of the fact that the so-called dispute between Italy and Abyssinia has now reached a point which threatens both the existence of the League of Nations and the safety of the British Empire, the Executive Committee of our Union calls upon the Branches to support His Majesty's Government in proposing to the Council of the League at its meeting on 4th September such collective action as will either prevent or effectively stop a war between Italy and Abyssinia."

- (2) "That Sir Norman Angell be asked to write a memorandum in the light of the Committee's discussion on the subject of sanctions, for circulation to the Branches."

The Chairman thanked Sir Arthur Salter for the help he had given to the Committee.

245. MEETING OF THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION. The Committee were reminded that at the last special meeting it had been decided to make application for an earlier meeting of the Federation to take place during the meetings of the League Council. After the application had been made Lord Cecil had given the matter his consideration and after discussing with the Chairman and the Secretary the application had been withdrawn. The Committee endorsed the action that had been taken.
246. ALBERT HALL MEETING. It was  
RESOLVED: "That the preparations for the meeting in the Albert Hall on September 24th should be continued."
247. COMMUNICATION FROM THE COMITE INTERNATIONALE POUR LA DEFENSE DU PEUPLE ETHIOPIEN. It was reported that the Comite internationale pour la defense du Peuple Ethiopeen had invited the Union to send representatives to a meeting which it was arranging in Paris on September 3rd. The Chairman said that he would communicate with the Comite Internationale.
248. INVITATION FROM THE NILE SOCIETY. The Committee was informed of an invitation from the Nile Society to meet His Excellency the Ethiopian Minister, who would speak on Abyssinia at the Hyde Park Hotel on Tuesday, September 3rd. It was  
RESOLVED: "That an endeavour should be made to find someone to represent the Union."
249. TELEGRAM FROM MISS RATHBONE. The following telegram was reported from Miss Rathbone:  
"Could Union arrange a protest by M.P's or prominent people against continuing arms embargo unless Government definitely intends sanction through the League. Excuse suggestion which making also to New Commonwealth but feel position intolerably unfair. Last night's broadcast indicated that Hoare had authority to remove."  
It was  
RESOLVED: "That Miss Rathbone be told that, while the Union's Executive has every sympathy with her object, they believe that they can best help to attain it by asking their Chairman to communicate privately with the Foreign Secretary."

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250. COMMUNICATION FROM MR. H. STANLEY JEVONS. A communication was reported from Mr. H. Stanley Jevons asking for the Union's help in raising a loan for the Ethiopian Government. It was

RESOLVED: "That no action be taken."

251. COMMUNICATIONS FROM LORD LUGARD. A communication was reported from Lord Lugard asking for subscriptions to the Red Cross Unit which was to be sent to Ethiopia. The same request had been made by implication in Mr. Stanley Jevons' letter (see preceding minute). It was suggested that mention of the appeal might be made in HEADWAY.

74  
C. 13  
15.9.35.

MINUTES OF A SPECIAL MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT 15, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1. ON TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 10TH, 1935 AT 3 P.M.

PRESENT: Professor Murray (in the Chair), Lord Allen, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Captain Cazalet, Lord Cecil, Miss Fawcett, Lady Hall, Nowell Smith, H.F. Shaw, and H.S. Syrett together with the Secretary and Deputy Secretary.

252. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Major Buxton, Mr. Cadbury and Captain Green.
253. MINUTES. Subject to the following report on minutes 243, 244 and 251, the minutes of the special meeting held on August 29th were confirmed as circulated.

On Minutes 243 — Communications from Members of Executive, the Secretary reported that the request made by Abyssinia on June 30th for a commission of neutral observers had not so far received any consideration by the Council of the League. It was not on the agenda of the present Council in any definite way though it might no doubt be brought up under item 22 of the agenda, i.e. "to undertake a general examination of the relations between Italy and Ethiopia". ~~The Council should report on the subject at its next meeting.~~

On Minute 244 — Sanctions, it was reported that Sir Norman Ansell's memorandum, together with the Executive's resolution and with covering letters from Lord Cecil and the Secretary, had been circulated to all Branches of the Union on September 2nd. Copies of these documents were placed before members of the Executive.

The Chairman read to the Committee a letter he had written to Sir Samuel Hoare on August 30th on the subject of the raising of the arms embargo against Abyssinia, together with the Foreign Secretary's reply.

On Minute 251 — Communication from Lord Lugard, the Secretary read to the Committee a further letter from Lord Lugard dated September 7th, drawing attention to the fact that the appeal for medical assistance for Ethiopians was marked 'Private' and should not be communicated to the press in view of Sir Samuel Hoare's opposition to a public appeal. It was

RESOLVED: "That in correspondence with Branches encouragement be given to the appeal, but that no reference be made to it at present in the Union's publications".

254. ALBERT HALL MEETING. The Secretary reported that Lord Lytton, Lady Bonham Carter, Mr. J.H. Clynes and Lord Cecil had promised to speak at the meeting in the Albert Hall on September 24th. Mr. C.N. Barnes had provisionally accepted an invitation to speak but he had since written stating that, as the date of the meeting coincided with the twentieth anniversary of

the death of his son at Loos, he did not feel able to address an Albert Hall meeting on that day. The Secretary further reported that, despite the efforts which had been made, it had not been possible to include the name of a Bishop among the speakers for the meeting. It was

- RESOLVED: (1) "That the Bishop of Durham be invited to speak at the Albert Hall Meeting."  
 (2) "That an endeavour be made to obtain messages from prominent persons to the meeting".

255. ITALO-ABYSSINIAN DISPUTE. The Chairman reported to the Committee in confidence a statement which had been made to him by Mr. Chakravarty, secretary to Mr. Tagore, who had lately returned from Rome, from which it appeared that the Abyssinian adventure was part of an Imperialist adventure and that concessions to Italy would therefore be extremely dangerous.

After considerable discussion there appeared to be a general consensus of opinion that if, despite the efforts of the Council of the League of Nations and, in particular, of H.M.G. to bring about a just and peaceful settlement of the so-called dispute between Italy and Abyssinia, Great Britain should forthwith propose to the Council a recommendation that Members of the League, as part of or in addition to such other action as they may decide to take under Article 16 of the Covenant should withdraw the heads of their diplomatic missions from Italy, exclude Italian products from their respective countries and, if these measures failed to stop hostilities, then they should do all in their power to sever communications between Italy and the Suez Canal. In proposing such a recommendation the British representative would, of course, let the Council know that Great Britain would immediately act upon the recommendation if it were adopted.

After further discussion it was

- RESOLVED: (1) "That Lord Cecil be asked to write to Lord Cranborne, reminding him that, in spite of statements appearing in certain sections of the press, there is an immense body of support for whatever steps H.M.G. may think necessary to support peace and maintain the independence of Abyssinia; and asking him, if he thought fit, to convey this message to Sir Samuel Hoare and Mr. Eden."

The Secretary reported that many Branches of the Union had written to their Members of Parliament on the lines suggested by the Executive on August 12th, and it was

- RESOLVED: (2) "That Branches of the Union be asked to publish the replies to their letters which they receive from their Members of Parliament".

*X Italy should fulfil her threats of war against Abyssinia*

- 3 -

The Committee discussed the procedure of Article 16 of the Covenant. Lord Allen suggested that a statement should be prepared, explaining in detail the working of this Article for the guidance of speakers and Branches. Reference was made to the resolutions adopted by the Assembly in 1921 on this subject, as well as to a talk broadcast by Sir John Fischer Williams on September 2nd and to articles appearing in the SPECTATOR by Sir Arthur Salter and Lord Cecil. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: (3) "That a short statement be prepared on the working of Article 16 of the Covenant and that, after being approved by Lord Cecil and the Chairman, the statement be printed and circulated to speakers, to the press and to Branches of the Union."

CONFIDENTIAL.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W. 1., ON THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 19TH, 1935, AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Professor Gilbert Murray (in the Chair), Lord Allen, Sir Norman Aggell, Miss Joyce Ansell, W. Arnold-Forster, Mrs. Corbett Asby, F.O. Noel Baker, F.M. Burris, Major Anthony Buxton, L.J. Cadbury, Lord Cecil, Lord Dickinson, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Fawcett, Lady Gladstone, Captain L.H. Green, Dr. Kinnins, Lady Layton, Commander Lewis, Nowell Smith, Lord Knayader, H.S. Syrett, L.M. Wynch, together with the Secretary.

256. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from the Dean of Chichester, Miss K.D. Courtney, Admiral Drury-Lowe, Sir Edward Grigg, Sir John Harris, Sir Arthur Haworth, Miss M. Lloyd George, G. le M. Mander, Mrs. Wilson-Fox, and Major Lawrence Wright.

257. BRANCH RESOLUTION. The Executive received a resolution dated 30th July from the St. Catharines's Church Branch, Plymouth, and it was

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

258. MINUTES. Subject to the following decision on Minutes 244 and 253(243), and to the insertion of a line omitted by accident from Minute 255, the Minutes of the last ordinary meeting dated August 1st and of the special meetings dated August 12th, August 29th and September 10th were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 244 - Sanctions, it was

RESOLVED: "That, subject to any corrections which Sir Arthur Selter may wish made in the report of his statement to the Executive, this Minute be confirmed."

On Minute 253 - 243 - Communications from Members of Executive, it was

RESOLVED: "That the last sentence be deleted from this Minute."

259. ITALY AND ABYSSINIA. At the request of the Chairman the Secretary read to the Executive the following sentence from a private and confidential letter from Mr. Frank Walters, Under-Secretary of the League:

"The L.N.U. may be proud of the part it has played in bringing the British Government to a position in regard to the League which one could scarcely have dreamed as possible two or three years ago."



- 2 -

At the request of the Chairman, Mr. Epstein reported to the Committee, in confidence, recent conversations he had had with Mr. Leeper, Head of the Press Section at the Foreign Office.

Lord Allen referred to the internal broadcasts at present being made to the Italian people. He understood that not only was propaganda being placed, but that the broadcasts were a deliberate falsification of facts. He suggested that the Union should make arrangements to obtain verbatim reports of these broadcasts.

The Secretary reported that the International Broadcasting Corporation had a transmitting station at Ljubljana from which broadcasts to the Italians could be made. He suggested that use might be made of this station for broadcasting facts concerning the international situation to Italy. It was

RESOLVED: (1) That an endeavour be made to obtain verbatim reports of the political news broadcast in Italy.

- (2) That the Secretary be asked to make enquiries concerning the terms on which broadcasts can be made from the International Broadcasting Corporation's station at Ljubljana, and that thereafter the question of taking action in this matter be left to the discretion of the Chairman.

Mr. Noel Baker suggested that H.M. Government should persuade League Members at once to withdraw their Ambassadors if and when Signor Mussolini rejected the Report of the Committee of Five and recalled his delegation from Geneva. If the actions of the world, probably with the co-operation of the United States, were to take such action he thought it might have a restraining effect before hostilities had begun.

Lord Cecil pointed out the difficulties in the wording of the Covenant. No action could be taken under Article 16 until there had been an actual resort to war; while under Article 11, according to the views held at Geneva, unanimity is required including the parties to the dispute. He suggested, however, that a letter might be written to Sir Samuel Hoare or Mr. Eden, reminding them that the League Members are not precluded from getting a withdrawal of Ambassadors by the difficulty of Article 11, and that if a recommendation of the Council in favour of such a course could be obtained, it would provide a complete moral position even though it might not be a technical position under the Covenant.

The Committee discussed economic measures which could be taken under Article 16 and were of the opinion that the collective co-operation of the smaller Powers would be of enormous value in such measures.

The Committee considered the enquiry addressed by France to H.M. Government concerning collective resistance to aggression in Europe. After considerable discussion it was

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- RESOLVED: (3) "The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union rejoices at the splendid initiative on behalf of peace taken by Sir Samuel Hoare at Geneva, and especially thanks him for making it clear that the policy of the British Government is dictated solely by their determination loyally and effectively to support the Covenant in all circumstances and not merely in the case of Abyssinia."
- (4) "That the above resolution be communicated to H.M. Government and to the press."
- (5) "That a letter written on the lines of resolution (3) above and addressed to the French nation should be signed by as many representative persons as possible and be circulated for publication in the English and French press."

260. ALBERT HALL MEETING. Lord Cecil reported the circumstances in which, after consultation with the Foreign Office, he and Professor Murray had decided that the Union ought not to proceed with the meeting in the Albert Hall on September 24th. The Committee had before them copies of the communiqué (S.G.7712) issued to the press on this subject. Lord Cecil stated that in a recent letter to the Foreign Secretary he had made it clear that although the Albert Hall meeting was being cancelled, the meetings which were being organised by the Union's Branches all over the country would not be affected. It was

- RESOLVED: (1) "That the action taken by Lord Cecil and Professor Murray be approved."
- (2) "That letters of thanks be sent to the authorities at the Albert Hall for so generously releasing the Union from much of its financial liability for the meeting; and that letters of thanks be also sent to those societies who had undertaken to help in the organisation of the meeting."

61. INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION. The Committee were reminded in the resolution on the Italo-Abyssinian dispute which they had submitted on August 1st for consideration by the Representative Council of the International Federation at its meeting on September 29th, on the understanding that it could be modified if necessary in the light of subsequent events. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the resolution be submitted to the Representative Council of the International Federation in the following amended form:

Minute 763 X on certain revisions to be made in his paper see 273

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'The International Federation of League of Nations Societies insists that the provisions of the Covenant of the League of Nations shall be firmly and effectively enforced in the Abyssinian dispute as in all others.'

262. DISARMAMENT AND SECURITY. On the motion of Mr. Noel Baker it was

RESOLVED: "That further consideration of the statement on naval disarmament made on behalf of H.M. Government in the House of Lords on July 29th be adjourned until the next meeting of the Executive."

263. ECONOMIC SANCTIONS: DRAFT PAMPHLET BY MR. ARNOLD FORSTER.

The Committee had before them a draft pamphlet by Mr. Arnold Forster on Sanctions (S.G.7702) prepared in accordance with the request contained in the Executive's Minute No. 148 of May 30th, 1935. Mr. Arnold Forster stated that he had had the benefit of Sir Arthur Salter's advice in preparing his paper. He had also received a letter from Miss Eleanor Rathbone, expressing her cordial approval of the document. After discussion, in the course of which Mr. Arnold Forster reminded the Committee that the paper had been written over a month ago and would therefore need some amendment, it was

RESOLVED: "That Mr. Arnold Forster's pamphlet be referred to a sub-committee, consisting of Sir Norman Angell, Major Buxton, Mr. Arnold Forster and the Secretary, with power to act."

264. LEASE OF NO. 6 GROSVENOR CRESCENT. The Secretary reported that the lease of No. 6 Grosvenor Crescent had not yet been signed, but that all the outstanding questions had been disposed of satisfactorily. He was now awaiting the authority of the L.C.C. for the use of the premises for office accommodation.
265. VACANCY ON EXECUTIVE. The Secretary reminded the Executive that one vacancy still remained on the Committee, and it was

RESOLVED: "That Mr. Noel Baker be asked to make enquiries before the next meeting of the Executive with a view to recommending the name of a Trade Union representative who might be invited to serve on the Committee."

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MINUTES OF A SPECIAL MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE  
HELD AT 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W. 1. ON THURSDAY,  
SEPTEMBER 26TH, 1935 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Professor Gilbert Murray (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams, Lord Allen, Miss Joyce Ansell, P.J. Noel Baker, Michael Barkway, Major Anthony Buxton, Lord Cecil, Sir Austen Chamberlain, the Dean of Chichester, Lord Dickinson, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss F. Fawcett, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, Dr. Kimmins, Commander Lewis, Nowell Smith, Sir John Power, Mrs. Wilson-Fox, Major Lawrence Wright, L.M. Hynch, together with the Deputy Secretary.

266. APLOGUES FOR ABSENCE were received from W. Arnold-Forster, L.S. Cadbury, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Admiral Drury-Lowe, Captain L.M. Green, Sir Arthur Hanworth, Lady Layton, Miss M. Lloyd George, and G. le M. Mander.

267. ITALY AND ABYSSINIA. The Chairman stated that in the present critical situation when developments were occurring from day to day he had thought it right to summon a special meeting of the Executive.

(a) Sixteenth Assembly. The Committee considered a suggestion by Mr. Noel Baker that the Assembly's session should be prolonged until such time as the Italo-Abyssinian dispute had reached the stage of definite action. Mr. Eppstein reported that he had learned from Dr. Garnett, who was at present in Geneva, that it was probable that the Assembly would be adjourned on Saturday, September 28th but that power would be given to Dr. Benes to recall it later if necessary. The possibility of the transference of the whole question back to the Three-Power Conference was also being rumoured in Geneva.

Lord Cecil stated that he had already written privately to a friend in Geneva expressing his own view on this subject. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That Mr. Eppstein be asked to inform the Foreign Office of the Executive's discussion of this subject, and to say that, while the Committee has every confidence in the action of the British delegation and of the Assembly it feels that the presence of the Assembly at Geneva during the Abyssinian crisis is of very great international importance and trusts that its session will be either continued or merely adjourned, and not brought to an end altogether.

(b) Letter for Publication in the French Press. The Committee received copies of the letter prepared for publication in the French press and signed by forty-seven well-known men and women representative of the life and thought of this country. It was reported that, after consultation

with M. Prudhommeaux, the Secretary of the French League of Nations Society, the letter had been presented by Dr. Garnett to M. Laval in Geneva and had afterwards been circulated for publication in the English and French press.

(c) League Observers. The Committee discussed the request of the Emperor of Abyssinia for League Observers to be sent to the frontier. It was suggested that the Government might be asked to consider the possibility of persuading the Council to appoint a Committee of neutral persons who are already on the spot and who would report as a body to the Council.

Lady Gladstone reminded the Committee that this subject was mentioned by the deputation which had waited upon the Foreign Secretary and Mr. Eden on July 25th. Sir Samuel Hoare had not appeared to be averse to the idea of League Observers being sent to Abyssinia, but he had stressed the enormous physical difficulties which would be involved. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: (2) "That Mr. Epstein be asked to make informal enquiries of the Foreign Office concerning possible action by H.M. Government on the question of sending League Observers to Abyssinia, and to present a report to the next meeting of the Executive."

(d) Broadcast of News. It was reported that, following upon the discussion at the last meeting of the Executive, Dr. Garnett had written to the Secretary of the International Broadcasting Corporation regarding the terms on which broadcasts to Italy could be made from the station at Ljubljana. No reply had yet been received from the I.B.C. Mr. Epstein reported the conversation which he and Dr. Garnett had had on this subject with the Foreign Office. After discussion, in the course of which the opinion was expressed that any broadcast of news on the Italo-Abyssinian situation to Italy should be made either through the League or on the authority of the League, it was

RESOLVED: (3) "That Lady Gladstone be asked to discuss with members of the League's secretariat the question of arranging, either through private companies or in some other way, for the news bulletins which are at present transmitted from Geneva on a short wave to be transmitted also on a longer wave or be relayed, in order that they may be received in all countries."

(e) MORNING POST Interview with Signor Mussolini. Attention was drawn to an account of an interview given by Signor Mussolini to a correspondent of the MORNING POST and published on 17th September in which reference was made to an invitation, said to have been sent by Signor Mussolini to the British Government on 29th January last, to consider specific agreements for a harmonious development of the Italian and British interests in Ethiopia. It was

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RESOLVED: "That Mr. Eppstein be asked to make inquiries at the Foreign Office on this subject."

268. MEMEL. Consideration was given to a note by Mr. P.J. Noel Baker concerning the Memel dispute between Germany and Lithuania (S.G.7744). Mr. Baker stated that a Committee of Jurists representing the Guaranteeing Powers had approved the regulations for the election on Sunday, September 29th; and that he felt that their position would have been greatly strengthened if consideration of the matter had been in the hands of the League rather than in the hands of the three Guaranteeing Powers acting only by the methods of diplomatic correspondence. Mr. Noel Baker suggested that the Executive should adopt a resolution, urging on H.M. Government that, in their capacity as one of the Guarantors of the Memel Statute, they should forthwith raise the matter before the League, and if necessary should institute a debate in the Assembly on the subject; but that in any case, they should set in motion the regular procedure of the League for dealing with such matters.

Sir Austen Chamberlain suggested that instead of adopting a resolution the Executive should send a letter to H.M. Government, calling attention to the grave anxiety which the situation is causing and suggesting that, while the Committee was fully aware that H.M. Government, France and, up to a point, Italy acting in unison had put considerable pressure on the Lithuanian Government, H.M. Government should consider whether their influence would not be strengthened if, at this stage, the matter were brought before the League under the terms of the Statute.

Mr. Noel Baker reminded the Executive of the resolution on this subject adopted by the XIXth Plenary Congress of the International Federation at its meeting in Brussels last June in which it was urged that, should it be necessary, questions on which there was a difference of opinion concerning the legal position should be submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That Mr. Noel Baker be asked to draft, for signature by Professor Murray, a letter to Sir Samuel Hoare on the subject of the Memel dispute, using as a basis the statement he had made orally to the Executive."

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MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W. 1., ON THURSDAY, OCTOBER 3RD, 1935, AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Cecil (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams, Lord Allen, Sir Norman Ansell, Miss Joyce Ansell, P.J. Noel Baker, Michael Barkway, L.S. Cadbury, Sir Austen Chamberlain, Miss K.D. Courtney, Lord Dickinson, Admiral Drury-Lowe, Miss P. Fawcett, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, Sir Arthur Haworth, Dr. Kimmings, Commander Lewis, Captain Loder, Nowell Smith, Professor Webster, Major Lawrence Wright, L.M. Wynch together with the Secretary and Deputy Secretary.

269. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from F.M. Burris, Major Anthony Buxton, the Dean of Chichester, Captain L.H. Green, Sir Edward Grigg, Miss M. Lloyd George, Lord Lytton, Sir Archibald Sinclair, H.S. Syrett and Mrs. Wilson-Fox.
270. MISS WINIFRED HOLTRY AND MR. HENRY BELL. The Executive learned with profound regret of the death of Miss Winifred Holtry, who had been an invaluable worker in the cause of the League and of the Union for many years, and of Mr. Henry Bell, who was a staunch friend of the Union and had, at one time, served on its Finance Committee. It was
- RESOLVED: "That the Chairman be asked to write letters of sympathy on behalf of the Committee."
271. REPORT OF COMMITTEE.
- Youth Committee. (Miss Ansell reported) The recommendations of the (Interim) Youth Committee dated September 21st, 1935, were approved and adopted.
272. RESOLUTION. The Executive received a resolution dated September 16th from the North Hackney Branch, and it was
- RESOLVED: "That the Branch be thanked for their resolution."
273. MINUTES. Subject to the following decision and report on Minutes 263 and 264, the Minutes of the last ordinary meeting dated September 19th and of the special meeting dated September 26th were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 263 - Economic Sanctions: Draft Pamphlet by Mr. Arnold Forster, it was, on the motion of Mr. Arnold Forster,

RESOLVED: "That the words 'on certain revisions to be made in his paper' be substituted for the words 'in preparing his paper'."

On Minute 264 - Lease of No. 6 Grosvenor Crescent, it was reported that the lease of No. 6 Grosvenor Crescent had now been signed and sealed.

274. ITALY AND ABYSSINIA. At the request of the Chairman Mr. Eppstein reported on the conversations he had had with the Foreign Office, in accordance with the Executive's request at its last meeting, on the subject of (a) the continuance of the assembly; (b) the letter to M. Laval which had been published in the French and British press; (c) the proposal that neutral observers should be sent to the frontier; and (d) the statement made by Signor Mussolini in his interview with the MORNING POST that the Italian Government had given the British Government in January of this year an opportunity of examining in common their interests and policies in Abyssinia. On the latter subject, an explanatory statement appearing in the MORNING POST of September 30th which had been supplied by the Foreign Office was read to the Committee.

Lord Cecil read to the Executive a letter dated September 28th which he had received from Dr. Benes and a copy of which he had sent to the Foreign Office.

Lord Cecil reported that the Foreign Office had informally asked for an expression of the Union's views on the question of the economic pressure required under Article XVI. He realised that in the present difficult and dangerous situation the Committee would not desire to do anything which might hamper the Government in their immense responsibility or make it more difficult for them to carry out their duty. But since the Foreign Office had invited the Union's views on the subject, he felt they ought to be communicated to them privately. In this connection Lord Cecil submitted to the Committee a confidential memorandum (S.G.7760) containing 'Suggestions for Collective Action for the Restraint of Italy'. After considering the memorandum paragraph by paragraph, the Committee

RESOLVED: "That the memorandum, as amended by the Executive, be forwarded in confidence to the Foreign Office; that it be explained that the suggestions are put forward in answer to an invitation informally conveyed to the Executive; that the Committee is not able to form an opinion as to how far this plan may be possible from the point of view of international politics; but that the Committee believes that the section of British public opinion which is generally favourable to a League policy would support a policy on these lines."

(During the discussion on the above Minute Lord Cecil had to leave the Committee, and the Chair was taken by Lady Gladstone.)



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275. BROADCAST OF NEWS BULLETINS FROM GENEVA. Lady Gladstone reported that she had discussed this question with Lord Cranborne in Geneva and had represented to him the views of the Executive. Lord Cranborne had promised to make enquiries from the Secretariat concerning the possibility of arranging for objective news bulletins to be broadcast from Geneva in such a way as to make them available to the Italian people. Mr. Noel Baker promised to supply Lady Gladstone with suggestions for submission to Lord Cranborne.

The Secretary reported a conversation he had had with Mr. Felt, the Head of the League's Information Section, on this subject, and described the difficulties in the way of the Secretariat taking action in this matter. The Secretary suggested that the Union should now endeavour to arrange, through any channel that might be open, for the League's Report under Article 15(4) to be broadcast not only in English and in French (as in the case of the Sino-Japanese Report) but also in Italian on a long wave.

The Secretary further reported that he had now learned from the International Broadcasting Company that transmissions from the Ljubljana Station were purely commercial and that the station could not therefore be used for broadcasting objective statements on the international situation to Italy.

RESOLVED: "That an endeavour be made to get the League's Report under Article 15(4) broadcast from Geneva in English, French and Italian on a long wave."

276. VACANCY ON EXECUTIVE. After receiving a report from Mr. Noel Baker it was

RESOLVED: "That Mr. A.G. Walkden be invited to serve on the Executive Committee."

CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD  
AT 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, S.W. 1., ON THURSDAY,  
OCTOBER 10TH, 1935, AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Professor Murray (in the Chair), Lord Allen,  
Miss Joyce Ansell, P.O. Noel Baker, F.M.  
Burriss, Major Anthony Buxton, L.J. Cadbury,  
Captain Victor Cazalet, Sir Austen  
Chamberlain, the Dean of Chichester, Miss  
K.B. Courtney, Admiral Drury-Lowe, Mrs.  
Dugdale, Miss P. Fawcett, Lady Gladstone,  
Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, Dr. Kinmins, Lady Layton  
Commander Lewis, Captain Loder, Lord Lytton, Nowell  
Smith, H.S. Syrett, Professor Webster,  
Mrs. Wilson-Fox, Major Lawrence Wright,  
L.M. Wynch together with the Secretary  
and Deputy Secretary.

277. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Vyvyan Adams,  
Sir Norman Ansell, W. Arnold-Foster, Mrs. Corbett Ashby,  
Lord Cecil, Miss M. Lloyd George, Sir Edward Grigg,  
Sir Arthur Haworth and A.G. Walkden.

278. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

(a) Branches Committee. (Admiral Drury-Lowe reported)  
The Minutes of the Committee dated October 3rd, 1935  
were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (49) Minutes; (50)  
Branches; (51) Junior Branches and Sections;  
(52) Corporate Members; (53) Corporate Associates  
(54) Membership Return; (55) Youth Committees;  
(56) Development of Work of League of Nations  
Union Pioneers; (57) Speakers for open-air  
Meetings; (58) National Canvass; (59) Oxon,  
Bucks and Berks.

(b) Economic Committee. (Dr. Garnett reported) Subject  
to the following decision on Minute 22, the Minutes  
of the Committee dated October 4th, 1935 were approved  
and adopted.

These Minutes included (19) Minutes; (20)  
Dr. Delisle Burns; (21) New Member; (22)  
Draft Resolutions for Submission to the Union's  
General Council (December 1935); (23) Memoran-  
dum by Mr. Meade; (24) Union Speakers.

On Minute 22 - Draft Resolutions for Submission to  
the Union's General Council (December, 1935) it was

RESOLVED: "That the draft resolution on "The Problem  
of Raw Materials" be approved and adopted  
for submission to the December meeting of  
the General Council in the following  
amended form."

The General Council of the League of Nations  
Union

Welcomes the announcement by Sir Samuel Hoare in his speech in the Assembly at Geneva on September 11th that H.M. Government are ready to co-operate in investigating the question of free access to raw materials in colonial, protected, and mandated territories for industrial countries which require them, so that all fear of exclusion or monopoly may be removed;

Urges that the problem of raw materials is but one of the economic problems created by post-war policies of economic nationalism; and therefore

Hopes, that, as soon as circumstances permit, H.M. Government will renew their efforts to promote agreement on measures to reduce the instability of currencies and the barriers to trade, which are the real causes of the difficulties both of raw-material-using countries in obtaining supplies from outside their own political boundaries, and of the raw-material-producing territories in disposing of these materials.

- (c) Finance Committee. The Secretary reported, as a matter of urgency, on Minute 50 (Budget for 1936) of the meeting dated October 8th. He stated that the Regions Committee, when it met on the following day, would be considering the Budget. The attention of the Executive was drawn to the fact that the Finance Committee, after considering a report from the Youth Committee, had recommended a provision of £420 for Youth Group work in the Budget for 1936. It was

RESOLVED: "That provisional approval be given to Minute 50 of the Finance Committee of October 8th, and that paragraph (2) be referred for consideration and report by the Editorial Committee."

279. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Executive received resolutions from the City of London Branch and the Surrey Federation. Mr. Wynch reported that the meeting of the Surrey Federation at which the resolution had been adopted was attended by some two hundred people representing thirty-four Branches in the Federation. The resolution had been forwarded to the Prime Minister and to five local Members of Parliament. It was

RESOLVED: "That the City of London Branch and the Surrey Federation be thanked for their resolutions."

280. SALE OF UNION PUBLICATIONS. The opinion was expressed that the great interest which was now being taken by vast numbers of people in the League provided an

excellent opportunity for increasing the sales of Union publications, and particularly of the League's Covenant. It was

RESOLVED: "That an endeavour be made to arrange for certain Union publications to be on sale in the book-rooms of the different religious denominations, and for the League Covenant to be on sale on the bookstalls."

281. MINUTES. Subject to the following report and decision on Minutes 275 and 276, the Minutes of the Committee dated October 3rd, 1939, were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 275 - Broadcast of News Bulletins from Geneva, Lady Gladstone reported that she had written to Lord Cranborne, concerning the possibility of the Secretariat arranging for objective news bulletins to be broadcast from Geneva in such a way as to make them available to the Italian people. She read to the Executive in confidence Lord Cranborne's reply of October 2nd. It was

RESOLVED: "That, in view of the Council's decision that a resort to war has taken place, further enquiries be made with a view to arranging for a broadcast from Geneva of the League's Report under Article 15(4) and of a daily summary of news, in English, French and Italian.

On Minute 276 - Vacancy on Executive, it was reported that Mr. A.G. Walkden had accepted the Executive's invitation to serve on the Committee.

282. ITALY AND ABYSSINIA. At the request of the Chairman, Mr. Epstein reported a conversation he had had with the Foreign Office concerning events at the Assembly's meeting on the previous day.

The Chairman read to the Executive a letter he had received from Lord Cecil, who was prevented from attending the Committee by an engagement to speak at the Church Congress, suggesting that a letter should immediately be sent to Constituency Correspondents and Branch Secretaries of the Union, urging them to take action with their local Members of Parliament. The Committee considered a draft letter and statement of policy (S.G.7776 and 7777) prepared by Lord Cecil for this purpose. After considerable discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "The Council has now declared that Italy has resorted to war against Abyssinia in disregard of its Covenants, and as a consequence we believe that the whole force of the League should be used to stop the war.

We desire therefore to inform His Majesty's Government once more that they have the unanimous support of this Executive for any steps to end hostilities at the earliest moment by League action.

While impatient of any delay, when war is actually going on, we realise that His Majesty's Government is doing its utmost to avoid such delay.

We believe that the great mass of the people of this country would support full use of the collective authority of the League to cut all communications between Italy and the African colonies.

- (2) "That the Chairman be asked to re-draft the letter for circulation to Constituency Correspondents and Branch Secretaries in the light of the above resolution and of the Executive's discussion on this subject."
- (3) "That the resolution in (1) above together with suitable covering letters be sent to the Secretary of the International Federation and to certain of the constituent societies."
- (4) "That a telegram, conveying the Executive's admiration and support, be sent to Mr. Eden."

At the request of the Chairman, Captain Thomas reported a telephone conversation he had had during the Executive's meeting with Mr. Frank Walters at Geneva.

283. ALBERT HALL MEETING. It was suggested that since the circumstances were now entirely different from those in which the meeting arranged for September 24th in the Albert Hall had been abandoned, the Union should organise a large public meeting at the earliest possible date for the purpose of manifesting the organisation of public opinion in support of the Government. It was

RESOLVED: "That arrangements be made to hold a meeting in the Albert Hall on Thursday, October 31st; and that the Archbishop of Canterbury, Sir Austen Chamberlain, Mr. Herbert Morrison and Lady Violet Bonham Carter be invited to speak at the meeting."

284. PROPOSED WEEKLY EDITION OF HEADWAY. The Executive considered a memorandum by Lord Allen (S.C.7756) suggesting that, since the present situation offered a supreme opportunity for educating public opinion about the League idea, HEADWAY should, for the next few critical weeks, become a weekly instead of a monthly publication. After discussion it was

see Minute 293

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RESOLVED: (1) That the Editorial Committee be asked to consider and report on the possibility of publishing a weekly bulletin dealing with the Italo-Abyssinian situation; that the Committee be informed that the Executive views this proposal with sympathy; and that a member of the Finance Committee be invited to attend the Editorial Committee when this subject is under discussion.

The Secretary reported that Mr. Wilson Harris had expressed his willingness, subject to the consent of the Executive, to publish each week in the SPECTATOR a letter signed by a member of the Union's Executive and describing what the Union is doing and thinking in regard to the Abyssinian crisis, on condition that the attention of members of the Union would be drawn to this letter. It was

RESOLVED: (2) "That Mr. Wilson Harris' offer be accepted with thanks."

285. VERBATIM REPORTS OF NEWS BROADCAST IN ITALY. The Secretary reported that arrangements had been made for the Union to receive verbatim reports of the political news broadcast in Italian from Rome during the past twelve days. But after reading these reports he had decided that no useful purpose would be served in continuing the arrangements.

286. BRITISH AMBULANCE SERVICE FOR ETHIOPIA. At the request of the Chairman, Mr. Eppstein reported on a meeting of the Executive Committee of the British Ambulance Service in Ethiopia which he had attended on October 8th. Lord Lugard, who had presided at the meeting, had asked for the active sympathy and support of the Union and its Branches in the urgent and difficult task they had undertaken. Mr. Eppstein described the aims and policy of Lord Lugard's organisation, and suggested ways in which Branches and members of the Union might help. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the appeal of the British Ambulance Service in Ethiopia be brought to the notice of the Union's Branches, and that they be encouraged to collect gifts either in money or in kind from their local members."

(2) "That a notice of the appeal be inserted in the Union's publications."

Sir Austen Chamberlain drew attention to the discrepancy which existed in the English and French texts of the Poison Gas Convention of 1925. It was

RESOLVED: "That Mr. Loder be invited to ask a question in Parliament on this subject."

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Sir John Harris asked whether the Red Cross Society could be urged to issue a statement drawing attention to the fact that in bombing undefended towns Italy was violating certain international Conventions.

287. REPORT ON AUTUMN MEETINGS OF INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION.  
The Executive received with interest a report on the Autumn meetings of the International Federation held at Geneva from September 27th to 30th, 1935.
288. COMMUNICATION FROM Y.W.C.A. The Secretary reported a communication from the Young Women's Christian Association of Great Britain, inviting the Executive to send a representative to the Association's 80th Birthday Celebration at the Albert Hall on November 9th, when Her Majesty the Queen had consented to be present and when the Dean of St. Paul's and Dr. Harry Miller would conduct a short Thanksgiving Service. It was

RESOLVED: "That the invitation of the Y.W.C.A. be accepted."

CONFIDENTIAL

UNAPPROVED MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, S.W. 1., ON THURSDAY, OCTOBER 17TH, 1935, AT 11 A.M.

**PRESENT:** Professor Gilbert Murray (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams, Lord Allen, Miss Joyce Ansell, W. Arnold-Forster, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, P.J. Noel Baker, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, F.M. Burris, Major Anthony Buxton, Captain Victor Cazalet, Lord Cecil, Sir Austen Chamberlain, Miss R.D. Courtney, Lord Dickinson, Admiral Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss P. Fawcett, Lady Gladstone, Captain L.H. Green, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, Lady Layton, Commander Norman Lewis, Captain J. de V. Loder, Lord Lytton, G. le M. Mander, Nowell Smith, Professor C.K. Webster, Mrs. Wilson-Fox, Major Lawrence Wright, L.M. Wynch together with the Secretary and Deputy Secretary.

289. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Sir Norman Angell, L.J. Cadbury, the Dean of Chichester, Miss M. Lloyd George, Sir Arthur Haworth, Major Hills, Dr. Kimmins, H.S. Syrett, A.G. Walkden and Professor Zimmern.

290. MR. INCH. At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Inch, the Secretary of the Canadian League of Nations Society, attended the meeting of the Executive.

291. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

(a) Office Committee. The Secretary reported as a matter of urgency on Minute 54 (Members of the Staff Standing as Candidates for Parliament) of the Committee dated October 16th. It was

**RESOLVED:** "That no objection be made to members of the staff accepting invitations to become candidates for Parliament provided

- (1) That their activities as prospective candidates do not seriously interfere with their work for the Union and do not as a rule occupy more than two half days per month;
- (2) That so soon as they have been adopted and their expenses have become chargeable they will resign from the Union's service; and
- (3) That in the case of officers employed elsewhere than in the Head Office, they do not seek election for constituencies in the districts in which they are working."



(b) Youth Committee. (Miss Ansell reported) Subject to the following decision and report on Minutes 5 and 9, the Minutes of the Committee dated October 5th were approved and adopted. 944

These Minutes included (1) Terms of Reference; (2) Composition of the Committee; (3) Welcome by Dr. Maxwell Garnett; (4) Future Administration and Finance of Youth Group Work; (5) Appointment of Secretary of Youth Committee; (6) Donations for Youth Group Work; (7) Affiliation of other Youth Organisations; (8) World Congress of Youth; (9) National Canvass; (10) Youth Group Register; (11) First Meeting of National Youth Groups' Council; (12) Poster Competition; (13) Executive Committee; (14) Future Meetings.

On Minute 5 - Appointment of Secretary of Youth Committee, after the Secretary had reported a communication he had received from the staff Standing Committee regarding the advertising of this new appointment, it was

RESOLVED: "That this Minute be approved and adopted subject to the words 'to members of the staff and' being inserted after the word 'sent' in line 2 of paragraph (4)."

On Minute 9 - National Canvass, it was reported that since the meeting of the Youth Committee it had been decided that canvassing should not take place until after the General Election if it occurs in November. In the meantime, Branches were being asked to prepare their local organisation for the Canvass.

(c) Finance Committee. (The Secretary reported) Subject to the following decision on Minute 50, the Minutes of the Committee dated October 8th, 1935, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (48) Youth Groups; (49) Financial Statement; (50) Budget for 1936; (51) Appeals Committee; (52) Communication from Sir Daniel Stevenson; (53) Passing of Cheques for Payment.

On Minute 50 - Budget for 1936, Captain Green, on behalf of the Industrial Advisory Committee, registered a protest that the Budget for 1936 had been drawn up and submitted to the Executive without due notice having been given to the various Sub-Committees. The Secretary reminded the Executive that it was the regular practice of the Finance Committee to prepare the Budget at its meeting in the first week of October of each year. It was

RESOLVED: "That, not later than July 1st in each year, a notice be sent to secretaries of all Sub-Committees reminding them that

the Finance Committee will prepare the Budget for the following year early in October, and that any recommendations regarding the Budget should be made before the end of July."

Mrs. Corbett Ashby suggested that it might be more convenient to members of the Executive if the various items of the Budget were grouped in a more logical order. The Chairman asked Mrs. Corbett Ashby to discuss her proposal with the Secretary or with a member of the Finance Committee.

- (d) Industrial Advisory Committee. (Captain Green reported) Subject to the following decision on Minutes 88 and 91, the Minutes of the Committee dated October 10th, 1935, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (79) Minutes; (80) Membership of Committee; (81) Trades Union Congress, Margate; (82) The Whole Status of Women; (83) Conferences on the I.L.O.; (84) International Labour Conference - Attendance of Minister of Labour; (85) International Federation of Leagues of Nations Societies; (86) Mr. Gillinder's Report; (87) L.N.U. Party to International Labour Conference, 1936; (88) Speakers; (89) Conference on "The I.L.O. and World Planning"; (90) General Council; (91) Pamphlets on the I.L.O.; (92) Industrial Affiliations.

On Minute 88 - Speakers - Memorandum by Chairman and Lady Hall, Captain Green drew the attention of the Executive to the fact that while there was a supply available of speakers who represent the Employer's view, the supply of speakers from the Employer's point of view was entirely inadequate. He therefore urged the appointment of a second whole-time speaker in I.L.O. matters who would specialise in his appeal to employer organisations and L.N.U. Branches.

Lady Layton suggested that some of the Union's regular speakers might be willing to consult together concerning the lines on which speeches might be given on the I.L.O., and it was

RESOLVED: "That the Industrial Advisory Committee be asked to consider Lady Layton's suggestion."

On Minute 91, - Pamphlets on the I.L.O. it was

RESOLVED: "That this Minute be referred to the Editorial Committee for consideration and report."

- (e) Editorial Committee. (Major Buxton reported) Subject to the following report and decision on Minutes 58, 61, 62, and 63, the Minutes of the Committee dated October 10th, 1935, were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (58) Weekly Supplement to "Headway"; (59) Posters; (60) The Abyssinian Pamphlet; (61) The A.B.C. of Air Disarmament; (62) Pamphlet on Sanctions by Mr. Arnold-Forster; (63) Accounts.

On Minute 58 - Weekly Supplement to "Headway", after hearing reports by Lord Allen and Professor Murray it was

RESOLVED: "That this Minute of the Editorial Committee be approved and adopted; that the Committee be asked further to examine the proposal for a weekly supplement to HEADWAY and to prepare a definite scheme for consideration by the Executive at its next meeting; and that, in the meantime, Branches of the Union be asked whether, in the event of a weekly supplement being published, they would be willing to distribute copies."

On Minute 61 - The A.B.C. of Air Disarmament, it was

RESOLVED: "That the resolution contained in this Minute be approved and adopted, subject to its being amended to read as follows:

'That the request of the London Regional Federation be not complied with'.

On Minute 62 - Pamphlet on Sanctions by Mr. Arnold Forster, after considerable discussion, during which the Executive was reminded of the circumstances in which Mr. Arnold Forster had been asked to prepare his paper, it was

RESOLVED: "That Mr. Arnold Forster and either Professor Gilbert Murray or Major Buxton be asked to reduce the pamphlet to eight thousand words; that either Professor Erlerly or Sir John Fischer Williams be asked to give an opinion upon the manuscript; and that, subject to this opinion being satisfactory, the pamphlet as shortened be published."

Mr. Arnold Forster kindly undertook to shorten his paper in collaboration with Professor Murray or Major Buxton.

On Minute 63 - Accounts, it was

RESOLVED: "That this Minute be approved and adopted subject to the deletion of the sentence immediately preceding the resolution."

292. BRANCH RESOLUTION. The Executive received with interest a resolution from the Eccles Branch.

293. MINUTES. Subject to the following report and decision on Minutes 281 (275) and 284, the Minutes of the Committee dated October 10th, 1935, were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 281 - 275 - Broadcast of News Bulletins from Ganava, Lady Gladstone reported that she had communicated the Executive's resolution to Lord Cranborne.

On Minute 284 - Proposed Weekly Edition of HEADWAY, it was

- RESOLVED: (1) "That paragraph (2) of Minute 284 be deleted."  
 (2) "That Mr. Wilson Harris' offer be referred for consideration by the Editorial Committee along with the proposal for a weekly supplement to HEADWAY in Minute 291(e) (58) above."

294. REGIONS COMMITTEE. (Mr. Burris reported) Subject to the following decision on Minutes 12 and 13, the Minutes of the Committee dated October 11th, 1935, were received.

These Minutes included (11) Minutes; (12) Procedure at Council Meetings; (13) General Council; (14) General Council Meeting at Scarborough; (15) National Canvass.

On Minute 12 - Procedure at Council Meetings, it was

RESOLVED: "That this Minute be recommended to the favourable consideration of the President."

On Minute 13 - General Council,

On (3) IV (C) - The Council's Vote Proposals for 1936,

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

On (5) V. Motions on World Affairs, it was reported that the motions submitted by the Tynes District, Darlington Branch, Sussex Federal Council and Haslemere Branch had subsequently been withdrawn. These bodies desired to be associated with the Executive in moving the Executive's resolution.

On (6) 5 - Distribution of Colonial Territories, after considering a draft resolution prepared by the Secretary with a view to embodying in the Executive's motion the points raised in the motion of the Manchester District, it was

RESOLVED: "That no alteration be made in the motion already approved and adopted by the Executive Committee, and that it be left to the discretion of the Manchester District to move their motion as an amendment if they so desire."

On (9) 9 - The Assyrians, the Secretary reported that the Essex Federal Council and Captain Mumford had been unable to accept the amendment to their motion recommended by the Regions Committee, and it was

P.T.O.

RESOLVED. "That the following amendment be moved by the Executive to the Essex Federal Council's motion:

The General Council of the League of Nations Union

Records its appreciation of the action of His Majesty's Government

- (a) in promising \$250,000 towards the cost of settling Assyrians as a colony in Syria in accordance with the offer of the French Government;
- (b) in prevailing upon the Government of Iraq to increase their offer to the same figure; and
- (c) in persuading the League of Nations to vote the balance of the money required."

295. PRELIMINARY AGENDA FOR DECEMBER MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL. The Executive received a proof of the Preliminary Agenda for the meeting of the General Council to be held on December 4th and 5th, 1935.

296. ITALY AND ABYSSINIA. A letter dated 11th October, 1935, from Mr. Eden, in reply to the telegram sent him by the Executive on October 10th, was read.

The Chairman expressed to Sir Austen Chamberlain the thanks of the Committee for the statement which he had made to M. Bertrand de Jouvenel and which had been published in the PARIS SOIR. It was

- RESOLVED: (1) That the Executive warmly endorses Sir Austen Chamberlain's statement published in the PARIS SOIR.
- (2) That a letter be sent to the French Society, drawing their attention to Sir Austen Chamberlain's statement, and asking them to circulate it as widely as possible among their affiliated societies and members, and stating that, if necessary, the Union will be glad to facilitate their obtaining reprints of the statement.
- (3) That a letter on similar lines be sent to the Secretary of the International Federation.
- (4) That an English translation of Sir Austen Chamberlain's statement be prepared and, after being submitted to Sir Austen for his approval be published either in the weekly edition of HEADWAY or as a leaflet."

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297. ALBERT HALL MEETING. The Secretary reported that the Archbishop of Canterbury, Sir Austen Chamberlain, Mr. Herbert Morrison and Lady Violet Bonham Carter had consented to speak at the meeting to be held on October 31st in the Albert Hall. At the request of the Archbishop of Canterbury and with the approval of Sir Austen Chamberlain, a resolution commending the appeal for ambulance work in Ethiopia would be put to the meeting. It was

RESOLVED: (1) That Lord Cecil be also invited to speak at the Albert Hall Meeting.

- (2) That subject to the consent of the Archbishop of Canterbury and Mr. Morrison, the following resolution be proposed to the meeting:

"That this meeting pledges its support for all measures required to maintain the sanctity of the Covenant by international action."

298. GENERAL ELECTION. On the motion of Lord Cecil it was

RESOLVED: "That a Sub-Committee, consisting of Captain Loder, Mr. Noel Baker and Lady Gladstone be appointed to prepare, for consideration by the Executive, a questionnaire for submission to candidates at the forthcoming General Election."

299. MEMEL. The Chairman read to the Executive a letter dated 16th October from Sir Samuel Hoare on the situation in Memel.

CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD  
AT 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, S.W. 1., ON THURSDAY,  
OCTOBER 24TH, 1935, AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Professor Gilbert Murray (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams, Lord Allen, Miss Joyce Ansell, W. Arnold Forster, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, P.J. Noel Baker, Major Anthony Buxton, L.J. Cadbury, Captain Cazalet, Lord Cecil, Sir Austen Chamberlain, Miss K.D. Courtney, Lord Dickinson, Admiral Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss P. Fawcett, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, Dr. Kimmins, Lady Layton, Captain J. de V. Loder, Lord Lytton, G. le M. Mander, Nowell Smith, Lord Rhayader, Councillor H.F. Shaw, Sir Archibald Sinclair, H.S. Syrett, Mrs. Wilson-Fox, Major Lawrence Wright, L.M. Wynch together with the Secretary and the Deputy Secretary.

300. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were reported from Sir Norman Angell, F.M. Burris, the Dean of Chichester, Lord Davies, Miss M. Lloyd George, Captain L.H. Green, Sir John Harris, Sir Arthur Haworth, Commander Lewis and A.G. Walkden.

301. MR. ARTHUR HENDERSON. The Chairman paid a tribute to the late Mr. Arthur Henderson and spoke of his great work in the cause of peace, both as Foreign Secretary and as President of the Disarmament Conference. The Secretary stated that immediately after the announcement of Mr. Henderson's death he had sent a telegram to Mrs. Henderson and had arranged for the Union to be represented at the funeral service which was taking place at Golders Green that morning and for a wreath to be sent. A memorial service was to be held in Westminster Abbey at 12 noon on the following day, October 25th. The Chairman hoped that as many members of the Executive as were able to do so would attend the service. It was

RESOLVED: "That the Chairman be asked to write to Mrs. Henderson, expressing the high regard felt for her late husband by the Executive Committee and the Committee's profound sympathy in her bereavement."

302. MADAME BAKKER VON BOSSE. At the invitation of the Committee, Madame Bakker von Bosse, Vice-President of the Dutch Society, attended the meeting of the Executive.

303. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

(a) Office (Professor Murray reported) The Minutes of the Committee dated October 16th, 1935, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included: (50) Minutes; (51) Typing Room Staff; (52) Mr. V.D.V. Robinson; (53) Mr. Whelen's Work in Geneva; (54) Members of the Staff Standing as Candidates for Parliament; (55) Secretary for Youth-Groups; (56) Mr. Ritchie; (57) Mr. Hubert Beaumont.

- (b) Education Committee. (Dr. Kimmins reported) Subject to the following report and decision on Minutes 130 and 133, the Minutes of the Committee dated October 14th were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (114) Minutes; (115) arising out of the Minutes; (116) The Crisis; (117) Membership of the Committee; (118) National Conference on the Teaching of International Relations; (119) Summer Schools and Conferences; (120) World Federation of Education Associations; (121) New Education Fellowship and the Swiss League of Nations Union; (122) Meetings for Teachers and Schools; (123) Report on Work in Universities and Colleges; (124) Report of the Junior Branches Sub-Committee; (125) Record of Service Cards; (126) Trek Camps Abroad; (127) League of Nations Pioneers Handbook; (128) Proposed Magazine for the Schools; (129) Dr. and Mrs. Costley-White; (130) Junior Branches Conference; (131) Report of the Youth Committee; (132) International Federation of League of Nations Societies; (133) Deputation to the President of the Board of Education; (134) Observance of Armistice Day in the Schools; (135) Howard Gardens High School for Boys, Cardiff; (136) Recognition of Junior Branches; (137) (Educational) Corporate Members.

On Minute 130 - Junior Branches Conference, Miss Ansell expressed the hope that since it was desirable for the work of Youth Groups to be linked more closely with that of Junior Branches, members of Youth Groups would be invited to attend the Conference on November 29th. Dr. Kimmins said that this would be done.

On Minute 133 - Deputation to the President of the Board of Education, it was reported that, owing to the forthcoming General Election, the date of the deputation to the President of the Board of Education had been postponed.

- (c) Library Committee. (Dr. Kimmins reported) The Minutes of the Committee dated October 14th, 1935, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (24) Mr. J.H. Pafford; (25) Minutes; (26) Matters Arising out of Minutes; (27) Report of the Union's Stand at the Library Association Conference Exhibition; (28) Reading Room; (29) Library Equipment; (30) Book List; (31) Consideration of Subscription to the Pariser Tageblatt.

- (d) Christian Organisations Committee. (Admiral Drury-Lows reported) The Minutes of the Committee dated October 16th, 1935 were approved and adopted.



These Minutes included (67) Minutes; (68) Present International Situation; (69) Conference at Lambeth; (70) Archbishop's Hinsley's article on "White against Black in Africa"; (71) Albert Hall Meeting; (72) Effect of Peace Ballot; (73) Vice-Chairman of Committee; (74) Week-end Meetings for General Council; (75) Summer Schools; (76) Sunday Schools; (77) The League and Religious Persecution; (78) Representative of Missionary Societies; (79) Union Speakers-- Communication from Executive Committee; (80) Resolutions; (81) Panel of Preachers; (82) Applications for Corporate Membership.

- (e) Editorial Committee. (Professor Murray reported) The Minutes of the Committee dated October 17th, 1935, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (64) Minutes; (65) I.L.O. Pamphlets; (66) The Spectator; (67) Weekly Supplement to HEADWAY; (68) Statement of Accounts of publications, etc.

304. BANK OVERDRAFT. After hearing a report by the Secretary, it was

RESOLVED: "That, subject to the consent of members of the Finance Committee present at this meeting, the Secretary be authorised to take all necessary action to effect the transfer to the Midland Bank of such additional stock as is necessary to secure a further overdraft of not more than £4,000."

305. RESOLUTIONS. The Executive received resolutions from the Stockport Branch and the Association of Women Clerks and Secretaries. It was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the attention of the Stockport Branch be drawn to the Executive's proposals for the amendment of the Covenant, and that the Branch be informed that the International Law Committee is being consulted on the question how to make it easier, in future, to prevent war under Article 10 or 11 instead of waiting to stop it under Article 16."

(2) "That the Association of Women Clerks and Secretaries be thanked for their resolution."

306. MINUTES. Subject to the following report and decision on Minute 297, the Minutes of the Committee dated October 24th, 1935, were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 297 - Albert Hall Meeting, the Secretary reported that the Archbishop of Canterbury had suggested that the resolution to be submitted to the Albert Hall meeting should be amended to read as follows, and that Sir Austen Chamberlain had accepted this amendment:

"That this meeting pledges itself to support the League of Nations in the measures which it may deem necessary to maintain the provisions of the Covenant by international action."

It was

RESOLVED: (1) "That, subject to the approval of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the words 'the League' be substituted for the word 'it' and the word 'collective' for the word 'international'."

(2) "That the programme for the meeting be as follows:

Archbishop of Canterbury	(15 Minutes)
Sir Austen Chamberlain	(20 " )
Mr. Herbert Morrison	( " " )
Collection (of which the balance after the cost of the meeting has been defrayed, will be given to the Archbishop's fund for ambulance work in Ethiopia)	
Lady Violet Bonham Carter	(20 minutes)
Lord Cecil	( " " )

307. GENERAL ELECTION. The Executive considered a report submitted by the Sub-Committee appointed on October 17th (S.G.7812) recommending action to be taken by the Union in regard to the forthcoming General Election. After considerable discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the following questionnaire be suggested to Branches of the Union for submission to their local candidates for Parliament:

I.

Will you support the use of the whole collective force of the League to put an end to the Italian aggression in Abyssinia?

II.

When the Italo-Abyssinian crisis is over,

(a) Do you agree that the all-round reduction and limitation of armaments by international agreement, including the abolition of "aggressive weapons"\*, should still be the aim of British policy, and will you urge His Majesty's Government to put forward proposals to this end for acceptance by other nations?

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- (b) As part of the disarmament plan to be put forward by His Majesty's Government, will you support proposals for the total abolition of the military and naval air forces of all nations in conjunction with the international control of civil aviation?

## III.

- (1) Are you in favour
- (a) of the elimination of private profit from the production of armaments; or
  - (b) of removing the evil effects attendant upon private manufacture of armaments by measures of public control?
- (2) Will you urge His Majesty's Government to use the machinery of the League of Nations for the purpose of securing agreement to remove or reduce national restrictions to international trade, and to promote international economic co-operation in order to eliminate potential causes of war?
- (3) Will you urge His Majesty's Government to use all their influence to promote social justice and improve conditions of labour through the International Labour Organisation, in all parts of the world?

(for footnotes see annexed print.)

It was further

- RESOLVED: (2) "That a letter be sent to the Branches, as in the 1929 and 1931 elections, explaining the Union's purpose in bringing its views before Candidates for Parliament; insisting upon the importance of avoiding party controversy; suggesting that this questionnaire be placed before all candidates; advising that where the questions are presented by a deputation it should represent all political parties; and requesting Branches or Constituency Correspondents to get the questions and the candidates answers published in the local newspapers."
- (3) "That the questionnaire be published in HEADWAY."
- (4) "That consideration of the Statement upon International Policy, attached to the Subcommittee's report, be adjourned until the next meeting of the Executive."

(During the latter part of the discussion on the above Minute Professor Murray had to leave the meeting, and the Chair was taken by Lady Gladstone)

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308. ITALY AND ABYSSINIA. It was

RESOLVED: (1) "That consideration of Lady Layton's memorandum (S.G.7814) be adjourned until the next meeting; and that, in the meantime, Lady Layton be asked to modify her memorandum in the light of the statements made by Sir Samuel Hoare and Mr. Eden in the House of Commons if she so desires.

Lady Gladstone reported that, at the last meeting of the Committee for the Ethiopian Ambulance Fund an appeal had been made for an aeroplane to convey to the hospitals on the Abyssinian front bandages and other necessities made by Ethiopian women. Through the efforts of Mr. Syrett an anonymous donor had generously undertaken to provide an aeroplane for this purpose. It was

RESOLVED: (2) "That the thanks of the Executive Committee be conveyed to Mr. Syrett and to the anonymous donor.

309. MEETINGS OF EXECUTIVE DURING ELECTION. The Executive were reminded that many members of the Committee would be unable to attend meetings during the period of the General Election. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the Executive Committee continue to meet weekly during the period of the General Election, but that, so far as possible, no controversial decisions be taken at these meetings."

310. DISARMAMENT AND SECURITY. It was

RESOLVED: "That consideration of Mr. Noel Baker's note concerning the statement on naval disarmament made on behalf of H.M. Government in the House of Lords on July 29th, 1935, be adjourned until the next meeting of the Executive at which Mr. Baker is able to be present."

# THE GENERAL ELECTION

NOVEMBER 1935

## I

Will you support the use of the whole collective force of the League to put an end to the Italian aggression in Abyssinia?

## II

When the Italo-Abyssinian crisis is over,

- (a) Do you agree that the all-round reduction and limitation of armaments by international agreement, including the abolition of "aggressive weapons,"\* should still be the aim of British policy, and will you urge His Majesty's Government to put forward proposals to this end for acceptance by other nations?
- (b) As part of the disarmament plan to be put forward by His Majesty's Government, will you support proposals for the total abolition of the military and naval air forces of all nations in conjunction with the international control of civil aviation?†

## III

(1) Are you in favour

- (a) of the elimination of private profit from the production of armaments; or
  - (b) of removing the evil effects attendant upon private manufacture of armaments by measures of public control?
- (2) Will you urge His Majesty's Government to use the machinery of the League of Nations for the purpose of securing agreement to remove or reduce national restrictions upon international trade, and to promote international economic co-operation in order to eliminate potential causes of war?
- (3) Will you urge His Majesty's Government to use all their influence to promote social justice and improve conditions of labour through the International Labour Organisation in all parts of the world?

*For notes see overleaf*

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\* "Aggressive weapons" are understood to include the following:

Chemical and bacteriological warfare and preparations therefor, tanks, heavy artillery, military and naval aircraft, submarines, capital ships over 10,000 tons and all other types of warships having a heavier tonnage than those fixed for each category in the Treaties of Peace.

† The following resolution, proposed by Lord Allen and Sir Austen Chamberlain, M.P., was adopted by the General Council of the Union at its meeting at Cambridge, July 4th, 1935:

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

Declares that the need for limitation, reduction and control of armaments has become more urgent than ever;

Reaffirms in particular its conviction that all-round abolition of national air forces which was proposed on certain conditions in the British draft Convention of March, 1933, is vital to the security of nations against the most sudden and atrocious of all forms of warfare;

Recognises that such abolition will prove unattainable unless coupled with effective measures to prevent the use of civil aviation for military purposes;

Urges His Majesty's Government to press unceasingly and with all its influence for the total abolition of all national air forces in the shortest possible time, and to indicate its detailed proposals for the international control or internationalisation of civil aviation; and

If these objects are found to be impracticable unless the system of international control of civil aviation is supplemented by provisions for the maintenance (as part of that system) of an air force or air forces to prevent the use of civil aircraft for military purposes, the Council further urges His Majesty's Government to examine, through the Air Commission set up by the Disarmament Conference, how such a force or forces may be established; and

Calls upon the Executive to press for an immediate statement from the Government with regard to the procedure above outlined."

X Admiral Denry-Lowe

C.13  
1.11.35

CONFIDENTIAL

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD  
AT 6, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W. 1., ON THURSDAY,  
OCTOBER 31ST, 1935 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Professor Gilbert Murray (in the Chair), Miss Joyce Ansell, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Major Anthony Baxton, L.J. Cadbury, Captain Victor Cazale, Lord Cecil, Miss K.D. Courtney, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss P. Fawcett, Lady Gladstone, Captain L.H. Green, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, Lady Layton, Commander Norman Lewis, Lord Lytton, Nowell Smith, Professor C.K. Webster, Mrs. Wilson-Fox, Major Lawrence Wright together with the Secretary and the Deputy Secretary.

311. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Vyvyan Adams, Sir Norman Angell, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, F.M. Burris, Lord Davies, Sir Arthur Haworth, Dr. Klamms, Miss M. Lloyd George, G. le M. Mander, H.S. Syrett and L.M. Wynch.

312. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

(a) Overseas Committee. (Lady Gladstone reported)  
The Minutes of the Committee dated October 23rd, 1935, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (31) Colonel Carnegie; (32) Autumn Meetings of the Federation; (33) Emigre Societies and the Federation; (34) Composition of the Committee for 1936; (35) Union Speakers; (36) Overseas Report; (37) Albert Hall Meeting.

(b) Women's Advisory Council. (Lady Gladstone reported)  
Subject to the following decision on Minute 583, the Minutes of the Council dated October 23rd, 1935 were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (579) Reports of Representatives; (580) Applications for Corporate Associate-ship; (581) Y.W.C.A. Celebrations; (582) Abyssinia: Red Cross Work; (583) Italo-Abyssinian Dispute; (584) Nationality and Status of Women; (585) Refugees.

On Minute 583 -- Italo-Abyssinian Dispute, it was

RESOLVED: "That, subject to the deletion of the words 'women's organisations represented on the' in the first line of the resolution, this Minute be approved and adopted; and that the resolution, as amended, be forwarded to the French League of Nations Society."

(c) National Canvass Committee. (Dr. Garnett reported)  
The Minutes of the Committee dated October 25th, 1935 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (1) action already taken; (2) literature; (3) further action. 7

313. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Executive received resolutions from the Bovey Tracey Branch and the London Regional Federation. It was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Bovey Tracey Branch and the London Regional Federation be thanked for their resolutions."

The Secretary reported that the Sedgley Branch had asked that the following resolution should be submitted to the Albert Hall Meeting:

"This Committee representing the Sedgley and Gornals Branch is against the use of military sanctions and takes exception to their being used."

It was

RESOLVED: (2) "That the Sedgley Branch be informed that the resolutions to be submitted to the Albert Hall Meeting have already been drafted and approved by each of the speakers, and that the Executive is therefore unable to accede to their request."

314. MINUTES. Subject to the following report on Minutes 301 and 307, the Minutes of the Committee dated October 24th, 1935, were approved as circulated.

On Minute 301 - Mr. Arthur Henderson, a letter was reported from the Secretary of the Austrian League of Nations Society expressing the Society's sympathy at the loss sustained by the Union in the death of Mr. Arthur Henderson.

On Minute 307 - General Election, it was reported that, with the approval of the Chairman, consideration of the draft statement upon International Policy had been adjourned until after the General Election.

315. ITALY AND ABYSSINIA (a) The Executive considered a memorandum by Lady Layton (S.G.7614a) which she had revised in the light of the statements made by Sir Samuel Hoare and Mr. Eden in the House of Commons. The attention of the Committee was drawn to several quotations from the speech delivered by Mr. Baldwin at Wolverhampton on October 28th. It was suggested that a private letter should be sent to Mr. Baldwin, drawing his attention (1) to the impression, doubtless quite mistaken, that he contemplated the failure of the League of Nations and its replacement by some new body with a different constitution, as well as to (2) the doubt whether H.M. Government remained firm in their determination to enforce peace by the League's collective action. The letter might remind Mr. Baldwin of President Roosevelt's proclamation and its assurance that the United States would

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do nothing to hamper the enforcement of peace by the League. After discussion, in the course of which a letter from Sir Austen Chamberlain was read, it was

- RESOLVED: (1) "The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union urges that in no circumstances should His Majesty's Government countenance any proposals more favourable to Italy than were obtainable by peaceful negotiation before the invasion of Abyssinia."
- (2) "That the Chairman be asked to write privately to Mr. Baldwin on the lines suggested by the Committee; and that the letter be sent in time to reach the Prime Minister before he makes his speech to the Annual Meeting of the Peace Society in the Guildhall."
- (3) "That the Report of the League's Committee of Five be published in the form of a leaflet."

(b) PARIS SOIR In reply to a question, the Secretary stated that Sir Austen Chamberlain's interview with the PARIS SOIR had been published in HEADWAY and in the first (sample) edition of the weekly bulletin. M. Prudhommeaux, the Secretary of the French League of Nations Society, had reported that the interview had attracted the greatest possible attention in France and since the PARIS SOIR had a circulation of some one-and-a-quarter millions he did not think the French Society could do anything to give Sir Austen's statement wider publicity than it had already enjoyed. It was

RESOLVED: (4) "That a copy of Sir Austen Chamberlain's interview with the PARIS SOIR be sent to every Parliamentary candidate."

(c) Insurance of Italian Ships at Lloyds. The Secretary reported his recent correspondence with Major Lawrence Wright and with Dr. Leslie Burgin regarding the conditions under which Italian ships were continuing to be insured at Lloyds. It was

RESOLVED: "That, subject to any further information which Major Wright may supply, the following questions be submitted to the International Law Committee for consideration at their next meeting:

- (i) Do the Orders-in-Council published on Saturday, October 26th, prevent Italian ships from continuing to be insurable at Lloyds?
- (ii) Would the use of armed force by this country and other States Members to protect the covenants of the League against Italian aggression, create a state of war between Great Britain and Italy within the meaning

See Minute 321



*X and the Annual I.L.O. Congress*

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of Lloyd's policies at present in force between British underwriters and Italian steamship owners?

316. MEMEL. Captain Cazalet reported on his recent visit to Memel. The present situation in the Memel Territory was, he felt, purely artificial and could not last. Unless the question was settled before many months were passed, it would once again become an international issue of the first order. Captain Cazalet thought that the League had a great opportunity in the present case of showing that it was not only interested in restraining and condemning but also was prepared, under Article 19, to examine whether a mistake had not been made in the Peace Treaties in handing over the Memel Territory to a foreign Power. He referred to a memorandum which he had prepared on the subject, and it was

RESOLVED: "That Captain Cazalet's memorandum be circulated for consideration by the Executive at its next meeting; and that, after the General Election, the question of sending a deputation to wait upon the Foreign Secretary on the subject of Memel be considered."

317. SALE OF LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION LITERATURE AT GENEVA. The Executive considered a memorandum (S.G.7793a) by Admiral Drury-Lowe suggesting that the Union should make arrangements for its publications to be on sale in Geneva for the benefit of English speaking visitors to the assembly, and Secretariat. It was

RESOLVED: "That Admiral Drury-Lowe's suggestion be approved; and that the Secretary be asked to communicate with M. Nivelle and with Herr Schnabel (Chief of the League's Publications Department) on the subject."

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LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

C.13  
11.11.35.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT 6, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W. 1., ON THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 7TH, 1935, AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Professor Murray (in the Chair), Miss Joyce Ansell, Michael Barkway, Major Anthony Buxton, Lord Cecil, Miss K.D. Courtney, Lord Dickinson, Admiral Drury-Lowe, Miss P. Fawcett, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, Lord Lytton, Nowell Smith, H.S. Syrett, Professor Webster, Major Lawrence Wright, L.M. Wynch, together with the Secretary and Deputy Secretary.

318. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Vyvyan Adams, Sir Norman Ansell, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, F.M. Burris, L.J. Cadbury, the Dean of Chichester, Lord Davise, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss M. Lloyd George, Captain Green, Sir Edward Grigg, Sir Arthur Haworth, Dr. C.W. Kimmins, Lady Layton, Commander Norman Lewis, A.G. Walkden and Mrs. Wilson-Fox.

319. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

(a) Appeals Committee. (Dr. Garnett reported) The Minutes of the Committee dated October 30th, 1935, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (10) International Ball, 1935; (11) International Ball, 1936; (12) Report of Appeals Department; (13) Christmas Appeal.

(b) Editorial Committee. (Major Buxton reported) The Minutes of the Committee dated October 31st, 1935, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (70) Peace Baby Scheme; (71) Weekly Supplement to "Heraldway"; (72) Leaflet Produced by the Ligue Internationale des Mères et des éducatrices pour la Paix; (73) Reprints; (74) Posters.

(c) Christian Organisations Committee. The Secretary reported that, after considering a communication from the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Committee had decided to postpone until the first week in February the meeting which was to have been held in the Albert Hall on December 2nd.

320. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Executive received three resolutions which had been adopted by the Executive Committee of the Welsh National Council on 25th October, 1935. It was

RESOLVED: "That the 'Welsh Executive' be thanked for their resolutions and that they be informed that the Executive Committee has expressed its general agreement with the tone of the resolutions."

P.T.O.

321. MINUTES. Subject to the inclusion of Admiral Drury-Lowe's name in the list of apologies for absence, and subject also to the following report and decision on Minutes 315 and 317, the Minutes of the Committee dated October 31st, 1935, were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 315(a) - Italy and Abyssinia, the Chairman read to the Executive the letter he had written to Mr. Baldwin on October 31st. Mr. Baldwin, in his reply, had suggested that Professor Murray should discuss the points raised in his letter with Sir Samuel Hoare, and he had accordingly arranged to see the Foreign Secretary at 11.45 that morning.

Lord Lytton reported to the Executive a conversation he had had with Mr. Baldwin on Friday, November 1st after he had received Professor Murray's letter. It was

RESOLVED: "That the Chairman be asked to convey to Mr. Baldwin the Executive's deep appreciation of his speech to the Peace Society on October 31st."

(At the close of the meeting Professor Murray returned from the Foreign Office and gave a detailed report of his conversation with Sir Samuel Hoare.)

On Minute 315(b) PARIS SOIR, the Chairman stated that, for several reasons which he explained to the Committee, he had thought it right to withhold action on the decision taken by the Executive at its last meeting in regard to the circulation of Sir Austen Chamberlain's interview with the PARIS SOIR to every Parliamentary candidate until the Committee had had an opportunity of reconsidering their decision. After discussion, in the course of which it was suggested that a copy of the first edition of the weekly bulletin containing Sir Austen Chamberlain's interview as well as articles by Sir Norman Angell and the Archbishop of Canterbury should be sent to Parliamentary candidates, it was

RESOLVED: "That the decision contained in Minute 315(b) (4) be rescinded; and that, after the General Election, the question of sending Sir Austen Chamberlain's interview with the PARIS SOIR to all Members of Parliament be considered."

On Minute 317 - Sale of League of Nations Union Literature at Geneva, it was

RESOLVED: "That the words 'and the Annual I.L.C. Congress' be inserted after the word 'assembly'."

322. ITALY AND ABYSSINIA.

(a) Albert Hall Meeting. The Secretary reported that the meeting held in the Albert Hall on October 31st had been most successful. More than six thousand people were present and the two resolutions had been adopted

with only some two or three dissentients. The resolution dealing with policy had been communicated to H.M. Government. The collection taken at the meeting had realised £135 and sixty new members had been enrolled, six of whom had promised to subscribe £1 and many of the remainder five shillings. But the proceeds from the sale of tickets and from the collection fell short by £52 of the cost of the meeting, and there had thus been nothing to send to the Archbishop's fund for Ambulance Service in Ethiopia. It was, on the motion of Mr. Surett,

RESOLVED: (1)"That a donation of £25 from the collection taken up at the Albert Hall be sent to the Archbishop's Fund for Ambulance Service in Ethiopia."

It was further

RESOLVED: (2)"That a summary of the speeches at the Albert Hall meeting be printed in HEADWAY."

(3)"That the congratulations and thanks of the Executive be conveyed to Miss Bruce for her successful organisation of the meeting."

(At this point Professor Murray had to leave the meeting and the Chair was taken by Lord Cecil.)

- (b) Financial Assistance for Abyssinia. Mr. Syrett reported conversations he had had concerning the possibility of obtaining financial help in this country for Ethiopia. There was a sympathetic feeling in the City and some financial aid might be given. He would like to know whether the Executive thought that financial assistance might also be forthcoming from America.

Sir John Harris, who had been informed of the requests of the Emperor for financial assistance and of possible securities for a loan, said that he would discuss this matter with Mr. Syrett.

Lord Cecil felt that the business of the League was to stop the war rather than to assist the party attacked. He would hesitate to take any action in this matter unless the approval of the Foreign Office had first been obtained. It was

RESOLVED: "That the Secretary be asked to enquire of the Foreign Office how H.M. Government would regard an offer of financial assistance to Abyssinia from the City of London."

323. MEMBL. The Executive had before them a memorandum (S.G.7849) on the subject of Membl prepared by Captain Cazalet. Two amendments desired by Captain Cazalet were made in the paper. It was

RESOLVED: "That consideration of the memorandum on Memel be adjourned until the next meeting of the Executive at which Captain Cazalet is able to be present."

324. GENERAL ELECTION. The Executive received a report (S.G.7854) by Mr. Eppstein on the organisation for the General Election. Major Lawrence Wright stated that a circular letter had been sent to all the Election Committees in the London Regional Federation's area, asking for information concerning the action they had already taken or proposed to take in regard to the Election. The replies to these letters were to be considered at a meeting to be held at 10.30 a.m. the following day. Major Wright invited Mr. Eppstein to attend this meeting.

Lord Cecil urged that Branches of the Union should arrange for their candidates' replies to the questionnaires to be read out at any public meetings held under their auspices, especially if they were received too late for publication in the local press.

325. LORD CECIL'S OPEN LETTER TO LORD STAMFORD. Lord Cecil read to the Executive the open letter which he had sent to Lord Stamford from his private address on 28th October, and which had subsequently been published in the press. He stated that he had arranged for copies of the letter to be sent, as from himself, to the Union's Constituency Correspondents and to local National Declaration Committees. It was

RESOLVED: "That the Secretary be asked to make enquiries of the British Broadcasting Corporation with a view to arranging for a broadcast talk to be given by Lord Cecil on the lines of his letter to Lord Stamford."

326. CONGRESS OF PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP WITH THE U.S.S.R. The Committee considered a communication from the Secretary of the Congress of Peace and Friendship with the U.S.S.R. requesting the Union to supply copies of the programme of a Conference to be held in London on December 7th and 8th to the delegates attending the December meeting of the General Council. A letter from Lord Listowel to Professor Murray on this subject was read to the Executive. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the Chairman be asked to inform Lord Listowel that the Executive Committee regrets it is unable to accede to his request for copies of the programme of the Conference to be circulated to the delegates attending the December meeting of the General Council; but that the Editor of HEADWAY is being asked to include a note on the subject in the December issue. On the motion of Lord Lytton it was

327. MR. HAAS.  
RESOLVED: "That the Secretary be asked to write to M. Ayonol, expressing the Committee's sympathy in the death of Mr. Haas, Director of the League's Transit and Communications section."

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16.11.35.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT NO. 6, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W. 1., ON THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 14TH, 1935 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Professor Gilbert Murray (in the Chair), Miss Joyce Ansell, Lord Cecil, the Dean of Winchester, Admiral Drury-Lowe, Miss P. Fawcett, Sir John Harris, Commander Norman Lewis, Nowell Smith, Professor C.K. Webster, Mrs. Wilson-Fox, Major Lawrence Wright, L.M. Wynch, together with the Secretary and Deputy Secretary.

328. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Vyvyan Adams, Sir Norman Ansell, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, F.M. Burris, Major Anthony Buxton, L.J. Cadbury, Miss K.D. Courtney, Lord Davies, Captain L.H. Green, Sir Edward Grigg, Sir Arthur Haworth, Major Hills, Lady Layton, Lord Lytton, and A.G. Walkden.

329. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

(a) Youth Committee. (Miss Ansell reported) Subject to the following decision on Minutes 19, 24 and 25, the Minutes of the committee dated November 2nd, 1935, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (15) Minutes; (16) Youth Groups; (17) Miss J.V. Corcoran; (18) Scottish Youth Groups National Council; (19) Report of "Youth" Sub-Committee; (20) Report of Sub-Committee on the Organisation of the First National Youth Groups Council; (21) Representative on the Education Committee; (22) Representative on the Branches Committee; (23) World Congress of Youth; (24) Co-operation with other Youth Organisations; (25) Resolution of the Dewsbury Youth Group Committee.

On Minute 19 -- Report of "Youth" Sub-Committee, it was

RESOLVED: "That this Minute be referred for consideration and report by the Editorial Committee; and that a member of the Youth Committee be invited to attend the Editorial Committee when this subject is under discussion."

On Minute 24 -- Co-operation with other Youth Organisations, it was

RESOLVED: "That this Minute be referred for consideration and report by the Branches Committee; and that the resolutions concerning Peace Day be also referred for consideration and report by the Christian Organisations Committee."

P.T.O.

On Minute 25 - Resolution of the Dewsbury Youth Group Committee, it was

RESOLVED. "That this Minute be received."

- (b) Religions and Ethics Committee. (Professor Murray reported) The Minutes of the Committee dated November 5th, 1935, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (20) Minutes; (21) Series of Lectures, 1936; (22) Youth Group Meetings; (23) Union Speakers - Communication from Executive Committee; (24) Composition of Committee, 1936; (25) Corporate Membership; (26) Corporate Members' Annual Observance Day.

- (c) Christian Organisations Committee. (The Dean of Chichester reported) Subject to the following report on Minutes 85 and 88, the Minutes of the Committee dated November 6th, 1935, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (84) Minutes; (85) Albert Hall Meeting; (86) Panel of Preachers; (87) Resolutions; (88) Service in St. Paul's Cathedral; (89) Applications for Corporate Membership.

On Minute 85 - Albert Hall Meeting, the Dean of Chichester reported that he had seen the Archbishop of Canterbury who was more favourably inclined to a meeting early in the New Year, especially if the meeting was to be devoted to an attempt to focus Christian opinion all over the world on the subject of peace. An option had therefore been obtained on the Albert Hall for the evening of February 4th. The Secretary was directed to consult the authorities of the Albert Hall about possible improvements in the arrangement of the loud-speakers.

On Minute 88 - Service in St. Paul's Cathedral, the Secretary read to the Committee a letter dated November 9th from the Dean of St. Paul's concerning the proposed Thanksgiving Service.

- (d) Branches Committee. (Professor Murray reported) The Minutes of the Committee dated November 7th, 1935, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (60) Minutes; (61) Branches; (62) Junior Branches; (63) Corporate Members; (64) Corporate and Industrial Associates; (65) Membership; (66) Youth Committee; (67) National Institute of Industrial Psychology.

330. MINUTES. Subject to the following report and decision on Minutes 324 and 325, the Minutes of the Committee dated November 7th, 1935, were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 324 - General Election, Mr. Epstein spoke of the difficulty experienced by certain constituencies in obtaining publicity for the answers given by Parliamentary candidates to the Union's questionnaire. It was

RESOLVED: "That, after the Election, consideration be given to the question of publishing in pamphlet form the answers given by elected Members to the Union's questionnaire."

On Minute 325 -- Lord Cecil's Open Letter to Lord Stamford, the Secretary reported that after the last meeting of the Executive he had spoken to Mr. Michael Barkway who was of the opinion that it was unlikely that the B.B.C. would be able to arrange for a broadcast talk by Lord Cecil on the lines of his letter to Lord Stamford. Dr. Garnett had subsequently consulted the Chairman who had decided that no further action should be taken.

331. MESSAGE FROM GENERAL SMUTS. The Secretary read to the Committee the following extract from a letter dated 21st October, 1935, which he had received from General Smuts.

"I wish to congratulate the League of Nations Union for the very fine part it has been playing in recent times, and for the marked effect which its propaganda has produced on public opinion.

The British Government has served the cause of the world and the League well, and one cannot help feeling proud of Eden and the stand he has made on behalf of the collective system and of legality in international affairs. The application of the sanctions policy in actual fact is an enormous step in advance, and I trust will have a marked effect not only in the Abyssinian case, but also in other future cases, and will serve as a warning against international adventures of this kind in future.

I hope that the Union will go from strength to strength, and after the very hardest battle in the finest of all causes, will begin to see daylight at last.

It was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Secretary be asked to convey to General Smuts the Executive Committee's deep appreciation of his message."

(2) "That the message be printed in HEADWAY and in SPEAKERS' NOTES."

332. ITALY AND ABYSSINIA.

(a) Financial Assistance for Abyssinia. The Secretary reported a conversation which Mr. Epstein had had with a member of the Foreign Office who, although he was unable to give an official opinion, believed P.T.O.



that the Foreign Office would favour the raising of money privately in the City of London for Abyssinia.

Sir John Harris reported a conversation which had taken place at Addis Abbaba on 10th March, 1932 between the emperor, Lord Noel Buxton and Lord Polwarth. A proposal for a loan to Abyssinia had been discussed on that occasion, and reference was made by the Emperor to a considerable sum of money which he claimed was owing to Abyssinia by Great Britain and which he hoped would be paid out of the Government's accumulated annuities. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That informal enquiries be made of the Foreign Office with a view to obtaining information concerning the alleged debt to Abyssinia, and in particular on the question whether the debt is owing by Great Britain alone or by Great Britain jointly with Egypt."

- (b) Supply of Oil to Italy. The Committee discussed the question of the supply of water and oil to Italy. Professor Murray reported a recent conversation with Professor Shotwell who expressed the opinion that if Great Britain and the other Members of the League would agree to prohibit the supply of oil to Italy, the United States would be ready to take similar action. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That Lord Cecil be asked to write to Mr. Eden on the question of withholding supplies of oil from Italy."

- (c) Raw Materials. The Committee discussed the problem of colonial territories. The opinion was expressed that the Executive should take an early opportunity of examining the problem of free access to raw materials in colonial, protected and mandated territories for industrial countries which require them, to which Sir Samuel Hoare had referred in his speech at Geneva on September 11th.

333. DECEMBER MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL. The Executive Committee considered amendments to motions in section 5 of the Preliminary Agenda for the General Council, together with two urgency motions submitted by Branches on the subject of Italy and Abyssinia. It was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Sub-Committee appointed by the Executive on March 26th, 1935, to consider the political resolutions for the International Federation, be asked to consider the amendments received to the motions contained in the General Council's agenda and, in the light of the Executive's comments set forth below, to recommend what, if any, further amendments should be submitted by the Executive."

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- (2) "That the Sub-Committee be also asked to draft, for consideration by the Executive, a resolution on the subject of Italy and Abyssinia for submission to the General Council as an urgency motion."

On Resolution 2(a) Colonial Territories, the Secretary reported that he had written to Professor Brodetsky, suggesting that he should withdraw his amendment in favour of that submitted by the Manchester District Council.

On Resolution 5 - Revision of the Covenant, the Executive were of the opinion that it would be unwise to suggest amendments to the Covenant until after the Italo-Abyssinia dispute had been settled. It was suggested that the Council should be reminded that the Executive is giving constant attention to this question and that reference should be made to the Report already prepared on the subject.

On Resolution 7 - Air Raid Drill, the Executive while recognising that it is the duty of the Government to take all precautions by means of air drill, were of opinion that the only way of effectively protecting the country against attack from the air is to secure the general abolition of national military and naval aircraft, and that the recommendation of defensive precautions against aircraft is, at the best, only a means of palliating the evil effects of air raids.

On Resolution 10 - Tribunal and International Police Force, the Executive were of opinion that the previous question should be moved in regard to this motion.

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LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

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MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W. 1., ON THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 21st, 1935, AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT. Professor Gilbert Murray (in the Chair) Vyvyan Adams, Lord Allen, Miss Joyce Ansell, W. Arnold-Forster, F.J. Noel Baker, Michael Barkway, Major Anthony Buxton, L.J. Cadbury, Lord Cecil, Miss K.D. Courtney, Admiral Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss P. Fawcett, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, Sir Arthur Haworth, Dr. Kimmins, Lady Layton, Captain J. de V. Loder, Lord Lytton, Nowell Smith, Lord Rhayader, H.S. Syrett, A.G. Walkden, Mrs. Wilson-Fox, Major Lawrence Wright, L.M. Wynch together with the Secretary and Deputy Secretary.

334. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Sir Norman Angell, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, F.M. Burris, Sir Austen Chamberlain, Lord Davies, Miss M. Lloyd George, Captain L.H. Green, Commander Norman Lewis, G. le M. Mander and Sir Archibald Sinclair.

335. MR. A.G. WALKDEN. The Chairman welcomed Mr. A.G. Walkden who was attending the Executive for the first time.

336. REPORT OF COMMITTEE.

International Law Committee. (Professor Murray reported) The Minutes of the Committee dated November 12th, 1935, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (112) Unanimity under the Covenant; (113) International Suppression of Acts of Terrorism; (114) Insurance of Italian Ships by British Underwriters; (115) Composition of Committee for 1936.

337. LUNCHEON TO FRENCH ANCIENS COMBATTANTS. Lady Gladstone reported that a party of some sixty French Anciens Combattants, including five Deputies, had arranged to visit London at their own expense on Saturday 23rd November, for the purpose of laying a wreath on the Cenotaph, on the Unknown Warrior's Tomb, and on Mr. Arthur Henderson's grave. The leader of the deputation was M. Camille Planche, Depute de l'Allier. The Union had been invited by the Foreign Office to extend a welcome and hospitality to the party. Lady Gladstone described the arrangements which had been made by Dame Adelaide Livingstone on behalf of the Welcome Committee to entertain the delegates at luncheon and to show them round London in the afternoon. Lord Cecil and Professor Murray would speak at the luncheon, and a representative of the Foreign Office, together with Major Atlee, Dr. Hugh Dalton, and possibly Sir Frederick Maurice, as well as members of the Executive Committee, would be present.

Mr. Syrett expressed his willingness to arrange for the party to be shown over the Guildhall on Saturday afternoon. It was

RESOLVED: "That an expenditure of not more than £15 by the Union be authorised for the luncheon to the French Anciens Combattants."

338. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Executive received resolutions from the Ripon Branch, the Thirsk, Boroughbridge and Ripon Branches, and the Edinburgh Branch. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Ripon Branch be thanked for their resolution and be informed of the opinion expressed by Sir Arthur Salter to the Executive Committee on August 29th last.

(2) "That the Thirsk, Boroughbridge and Ripon Branches be informed that, if they are prepared subject to a satisfactory speaker being forthcoming to arrange a large open-air rally, every endeavour will be made to find such a speaker immediately."

(3) "That at the next meeting of the Executive the question of appointing a Sub-Committee to examine Sir Thomas Holland's proposals regarding the Mineral Sanction be considered"

339. MINUTES. The Minutes of the Committee dated November 14th, 1935, were confirmed as circulated.

340. GENERAL ELECTION. The Secretary reported that Mr. Beaumont, Mr. Birch and Mr. Brinton, who had resigned their appointments with the Union in order to stand as Parliamentary Candidates, had been unsuccessful in the General Election. It was

RESOLVED. "That Mr. Birch be re-appointed to the Union's staff as from Friday, November 15th; that Mr. Beaumont be re-appointed as from Monday, November 18th; and that, subject to the approval of the Kent and Surrey Federal Council, Mr. Brinton be re-appointed as from Monday, November 18th.

341. THE FAR EAST. Lord Lytton referred to the situation in the Far East which had again become a matter of great urgency and importance. It ought to be dealt with under the Covenant if that were possible, or failing that, under the Washington Nine Power Treaty, which provided that no change should be made in the situation in the Far East without a general consultation of the signatories and gave a right to any signatory to call attention to any such change. If the Executive agreed that action under the Washington Treaty might be desirable, the Committee might perhaps ask the Foreign Secretary to receive a deputation in order to discuss the question.

Lord Cecil was of the opinion that, although Japan was no longer a Member of the League, the situation in the Far East could be dealt with under Article 11 or Article 17 of the Covenant.

Lord Lytton went on to suggest that, since the Japanese representatives were shortly coming to this country to discuss the Naval Treaty, the present was an opportune moment to discuss the situation in the Far East. The United States officials with whom he had spoken during his recent visit to America, had said that America was determined not to discuss the Naval Treaty at all until Japan had agreed to a discussion of the whole political situation in the Far East. They had expressed the hope that H.M. Government would adopt a similar line. Lord Lytton had reported these conversations to Sir John Simon, Mr. Eden and Lord Stanhope immediately after his return from America in March ~~See~~ Minute 82 of March 28th, 1932.

Lord Cecil stated that he had an appointment to see the Foreign Secretary and Mr. Eden at 3.30 on Monday, November 25th, in order to discuss the question of withholding supplies of oil from Italy and the possibility of severing communications between Italy and Africa. He suggested that, if the Foreign Secretary agreed, Lord Lytton might accompany him in order to discuss the situation in the Far East. It was

- RESOLVED: (1) "That, for the present, the 'Far East' appear as a regular item on the agenda of the Executive Committee."
- (2) "That the Secretary be asked to enquire whether Sir Samuel Hoare would be good enough to receive Lord Lytton as well as Lord Cecil at 3.30 p.m. on Monday, November 25th, in order that the situation in the Far East might also be discussed."
- (3) "That Lord Lytton be invited to make a statement to the General Council on the situation in the Far East on Wednesday, December 4th."

342. GENERAL COUNCIL. The Executive considered the amendments to motions in Section V of the Preliminary Agenda, together with an urgency motion on Italy and Abyssinia, drafted by the Sub-Committee in accordance with Minute 333 of the last meeting. It was

RESOLVED:

Italy and Abyssinia.

"That the following be submitted as an urgency motion by the Executive:

- (a) The General Council of the League of Nations Union

Convinced of the paramount importance of vindicating the authority of the League in the present

crisis by effective restraint of the aggressor;

Requests H.M. Government to do its best to ensure that the League shall take all necessary measures for this purpose, and, should economic pressure fail in a short time in attaining its end, to make it clear, in such a way and at such a time as the Government may think desirable, that this country is ready, under the collective authority of the League, to join in cutting Italy's communications with Africa.

The General Council expresses the hope that any future negotiations with Italy will be carried on through the organs of the League, and that in no circumstances will His Majesty's Government countenance any proposals more favourable to Italy than were obtainable by peaceful negotiation before the invasion of Abyssinia.

- (b) The General Council of the League of Nations Union is of opinion that the supply of petroleum and its derivatives from sources under British control to Italy should be stopped immediately irrespective of the action taken by other countries.

2(a) Colonial Territories.

- (1) "That, subject to the inclusion of a reference to Sir Samuel Hoare's broadcast talk to the United States on October 15th, the amendment drafted by the Sub-Committee be approved; but that it be left to the Chairman to decide whether the amendment shall be submitted in the name of the Executive or in his own name."
- (2) "That the amendment by the Manchester District Council be supported; but that the amendments by Admiral Drury-Lowe and the Northamptonshire Federal Council be not supported."

3. Nutrition and Health.

"That the amendment suggested by Mrs. Dugdale to paragraph 3 be supported."

4. Further Development of the League of Nations
5. Revision of the Covenant
8. Military Forces in Danger Zones
6. Assyrians
7. Air Raid Drill

"That the recommendations of the Sub-Committee be approved and adopted."

343. ITALY AND ABYSSINIA.

- (a) Communication from Signor Giannini. Lord Cecil reported a letter which he had received from Signor Giannini, President of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies, complaining of the cartoons

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which had appeared on the cover of the current issue of HEADLINE and the QUARTERLY NEWS. Lord Cecil said that, in replying to Signor Giannini, he would draw his attention to the attacks on Great Britain which had appeared in the Italian press and to the fact that, under the Covenant, Italy had committed an act of war against this country.

(b) Alleged British debt to Abyssinia. The Secretary read to the Committee a letter dated 18th November from Mr. Keiper of the Foreign Office, stating that "the question of the 'annuity' raised in the interview of Lord Noel Buxton with Selassie makes a very long story, but the short answer is that H.M. Government do not regard themselves as being under any obligation to pay any annuity to Abyssinia in respect of the Nile; that they are not doing so; and that, except as part of a final agreement for the utilisation of Lake Tsana as a storage reservoir, neither they nor their partner in the enterprise (Egypt) have any intention of doing so."

344. DRAFT STATEMENT ON INTERNATIONAL POLICY. It was

RESOLVED: "That consideration of the Draft Statement on International Policy be adjourned until the next meeting at which Sir Austen Chamberlain can be present."

345. PARIS SOIR. In accordance with Minute 321 of November 7th, the Executive considered a proposal that copies of Sir Austen Chamberlain's interview with the PARIS SOIR should be sent to all Members of Parliament. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the proposal to send copies of Sir Austen Chamberlain's interview with the PARIS SOIR to all Members of Parliament be approved."

346. JOINT MEETING OF ROTARY INTERNATIONAL AND THE UNION. The Secretary reported that a joint meeting of Rotary International and the Union would be held at 11.45 a.m. on Tuesday, December 10th. Admiral Drury-Lowe who had been one of the Union's representatives at previous meetings was unable to be present on December 10th. It was

RESOLVED: "That Major Lawrence Wright, Captain Green and Mr. Syrett be invited to represent the Union at the joint meeting with Rotary International on December 10th."

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MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD  
AT 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W. 1., ON THURSDAY,  
NOVEMBER 28TH, 1935 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Professor Gilbert Murray (in the Chair), Miss Joyce Ansell, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Michael Barkway, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, F.M. Burris, Major Anthony Buxton, L.J. Cadbury, Captain Victor Cazalet, Lord Cecil, Sir Austen Chamberlain, Miss K.D. Courtney, Lord Dickinson, Admiral Drury-Lowe, Miss P. Fowcett, Lady Gladstone, Captain L.H. Green, Lady Hall, Dr. Kirrmins, Commander Norman Lewis, Captain J. de V. Leder, Lord Lytton, G. le M. Mander, Nowell Smith, Lord Rhyader, Sir Archibald Sinclair, Mrs. Wilson-Pox, Major Lawrence Wright together with the Secretary and Deputy Secretary.

1347. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Lord Allen, P.J. Noel Baker, Lord Davies, Mrs. Dugdale, Lady Layton, Sir John Power and A.G. Walkden.

348. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

(a) Economic Committee. (Dr. Garnett reported) Subject to the following decision on Minute 27, the Minutes of the Committee dated November 15th, 1935, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (26) Minutes; (27) Raw Materials, Population Problems and Territorial Expansion; (28) Stabilisation of Exchange Rates and the Reduction of Barriers to International Trade.

On Minute 27 - Raw Materials, Population Problems and Territorial Expansion, Dr. Garnett reminded the Committee of the second resolution (No. 2(b) on the Agenda paper) on the subject of Colonial Territories to be submitted by the Executive to the General Council and asked for the authority of the Executive, subject to the approval of the Editorial Committee, to print the memorandum prepared by Mr. Birch for the information of members of the General Council. Dr. Garnett stated that a statistical appendix on the growth of populations was in course of preparation and after having been approved by the Chairman of the Economic Committee would be included in the memorandum. Sir Austen Chamberlain suggested several amendments in the memorandum, and, after discussion, it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the thanks of the Executive be conveyed to Mr. Birch for his admirable paper."

(2) "That, account being taken of the amendments suggested and subject to the approval of the Editorial Committee, the



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memorandum together with the appendix now being prepared, be published as a Union pamphlet."

- (b) Library Committee. (Dr. Kimmins reported) The Minutes of the Committee dated November 18th, 1935 were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (33) Mrs. Claremont; (34) The Rev. D. Macrae; (35) Minutes of last Meeting; (36) Book List.

- (c) Education Committee. (Dr. Kimmins reported) Subject to the following decision on Minute 151, the Minutes of the Committee dated November 18th, 1935, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (139) Minutes; (140) Arising out of the Minutes; (141) The Crisis; (142) Membership of the Committee for 1936; (143) Meetings for Teachers and Schools; (144) Report on work in Universities and Colleges; (145) Observance of Armistice Day in the Schools; (146) "Teachers and World Peace"; (147) Summer Schools; (148) Report of the National Youth Committee; (149) International Federation of League of Nations Societies; (150) Work of the League of Nations Educational Information Centre; (151) Communication from Mr. F.G. Penman; (152) Junior Branches Conference; (153) Conference of Educational Associations; (154) Air-Raid Precautions; (155) Recognition of Junior Branches; (156) Educational Corporate Members.

On Minute 151 - Communication from Mr. F.G. Penman, it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That paragraph (1) of the resolution be referred back for further consideration by the Education Committee."

(2) "That it be left to the Chairman to nominate the Sub-Committee recommended in paragraph (2) of the resolution."

- (d) Refugees Committee. (Lord Cecil reported) The Minutes of the Committee dated November 19th, 1935, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (8) Minutes; (9) New members of the Committee; (10) Special Committee of the League; (11) Appeals in Great Britain for Refugees.

- (e) Christian Organisations Committee. (Admiral Drury-Lowe reported) The Minutes of the Committee dated November 20th, 1935, were approved and adopted.

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- These Minutes included (91) Minutes; (92) Albert Hall Meeting; (93) Composition of Committee for 1936; (94) Observance of Armistice Day; (95) Peace Sunday; (96) Service in Connection with the General Council of the Union; (97) Loc H Branches; (98) Applications for Corporate Membership;
- (f) Industrial Advisory Committee. (Captain Green reported) Subject to the following report and decision on Minutes 96 and 101, the Minutes of the Committee dated November 21st, 1935, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (94) Minutes; (95) Conferences on the I.L.O.; (96) International Labour Conference - Attendance of Minister of Labour; (97) International Federation of League of Nations Societies; (98) Conference on "The I.L.O. and World Planning"; (99) Speakers on the I.L.O.; (100) Pamphlets on the I.L.O.; (101) Constitution of Committee for 1936; (102) General Election; (103) L.N.S. Party to International Labour Conference; (104) Industrial Affiliations; (105) Mr. Gillinder's Report.

On Minute 96 - International Labour Conference, Attendance of Minister of Labour, Captain Green reported that the Minister of Labour and the Secretary for Mines had agreed to receive the Union's deputation at 12 noon on Monday, December 2nd. In reply to a question, Captain Green stated that the deputation would make it clear that the Executive had taken no decision regarding the Convention on Fee-Charging Employment Agencies.

On Minute 101 - Constitution of Committee for 1936, it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Executive Committee desired to associate itself with the resolution of the Industrial Advisory Committee thanking Captain Green for his continuous help and interest in the Committee's work."

Captain Green stated that three vacancies still remained on the Industrial Advisory Committee to be filled by Executive Members, it was

RESOLVED: (2) "That Captain Green be asked to make enquiries and to bring proposals before the next meeting of the Committee."

349. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Executive received resolutions from the Worthing and Nafferton Branches, and it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Worthing Branch be thanked for sending their resolution, and be informed that the Executive sees no reason why the Branch should not forward their resolution to H.M. Government."

- (2) "That the Nafferton Branch be thanked for sending their resolution and be informed that the Executive is in cordial agreement with the terms of the resolution."

350. MINUTES. Subject to the following report on Minutes 341 and 346, the Minutes of the Committee dated November 21st, 1935, were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 341 - The Far East. Lord Cecil reported that he and Lord Lytton had met the Foreign Secretary and Mr. Eden on Monday, November 25th and had discussed the Italo-Abyssinian dispute and the situation in the Far East. Lord Cecil reported in confidence the substance of their conversation on the former subject. Lord Lytton's report on the Far East was adjourned until the next meeting of the Executive.

On Minute 346 - Joint Meeting of Rotary International and the Union. the Secretary reported that Mr. Mander and himself would represent the Union at the Joint Meeting with Rotary International on December 10th, and that Major Lawrence Wright and Mr. Syrett would also attend the meeting if they found themselves able to do so.

351. ITALY AND ABYSSINIA. At the invitation of the Chairman Sir Arthur Salter attended the Committee.

The Secretary read to the Committee a cablegram which he had received late the previous evening from Mr. Eichelberger, the Secretary of the American League of Nations Association. Dr. Garnett had immediately communicated the cablegram to the Resident Clerk of the Foreign Office, who had stated that the Foreign Office were not unfamiliar with the reaction in the United States to the postponement of the Committee of Eighteen, and that the American Administration had been re-assured through diplomatic channels that the British Government's efforts were not being relaxed. The Foreign Office believed that the Committee of Eighteen would meet not later than the end of next week.

Sir Arthur Salter made a statement to the Committee on the subject of his letter published in the TIMES on the previous day in which he had suggested that the British Government

- (a) should press for an immediate decision by the League that all League countries controlling oil supplies should prohibit its supply without waiting either for prior or simultaneous action by non-League countries or till the other commodities specified in Canada's proposal can be dealt with;
- (b) should propose to take the initiative (for which general League approval may be expected even if not a complete unanimity, which is neither legally nor morally required) of prohibiting supplies over which it has itself control, without waiting for a binding

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engagement from every League country concerned with oil, should that involve delay.

Sir Austen Chamberlain agreed with Sir Arthur Salter in desiring that the British Government should press for an embargo on oil which, in the present instance, was a vital instrument of war. But he was wholly opposed to the Government asking for a kind of 'sanction' from the League for putting on an embargo that no other country was applying on the chance that other countries would then follow our example.

The Executive then considered the resolution approved at its last meeting for submission to the General Council. After prolonged discussion in which many members of the Committee took part, it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the second of the urgency motions on Italy and Abyssinia (1(b) on page 7 of the Final Agenda) be submitted to the General Council in the following amended form:

(b) The General Council of the League of Nations Union is of opinion that the supply of petroleum and its derivatives to Italy should be stopped immediately."

(2) "That Professor Murray be asked to move the Executive's motions (a) and (b) together, and to explain to the Council that the Executive is agreed in its desire that the supply of oil to Italy should be stopped immediately, but that, in view of the very delicate position that negotiations have now assumed, it would, in the opinion of the Executive, be unwise to pledge the Council at the present moment to individual action by Great Britain."

(3) "That Sir Austen Chamberlain be also asked to speak to the Executive's motion."

352. DECEMBER MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL. The Executive considered the Final Agenda for the December meeting of the General Council. It was

RESOLVED: "That members be invited to take charge of the items in the General Council's Agenda as follows:

1. Italy and Abyssinia. Professor Murray
- 2(a) Colonial Territories. Professor Murray to Move his amendment.
- 2(b) Colonial Territories. Mr. Hartley Withers (or Sir Arthur Haworth)
3. Nutrition and Health. Lady Hall

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5. The Assurances. Admiral Drury-Lowe to move the Executive amendment.
6. Air Raid Drill. Miss Courtney to move the Executive amendment.
7. The I.L.O. Captain Green."

353. ADJOURNMENT.

RESOLVED: "That the remaining items on the agenda be adjourned until the next meeting of the Executive on Thursday, December 12th, 1935."

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MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W. 1., ON THURSDAY, DECEMBER 12TH, 1935 AT 11 A.M.

**PRESENT.** Professor Gilbert Murray (in the Chair), Lord Allen, Miss Joyce Ansell, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Michael Barkway, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, F.M. Burris, Major Anthony Buxton, Lord Cecil, Sir Auster Chamberlain, the Dean of Chichester, Miss K.D. Courtney, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss F. Fawcett, Dr. Kimmins, Lady Layton, Captain J. de V. Loder, G. le M. Mander, Nowell Smith, Professor Webster, Mrs. Wilson-Fox, L.M. Wynch, together with the Secretary and the Deputy Secretary.

354. APologies FOR ABSENCE were received from L.J. Casbury, Captain V.A. Cazalet, Admiral Prury-Fox, Lady Gladstone, Captain Green, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, Sir Arthur Haworth, Lord Lytton, Lord Mayader, Sir Archibald Sinclair, and H.C. Syrett.

355. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

(a) Office Committee. (Professor Murray reported) The Minutes of the Committee dated December 3rd, 1935, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (59) Half-Yearly Review of Wages and Salaries; (60) Composition of Committee for 1936; (61) members of the Staff and the General Election; (62) Grading; (63) Superannuation; (64) Mr. Wayman; (65) Miss Wimperis; (66) Christmas holidays; (67) Dame Adelaide Livingston

Mr. Vandeleur Robinson, the Secretary asked for the authority of the Executive to assign to Mr. Vandeleur Robinson the insurance policy taken out on his behalf by the Union now that he had resigned in order to become Secretary of the Association for Education in Citizenship. It was

**RESOLVED:** "That the insurance policies be assigned free to Mr. Vandeleur Robinson."

(b) Finance Committee. The Minutes of the Committee dated November 20th, 1935, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (54) Minutes; (55) Financial Statement; (56) General Council Meeting; (57) Bank Overdraft; (58) Appeals Committee; (59) Northamptonshire Federal Council; (60) Composition of Committee; (61) Passing of Cheques for payment.

(c) Editorial Committee. (Major Buxton reported) The Minutes of the Committee dated November 28th were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (76) Programme and Budget of Union publications; (77) "Abyssinia"; (78) "Youth"; (79) Peace Baby Scheme; (80) Territorial Expansion, Over-population and Raw Materials; (81) List of Plays.

The Late Miss Winifred Holthy. Regret was expressed that no reference had been made in HEADWAY to the death of Miss Winifred Holthy and to the valuable work she had done for the Union. It was suggested that the Secretary might write a letter for publication in the next number of HEADWAY.

- (d) National Youth Committee. The Executive considered as a matter of urgency Minute 28 of the National Youth Committee dated December 7th concerning the appointment of a Secretary and of an Assistant Secretary to the Committee. The Executive also had before them a report on the meeting of the Joint Selection Committee, representing the Office Committee and the National Youth Committee, dated December 6th. After hearing statements by Mr. Macartney, on behalf of the Staff Standing Committee, and by Miss Ansell, Professor Murray and Dr. Garnett, it was

RESOLVED: "That the question of making the proposed appointments be referred to a Sub-Committee, consisting of Miss Ansell, Lord Cecil, Mrs. Dugdals, Dr. Kimmins and Professor Murray with power to act."

356. JUNIOR BRANCHES CONFERENCE. On the motion of Dr. Kimmins it was

RESOLVED: "That a report of the Junior Branches Conference held in the School of Economics on November 29th to December 1st, 1935, be printed and published as a Union pamphlet."

357. RESIGNATION OF VICE-CHAIRMAN. The Chairman read to the Committee a letter dated 2nd December, 1935, from Major Hills, resigning his position as Vice-Chairman of the Executive. After Professor Murray had reported his recent correspondence with Lord Lytton on this subject, it was unanimously

RESOLVED: "That Major Hills' resignation be accepted with great regret, and that Lord Lytton be appointed Vice-Chairman of the Executive."

358. MINUTES. Subject to the following decision on Minute 348(f) (101) the Minutes of the Committee dated November 26th, 1935, were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 348(f) (101) - Constitution of Committee for 1936, after receiving a report from Captain Green it was

RESOLVED: "That Captain Cazalet and Mr. Michael Barkway be invited to represent the Executive on the Industrial Advisory Committee."

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359. ITALY AND ABYSSINIA. The Executive discussed the negotiations which had taken place in Paris between Sir Samuel Hoare and M. Laval regarding the Abyssinian dispute. A resolution drafted by Professor Murray was considered.

Lord Cecil read to the Committee a cablegram he had received from Mr. Douglas Johnson of New York, who had been adviser to President Wilson at the peace Conference. A cable sent by Professor Shotwell to the Secretary was also read to the Committee, as well as a telegram from Lady Hall who was unable to attend the Executive's meeting.

It was suggested that the Union should organise a mass meeting in the Albert Hall in the immediate future. Lord Cecil hoped that an effort would be made to arrange for letters and articles to be published throughout the provincial press. This could be organised with much greater rapidity than large meetings.

After considerable discussion, in the course of which Lord Cecil stated that he was considering calling a meeting of the National Declaration Committee to consider what action might be taken in the present emergency, it was

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

Gravely perturbed by the recent declarations of Ministers in the House of Commons on the Paris negotiations,

Recalling the Government's appeal to the nation stating that "the League of Nations will remain as heretofore the keystone of British foreign policy" and that "in the dispute between Italy and Abyssinia there will be no wavering in that policy",

Recalling also that a policy of whole-hearted support for the League, which had already received the approval of this country in the National Declaration, was emphatically endorsed at the General Election,

Urges His Majesty's Government to continue the policy of sanctions until they are effective and to support no settlement of the Abyssinian dispute which fails to make it clear that aggression does not pay."

- (2) "That Mr. Baldwin be asked to receive, at the earliest possible moment, a small deputation from the Executive, consisting of Lord Cecil, Sir Austen Chamberlain, Lord Allen and Professor Murray, on the subject of the above resolution.



*During the subsequent discussion various suggestions were made by members of the Executive for action by the Branches, e.g. that Branches should be asked:*

(Note. Arrangements were made during the meeting of the Executive for the deputation to wait upon M. Baldwin at 10.30 a.m. on the following day, Friday, December 13th.)

(3) "That the resolution in (1) above be immediately telegraphed to Mr. Eden at Geneva, and be communicated to the League's secretariat, to the Secretary of the International Federation, to the French and American Societies, to the press for publication the following morning, and to the B.B.C."

(4) "That the resolution in (1) above be also sent immediately to Branches of the Union with a covering letter, ~~which says~~

(a) to get letters from their members and articles published in their local newspapers;

(b) to persuade their members to write to their M.P.'s letters showing that the writers are personally and individually interested;

(c) to call a public meeting, a meeting of the Branch or at least a Committee meeting to consider the situation, pass a resolution and send it to the Prime Minister;

(d) if possible, to send a deputation representing the three parties or at any rate the party to which the member belongs to put the Union's views before him."

(e) meanwhile and immediately to telegraph to the Prime Minister on behalf of the Branch.

(5) "That an option be obtained on the Albert Hall for the evening of Friday, January 10th."

360. **GENERAL COUNCIL.** The Executive had before them the resolutions adopted by the General Council of the Union at its meeting in London on December 4th and 5th. It was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Editor be asked to publish the substance of the General Council's resolutions in the January **HEADWAY**."

(2) "That it be left to the Chairman to decide to which Sub-Committees of the Executive the Council's resolutions should be referred for action, and which of the Council's resolutions should be communicated to H.M. Government."

361. **DATE OF NEXT MEETING.** It was

RESOLVED: "That it be left to the discretion of the Chairman to call a special meeting of the Executive before the next ordinary meeting on December 10th if he considers such a course necessary."

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MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD  
AT 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W. 1., ON THURSDAY,  
DECEMBER 19TH, 1935 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Lord Allen, Miss Joyce Ansell, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Michael Barkway, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Major Anthony Burton, L.J. Cadbury, Captain Gazalet, Lord Cecil, Sir Austen Chamberlain, Miss K.D. Courtney, Admiral Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss P. Fawcett, Lady Gladstone, Captain Green, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, Sir Arthur Haworth, Dr. Kimmins, Lady Layton, Commander Lewis, Captain Loder, G. le M. Mander, Nowell Smith, Councillor Shaw, Professor Webster, Mrs. Wilson-Fox, Major Lawrence Wright, together with the Secretary and Deputy Secretary.

362. APCOUSES FOR ABSENCE were received from W. Arnold-Forster, F.M. Burris, Professor Gilbert Murray, H.S. Syrett and L.M. Wynch.

363. VICE-CHAIRMAN. Lord Lytton, who was taking the Chair in the absence of Professor Murray, expressed his appreciation of the honour which the Executive had shown him at their last meeting when they had elected him as their Vice-Chairman.

Sir Austen Chamberlain said that, when an opportunity presented itself, he would ascertain from Major Hills whether he still wished to remain a member of the Executive now that he had resigned the Vice-Chairmanship.

364. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

(a) Welcome Committee. (Lady Gladstone reported)  
Subject to the approval of the Finance Committee on Minute 34, the Minutes of the Committee dated December 3rd, 1935, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (29) Arising out of Minutes; (30) Extension of Panel of Hostesses; (31) Extension of Union Membership; (32) Composition of Committee for 1936; (33) Further meeting at Crosby Hall for National Youth Committee; (34) Luncheon to French Ex-Services Men; (35) Request to Invite Union Speakers to meet the Executive Committee from time to time; (36) Closer co-operation with APA; (37) Closer Co-operation with the East and West Friendship Council.

(b) National Youth Committee. (Dr. Garnett reported)  
The Minutes of the Committee dated December 7th, 1935, were approved and adopted.

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These Minutes included (26) Minutes; (27) Youth Groups; (28) appointment of Secretary of the Committee; (29) Co-optations; (30) National Youth Groups' Council; (31) World Youth Congress; (32) National Events for 1936; (33) British Youth Organisations.

- (c) Education Committee. (Dr. Kimmins reported) Subject to the following decision on Minutes 178 and 185, and subject also to the approval of the Finance Committee on Minutes 164 and 166, the Minutes of the Committee dated December 9th, 1935, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (159) Arising out of the Minutes; (160) The Crisis; (161) Meetings for Teachers and Schools; (162) report on work in Universities and Colleges; (163) Report of the Junior Branches Sub-Committee; (164) Proposed Magazine for the Schools; (165) Report on Junior Branches; (166) Financial Statement on 1935 Pioneer Camps; (167) 1935 Midlands Camp; (168) Membership of the Pioneers Camps' Sub-Committee; (169) Secretaryship of the Pioneers' Camps' Sub-Committee; (170) 1936 Pioneers' Camps; (171) Lantern Lecture; (172) Handbook for Junior Branches; (173) Nansen Pioneer Camps' Re-Union; (174) First Nansen Pioneer Expedition Abroad; (175) "Peace with Honour"; (176) New Form of Badge; (177) Report on Meetings of the Union's Advisory Education Committee in Wales (November 22nd-24th); (178) National Conference for Junior Branch Officers (November 29th-December 1st); (179) Re-appointment of Sub-Committees; (180) Report of the Youth Committee; (181) Appointment of Representative to Serve on the Youth Committee; (182) Air Raid Precautions; (183) National Council on the Teaching of International Relations; (184) Teachers Conference, Geneva, 1936; (185) Recognition of Junior Branches.

On Minute 178 - National Conference for Junior Branch Officers, it was

RESOLVED: "That the congratulations of the Executive Committee be conveyed to Miss Sparks on the successful organisation of the Conference."

On Minute 185 - Recognition of Junior Branches, it was

RESOLVED: "That the Junior Branch at Burghley Central School for Girls, Upper Holloway, be also recognised; thus making the total number of Junior Branches 1,470."

(d) Branches Committee. (Dr. Garnett reported) The Minutes of the Committee dated December 12th, 1935, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (69) Minutes; (70) Enrolment of Members at Meetings; (71) Membership; (72) National Canvass; (73) Youth Committee; (74) Assembly of British Youth Organisations; (75) Peace Councils; (76) Mr. Whelen; (77) Mr. A.A. Milne; (78) Branches; (79) Junior Branches; (80) Corporate Members; (81) Industrial Associates; (82) Affiliated Members; (83) Composition of Committee for 1936.

(e) Christian Organisations Committee. Admiral Drury-Lowe reported as a matter of urgency on a Minute of the Committee held on the previous day, asking the Executive not to proceed with their proposed meeting on January 10th but to allow the Christian Organisations Committee to proceed with its arrangements for a meeting of the Churches in the Albert Hall on February 4th. It was

RESOLVED: "That the Minute of the Christian Organisations Committee be deferred for consideration at the special meeting of the Executive on Saturday, December 21st, (see Minute 367 below)."

365. YOUTH COMMITTEE APPOINTMENTS. It was reported that the Sub-Committee appointed by the Executive with power to act in the matter of the recommendations of the National Youth Committee and the Joint Selection Committee concerning the appointment of a Secretary and Assistant Secretary to the Youth Committee had met at 2.30 p.m. on Thursday, December 12th. There were present Professor Murray, Miss Ansell and Mrs. Dugdale. The Committee decided, Mrs. Dugdale dissenting on the ground that the effect of the decision would be to impair the prospects of promotion of present members of the Union's staff,
- (1) That Mr. Carritt be appointed Secretary of the Youth Committee in accordance with the advertised conditions, the appointment to date from January 1st, 1936.
  - (2) That Mr. Brooks Marvin be offered an appointment as Assistant Secretary of the Youth Committee at a salary of £150 a year, the conditions of this appointment being adapted accordingly from those of Mr. Carritt, the appointment to date from January 1st, 1936.
- The Secretary reported that Mr. Carritt and Mr. Brooks Marvin had now accepted the appointment of Secretary and Assistant Secretary to the Youth Committee respectively.

On the motion of Lord Cecil it was

RESOLVED: "That the Office Committee be asked to consider and report on the conditions under which appointments to the Union's secretariat are made."

366. MINUTES. Subject to the following decision on Minute 359, the Minutes of the Committee dated December 12th, 1933, were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 359 -- Italy and Abyssinia, it was

RESOLVED. That paragraph (4) of the resolution be amended to read as follows:

- '(4) That the resolution in (1) above be also sent immediately to Branches of the Union with a covering letter.

During the subsequent discussion various suggestions were made by members of the Executive for action by the Branches, e.g. that Branches should be asked:

- (a) to get letters from their members and articles published in their local newspapers;
- (b) to persuade their members to write to their M.P.'s letters showing that the writers are personally and individually interested;
- (c) to call a public meeting, a meeting of the Branch or at least a Committee meeting to consider the situation, pass a resolution and send it to the Prime Minister;
- (d) if possible, to send a deputation representing the three parties or at any rate the party to which the member belongs to put the Union's views before him;
- (e) meanwhile and immediately to telegraph to the Prime Minister on behalf of the Branch.'

Copies of the circular letter sent to Branch Secretaries on December 12th in accordance with this Minute had been circulated to members of the Executive for their information.

367. ITALY AND ABYSSINIA. Lord Cecil read to the Executive in confidence a statement concerning the deputation which had waited on the Prime Minister on Friday, December 13th. The statement as read had been approved by Mr. Baldwin.

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Lord Cecil also read to the Executive a note of several conversations he had had in Paris during the previous week-end.

After discussion it was

**RESOLVED.** (1) That consideration of further action by the Executive be deferred until after the debates in Parliament on the subject of the Paris peace proposals; and that a special meeting of the Committee be held for this purpose at 11.30 a.m. on Saturday, December 21st."

Lord Cecil stated that he had called a meeting of the National Declaration Committee for 3 p.m. on Friday, December 20th. He proposed to suggest to the Declaration Committee that they should join with the Union in organising a mass meeting in the Albert Hall on January 10th, if by that time it appeared that such a demonstration was desirable.

Sir Austen Chamberlain was personally not in favour of an Albert Hall meeting, but if it were decided to hold such a meeting he urged most strongly that it should be arranged under the auspices of the Union alone. It was

**RESOLVED.** (2) "That the proposal to hold an Albert Hall meeting on January 10th, together with the Minutes of the Christian Organisations Committee dated December 16th (see Minute 364(e) above), be adjourned for consideration by the Executive at the special meeting on December 21st."

368. **MEMEL.** The Committee considered a memorandum by Captain Cazalet on the situation in Memel (S.G. 7849a). Captain Cazalet stated that if, as he believed, H.M. Government would not be able, even with the assistance of France, Italy and Japan who were the Guaranteeing Powers, to persuade the Lithuanians to give to the German elements in Memel those concessions which they were advised to give under the Statute, then some further action would have to be taken. He believed that the League had got to make Article 19 of the Covenant as great a reality as it had been trying to make Article 16, and that in the case of Memel it would be easier to do this than in any other of the disputed areas in Europe.

Mr. Mander felt that the whole future of Memel depended on the result of the Abyssinian crisis. Major Buxton suggested that Captain Cazalet might think it advisable a little later on, to write a letter to THE TIMES, based on his memorandum and stating the more favourable steps that have been taken since the memorandum was written, in order that the subject might be kept in front of the public. After further discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That it be left to Captain Cazalet to ask for a further discussion by the Executive on the subject of Memel when he so desires."

369. THE FAR EAST. Lord Lytton reported that when he and Lord Cecil saw the Foreign Secretary and Mr. Eden on November 25th he had asked whether H.M. Government intended (1) to acquiesce in the reported Japanese action in Northern China and (2) to enter into a discussion of the Naval Treaty without any reference to the political situation in the Far East. Lord Lytton had reminded the Ministers that when he was in the United States the officials whom he saw informed him that it was their intention not to discuss a new Naval Treaty until they had had a discussion of the political situation. The Foreign Secretary had replied that the American delegates had come over without any stipulation, and since they had been invited merely to consider naval questions it would be impossible to make any conditions at that moment. Lord Lytton had subsequently considered the possibility of calling attention to the subject in the House of Lords and he reported a conversation he had had with the Chinese Ambassador. But after a further conversation with Mr. Eden, Lord Lytton felt that, the Chinese Government having agreed to the setting up of some kind of autonomous Government in Northern China, it was impossible now to take any action effectively and that therefore no useful purpose would be served by raising the question in Parliament.

The Executive were reminded of the resolution adopted by the General Council at its December meeting. Lord Lytton stated that he understood H.M. Government had made representations to Tokio and were assured that there had been no movement of troops. He felt that in the present circumstances it would be impossible to ask H.M. Government to go to the Council under section 2 of Article 11 as suggested in the General Council's resolution. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That in submitting the resolutions passed by the General Council to H.M. Government, a note be appended to the resolution on the subject of the Far East stating that, in view of the circumstances that have arisen since the resolution was passed, the Executive Committee do not at the present moment desire to press H.M. Government to take any action upon it."

370. DISARMAMENT AND SECURITY.

(a) London Naval Conference. Lord Lytton reported that he had understood from Lord Stanhope that there was no likelihood of either the British Government or the American Government agreeing to grant equality for the Japanese navy at a very low level which would enable them at little expense to themselves to retain a navy which would, in fact, be greatly superior in those waters to either of the other Powers.

(b) Aviation. It was

RESOLVED: "That Lord Allen's proposal that the Executive should consider taking further action to bring to the attention of H.M. Government the resolution adopted by the General Council at Cambridge be adjourned for consideration at the next ordinary meeting of the Executive."

371. DRAFT STATEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL POLICY. The Executive had before them the draft Statement of International Policy (S.G.7905) which had been adjourned from the meeting held on October 24th, 1935. It was

RESOLVED: "That the Draft Statement of International Policy be adjourned until the Chairman directs that it be again included on the Executive's agenda paper."

372. THE 'MINERAL SANCTION'. The Executive, in accordance with the decision contained in Minute 338(3) of November 21st, considered the proposal to appoint a sub-Committee to examine Sir Thomas Holland's proposals. The Secretary reported that, in response to his inquiry, Sir Thomas Holland had suggested that Dr. William Cullen, a Past President of the Institution of Mining and Metallurgy, would be a useful member of the Sub-Committee. It was

RESOLVED: "That a Sub-Committee consisting of Lord Cecil, Captain Cazalet, Dr. William Cullen, Professor Webster and Mr. Arnold Forster, be appointed to examine Sir Thomas Holland's proposals in regard to the 'Mineral Sanction'.

Professor Webster regretted his inability to serve on the Sub-Committee and it was left to the Chairman to appoint another member in his place.

373. DECEMBER MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL. The Executive considered proposals (1) by Admiral Drury-Lowe concerning the moving of amendments to an Executive motion by individual members of the Executive Committee, and (2) by Lord Allen and Admiral Drury-Lowe concerning the submission of urgency resolutions to the General Council. It was

RESOLVED: "That a Sub-Committee, consisting of Lord Allen, Lord Cecil, Miss Courtney, Mrs. Dugdale, Lady Gladstone, Lord Lytton, Professor Murray and Mr. Walkden, be appointed to consider and make recommendations concerning procedure by the General Council, and, in this connection, to consider the proposals made by Admiral Drury-Lowe and Lord Allen."

374. PROPOSED BRANCH OF EX-SERVICE MEN. Lord Cecil reported that M. Rene Cassin, the head of one of the French Ancien Combattants associations, had recently expressed regret that there was no means of getting expressions of opinion from ex-service men in Great Britain on important P.T.O.



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international questions similar to that which existed in France. He made no criticism of the fact that the British Legion was so constituted that it was precluded from dealing with these questions; but he suggested that the Union might consider the possibility of organising something in the nature of a Branch of ex-service men who could be asked to consider questions which interested them.

Admiral Drury-Lowe expressed his willingness to consider this suggestion with a view to bringing forward a proposal for consideration by the Executive.

375. DATE OF NEXT MEETING. It was

RESOLVED: "That the next ordinary meeting of the Executive be held at 11 a.m. on Thursday, January 9th, but that it be left to the Chairman to call an earlier meeting if he thinks such a course necessary."

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MINUTES OF A SPECIAL MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE  
HELD AT 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, S.W. 1., AT 11.30 A.M.  
ON SATURDAY, DECEMBER 21ST, 1935.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Lord Allen, Miss Joyce Ansell, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Michael Barkway, Captain V.A. Cazalet, Sir Austen Chamberlain, Admiral Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss P. Fawcett, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, Dr. Kimmins, Commander Norman Lewis, Captain J. de V. Loder, G. le M. Mander, Nowell Smith, H.S. Syrett, Mrs. Wilson-Fox, together with the Secretary and the Deputy Secretary.

376. APLOGUES FOR ABSENCE were received from Major Anthony Buxton, L.J. Cadbury, Lord Cecil, Miss M. Lloyd George, Sir John Power and Sir Archibald Sinclair.
377. ALBERT HALL MEETING. The Executive considered the Minute of the Christian Organisations Committee dated December 18th. It was reported that the National Declaration Committee, at their meeting on the previous day, had warmly welcomed the proposal to hold a Churches meeting on February 4th, and had agreed not to press for another Albert Hall meeting in January. After discussion it was
- RESOLVED: (1) "That the proposal to hold an Albert Hall meeting on January 10th be abandoned."
- (2) "That the Secretary be asked to consult the Dean of Chichester with a view to arranging for the Jewish as well as the Christian community to be represented at the meeting on February 4th."
378. RESOLUTION BY THE NATIONAL DECLARATION COMMITTEE. A resolution adopted by the National Declaration Committee at its meeting on the previous day was laid before the Committee and it was
- RESOLVED: "To defer consideration of this resolution till the next ordinary meeting of the Executive on January 9th."
379. PARIS PEACE PROPOSALS. The situation arising out of the debates in Parliament on December 19th was fully discussed and it was
- RESOLVED: "That no immediate action by the Executive was called for."
380. AEROPLANE FOR ABYSSINIA. Lady Gladstone reported that the aeroplane given to the Union for the purpose of relief work in Abyssinia was now ready and would be leaving for Ethiopia so soon as the weather was favourable. She read to the Committee a letter which, with a view to ensuring the safety of the aeroplane, it was suggested should be sent to the Italian Ambassador. The opinion  
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was expressed that any such letter should be written by the Red Cross Society.

381. SUB-COMMITTEE ON GENERAL COUNCIL PROCEDURE. On the motion of Lord Lytton it was

RESOLVED: "That Admiral Drury-Lowe be invited to serve on the Sub-Committee appointed by the Executive at its last meeting, to consider and make recommendations concerning procedure by the General Council."

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MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD  
at 14, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W. 1., ON THURSDAY, JANUARY  
9TH, 1936 at 11 A.M.

PRESENT. Professor Gilbert Murray (in the Chair),  
Vyvyan Adams, Lord Allen, Sir Norman Angell,  
Miss Joyce Ansell, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, F.J.  
Noel Baker, F.M. Burris, Major Anthony Buxton,  
L.J. Cadbury, Lord Cecil, Sir Austen Chamberlain,  
the Dean of Chichester, Miss K.D. Courtney,  
Admiral Drury-Lowe, Miss P. Fawcett, Lady  
Gladstone, Captain L.H. Green, Lady Hall, Sir  
John Harris, Sir Arthur Haworth, Lady Layton,  
Commander Norman Lewis, Councillor H.F. Shaw,  
Newell Smith, H.S. Syrett, Mrs. Wilson-Fox,  
L.M. Wynch together with the Secretary and  
Deputy Secretary.

1. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from W. Arnold-Forster,  
Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Captain Cazalet, Mrs. Dugdale,  
Miss Lloyd George, Captain J. de V. Loder, Lord Lytton,  
Sir John Rower, Lord Mayader, and A.G. Walkden.
2. THE LATE MARQUISS OF READING. The Chairman paid a tribute  
to the late Lord Reading who had been one of the Union's  
earliest members and a Vice-President for many years. It  
was

RESOLVED: "That the Chairman be asked to write to Lady  
Reading expressing the Committee's profound  
sympathy in her bereavement."

3. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

(a) Austria Committee. (Professor Murray reported)  
Subject to the following decision on Minutes 3 and 4,  
the Minutes of the Committee dated November 26th, 1935,  
were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (1) Membership of the  
Committee; (2) Conclusions of last Meeting;  
(3) Present State of the Austrian Problem;  
(4) British Policy and the Anschluss.

On Minute 3 - Present State of the Austrian Problem,  
after Professor Murray had drawn attention to two  
corrections which were needed in the Report on the  
Austrian Situation, viz: the substitution of the  
words "Treaty of St. Germain" for the words "Treaty  
of Neuilly" in the fourth paragraph and to the sub-  
stitution of the words "Imperial Crown" for the words  
"Crown of the Holy Roman Empire" in the tenth paragraph  
it was

RESOLVED. "That the Report on the Austrian Situation  
(S.G.7992) be received."

On Minute 4 - British Policy and the Anschluss, it was

RESOLVED: "That the resolution be adopted in the following amended form:

'That the Union should advocate the intervention of the League in accordance with Articles 10 and 16 of the Covenant in the event of external aggression designed to bring about the union of Austria with Germany. In the case of Austrian internal political developments directed to that end these particular articles would not apply."

- (b) Christian Organisations Committee. (The Dean of Chichester reported) Subject to the following report and decision on Minute 101 and 106, the Minutes of the Committee dated December 16th, 1935 were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (100) Minutes; (101) Albert Hall Meeting; (102) Peace Sunday; (103) Revision of Hymn Sheet; (104) Leaflets from French League of Nations Society; (105) New Member of Committee; (106) Resignation of Colonel Hamilton; (107) Summer Schools; (108) Archbishop's Statement; (109) Applications for Corporate Membership.

On Minute 101 - Albert Hall Meeting, the Dean of Chichester reported that the Archbishop of Canterbury, who had always been somewhat doubtful whether he would be able to preside over the Union's meeting, now felt that, in view of the many pronouncements he had recently made on the international situation he ought not to make a further speech in the Albert Hall on February 4th. An invitation had subsequently been sent to the Archbishop of York who was unable to be present on that evening. It was further reported that the Archbishop of Liverpool was of the opinion that an Albert Hall meeting was not opportune in the present troubled state of affairs and should be postponed to more tranquil times. It was therefore

RESOLVED: "That the proposal to hold a Churches' Meeting in the Albert Hall on February 4th be abandoned."

Several members of the Executive expressed the hope that an endeavour would be made to persuade the Archbishops to speak at a Churches' meeting in the Albert Hall later in the year.

On Minute 106 - Resignation of Colonel Hamilton, D.S.O. the Dean of Chichester paid a tribute to the valuable services rendered by Colonel Hamilton during his long membership of the Christian Organisations Committee, and it was

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RESOLVED: "That the Chairman be asked to send a letter of thanks to Colonel Hamilton."

- (c) Industrial Advisory Committee. Subject to the approval of the Finance Committee on Minute 114(3), the Minutes of the Committee dated December 19th, 1935, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (107) Minutes; (108) International Federation of League of Nations Societies; (109) Constitution of Committee for 1936; (110) General Election; (111) L.N.U. Party to International Labour Conference; (112) Conferences on the I.L.O.; (113) Deputation to Minister of Labour and Secretary for Mines; (114) Conference on "The I.L.O. and World Planning"; (115) Meetings of Governing Body, Geneva, October 23rd-26th; (116) General Council; (117) Mr. Gillinder's Report; (118) Industrial Affiliations.

4. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Committee received resolutions from the Lowestoft Branch and the Cardiff University College Branch of the British Universities League of Nations Society. It was

RESOLVED: (1) "That since the Lowestoft Branch has been thanked and its attention has been drawn to the resolution on the subject of Colonial Territories passed by the General Council, no further action appears to be needed."

(2) "That the Cardiff University College Branch of the B.U.L.N.S. be thanked for sending their resolution."

5. MINUTES. Subject to the following decision and report on Minutes 372, 374 and 380, the Minutes of the ordinary meeting held on December 19th and of the special meeting held on December 21st, 1935, were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 372 - The 'Mineral Sanction', It was

RESOLVED: "That Brigadier General Milman of Imperial Chemical Industries and Major Victor Lefebvre be invited to serve on the sub-Committee to examine Sir Thomas Holland's proposals in regard to the 'Mineral Sanction'."

On Minute 374 - Proposed Branch of Ex-Service Men, Admiral Drury-Lowe stated that he was hoping to see Colonel Crosfield and Sir Frederick Maurice in the near future and would report to the Executive when he had done so.

On Minute 380 - Aeroplane for Abyssinia, Lady Gladstone reported on the mishap which had occurred to the aeroplane on its flight to Abyssinia. The cause of the mishap was now being investigated by the Air Ministry.

6. STAFF PARTY. The Chairman reminded the Executive that the annual Staff Party would be held at the Conway Hall, Red Lion Square on Saturday, January 16th at 7.30 p.m. The staff hoped that as many members of the Executive as possible would attend the party.
7. NATIONAL DECLARATION COMMITTEE. The Executive had before them the Minutes of the meeting of the National Declaration Committee held on December 20th, 1935. After it had been reported that none of the resolutions adopted at that meeting had been communicated to the press, it was
- RESOLVED: "That the Minutes of the National Declaration Committee dated December 20th, 1935, be received."
8. NEW NEUTRALITY POLICY OF THE U.S.A. Sir Norman Angell reported conversations he had had in Washington during his visit in December with members of the State Department and other persons. The American newspapers did not seem to have realised that the new neutrality policy stated in President Roosevelt's Message to Congress of January 3rd and embodied in Bills presented to both Houses of Congress constitute a reversal of the century-and-a-half old neutrality policy known as "the freedom of the seas". The substitution of the new policy for the old would immensely facilitate effective League action in the shape of "steady and collective resistance to all acts of unprovoked aggression". This he had pointed out in a letter to THE TIMES because the fact had not been appreciated by English newspapers. Lord Cecil was of opinion that the new American policy should not be too vociferously welcomed on this side of the Atlantic lest it be reversed before reaching the Statute Book.
9. ITALY AND ABYSSINIA.
- (a) Recent Events. The question of the embargo on oil to Italy was discussed, and it was suggested that the Executive should consider the desirability of making a further pronouncement on this subject before the meeting of the League's Council on January 20th. ~~It is~~ ~~considered~~ ~~advisable~~ ~~to~~ ~~take~~ ~~the~~ ~~following~~ ~~steps~~. On a long view, it was most important to show beyond all possibility of doubt, that League action had been decisive in preventing Italian aggression from succeeding. The Committee were reminded that the General Council of the Union at its December meeting had resolved:

The General Council of the League of Nations Union  
is of opinion that the supply of petroleum and its derivatives to Italy should be stopped immediately.

The Dean of Chichester drew the attention of the Committee to the Archbishop of Canterbury's New Year's Message, and stated that the Archbishop had arranged with the Heads of Churches in other countries to

issue contemporaneous appeals to their people. The Dean and Mr. Noel Baker proposed that a resolution on some such lines as the following should be sent to the Union's Branches:

"It is becoming every day more urgently necessary to stop the loss of life caused by the fighting in Abyssinia. The loss of life is increasing, and impending offensives threaten a still more terrible slaughter than has yet occurred. The longer the fighting continues, the more bitter will be the passion and estrangement which it leaves behind it. The Executive Committee believes that the fighting can be rapidly stopped by the immediate imposition of an embargo on the supplies of oil to Italy, and trusts that this embargo will be imposed without delay.

It was ~~however~~

RESOLVED: (1) "That Professor Murray be asked to write a private letter to Mr. Eden in the light of the Executive's discussion of the present situation."

(2) "That the Editor, bearing in mind the Executive's discussion, be asked to include a paragraph in the next number of ABYSSINIA, and that a paragraph be also included in the next circular letter to Branch Secretaries.

(b) League of Nations Flag. The Secretary reported the receipt, on December 23rd, of a cablegram from Professor Shotwell which read:

Is it not time now to push for use League flag?  
If so give us lead as to what you wish us to do.

It was

RESOLVED: "That the Secretary be asked to discuss this matter with the Chairman with a view to including it as an item on the agenda for a future meeting of the Executive Committee."

#### 10. DISARMAMENT AND SECURITY.

(a) Aviation. Lord Allen proposed that the Executive should consider taking further action to bring to the attention of H.M. Government the resolution on the subject of Aviation adopted by the General Council at Cambridge in June, 1935. It was suggested that H.M. Government should be asked to receive a deputation on this subject and that a carefully prepared brief, having regard to the changed circumstances since 1933, should be drawn up for use by the deputation. A note by Mr. Arnold Forster (S.G.7999) was considered in this connection. It was



RESOLVED: "That Lord Allen and Mr. Arnold Forster be asked to prepare a statement for consideration by the Executive, and that the question of asking the Foreign Secretary to receive a deputation on the subject be then further considered."

(b) London Naval Conference. Miss Courtney asked whether the Executive wished to take any action in regard to the Naval Conference. She suggested the possibility of obtaining agreement among the nations to prolong the life of their existing battleships. The Committee were reminded of the following resolution adopted by the General Council in December:

The General Council of the League of Nations  
Union

Considering that the strength of the armed forces of Great Britain must be dependent upon the efficiency of the collective system of the League,

Strongly urges H.M. Government not to proceed with measures of re-armament except as part of a policy which aims both at increasing collective security and at reducing and limiting national armaments by international agreement.

After discussion during which the opinion was expressed that, in the absence of technical advice, the Executive ought not to make any recommendation on this subject, it was

RESOLVED. "That Commander Lewis and Admiral Drury-Lowe be asked to consult their friends at the Admiralty with a view to bringing a proposal before the Executive."

11. COMMUNICATIONS FROM MAJOR HILLS AND MR. J.C. SMUTS. It was reported that in a letter to the Chairman dated 23rd December Major Hills had resigned his membership of the Executive Committee. The Secretary read to the Committee a letter dated November 28th from Mr. J.C. Smuts. After discussion, in the course of which the names of several persons were suggested for co-optation to the Executive, it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That Major Hills' Resignation be accepted with regret."

(2) That Mr. Smuts be thanked for his letter and be informed that since, in the present critical situation, it is desirable that attendance at meetings of the Committee should be as fully representative as possible, the Executive appreciates his action in offering to resign his membership in favour of someone who could attend the meetings more regularly.

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- (3) That the Co-optations Sub-Committee be asked to make recommendations for filling the two vacancies on the Executive and, in this connection, to consider the names of Mr. Neville Dixey, Mr. Emrys Evans, M.P., Mr. McNeace Foster and General Temperley, bearing in mind that the political outlook of one of the new members should resemble that of Major Hills.

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MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD  
AT 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, S.W. 1., ON THURSDAY,  
JANUARY 16th, 1930 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT. Professor Gilbert Murray (in the Chair), Miss Joyce Ansell, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, P.J. Noel Baker, Lord Cecil, Sir Austen Chamberlain, Lord Dickinson, Admiral Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss F. Fawcett, Lady Gladstone, Captain Green, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, Lady Layton, Commander Lewis, Sir Archibald Sinclair, Professor Webster, Mrs. Wilson-Fox, Major Lawrence Wright L.M. Wynch, together with the Secretary and Deputy Secretary.

12. APCOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Lord Allen, W. Arnold-Forster, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, F.M. Burris, Major Anthony Buxton, L.J. Cadbury, Captain Victor Cazalet, Miss Courtney, Miss M. Lloyd George, Sir Arthur Haworth, Dr. Kimmins, Captain J. de V. Loder, G. le M. Mander, Sir John Power, Lord Rhyader, Nowell Smith, H.S. Syrett.

13. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

- (a) Youth Committee. (Miss Ansell reported) The Minutes of the Committee dated January 4th, 1930, were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (1) Mr. Judd; (2) Minutes; (3) Youth Groups; (4) World Youth Congress; (5) British Youth Organisations; (6) Election of Representatives to General Council.

- (b) Religions and Ethics Committee. (Professor Murray reported) The Minutes of the Committee dated January 7th, 1930, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (1) Minutes; (2) Youth Group Meetings; (3) New Member of Committee; (4) Series of Lectures, 1930i.

- (c) Refugees Committee. Subject to the following decision on Minute 2, the Minutes of the Committee dated January 14th, 1930, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (1) Minutes; (2) Report of the Special Committee of the League; (3) Action by the Union.

On Minute 2 -- Report of the Special Committee of the League, Lord Cecil made a detailed statement to the Committee on the present position in regard to the problem of refugees, and it was

RESOLVED: "That this Minute be approved and adopted subject to a full stop being inserted

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after the word 'Germany' and to the substitution of the words 'it should be understood' for the words 'on the understanding' in the second paragraph of the statement; and subject also to the last sentence being amended to read as follows:

'It is for this reason that the Committee adheres to the view that the refugees problem cannot be solved in a humane and effective manner without the assistance of the League of Nations.'

(d) Office Committee. The Secretary reported as a matter of urgency on Minute 6 (National Canvass) of the Committee dated January 14th, and it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That Miss Barnham be appointed to succeed Miss Bell as temporary assistant (for National Canvass work) to the Deputy Secretary, with salary at the rate of £250 a year; and

That the appointment take effect on January 21st, on which date Miss Barnham will be seconded from her present post for the duration of the temporary appointment."

(2) "That applications be invited from members of the staff to fill the temporary vacancy (Grade II) caused by the temporary appointment of Miss Barnham, salary at the rate of £200 a year; and

That Dr. Garnett be authorised to make this and any consequent temporary appointments."

14. MINUTES. Subject to the following decision and report on Minutes 5(372) and (380) and 9(1), the minutes of the Committee dated January 9th, 1936, were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 5 - 372 - The 'Mineral Sanction', Sir John Harris suggested that the Sub-Committee should include a member who possessed constitutional political knowledge, and it was

RESOLVED: "That it be left to the Chairman to make a further nomination to the Sub-Committee."

On Minute 5 - 380 - Aeroplane for Abyssinia, Lady Gladstone stated that she had received a report from the Air Ministry stating that, in their considered opinion, the mishap to the aeroplane on its flight to Abyssinia was accidental.

On Minute 9(a) -- Italy and Abyssinia, it was

RESOLVED: "That the second sentence and the first word of the third sentence in paragraph (a) be deleted; and that the word 'however' be inserted immediately before the resolutions (1) and (2)."

The Chairman read to the Committee the following letter which he had written to Mr. Eden in accordance with the Executive's request on January 10th, 1936.

"I found my Executive yesterday very anxious to give you any support that they could in carrying out a League policy with regard to the Abyssinian war, but inclined to think that for the present it would be most helpful to you if we took no particular public action and did not trouble you with requests to receive a deputation. However, they asked me to assure you that they still remain of the same mind in wishing for decisive League action to put an end to the Italian aggression as speedily as possible. We particularly dread the policy of doing nothing and trusting to the Abyssinians and the weather to defeat Mussolini. Such a policy would (1) allow the war, with all its cruelties, to drag on for an indefinite time (2) it would be a confession of impotence on the part of the League and the complete collapse of the principle of collective security, and ~~it would~~ it would prolong the friction with Italy to a time when we may be threatened by other and greater dangers. Of course we all hope that we will be able to impose the oil sanction at once, especially if the American Government carries out its proposed legislation. We know that there may be practical difficulties in the way of enforcing a thoroughly effective embargo on oil. But we cannot think that any consideration of Mussolini's feelings or any hope of mitigating his hostility to this country ought to be taken into account. That is no longer practical politics.

I also have to add that so far as we can judge the feelings of our people in the country, there is a special revulsion against the thought of supplying the Italians with the petroleum by means of which they are able to bomb the Red Cross and carry out their other acts of frightfulness.

Lord Cecil stated that, when seeing Lord Cranborne recently on another matter, he had taken the opportunity of submitting to him in writing his views on the present situation in regard to the oil embargo. P. I. O.

15. ITALY AND ABYSSINIA.

(a) Oil Embargo. At the request of the Chairman Mr. Eppstein reported upon a conversation with the Press department of the Foreign Office. Sir Austen Chamberlain expressed concern at the growing habit of reporting to the Executive conversations with officials of the Foreign Office. Lord Cecil stated that Mr. Eppstein's interview had taken place at the request of the Foreign Office, whose Press department were concerned with giving information to the newspapers and were therefore in a different category from other permanent officials.

Sir Austen Chamberlain drew attention to the disquieting news from America contained in the morning press. It indicated not merely that the U.S.A. might not proceed further with an oil embargo, but it appeared to be a revision of the policy which abandoned the doctrine of the "freedom of the seas".

Professor Webster asked whether it would not be of immense advantage to the future of collective security that American policy should be ascertained, as would happen if the League Members decided to impose an oil embargo and the U.S.A. made the League embargo ineffective. He did not believe that public opinion in America would allow this to happen. It was suggested that Professor Webster might see his way to write a letter to THE TIMES on these lines.

Attention was drawn to a communique concerning the British Government's attitude to an oil embargo which was issued after the meeting of the Cabinet on the previous day and broadcast by the B.B.C. the same evening.

After discussion it was, on the motion of Lord Cecil

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

Hopes that at the approaching meetings at Geneva His Majesty's Government

Will continue to take the lead in pressing for all measures necessary to bring the Italian invasion of Abyssinia to an end as soon as possible; and with that object

Will make it clear that they are ready to join other League powers in prohibiting the export to Italy of petroleum and its derivatives from sources under their control.

The Committee hopes and believes that such action will not be rendered fruitless by the action or inaction of Powers not members of the League.

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

(b) League of Nations Flag. The Executive considered a memorandum (S.G.8013) by the Secretary on the subject of a League of Nations Flag. After some discussion, it was

RESOLVED: "That a small Committee be appointed to consider and report on the question whether, and if so under what conditions, use should be made of a League of Nations Flag; and that it be left to the Chairman to nominate this Committee."

The Chairman invited members of the Executive to send him in writing any nominations for this sub-Committee that they might wish to suggest.

(c) Communication from the Women's International League. Professor Murray reported a communication from the Women's International League inviting the Union to sign an international PEOPLE'S MANDATE TO GOVERNMENTS. It was

RESOLVED: "That the invitation of the Women's International League be not accepted."

16. LONDON NAVAL CONFERENCE. The Committee considered a memorandum (S.G.8011) prepared by Admiral Drury-Lowe in accordance with the Executive's request. Owing to Commander Lewis' absence from home Admiral Drury-Lowe had been unable to consult him before circulating the memorandum but he understood that Commander Lewis agreed with his proposals. The memorandum proposed to extend the age limit for capital ships from 20 to 26 years; to reduce the size of capital ships and maximum calibre of naval guns; and to take the principle of collective security into account in estimating the minimum number of cruisers required by any particular sea-trading nation for protecting trade routes against aggression. Three amendments desired by Admiral Drury-Lowe were made in the paper, and, after discussion, it was

RESOLVED: "That Admiral Drury-Lowe be warmly thanked for his memorandum, and that the memorandum be received."

17. EX-SERVICE MEN AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION. The Executive considered a report (S.G.8010) presented by Admiral Drury-Lowe after conversations with General Sir Frederick Maurice (President of the British Legion) and Colonel Crossfield (Member of the National Executive Council). After discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That Admiral Drury-Lowe be thanked for his report."

- (2) "That paragraph (1) of Admiral Drury-Lowe's report be referred to the Branches Committee for consideration and report."

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- (3) "That, for the future, all resolutions of importance which are adopted by the Union's Executive or General Council in connection with the work of the League or the international situation and which are of interest to the British Legion, be communicated to the Legion's Headquarters."
- (4) "That the Secretary be asked to write to Sir Frederick Maurice, informing him that the Executive would welcome an opportunity of resuming closer co-operation with the British Legion and inviting his suggestions to this end."

18. REPORT OF JOINT MEETING OF ROTARY INTERNATIONAL AND THE UNION. The Committee received the Minutes of the Joint Meeting of Rotary International and the Union held on December 10th, 1935.

On Minute 2(d) — Bribery and Unfair Commercial Practices, it was

RESOLVED: "That the Economic Committee be asked to prepare a resolution on the question of Bribery and Unfair Commercial Practices for consideration by the Executive with a view to its being submitted to the Plenary Congress of the International Federation next June."

19. CO-OPTATIONS TO EXECUTIVE. The Committee received an oral report from the Co-optations Sub-Committee and it was

RESOLVED: "That Mr. Emrys Evans, M.P. and Brigadier General Temperley be invited to join the Executive Committee."

The Secretary was asked, in writing to Mr. Emrys Evans, to state that Sir Austen Chamberlain had assured the Committee that Mr. Emrys Evans would find it possible to attend the meetings more or less regularly.



CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT  
14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W. 1., ON THURSDAY,  
JANUARY 23RD, 1936 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Professor Gilbert Murray (in the Chair),  
Vyvyan Adams, Miss J. Ansell, W. Arnold Forster,  
Mrs. Corbett Ashby, P.J. Noel Baker, Michael  
Barkway, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Major  
Anthony Buxton, Lord Cecil, Sir Austen Chamber-  
lain, Lord Dickinson, Admiral Drury-Lowe, Mrs.  
Dugdale, Miss F. Fawcett, Lady Gladstone,  
Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, Dr. C.W. Kimmins,  
Lady Layton, Commander Lewis, G. le M. Mander,  
Sir Archibald Sinclair, Professor Webster,  
Mrs. Wilson Fox, Major Lawrence Wright, L.M.  
Wynch together with the Secretary and the  
Deputy Secretary.

20. EXCUSES FOR ABSENCE were received from F.M. Burris,  
Captain V.A. Cazalet, Miss Courtney, Miss M. Lloyd George,  
Captain Green, Sir Arthur Haworth, Captain Loder, Lord  
Lytton, Sir John Power, Lord Rhayader, Nowell Smith,  
H.S. Syrett and L.J. Cadbury.

21. DEATH OF HIS MAJESTY KING GEORGE THE FIFTH. The following  
telegram which had been sent to Her Majesty the Queen on  
January 21st over the signatures of Lord Cecil, Professor  
Murray and Dr. Garnett was read to the Committee:

"The League of Nations Union with deep respect  
offers its sincere sympathy in the passing of His  
beloved Majesty King George the Fifth. We shall  
ever remember and cherish with gratitude the kindly  
interest which our gracious King always showed in  
the development of the League of Nations for the  
prevention of war and the organisation of peace."

The following reply was also read:

"I am deeply grateful to you and the members of  
the League of Nations Union for your kind message  
of sympathy in my great loss. MARY."

Messages of condolence from the French and Belgian  
League of Nations Societies, the International Federation  
and the Committee of Intellectual Co-operation were  
reported.

It was

- RESOLVED: (1) That the telegram sent on behalf of the  
Union to Her Majesty the Queen be endorsed  
by this Executive.
- (2) That the Union's telegram to Her Majesty  
the Queen, together with Her Majesty's reply,  
be published in HEADWAY. P.T.O.

- (3) That a message from the Union be sent to His Majesty King Edward VIII, and that the Secretary be asked to consult Lord Algram regarding the form the message should take.
- (4) That the office be closed on Tuesday, January 28th.
22. THE LATE MARQUIS OF READING. The Chairman read to the Executive a letter he had received from Lady Reading, thanking the Committee for their expression of sympathy.
23. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.
- (a) Office Committee. Subject to the following decisions on Minute 7, the Minutes of the Committee dated January 14th, 1936 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (1) Minutes; (2) Mr. Robinson's Insurance Policies; (3) Mr. Archer; (4) Mr. Weston; (5) Miss Spaul; (6) National Canvass; (7) Conditions under which Appointments to the Secretariat are made.

On Minute 7 - Conditions under which Appointments to the Secretariat are made, the Executive considered the memorandum from the Staff Committee (D.S.2096) together with a statement (D.S.2093) setting forth the conditions under which appointments to the Secretariat are at present made. At the request of the Chairman the Secretary read to the Executive particulars of the appointments mentioned on page 3 of the Staff Committee's memorandum (D.S.2097). After considerable discussion it was

- RESOLVED: (1) That the Office Committee be asked to consider the desirability of inviting the staff to nominate from year to year one of their number for service on the Committee.
- (2) That in making appointments, candidates who are members of the staff shall be preferred to candidates from outside even though the latter possess somewhat superior qualifications, but not if the superiority is so great that such a course would injure the interests of the Union.
- (3) That the Office Committee be asked to enquire and to report upon the possibility of increasing the salaries of members of the staff who have received no increments during the past seven years.

24. MINUTES. Subject to the following decision and report on Minutes 14-5, 14-9(a), and 19, the Minutes of the Committee dated January 16th were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 14 - 5 - 380 - Aeroplane for Abyssinia, Lady Gladstone reported the safe arrival of the Union's aeroplane at Addis Ababa, and it was

RESOLVED: That the Chairman be asked to send a telegram to Air Commodore Fellowes, thanking him and congratulating him on his successful flight.

On Minute 14 -- 9(a) - Italy and Abyssinia, the word 'therefore' in line twenty-one of the Chairman's letter to Mr. Eden was corrected to read 'thirdly'.

On Minute 19 - Co-optations to Executive, the Secretary reported a letter from Mr. Emrys Evans thanking the Executive for their invitation but regretting that, since he had to attend to his business in the City every day, it was not possible for him to accept membership of the Committee. A reply had not yet been received from General Temperley. After discussion, during which the name of Mr. J.H.F. McEwan, M.P., was suggested by Mrs. Dugdale and Mr. Vyvyan Adams, it was

RESOLVED: That the Co-optations Committee be asked to consider and recommend for consideration by the Executive the name of a Conservative Member of Parliament who might be invited to fill the vacancy caused by Major Hillis' resignation.

25. ITALY AND ABYSSINIA. Oil Embargo. The Executive were reminded that at Geneva on the previous day the Committee of Eighteen had appointed a Committee of Experts to conduct a technical examination of the conditions governing the trade in and transport of petroleum and its derivatives, by-products and residues, with a view to submitting an early report to the Committee of Eighteen on the effectiveness and extension of the embargo to the above mentioned commodities. The Executive decided to take no further action at the present meeting.

26. NAVAL DISARMAMENT. The Executive considered two draft resolutions (S.G.8020) on Naval Disarmament proposed by the Chairman, together with an amendment to the second resolution (S.G.8023) proposed by Admiral Drury-Lowe. The Committee were reminded of the changed circumstances (including Germany's withdrawal from the League) since the resolution on Disarmament was adopted by the International Federation at Budapest in 1931, and it was

RESOLVED: (1) That the Sub-Committee appointed by the Executive on March 28th, 1935, to consider political resolutions, be asked to prepare a statement of policy in regard to disarmament for consideration by the Executive.  
P.T.O.

- (2) That Admiral Drury-Lowe be invited to join the Sub-Committee; and that Major-General Temperley, if he accepts membership of the Executive, be also invited to serve on the Sub-Committee.

27. REMOVAL OF NATIONAL DISCONTENTMENTS. The Executive were reminded that the General Council at its meeting in December had decided to adjourn the motion on this subject for consideration at the next meeting.

The Executive had before them a memorandum (S.G.3012a) suggesting that the following aspects of the subject should be considered:

- (1) Demonstrating that the League of Nations stands for justice as well as for peaceful change (Article 19 and elsewhere) as well as for the prevention of attempts to enforce change (Article 10 and elsewhere).
- (2) The development of suitable procedure for the application of Article 19, a matter upon which the Executive has already made definite recommendations.
- (3) Colonial Territories, on which subject the General Council had passed a resolution at its last meeting and the Union had published a monograph last week.

It was proposed that the Sub-Committee on the reform of the League should be asked to consider these matters with a view to preparing a statement for consideration by the Executive, and after discussion it was

RESOLVED: That it be left to the Chairman to decide to which Sub-Committee this matter be referred.

28. COMMUNICATION FROM M. DOLIVET AND GENERAL POUDEIROUX. The Executive considered a communication dated January 17th which Lord Cecil had received from M. Louis Dolivet and General Poudeiroux concerning their proposed RASSEMBLEMENT UNIVERSEL POUR LA PAIX. Lord Cecil stated that M. Dolivet was working with a group of men in France, of whom M. Pierre Cot was probably the best known, with a view to getting some kind of agreement amongst all the societies working for peace regarding the action, particularly in the field of education, they should recommend and take. Lord Cecil thought that such a movement might be very productive in France. M. Dolivet further proposed that the movement should be extended to all other countries in order to secure some kind of "rassemblement" or co-operation between the various societies in each country who are working for peace, and he had made various suggestions to this end. Lord Cecil understood that the proposal had been received with sympathy and support in Belgium, Spain, Czechoslovakia and Sweden.

- 5 -

Mr. Noel Baker reported recent conversations he had had with M. Dolivet who, he said, did not desire in any way to create new organisations that would attempt to absorb existing national organisations and still less to create an international organisation that would absorb the International Federation of League of Nations Societies. On the contrary he felt that every organisation should maintain full independence but that there should be a co-ordinating link between them.

Sir Austen Chamberlain and other members of the Committee held the view that a new organisation was not needed in this country, but that it was necessary to establish effective and fully-representative national organisations in other countries which would exercise a real influence on the political situation and which, by the exchange of literature and the like, could co-operate with each other. But they insisted that such a movement must be a spontaneous one in each country. After considerable discussion it was

RESOLVED: That M. Dolivet's proposals be referred to the Overseas Committee for consideration and report; and that Mr. Noel Baker be asked to attend the Committee when this matter is under discussion.

CONFIDENTIAL

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

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MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD  
AT 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W. 1., ON THURSDAY,  
JANUARY 30TH, 1936, AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Professor Gilbert Murray (in the Chair),  
Vyvan Adams, Lord Allen, Miss Joyce Ansell,  
Michael Barkway, Lady Violet Bonham Carter,  
F.M. Burris, Major Anthony Buxton, Lord Cecil,  
Sir Austen Chamberlain, Miss P. Fawcett, Lady  
Gladstone, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, Dr.  
Kimmins, Commander Lewis, G. le M. Mander,  
Lord Rhayader, Councillor Shaw, Sir Archibald  
Sinclair, Professor Webster, Mrs. Wilson-Fox,  
Major Lawrence Wright, L.M. Wynch, Sir Alfred  
Zimmern, together with the Secretary and the  
Deputy Secretary.

29. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Mrs. Corbett  
Ashby, P.J. Noel Baker, L.O. Cadbury, Captain V.A. Cazalet,  
the Dean of Chichester, Miss K.D. Courtney, Lord Dickinson,  
Admiral Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss M. Lloyd George,  
Captain L.H. Green, Lady Layton, Captain Loder, Lord  
Lytton, Sir John Power, Nowell Smith and A.G. Walkden.
30. SIR ALFRED ZIMMERN. The Chairman welcomed Sir Alfred  
Zimmern on his return from Canada and the U.S.A. and  
congratulated him on his well deserved honour announced on  
January 1st.
31. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.
- (a) National Youth Groups' Council. Subject to the  
approval of the Finance Committee on Minute 4 and to  
the following decision on Minutes 5 and 10, the  
Minutes of the Council dated January 4th and 5th, 1936,  
were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (1) Address by Professor  
Gilbert Murray; (2) National Canvass; (3) World  
Congress of Youth; (4) World Youth Congress:  
Finance; (5) National Constitution for Youth  
Groups; (6) Active Membership Basis; (7)  
Election of Vice-Presidents; (8) Nominations to  
the Council of the Union; (9) Union Policy;  
(10)-(13) International Affairs; (14) Votes of  
Thanks; (15) Place and Time of Council Meeting,  
1937; (16) Greetings.

On Minute 5 - National Constitution for Youth Groups,  
it was

RESOLVED: "That this Minute be approved and adopted;  
but that the National Youth Council at their  
next meeting be asked to consider the  
desirability of inserting, at the end of the  
paragraph dealing with the affiliation of  
National Youth Organisations in the Appendix  
to the National Constitution for Youth  
Groups, the following words:

P.T.O.

'Provided that the total number of representatives of such affiliated members shall not exceed 10 per cent of the elected representatives of the Youth Groups.'

Miss Ansell thought that the National Youth Council would approve of the insertion of these words.

On Minute 10 - International Affairs, Miss Ansell stated that the motions on international affairs referred to in paragraphs (a) and (b) of this Minute would be submitted to the General Council through the Executive Committee. It was

RESOLVED: That paragraph (b) of the resolution be received, and that the remainder of the Minute be approved and adopted.

- (b) Christian Organisations Committee. The Minutes of the Committee dated January 15th, 1936 were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (1) Minutes; (2) Revision of Hymn Sheet; (3) Albert Hall Meeting; (4) New Member of Committee; (5) applications for Corporate Membership.

- (c) Industrial Advisory Committee. (Lady Hall reported) Subject to the following report and decision on Minutes 2 and 10, the Minutes of the Committee dated January 16th, 1936 were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (1) Minutes; (2) General Election; (3) L.N.U. Party to International Labour Conference; (4) Speakers on the I.L.O.; (5) International Federation of Leagues of Nations Societies; (6) Conferences on the I.L.O.; (7) Deputation to Minister of Labour; (8) Conference on "The I.L.O. and World Planning"; (9) Mr. Gillinder's Report; (10) Industrial Affiliations; (11) Liaison Committee L.N.U. and Rotary International.

On Minute 2(a) - General Election, in reply to a question Lady Hall stated that the meeting of Members of Parliament to be addressed by Mr. H.B. Butler would not be confined to those M.P.'s who had replied favourably to the Union's question on the subject of the non-ratification of International Labour Conventions.

On Minute 10 - Industrial Affiliations, it was

RESOLVED: "That this Minute be approved and adopted subject to the resolution in paragraph (a) being amended to read as follows:

- 3 -

'That if and when Branches of the National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives discontinue their subscriptions to the L.N.U. in consequence of the new regulation of the Operatives Union, that Union be asked to increase its annual subscription to the L.N.U. by an equivalent sum.

- (d) Overseas Committee. (Lady Gladstone reported) Subject to the following report and decision on Minute 2, the Minutes of the Committee dated January 22nd were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (1) Minutes; (2) The German Society for the Study of League of Nations Questions; (3) Italian League of Nations Society's Membership of the Federation; (4) Spring Meeting of the International Federation; (5) L.N.U. and the British Delegation to the Assembly; (6) Overseas Report; (7) L.N.U. Congress on I.L.O. and World Planning; (8) Death of His Majesty the King.

On Minute 2 - The German Society for the Study of League of Nations Questions, it was reported that, in accordance with this Minute, Dr. Garnett had written to the Secretary of the International Federation. A copy of Professor Ruysen's reply dated January 24th was circulated to the Executive, and after discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That Lord Allen be asked, during his forthcoming visit to Germany, to discuss privately with Herr Ribbentrop the proposal to close down the German Society for the Study of League of Nations Questions."

- (e) Editorial Committee. (Major Buxton reported) Subject to the following decision on Minute 5, the Minutes of the Committee dated January 23rd, 1936, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (1) Minutes; (2) "Abyssinia"; (3) Posters; (4) Publications issued since January 1st; (5) New Publications; (6) I.L.O. Conference.

On Minute 5 - New Publications, after the Committee had been reminded of the following resolution adopted by the Executive on December 12th last:

"That a report of the Junior Branches Conference held in the School of Economics on November 29th to December 1st, 1935 be printed and published as a Union pamphlet."



and after Dr. Kimmins and Professor Webster had spoken strongly in favour of the report being published, it was

RESOLVED: "That the resolution of the Executive Committee be re-affirmed."

Sir Austen Chamberlain expressed the hope that the proposed pamphlet on the Royal Commission on the Trade in Arms would not be published before the Commission had issued its Report.

32. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Committee received resolutions from the Barnstaple and Rugby Branches and from the Executive Committee of the Welsh National Council. It was

RESOLVED: (1) That the Barnstaple Branch be thanked for their resolution and that their attention be drawn to the resolutions adopted by the General Council and the Executive on the subject of oil supplies.

In regard to the resolution of the Rugby Branch the Executive were reminded that the Council of the League, at their meeting on January 20th, decided to summon a Conference to meet in Geneva on September 3rd with a view to concluding an International Convention on the use of broadcasting in the cause of peace. They were also reminded of the conversation which Lady Gladstone had had with Lord Cranborne last autumn on the subject of broadcasting news bulletins from Geneva, and it was

RESOLVED: (2) That the Secretary be asked to make enquiries concerning the present position with regard to wireless transmissions from Geneva and to report to the next meeting of the Executive.

In regard to the resolutions of the Welsh National Council the Chairman drew attention to a petition which Lord Davies was organising. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: (3) That the Executive Committee of the Welsh National Council be thanked for their resolutions; that in regard to paragraph (1) they be informed that the Executive Committee is not satisfied that it is opportune at the present time to appoint a Commission on the lines suggested in the resolution; that in regard to paragraph (2) the Welsh National Council be reminded of the resolution adopted by the General Council at its December meeting on the subject of the Italo-Abyssinian dispute; and that paragraph (3) be referred for consideration and report by the Reform of the League Sub-Committee.

33. MINUTES. Subject to the following decision on Minute 21, the Minutes of the Committee dated January 23rd, 1936 were confirmed as circulated.

UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION  
GENERAL COUNCIL

LONDON

20th/22nd July 1951

AGENDA  
AMENDMENTS TO RESOLUTIONS

Amendments to resolutions on the Agenda should be entered on this form, signed by the Chairman and Secretary and forwarded to:-

THE SECRETARY,  
UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION,  
25 CHARLES STREET,  
LONDON, W.1

whom they must reach not later than first post on July 5th, 1951. Only amendments submitted by that date can be printed in the supplementary Agenda.

At a meeting of (state whether it was a meeting of the members or of the committee) .....

held at ..... on (date) .....

it was resolved that the following amendment(s) be submitted to General Council in the name of the

Branch\*  
District Council\*  
Regional Council\*  
National Council\*  
National Organisation of the Association\*  
Affiliated Organisation\*

†Number of resolution ..... †(Title of resolution) .....

Proposed amendment(s)

- 5 -

On Minute 21 - Death of His Majesty King George V, the Committee had before them the text of the Message sent to H.M. King Edward VIII over the signatures of Lord Cecil, Professor Murray and Dr. Garnett. It was

RESOLVED: "That the text of the Message be approved."

34. NAVAL CONFERENCE. Mr. Vyvyan Adams understood that at the meeting of the First Committee of the Naval Conference held on the previous day, the American delegation had proposed the prolongation of the life of battleships from 20 to 26 years, but the proposal had received no publicity in the British press. The Secretary was asked to enquire whether the proposal had been published in the American press and, if so, why it had not appeared in the English papers.

35. JANUARY MEETING OF THE LEAGUE COUNCIL. It was

RESOLVED: "That the Chairman be asked to write to Mr. Eden expressing the Committee's appreciation of, and admiration for, the part he had played in the January meeting of the League Council, and particularly for the successful manner in which he had dealt with the question of Danzig."

36. REFUGEES. Lord Cecil reminded the Executive of the decisions taken by the League Council on the subject of Refugees at its January meeting and spoke of the inter-governmental conference which it was proposed should meet in the summer in order to deal with legal, diplomatic and juridical questions affecting refugees.

The Secretary reported his recent conversation and correspondence with Sir Leon Levison. Sir Leon had drawn attention to the fact that the League's High Commissioner for Refugees, Mr. McDonald, had an advisory committee which included several Jewish members but no representative of non-Aryan "Christians" although in Germany the number of non-Aryan "Christians", Jewish or partly Jewish by race, was some three times as large as the number of racial and religious Jews. It was

RESOLVED: "That the communications from Sir Leon Levison be referred to the Refugees Sub-Committee for consideration and report."

37. CO-OPTIONS TO EXECUTIVE. After receiving an oral report from the Co-optations Committee, it was

RESOLVED: "That Mr. J.F.F. McEwen M.P. be invited to fill the vacancy on the Executive created by Major Hills' resignation."

The Secretary stated that he was in communication with Major General Temperley concerning the Executive's invitation to him to join the Committee.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W. 1., ON THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 6TH, 1936 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Professor Gilbert Murray (in the Chair), Lord Allen, Sir Norman Angell, Miss Joyce Ansell, W. Arnold Forster, Mrs. Corbett Asby, F.J. Noel Baker, F.M. Barris, Major Anthony Buxton, Lord Cecil, Sir Austen Chamberlain, Lord Dickinson, Admiral Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dagdale, Miss P. Fawcett, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, Sir Arthur Haworth, Dr. C.W. Kimmins, Captain Loder, G. le M. Mander, General Temperley, Professor Webster, Mrs. Wilson-Pox, Major Lawrence Wright, L.M. Wynch together with the Secretary and the Deputy Secretary.

38. APologies for Absence were received from Vyvyan Adams, Michael Barkway, Lieut. Cadbury, Captain Cazalet, Miss K.D. Courtney, Captain Green, Miss Lloyd George, Commander Lewis, Lord Lytton, Sir Archibald Sinclair, H.S. Syrett and A.G. Walkden.
39. MAJOR-GENERAL TEMPERLEY. The Chairman welcomed General Temperley who had accepted the invitation to join the Executive and was attending the Committee for the first time.
40. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.
- (a) Women's Advisory Council. (Lady Gladstone reported) The Minutes of the Council dated January 29th, 1936, were approved and adopted.

[These Minutes included (587) His Late Majesty King George V; (588) Minutes; (589) Report of Standing Sub-Committee; (590) Composition of W.A.C. for 1936; (591) Reports of Representatives; (592) Red Cross Aeroplane for Abyssinia; (593) Italy, Abyssinia and the League; (594) Applications for Corporate Associateship; (595) Dates of Future Meetings.]

- (b) Youth Committee. Miss Ansell reported, as a matter of urgency, on a Minute of the Youth Committee dated February 1st, 1936, concerning a letter sent by the Secretary of the Young Communist League inviting the Youth Committee to send delegates or observers to the National Conference of the Young Communist League to be held on February 7th to 9th at the Bermondsey Town Hall. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the invitation of the Young Communist League be not accepted."

It was agreed that members of the Youth Committee who wish to attend the Conference in their personal P.T.O.

capacity should write privately to the Secretary of the Conference informing him of their desire to do so.

41. MINUTES. Subject to the following report and decision on Minutes 34, 35 and 37, the Minutes of the Committee dated January 30th, 1936 were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 34 -- London Naval Conference, the Secretary stated that Mr. Norman Davis' proposal for lengthening the life of capital ships was made in the course of a speech dealing mainly with other topics and was welcomed by the Chairman, Lord Monsell, who promised that it should be subsequently discussed by the Conference. In these circumstances reference to this matter had been omitted from the British press communique, although the Americans had mentioned it in a communication to Reuter which had been printed in THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN. There had been no attempt by the British authorities either to suppress or to oppose the American delegation's proposal.

On Minute 35 -- January Meeting of the League, the Chairman reported that he had written to Mr. Eden and he read to the Committee the Foreign Secretary's reply.

On Minute 37 -- Co-optations, the Secretary reported that Mr. J.P.F. McEwen was unable to accept the invitation to join the Executive Committee. On the motion of Mr. Loder it was

RESOLVED: "That Mr. Mark Patrick, M.P. be invited to fill the vacancy on the Executive created by Major Hills' resignation."

42. PETITION ORGANISED BY THE NEW COMMONWEALTH. The Secretary reported that he had received a number of letters from Union members asking for the Executive's guidance in replying to invitations to sign the Petition now being organised by the New Commonwealth.

Lord Cecil felt that the use of the word 'tribunal' in the Petition was fatal to the proposal because people would never be persuaded that a tribunal was not to have the power of deciding issues. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That in replying to enquiries regarding the Petition of the New Commonwealth, the Secretary be asked to state that the Executive Committee is not satisfied that it is opportune at the present time to appoint a Commission on the lines suggested in the Petition."

43. ITALY AND ABYSSINIA.

(a) Oil Embargo. At the request of the Chairman the Secretary read to the Committee a letter dated January 26th from the Secretary of the League of Nations Union Group at Port Said, stating that the harbour at Suez "was crowded with ships, many of them loading motor lorries and benzine

for the Italian armies in Abyssinia. There were two Greek ships piled high with lorries of American manufacture. The petrol carriers were British."

Lord Cecil drew the Committee's attention to the statement, appearing that morning in THE TIMES, that if the United States refused to restrict her supplies to Italy to what had been normal in the past there was little chance of any embargo becoming effective.

Sir Norman Angell spoke of conversations he had recently had with members of the State Department. He added that, in his view, we could depend upon the peace forces in America to take a firm stand against the restoration of the policy of the "freedom of the seas".

Lord Cecil expressed the opinion that H.M. Government policy ought not to be framed on the theory that the U.S.A. may not co-operate in any way. An endeavour should be made to persuade all the other nations to impose the embargo and thus leave to the U.S.A. the full odium of breaking that embargo if they chose to do so.

Sir Austen Chamberlain suggested that the Chairman should send a letter to Mr. Eden, stating that the Executive Committee feel that it would be fatal to any hope of American co-operation to make action by the League conditional on previous action by America; and that, if agreement can be secured at Geneva, the Executive think the League ought to act independently of the U.S.A., leaving her to take such action as she thinks proper. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Chairman be asked to write to Mr. Eden on those lines."

(b) Assistance to Abyssinian War Victims. The Committee had before them a memorandum (S.G.8037) concerning proposals made by Mr. Neumann for assistance to Abyssinian war victims. Mr. Neumann had visited this country on behalf of the Comité d'Aide et Assistance aux Victimes de la Guerre en Ethiopie; and it was his aim to endeavour to start a similar committee in Great Britain with the ultimate intention of forming a federation of such national committees. Mr. Neumann had also discussed his project with the British Red Cross Society and the Save the Children Fund among other bodies. A letter from the French League of Nations Society on this subject was considered by the Executive. After discussion, during which the opinion was expressed that since existing bodies, such as the British Red Cross and the Save the Children Fund were already working to provide assistance for Abyssinian war victims, the creation of a new body in this country would hinder rather than help the work now being done, and it was

RESOLVED: (2) "That no action be taken".

P.T.O.

(c) Loan to Abyssinia. The attention of the Executive was drawn to the loan to Abyssinia which Professor Javons was endeavouring to raise in this country. The Committee felt that it was outside the scope of the Union's business to assist in raising money for war-like operations.

44. BROADCAST OF LEAGUE NEWS FROM GENEVA. The Secretary reported a conversation he had had with Lord Cranborne concerning the broadcast of League news from Geneva. Lord Cranborne had stated that the Conference which the League Council had summoned to meet in Geneva on September 3rd was intended to deal only with the negative aspect of broadcasting; viz: a voluntary renunciation on the part of the signatory States to abstain from broadcasting whatever might be offensive to the other signatories. Lord Cranborne added that the question whether the League ought to broadcast statements which the Government of any State did not want its nationals to hear was a very large one and ought to receive careful consideration before it was decided. So far as he knew, the League's broadcasting station was at present only used for broadcasting, in short, actual decisions of the Council or Assembly.

Mrs. Corbett Ashby reminded the Executive of the Preliminary Draft International Convention for the use of broadcasting in the cause of peace drafted by a Committee of Experts convened by the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. It was

RESOLVED: "That the Drafting Sub-Committee when it meets on Monday February 10th, be asked to prepare a resolution on the positive aspect of broadcasting League news for consideration by the Executive with a view to its being submitted to the International Federation."

45. AIR COMMODORE FELLOWES. On the motion of Admiral Drury-Lowe it was

RESOLVED: "That, on his return to this country, Air Commodore Fellowes be invited to speak to the Executive Committee on his experiences in Abyssinia; and that Lady Gladstone be asked to convey this invitation to Commodore Fellowes."

46. GERMANY. The attention of the Executive was drawn to a speech delivered by Herr Hitler on January 30th last.

The Executive had before them a memorandum by Mr. Noel Baker on the Demilitarised Zone of the Rhine (S.G.C043). Mr. Baker said that during his recent visit to Paris he had found great apprehension about the German situation and the possibility of some sudden German fait accompli. M. Pierre Cot and his friends did not, of course, reject proposals for peaceful change in respect of this or any other part of the Treaty of Versailles, provided Germany did not seek to achieve that change by force or threat of force. In other words, if the League were able to carry through a system of disarmament and collective security, then the status of the Rhineland might well be modified

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by general agreement. But they hoped for some pronouncement by the League of Nations Union that British public opinion would condemn an armed coup at the present time. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That consideration of this question be adjourned; and that, in the meantime, the Secretariat be asked to prepare, for the information of the Executive, a collection of statements made on behalf of the German Government as well as of H.M. Government to the effect that the Treaties of Locarno will be observed."

47. MEETINGS OF EXECUTIVE. On the motion of Sir Austen Chamberlain it was

RESOLVED: "That the Executive do not meet on February 20th or on the second or fourth Thursdays in subsequent months."

The Committee were reminded that the Industrial Advisory Committee's Conference on THE I.L.O. AND WORLD PLANNING will be in session from February 18th to February 20th.

CONFIDENTIAL

## LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT  
14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W. 1., ON THURSDAY,  
FEBRUARY 13TH, 1936 AT 10.45 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Lytton (in the Chair), Miss Joyce Ansell,  
W. Arnold-Forster, P.J. Noel Baker, Lady Violet  
Bonham Carter, Major Anthony Buxton, Captain  
Cazalet, Lord Cecil, Sir Austen Chamberlain,  
Lord Dickinson, Admiral Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dugdale,  
Miss P. Fawcett, Lady Gladstone, Captain Green,  
Sir Arthur Haworth, Dr. Kimmins, Lady Layton,  
Captain Loder, G. le M. Mander, Mark Patrick,  
Sir Archibald Sinclair, General Temperley,  
Professor Webster, Mrs. Wilson-Fox, Major  
Lawrence Wright, L.M. Wynch, Sir Alfred Zimmern,  
together with the Secretary and Deputy Secretary.

48. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Mrs. Corbett  
Ashby, F.M. Burris, L.J. Cadbury, the Dean of Chichester,  
Miss K.D. Courtney, Miss M. Lloyd George, Commander Norman  
Lewis, Lord Rhayader, Nowell Smith and H.S. Syrett.

49. MR. MARK PATRICK. The Chairman welcomed Mr. Mark Patrick  
who had accepted the invitation to re-join the Executive.

50. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

(a) Joint Committee on Report prepared by National Institute  
of Industrial Psychology, (Dr. Garnett reported).  
It was

RESOLVED: "That the report of the Joint Committee  
(G.5043) be received, and that the recom-  
mendations contained in the report be  
referred for consideration by the appro-  
priate sub-Committees of the Executive."

(b) Youth Committee. (Miss Ansell reported) Subject to  
the following decision on Minutes 12 and 15, the  
Minutes of the Committee dated February 1st, 1936,  
were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (7) Composition of the  
Committee; (8) Election of Chairman and Vice-  
Chairman; (9) Minutes; (10) Youth Groups; (11)  
Young Communist League; (12) International  
Youth Conference at Brussels; (13) World Youth  
Congress; (14) National Committee of British  
Youth Organisations; (15) Youth Groups' Posters.

On Minute 12 - International Youth Congress at  
Brussels, it was

RESOLVED: "That since the Executive will not be  
meeting again until February 27th, it be  
left to the Chairman, after receiving the  
report of the Overseas Committee referred  
to in Minute 50 (g) (3) below, to decide  
P.T.O.



what action shall be taken on this Minute, subject always to the approval of the Finance Committee of any expenditure involved."

On Minute 15 -- Youth Groups Posters, it was

RESOLVED: "That this Minute be referred to the Editorial Committee for consideration and report."

- (c) Mandates Committee. (Mrs. Dugdale reported) Subject to the following decision on Minute 3, the Minutes of the Committee dated February 4th, 1936, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (1) Minutes; (2) Problem of Colonial Redistribution; (3) Peace Terms for the Abyssinian War;

On Minute 3 -- Peace Terms for the Abyssinian War, it was

RESOLVED: "That this Minute be adjourned for consideration at the next meeting of the Executive, and be then included as a substantive item on the agenda in accordance with Minute 56 below."

- (d) Editorial Committee. (Dr. Garnett reported) Subject to the following decision on Minute 12, the Minutes of the Committee dated February 6th, 1936, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (8) Minutes; (9) New Editions and Reprints during 1935; (10) "Abyssinia"; (11) Sales Organisation; (12) Posters; (13) Publications of the Month;

On Minute 12 -- Posters, the Secretary reported that he had written to Lord Wigram asking for His Majesty's permission to reproduce in poster form the quotations from His late Majesty King George and His Majesty King Edward. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That if His Majesty is willing to allow the Union to reproduce in poster form the quotations contained in paragraphs (1) and (3) of the Editorial Committee's Minute, a proof of the posters in the form in which they are intended to be displayed be submitted for His Majesty's approval."

- (2) "That the proposal contained in paragraph (2) of the Minute for a third poster to be displayed between the two posters mentioned in the previous resolution be not approved."

- (e) Minorities Committee. With the exception of Minutes 3 and 4 (2) which are covered by the decision contained in Minute 55 below, consideration of the Minutes of the meeting dated February 6th was adjourned.
- (f) Traffic in Women and Children Committee. Lady Gladstone reported as a matter of urgency on the Minutes of the Committee held on February 12th.

On Minute 2 -- Russian Refugee Women in the Far East. Lady Gladstone stated that the Committee intended before the next Assembly to discuss the financial aspects of this problem with a view to urging upon the British delegate on the Fourth Commission the need for money to be granted for this work. It was

- RESOLVED: (1) "That paragraph (1) of the resolution be adjourned for consideration at the next meeting of the Executive."
- (2) "That, while approving paragraphs (2) and (3) of the resolution, the Executive is of opinion that the financing of a League of Nations agent to assist the White Russian refugee women is an expense which should be defrayed by the League itself."
- (3) "That the Secretariat be asked to prepare a memorandum on the whole subject of the finances of the League, with special reference to decisions of the assembly to undertake work, the cost of which has to be defrayed by charities or from other funds not provided by the League or its Members."

- (g) Overseas Committee. Lady Gladstone reported on the special meeting of the Committee held on February 5th to consider the communication from M. Dolivet to Lord Cecil.

Lord Cecil said that the weakness of the League at present was that it had an imperfect and unlightened amount of support in most foreign countries. The cause of the League would be enormously strengthened if public opinion were educated and organised in support of the League in each country as it is in Great Britain. For the first time, so far as he knew, an effort had been made in France to organise what he believed to be the immense latent feeling in favour of peace and the League of Nations and make it articulate. He was anxious that the Union should support this effort in every way it could.

At the request of Professor Murray, Lord Lytton communicated to the Committee certain information which had reached the secretariat two days previously. It appeared that Sir Walter Citrins had been asked by M. Dolivet to give his adherence to the proposed RASSEMBLEMENT POUR LA PAIX but had refused to do so after enquiries

had been made into M. Dolivet's antecedents and the organisation which he represented in Paris. It was believed that M. Dolivet was working under M. Willi Muenzenberg who had been for some time employed to direct the ancillary movements of the Communist International, one object of which was to weaken the Labour movement in this country and the Trade Union organisation.

Lord Cecil read to the Executive a letter he had received from Count de Montbrison, giving particulars of the personnel of the RASSEMBLEMENT UNIVERSEL POUR LA PAIX;

Sir Austen Chamberlain did not see how the proposal for a Rassemblement was going to achieve the purpose Lord Cecil had in view. If a strong League of Nations Society like the Union in Great Britain could be formed in each country an enormous result would be achieved. But that could only be done by nationals working within their own countries. If the Union could help in any way by its own experience, it would be glad to do so and it might agree to co-operate with any effective organisation which might be formed. But to agree to co-operate in a central organisation before national associations had been created did not seem to him the right course. Sir Austen thought the Executive ought to be told (1) what is the body which is organising the Congress mentioned in the Overseas Committee's report; (2) what is the purpose for which it is being organised; and (3) what is the action which the organisers hope will be taken. If this information were forthcoming the Executive would be in a better position to decide not only whether it wished to have anything to do with the proposal at all, but, assuming that it did, whether the Union was the best body to send a representative to the Congress or whether it should try and combine with other societies to send an English delegation.

After considerable discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the following resolutions of the Overseas Committee be approved and adopted:

- (a) To thank Mr. Noel Baker for his attendance at the Overseas Committee and for the information he had conveyed and to express deep satisfaction at the signs of public opinion on the Continent awakening to the essential need for a strong and enduring League of Nations.
- (b) To approve and adopt Lady Gladstone's memorandum and to welcome in particular her insistence that the real need is for people in every country who desire peace to give 'generously of their time and money to the work of building up strong national societies'.

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- (c) That in any new movement that might be started, nothing should be done to weaken the position of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies to which the League of Nations Union has been subscribing large sums of money for the last fifteen years. Indeed the object of any new movement should be to strengthen the Federation.
- (2) "That the Executive Committee would welcome any well considered movement for improving the popular organisations in Europe for peace through the League of Nations, and, subject to being satisfied that the conditions of the proposed conference are satisfactory both as to personnel and detailed objects of the Conference the Executive Committee will be prepared to give it its support."
- (3) "That the Overseas Committee be asked to make further enquiries regarding the personnel and detailed objects of the proposed R.U.F. Conference, as well as of the Brussels Conference (referred to in Minute 50(b) above) and to report to the Executive at its next meeting; and that members of the Executive, to be nominated by Lord Lytton, be invited to attend the Overseas Committee when this matter is under consideration.
51. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Executive received resolutions from the Leyton Branch and the Sussex Federal Council, and it was
- RESOLVED: (1) "That the Leyton Branch be thanked for their resolution and informed of the action taken by the Executive Committee in the direction they desire."
- (2) "That the Sussex Federal Council be thanked for their resolutions concerning HEADWAY and concerning oil sanctions, and be informed that the resolution concerning HEADWAY will be considered by the Editorial Committee."
52. MINUTES. Subject to the following report on Minute 43, the Minutes of the Committee dated February 6th were confirmed as circulated.
- On Minute 43 - Italy and Abyssinia (Oil Embargo) the letter written by Professor Murray to Mr. Eden on February 6th, in accordance with the Committee's request, was read, together with Mr. Eden's reply.

53. ITALY AND ABYSSINIA.— Embargo on Oil, the attention of the Committee was drawn to the report appearing in the press that the Committee of Eighteen would not be meeting until March 2nd to consider the report of the oil experts. It was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Secretary be asked to make private enquiries of Lord Cranborne concerning the reason for the delay in the meeting of the Committee of Eighteen."

- (2) "That, in replying to enquiries from Branch Secretaries regarding the Executive's policy at the present time on the subject of oil sanctions, the Secretary be asked to follow the lines of Professor Murray's letter of February 6th to Mr. Eden; and to add that the Executive Committee hopes that the Committee of Eighteen will meet as early as possible to consider the report of the experts, and that, since the report of the experts was only published on the day of the Executive's meeting, the Committee had not yet had time to examine it."

54. BROADCASTING OF LEAGUE NEWS. The Committee had before them a resolution (S.C.8058) on the broadcasting of League News from Geneva, submitted by the Drafting Committee in accordance with Minute 44 of the last meeting. The Secretary read to the Executive a letter dated 11th February, 1930, from Mr. Burrows, the Secretary of the International Broadcasting Union. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That consideration of the draft resolution be adjourned until the next meeting."

55. MEETINGS OF INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION. It was

RESOLVED: "That the Union's delegates to the forthcoming meetings of the Federation's Standing Committees at Geneva be asked to deal with the items on the agenda in the light of the Executive's declared policy, making it perfectly plain, however, that the Executive reserves its right to examine and propose amendments to any draft Resolutions that may be agreed to at the Geneva Meetings before they are submitted to the Plenary Congress of the Federation in June."

56. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES. It was

RESOLVED: "That, in future, when important questions of policy are submitted to the Executive in the reports of Sub-Committees, they should appear as separate items on the Executive's agenda."

CONFIDENTIAL

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

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MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD  
AT 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W. 1., ON THURSDAY,  
FEBRUARY 27TH, 1936, AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Professor Murray (in the Chair), Sir Norman  
Angell, Miss Joyce Ansell, Mrs. Corbett Ashby,  
P.J. Noel Baker, Lady Violet Bonham Carter,  
F.M. Burris, Major Anthony Buxton, L.J. Cadbury,  
Captain V.A. Cazalet, Lord Cecil, Sir Austen  
Chamberlain, the Dean of Chichester, Lord  
Dickinson, Admiral Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dugdale,  
Miss P. Pawcett, Lady Gladstone, Captain L.H.  
Green, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, Dr. C.W.  
Kimmins, Lady Layton, Captain J. de V. Loder,  
Lord Lytton, G. le M. Mander, Mark Patrick,  
Sir Archibald Sinclair, General A.C. Temperley,  
A.G. Walkden, Mrs. Wilson-Fox, Major Lawrence  
Wright, L.M. Wynch, Sir Alfred Zimmerman, together  
with the Secretary and the Deputy Secretary.

27. APPOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Lord Allen,  
Michael Barkway, Miss K.D. Courtney, Miss M. Lloyd George,  
Newell Smith and H.S. Syrett.

28. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

(a) Office Committee. (Professor Murray reported) The  
Minutes of the Committee dated February 11th, 1936  
were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (8) Minutes; (9)  
Representation of Staff on Office Committee;  
(10) The Making of Future Appointments; (11)  
Members of the Staff whose Salaries have not  
been increased for more than seven years; (12)  
Conditions of Service of the Clerical Staff;  
(13) Additional Staff for National Convass in  
London; (14) Miss Wimperis; (15) Mr. Wayman.

(b) Minorities Committee. Subject to the decision on  
Minutes 3 and 4 (2) contained in Minute 55 of the  
last meeting, and to the following report, and subject  
also to Minute 4(1) being adjourned until the next  
meeting, the Minutes of the Committee dated February  
6th, 1936 were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (1) Minutes; (2)  
Composition of Committee; (3) Agenda for the  
Federation; (4) Minority Policy; (5) M.  
Tzanouballi.

On Minute 3 - Agenda for the Federation, Major Buxton  
reported that the Minorities Committee of the Inter-  
national Federation had recommended that national  
Societies be asked whether they thought it advisable  
that national committees consisting of majority and  
minority representatives should be set up in countries

having minorities, preferably by, or with the help of, governments. Societies should also be asked whether they were in favour of an international Committee which might be composed of delegates from competent international organisations for the purpose of enquiring into minority questions, the enquiry to extend to the functions which such organisations and committees might exercise with regard to minority complaints.

- (c) Library Committee. (Dr. Kimmins reported) Subject to the following decision on Minute 4, the Minutes of the Committee dated February 10th, 1936, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (1) Minutes of last meeting; (2) Book List; (3) Composition of the Committee for 1936; (4) Report on the Work of the Library during 1935; (5) 59th Annual Conference of the Library Association; (6) Sunday Times Book Exhibition.

On Minute 4 - Report of the Work of the Library during 1935, it was

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

Dr. Kimmins stated that the Library Committee, at their next meeting, would consider proposals for making the Library self-supporting.

- (d) Education Committee. (Dr. Kimmins reported) Subject to the following decision on Minute 2 (164), the Minutes of the Committee dated February 10th, 1936 were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (2) Arising out of the Minutes; (3) Deputation to the President of the Board of Education; (4) The Present International Situation; (5) Membership of the Committee; (6) Meetings for Teachers and Schools; (7) Report on Work in Universities and Colleges; (8) Report of the National Youth Committee; (9) Resignation of Miss Wimperis; (10) National Council on the Teaching of International Relations; (11) Films and Slides Sub-Committee; (12) Junior Branches Sub-Committee; (13) Summer Schools, Camps and Conferences; (14) Junior Branches in Scotland; (15) Sign Language; (16) Communication from the British Esperanto Association; (17) New Series of Postcards; (18) Recognition of Junior Branches; (19) (Educational) Corporate Members;

On Minute 2 - 164 - Proposed Magazine for Schools, Lady Layton and other members of the Committee spoke of the urgent need which existed for a journal suitable for circulation in schools and Junior Branches, and it was

- 3 -

RESOLVED: "That the Executive Committee is of opinion that a magazine for schools and Junior Branches is urgently needed, and asks the Editorial Committee to consider and make proposals for the publication of such a magazine."

Sir Norman Angell expressed his agreement with this resolution provided that there should be no duplication of existing Union publications and that, if possible, the new journal should be financially self-supporting.

- (e) Refugees Committee. (Lord Cecil reported) Subject to the following decision on Minute 6, the Minutes of the Committee dated February 11th, 1936 were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (4) Minutes; (5) Report of the Special Committee on International Assistance to Refugees; Action by the Council of the League; (6) Conference in London; (7) Scheme of Campaign; (8) Visit of Maitre Rubinstein; (9) appeal for Refugees; (10) Communication from Sir Leon Levison.

On Minute 6 - Conference in London, it was

RESOLVED. "That this Minute be approved and adopted on the understanding that the proposed Conference should not entail any charge on the funds of the Union."

Conference on Jewish Refugees.

Mrs. Dugdale drew the attention of the Executive to a Conference of the leaders of the Jewish community called for March 15th by Sir Herbert Samuel to launch a three million pound appeal for Jewish Refugees.

RESOLVED: "That Mrs. Dugdale be asked to attend the Conference as a representative of the League of Nations Union."

- (f) Franchises Committee. (Admiral Drury-Lowe reported) Subject to the following decision on Minutes 5 and 6, the Minutes of the Committee dated February 13th were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (1) Minutes; (2) Ex-Service Men and the Union; (3) Private Profit from Arms; (4) Enrolment of New Members; (5) London Regional Federation; (6) Local Declaration Committees; (7) Meetings in 1935; (8) Youth Committee; (9) Branches and Districts; (10) Junior Branches; (11) Corporate Members; (12) Corporate Associates; (13) Industrial Associates; (14) Membership; (15) Posters.

On Minute 5 - London Regional Federation, Major Lawrence Wright urged that the Travelling Secretary for the Metropolitan area whose appointment was recommended by the Branches Committee should be an officer of the London Regional Federation and not of Headquarters. The Secretary



reminded the Executive of the work now being done by Dame Adelaide Livingstone and Miss Bell on behalf of the National Canvass in London, and it was

RESOLVED: "That the Branches Committee be asked to re-consider this Minute, having regard to the recent appointment of Dame Adelaide Livingstone and her assistant to organise the National Canvass in London; and that the Minute be also referred to the Finance Committee for consideration and report."

On Minute 6 - Local Declaration Committees, on the motion of Lord Cecil it was

RESOLVED: "That consideration of this Minute be adjourned until the next meeting."

(g) Christian Organisations Committee. (The Dean of Chichester reported) The Minutes of the Committee dated February 19th were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (7) Minutes; (8) Rev. T.B. Scrutton; (9) Prebendary Thompson; (10) Revision of Hymn Sheet; (11) New Member of Committee; (12) Task of this Committee in the Present International Situation; (13) National Canvass; (14) World Youth Congress; (15) Campaign in the Churches - Proposal to Follow Up Conferences in the Dioceses with Conferences in the Archdeaconries; (16) Applications for Corporate Membership.

59. MINUTES. Subject to the following report on Minute 53, the Minutes of the Committee dated February 13th were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 53 - Italy and Abyssinia - Embargo on Oil, the Secretary reported that he had written to Lord Cranborne in accordance with the Executive's request. He read to the Committee Lord Cranborne's reply dated February 21st.

60. ITALY AND ABYSSINIA. The Committee discussed the speech delivered by Mr. Eden in the course of the debate in the House of Commons on February 24th.

Lord Cecil considered that sanctions were only useful if they put a stop to the war, and that therefore the Union ought to press for the most effective sanctions possible until Mussolini was ready for peace and asked the League to help in that direction. He hoped that the Executive would not criticise this or that particular statement made by a Minister but rather do all that it could to strengthen the hands of H.M. Government in imposing and maintaining effective sanctions.

Sir Norman Angell reminded the Committee that H.M. Ministers were always anxious to know whether a policy which might be difficult for them would be sufficiently supported by public opinion. When definite facts regarding the attitude of

public opinion were made known through the Peace Ballot it had a great effect on the Government's policy. He therefore suggested that the Secretary should keep a record of the drift of opinion as manifested by resolutions and other communications from Branches.

The Secretary read to the Committee a cable which he had that morning received from the President and Secretary of the American League of Nations Association.

After considerable discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union is of opinion that it is of the utmost importance to bring the Abyssinian war to as rapid a conclusion as possible, and that whatever economic sanctions are most effective for that purpose should be imposed, including oil sanctions."

~~The Executive Committee is confident that in any initiative on these lines His Majesty's Government will receive the overwhelming support of opinion in this country."~~

(2) "That in communicating this resolution to H.M. Government they be informed that the Executive Committee pledges itself to mobilise the resources of the Union to support H.M. Government in any initiative they may be able to take on the lines of the resolution."

(3) "That the resolution be also communicated to the press and to the Union's Branches."

61. L.N.U. AEROPLANE. Lady Gladstone reported on the loss of the Union's aeroplane at Addis Ababa. She understood that the pilot, Captain Hayter, had escaped injury apart from shock and a few minor cuts. Lady Gladstone had received offers from several people who wished to help in providing a new aeroplane, but no definite plan to achieve this end had yet been made.

62. RASSEMBLEMENT UNIVERSEL POUR LA PAIX. The Executive had before them the report of the special meeting of the Overseas Committee dated February 16th, 1930.

Lady Gladstone reported a conversation which at the request of the Overseas Committee, she and Dr. Garnett had had with M. Schavenels (The General Secretary of the International Federation of Trade Unions) at Geneva on February 22nd. M. Schavenels began by saying that he did not know whether M. Dolivet was working for M. Willi Munzenberg and/or for the Communist Party but that he (M. Schavenels) would not take any part in the Rassemblement Universel pour la Paix. He spoke of the relation of the Communist Party to other parties in France. Members of

the Left parties in France, and particularly M. Cot and M. Bergeret, were anxious to fight Fascism in France and could not do so effectively without the help of members of the Communist Party. Consequently, when Communists came to them and asked to be allowed to use their names in support of a project, they generally allowed their names to be used because, they felt unable to state publicly that they had any objection to co-operating in Communist enterprises. M. Schevenels spoke of his experiences of a Congress held at the Hague some two or three years ago when Communist delegates seized the opportunity to proclaim that they, rather than the Trade Unionists, were the friends of common people. At the end of the discussion, however, M. Schevenels had said that he was one hundred per cent in favour of a policy of using the League of Nations to maintain order by means of overwhelming collective strength, both material and psychological, as well as to bring about peaceful change in the world. Any international movement in support of such a policy and controlled by the League of Nations Societies would have his provisional support, and that support would be unconditional if Sir Walter Citrine agreed. He added that if Sir Walter Citrine could be convinced that the R.U.P. was a movement such as the Trades Union Congress in England could support, he would be prepared to put the question on the agenda for the next meeting of the I.F.T.U. and if, by that time, Sir Walter Citrine had found it possible to say that he would co-operate, M. Schevenels felt little doubt that the I.F.T.U. would also co-operate.

Lady Gladstone reported the discussions which had taken place at the meetings of the International Federation concerning the R.U.P. The French Society had welcomed the R.U.P. as a means of closer co-operation by which they hoped to strengthen their own movement; and Lady Gladstone felt that, so far as that Society was concerned, the R.U.P. would have a very useful and valuable effect. As a result of the discussions at Geneva, the French Society had undertaken to make careful and complete enquiries into M. Dollivet's antecedents and his present activities and to report back to the Federation.

Lady Gladstone went on to report a conversation which she and Dr. Garnett and Captain Thomas had had with M. Pierre Cot in Paris. M. Cot had said that he did not know what the relations were between M. Dollivet and M. Willi Munzenberg, neither did he know whether M. Dollivet was a Communist although he would not have been surprised to know that he was. M. Cot said that the office at 6, rue de la Paix had been lent to the Rassemblement Universel pour la Paix at a nominal rent by M. Lucien le Poyer who was President of the Conseil National de la Paix which also had offices at the same address. M. Cot did not think that 6 rue de la Paix was an office of various Communist organisations, and said he would be quite ready to move the office from that address if that was desired. M. Cot did not think that the Communist Party as such would have any control over the proposed organisation either by providing funds or in any other way. He said that a small amount of money had been collected so far, coming

principally from donations from the Free Masons (Grand Orient) from M. Jouhaux and himself. A very small amount had also been contributed by M. Dollivet. M. Cot added that at present there was only one Communist on the Bureau, namely M. Raymond.

Mr. Noel Baker said he understood that M. Launay, one of the three secretaries of the R.U.F., had seen a member of Sir Walter Citrine's secretariat and had had a long conversation with him in which he had gone into everything thoroughly, Mr. Baker understood that all went very well.

The Chairman pointed out that the suggestion of Communist intrigue (which he considered was now dispelled) was only one element in the case. There remained the problem of trying to create another international organisation, apart from the Federation, for advocating peace through the League.

Lord Cecil drew attention to a letter dated 25th February which he had received from M. Launay and which gave full information regarding the present officers and secretariat of the R.U.F. Copies of the letter had been circulated to members of the Executive. Lord Cecil expressed the hope that in view of the reports made by Lady Gladstone, the Executive would see their way to co-operate in the proposed international Congress on the understanding that the basis of the Congress would be not only peace but peace through the League of Nations. He suggested that the Congress might be organised from the address of the International Federation in Geneva and that a British secretary might be appointed to assist in the organisation. The precise object of the Congress and the form it should take could be further considered by the Executive at a later stage.

Sir Austen Chamberlain maintained his opinion that it was necessary to strengthen the efforts in support of peace within the respective countries and that this could only be done by the nationals of those countries. After further discussion it was, by a majority

RESOLVED: (1) "That the League of Nations Union is willing to co-operate with the Rassemblement Universel pour la Paix in the organisation of the proposed Congress for peace through the League of Nations."

(2) "That the report of the Overseas Committee dated February 18th be approved and adopted."

63. ADJOURNMENT. It was

RESOLVED: "That the remaining items on the agenda be adjourned for consideration at the next meeting of the Executive."

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MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W. 1. ON THURSDAY, MARCH 5TH, 1936 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Professor Gilbert Murray (in the Chair), Lord Allen, Sir Norman Angell, Miss J. Ansell, W. Arnold Forster, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, P.J. Noel Baker, Michael Barkway, Lady Bonham Carter, F.M. Burris, Major Anthony Buxton, L.J. Cadbury, Captain Cazalet, Lord Cecil, Lord Dickinson, Admiral Drury-Lowe, Miss P. Fawcett, Miss H. Lloyd George, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, Lady Layton, Commander Norman Lewis, Lord Lytton, G. de M. Mander, Sir Archibald Sinclair, H.S. Syrett, Professor Webster, Mrs. Wilson-Pox, Major Lawrence Wright, L.M. Lynch, Sir Alfred Zimmerman, together with the Secretary and the Deputy Secretary.

64. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Vyvyan Adams, the Dean of Chichester, Mrs. Dugdale, Captain Green, Sir Arthur Haworth, Mark Patrick, Nowell Smith and General Temperley.

65. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

(a) Branches Committee. The Executive had before them (adjourned) minute 6 (Local Declaration Committees) of the meeting dated February 13th, 1936. Lord Cecil reported that he had not yet had an opportunity of consulting the National Declaration Committee, and it was

RESOLVED: "That consideration of minute 6 of the Branches Committee, dated February 13th, be adjourned until the next meeting of the Executive."

(b) Editorial Committee. (Sir Norman Angell reported) Subject to the following decision on Minutes 16 and 22, the Minutes of the Committee dated February 27th, 1936 were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (15) Minutes; (16) "Abyssinia"; (17) "Headway"; (18) Posters; (19) Youth Posters; (20) New Publications; (21) Magazine for Schools; (22) Sale of Union Literature.

On Minute 16 - ABYSSINIA, it was suggested that Branches should be invited to purchase copies of ABYSSINIA for sale at one penny per copy at public meetings and other gatherings. Miss Fawcett offered to contribute £40 in order that one further number of ABYSSINIA might be published, and it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That, subject to the deletion of paragraph (2) of the resolution, this Minute be approved and adopted." P.T.O.

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- (2) "That Miss Fawcett's generous offer be accepted; and that it be left to Sir Norman Angell, in consultation with the Secretary, to draft the communication to Union Branches on the subject of the bulletin."

On Minute 22 - Sale of Union Literature, Sir Norman Angell said that any help which members of the Executive might be able to give in persuading local booksellers to take League of Nations Union publications would be greatly welcomed by the Editorial Committee.

The Secretary stated that the third paragraph of the Editorial Committee's Minute did not accurately describe the situation. Only the publications of the Secretariat itself would be permanently on sale in the League's new building. But the American Research Bureau, which had hitherto been responsible for selling these publications, would shortly cease to do so and M. Avenol had agreed that the International Federation might take their place if it could make suitable arrangements. There would be no objection to the officer in charge of the Federation's staff inviting customers to cross the road to the Rigot House and there to buy the publications of the Federation and of its constituent societies. Dr. Garnett would communicate with the bookseller or booksellers in charge of the stalls at the League's Assembly and the International Labour Conference with a view to arranging for the display and sale of the Union's publications.

- (c) Industrial Advisory Committee. (Lady Hall reported) Subject to the following decision on Minutes 14, 18 and 22, the Minutes of the Committee dated February 27th, 1936 were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (13) Minutes; (14) Visit of Mr. H.B. Butler; (15) L.N.U. Party to International Labour Conference; (16) Speakers on the I.L.O.; (17) Conference on "The I.L.O. and World Planning"; (18) Ratification of Conventions - Report of Sub-Committee; (19) International Federation of League of Nations Societies; (20) Mr. Gillinder's Report; (21) Industrial Affiliations; (22) Trades Union Congress, Plymouth; (23) Composition of Committee.

On Minute 14 - Visit of Mr. H.B. Butler, it was

RESOLVED: "That this Minute be approved and adopted subject to the deletion of the words 'who had replied favourably to the Union's question'."

On Minute 18 - Ratification of Conventions - Report of Sub-Committee, it was

- RESOLVED: (1) "That this Minute be approved and adopted, subject to the insertion of the words 'specially interested' before the word 'branches' in the sentence immediately preceding paragraph (a)."
- (2) "That Mr. Burge be consulted in regard to the action recommended in the resolution."

On Minute 22 - Trades Union Congress, Plymouth, it was

RESOLVED: "That consideration of the proposal for a tea-reception to delegates to the Trades Union Congress at Plymouth be adjourned; and that, in the meantime, the Industrial Advisory Committee be asked to explore the possibility of arranging for a short address by Professor Murray or some other eminent Union speaker to be included as part of the ordinary programme of the Trades Union Congress."

66. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Executive received resolutions from the Collier Row, Silverstone, Waterfoot and Lumb Valley, Chelmsford, Barton Hill, Streatham, Penge and Anerley, Peppard, and Kintbury and Inkpen Branches, and from the Birmingham District Committee. It was

- RESOLVED: (1) "That the Collier Row Branch and the Birmingham District Committee be thanked for their resolutions and be informed of the action taken by the Executive Committee in the direction they desire."
- (2) "That the Waterfoot and Lumb Valley Branch be thanked for their resolution and be reminded of the General Council's decision of June, 1934, that "all resolutions, except such as are clearly within the terms of the declared policy of the Union, intended for submission to any of H.M. Ministers, shall first be submitted to the Executive Committee of the Union."
- (3) "That the Chelmsford Branch be thanked for their resolution and be informed of the action taken by the Executive, including the Chairman's letter of February 6th to the Foreign Secretary."
- (4) "That the Silverstone, Barton Hill, Streatham, Penge and Anerley and Peppard Branches be thanked for their resolutions."

The Executive considered the following proposed action on the resolution of the Kintbury and Inkpen Branch:

"That the Kintbury and Inkpen Branch be informed that the Executive considers that it would tend to diminish collective security through the League of Nations if the states Members of the League were deprived of their present freedom to make such military dispositions as will help to protect the covenants of the League, and to do so without waiting for a decision of the Council or of the Assembly.

The Executive regards the increase of the British fleet in the Mediterranean as having been undertaken to protect the covenants of the League as well as to protect British interests. It considers that without such a demonstration of overwhelming naval force it would have been impossible for the fifty Members of the League to impose economic and financial sanctions against Italy without risking Italian aggression against these sanctionist Powers or some of them. The time has now come when the Council might well declare that it looks upon the British Fleet in the Mediterranean as well as the fleets of those states which have promised to co-operate with the British Fleet in certain circumstances, as being used to "protect the covenants of the League."

It was

RESOLVED: (5) "That the Secretary be asked to reply on the above lines, but without committing the Executive to any definite expression of opinion."

67. MINUTES. Subject to the following decision on Minute 60, the Minutes of the Committee dated February 27th, 1936 were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 60 - Italy and Abyssinia, it was

RESOLVED: "That paragraph (2) be deleted from the resolution."

68. ITALY AND ABYSSINIA. The Chairman reported that a telegram from the Union had been sent to Mr. Eden, congratulating him on his statement in Geneva on March 2nd.

The Executive discussed the events which had taken place at Geneva during the last few days, and particularly the appeal made by the Committee of Thirteen to Italy and Abyssinia. Lord Cecil felt that it was most important that there should be no delay. If long discussions were followed by adjournment, the effect of the oil sanction when adopted would be greatly reduced and would give rise to the impression that the League Members were not in earnest. After discussion it was, on the motion of Lord Cecil



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RESOLVED: (1) "The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union reaffirms its conviction that any terms of peace between Italy and Abyssinia should be based on the principle that aggression does not pay.

The Committee further urges that no dilatory diplomatic manoeuvres should be allowed to prevent the application of oil sanctions at the next meeting of the Committee of Eighteen.

The Executive considered the following principles for a peace settlement recommended by the Mandates Committee in Minute 3 of February 4th, 1936.

- (1) The main principle of the peace settlement should be the ensuring of the independence and integrity of Ethiopia.
- (2) Exchange of territory, such as the cession to Italy of part of Ogaden in exchange for a sea-port for Abyssinia, has been discussed. Such exchanges should only be made if Abyssinia consents to it. Any territory ceded by Abyssinia should be placed under a B mandate under League supervision, providing especially for effective safeguards for native land tenure.
- (3) A secondary object of the peace will be the reforms of Abyssinia for which the Negus has already asked League aid, on condition that it is "impartial and disinterested". These conditions are necessary to prevent future annexation. The scheme of League assistance to Ethiopia should be designed to safeguard native welfare and to prevent damaging foreign exploitation. It should be drawn up under the advice of men who have experience of administering the most successful African territories such as Nigeria or Tanganyika. It should be submitted to the Permanent Mandates Committee for comment. It should embody provisions for native welfare as complete as those practised in the most progressive African areas. This might be attained by a scheme of League assistance of the following character:
  - (a) The League regime should be essentially transitory, and subject to periodic review. An annual report should be made by the Chief League adviser to the Permanent Mandates Commission.
  - (b) The charter of assistance should embody strict rules forbidding alienation of lands to non-Africans or to Africans representing non-Africans except for leases in case of land essential to economic works such as mines and dams.
  - (c) colonisation, in the sense of settlement on the land of aliens should be forbidden. This would not preclude residence of merchants, engineers, etc. as distinct from permanent colonists.

(d) The charter should forbid the alienation of natural resources such as lakes, rivers, forests, mines, to non-Ethiopians. If leases for the exploitation of such resources are granted, they should be for fairly short periods, e.g. 25 years, and the freehold, royalties and a controlling number of shares should remain with the Ethiopian state. Cf. the original Suez Canal Company scheme. An international guarantee of the headwaters of the Nile and Lake Tana might be arranged.

(e) The League should nominate, and the Emperor appoint, advisers to administer this scheme. They should not include any citizens of interested states, i.e. Britain, France and Italy. They should organise especially:

- (i) Health
- (ii) Police, with special reference to public security, slavery and slave trade, and arms traffic.
- (iii) Economic development, with a view to developing native prosperity in agriculture and commerce.

The majority of the Executive were in favour of these principles, with the exception of the recommendations in the second and third sentences of paragraph (e). After discussion it was

RESOLVED: (2) "That Mr. Eden be asked to receive a small deputation from the Executive who should put orally before him those of the Mandates Committee's recommendations which the majority of the Executive Committee were ready to approve and should suggest that these points ought to be borne in mind by H.M. Government when considering peace terms for the Italo-Abyssinian dispute."

69. PROPOSED ALBERT HALL MEETING. The Secretary suggested that the Executive might feel it desirable to hold a meeting in the Albert Hall in May either in order to congratulate H.M. Government on the progress made towards a settlement of the Italo-Abyssinian dispute on terms showing that aggression does not pay, or else for the purpose of demonstrating the demand of British public opinion for such a settlement in the immediate future. Since the Albert Hall was free on three dates only at the beginning of May, the Committee might wish to take an option on the hall for one of these dates. It was

RESOLVED: "That an option on the Albert Hall be obtained for the evening of Friday, May 8th."

70. DISARMAMENT AND SECURITY. The Secretary reported that branches all over the country were asking for guidance from the Executive Committee in regard to the Union's policy on

the subject of H.M. Government's re-armament proposals. The Executive had before them a resolution proposed by Mr. Mander, together with a resolution drafted by the Secretary (S.G.2107).

Mr. Arnold Forster stated that Sir Arthur Salter had drawn his attention to the fact that the additions to British forces proposed in the White Paper were not apparently governed by the principle of collective security, since the increased forces of France, Belgium and the U.S.S.R. were cited along with those of Italy, Germany and Japan as rendering further British armaments now necessary. After discussion, in the course of which it was suggested that the additions to be made to the armaments of Members of the League should be discussed by the Governments concerned with a view to the burden of collective defence being equitably shared, it was

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

Deplores the fact that failure to negotiate a general disarmament treaty has resulted, as was inevitable, in an increase of national armaments all over the world;

Takes note of the declaration of His Majesty's Government that their re-armament plan is intended to strengthen the British contribution towards collective security and implies no diminution of their desire to achieve a treaty for the general reduction and limitation of armaments; and

Urges that definite practical steps should be taken through the League of Nations and the Disarmament Conference to make these purposes a reality.

71. RASSEMBLEMENT UNIVERSEL POUR LA PAIX. The Executive had before them a memorandum by Lord Cecil (S.G.2093). Lord Cecil said that the Union's Executive Committee would, of course, be invited to elect representatives to serve on such an ad hoc Committee as was proposed in his paper. In this way they would be kept informed of everything that was being done so that they might dissociate themselves from anything they thought undesirable.

The Chairman said he would prefer the Executive to adopt a more cordial attitude towards the movement and to accept more responsibility than Lord Cecil's plan proposed. He would like to see the Union go straight into the movement and endeavour to see that it was guided on wise lines. But he would wish first of all to make an absolute condition that the Executive approved of the international secretary and his assistants. Since the office of the international committee was to be in the Rigot House they would be kept in close touch with the Federation and its constituent societies. The Chairman was afraid that if

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the British section of the R.U.P. were allowed to work outside the Union it might attract to itself some of the money and enthusiasm that now came to the Union.

Lord Lytton objected to setting up a new organisation in this country which would raise funds to the Union's detriment and in competition with it in order to do work which was already being effectively done by the Union. But he realised that in some countries the creation of a new organisation might be necessary.

Mr. Noel Baker did not conceive it possible that the new organisation should attempt to do or should succeed in doing either in whole or part the work that the Union was undertaking. He urged that the Union should be closely identified with the new movement. But he felt that support for the proposed international congress might be more readily forthcoming from the Churches, women's organisations, co-operative societies and the like if an ad hoc Committee on the lines suggested by Lord Cecil were appointed on which existing organisations would have independent representation, as in the case of the National Declaration Committee.

Mr. Syrett urged that the Executive should have at least as effective control of the proposed new Committee as it had had of the National Declaration Committee, in order to ensure that the raising of funds by the new movement would not interfere with the Union's income.

Lord Cecil said that it was hoped to raise some money in America and that the expenses of any new Committee in the United Kingdom might more easily be defrayed out of this American money if the new Committee were outside the League of Nations Union. He would be content to form the new Committee on the model of the Declaration Committee, except that the political parties as such should not be represented on it. Lord Cecil added that the new body would have nothing whatever to do with the organisation of League of Nations feeling in this country. He thought that all that would be necessary would be a central committee in London with a secretary and one, or possibly two typists, who would act as a clearing house for all the various organisations who were prepared to support the movement.

After considerable discussion it was, on the motion of Professor Webster, seconded by Sir Archibald Sinclair,

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Executive Committee approves in principle of Lord Cecil's memorandum (S.G.8093)."

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- (2) "That the Executive should assume responsibility for convening the ad hoc Committee suggested by Lord Cecil; and that a sub-Committee, consisting of Mr. Noel Baker, Lord Cecil, Lord Lytton, Professor Murray and Mr. Syrett be asked to consider and recommend to the Executive what its relationship should be to the new ad hoc Committee." *199 199*

72. ADJOURNMENT. It was

RESOLVED: "That the remaining items on the agenda be adjourned for consideration at the next meeting of the Executive to be held on Thursday, March 12th."

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RASSEMBLEMENT UNIVERSEL POUR LA PAIXMEMORANDUM BY VISCOUNT CECIL

The present position in Europe is grave. A profound feeling of insecurity exists, which is reflected in large armament programmes in all the principal countries. In particular, the rapidity and extent of German re-armament has created justifiable alarm in many countries. This situation is, no doubt, receiving the closest attention from the Government, and it is for them to take what measures they think necessary to resist the drift towards war. But Governments neither can nor will take any action unless they are supported by public opinion, and it is the function of the voluntary societies whose objects include the preservation of international peace to do their best to mobilise public opinion in the various countries against war. The League of Nations Union, aided by other societies here has taken and is taking effective steps in this direction. But in other countries voluntary effort has been inefficient or non-existent. It is the purpose of the movement known as the Rassemblement Universel pour la Paix to remedy this state of things. It is not in any way antagonistic to the national League of Nations Societies, where they exist, or to the Federation of those Societies. But no one who is acquainted with the facts of the case will deny that there is ample room for further efforts to supplement what is being done by those agencies.

Such a movement ought to have (A) a clearly defined object, and (B) a machinery designed to carry those objects into effect.

A. Object of the Movement.

As I have said, the object of the movement is to mobilise public opinion in support of peace through the League of Nations. That involves the support and the strengthening of the League; and there seem to be four main directions to which public opinion should be directed.

- (1) The restoration of the sanctity of treaty obligations and above all the legal and moral binding force of the Covenant and Kellogg Pact, now so seriously undermined. This is the indispensable foundation of any real League.
- (2) It is vital that there should be an agreement to limit and reduce international armaments. Unless that can be accomplished there is very little hope that any political machinery will be sufficient to prevent the outbreak of war sooner or later. It is because of the suddenness of their attack that the first step in the direction of international disarmament should be the gradual suppression of national military aircraft, combined with sufficient international control over civil aircraft to prevent their being used for military purposes. It is unnecessary to go into any detail on this proposal, which has often been discussed and considered.

P.T.O.

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- (3) There must be a clear recognition that the conciliatory efforts of the League to prevent war may have to be supplemented by collective action, — economic, and, in the last resort, military, — (a) to prevent the outbreak of war, and (b) to put an end to war which has actually occurred. Of these two lines of development, the more important is that of strengthening the League through Article 11 for the prevention of war or preparations for war. It is obvious that no effective steps of this kind can be taken unless a number of States take part in them, sufficient to make resistance by the aggressor Power practically hopeless.
- (4) Machinery for the redress of national grievances by pacific means must also be perfected. For this purpose it is not only desirable to have a complete system of arbitration or judicial settlement of international disputes, but there should also be machinery for the remedy, by peaceful change, of international conditions which are likely to lead to war. Such machinery should include the effective application of Article 19 of the Covenant, and also the consideration of international action to secure equality of economic opportunity among all nations both in regard to raw materials, colonial markets, etc., and by the revival of general international trade.

#### B. Machinery

As to machinery for mobilising public opinion, that must be done by national efforts in each country. One important method would be to concentrate the efforts of all societies working for peace which are prepared to accept, generally, the principles set out above. And for that purpose some kind of co-ordinating committee in each country may be the best way of accomplishing the object in view. It would have the immense advantage of the possibility, in many cases, of bringing machinery for the mobilisation of opinion into existence rapidly, since the danger of the situation is undoubtedly urgent.

Besides this, there should be, undoubtedly, a long-term policy of peace education which ought to be undertaken by League of Nations Societies and other similar machinery in each country which in many cases would have to be brought into existence for the purpose.

Later on, the two forms of machinery could be very often usefully combined.

Besides action to be taken in each nation, some kind of international co-ordination is very desirable, both for the purpose of securing something like a common set of principles, and especially for inducing backward countries to take effective action. In the first instance, the international machinery might consist of a Secretary, preferably a British national, and one or two assistants.

Their offices might be in the same building as that of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies at Geneva. Probably it would be desirable, also, to have some kind of international committee, which would consist of delegates from the peace organisations set up in each country.

So far as this country is concerned, I do not advocate that the work should be done by the League of Nations Union, but rather by an ad hoc committee consisting of the representatives of those societies who advocate peace and who would agree to the principles above set out. The Committee should, however, not include representatives of the political parties.

Whether the League of Nations Union would or would not choose to have representatives attached to this committee is for them to decide. I have, however, no doubt that some members of the Union would gladly serve on such a committee if they were asked to do so.

I do not think it is either necessary or desirable that the Union should feel itself responsible for every detail of the work carried out on the lines sketched out above; but they ought to be kept informed of everything that is being done, so that they can dissociate themselves from anything which they think undesirable.

The finance for such a committee would have to be raised independently of the Union but in close consultation with its appeals section so as to avoid any action which might interfere with the Union's income.

It is contemplated that there should be an international public meeting at Geneva in September, and for that the Executive Committee has expressed its general approval. The present memorandum is designed to make clear what the promoters of this movement have in mind.



MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT  
14, CROVEYER CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W. 1., ON THURSDAY,  
MARCH 12TH, 1936 AT 11 A.M. 213  
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PRESENT: Professor Gilbert Murray (in the Chair), Sir Norman Angell, Miss Joyce Ansell, W. Arnold-Forster, P.J. Noel Baker, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Major Anthony Euxton, L.J. Cadbury, Captain Cazale, Lord Cecil, Sir Austen Chamberlain, the Dean of Chichester, Miss K.D. Courtney, Lord Dickinson, Admiral Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Duggals, Miss P. Fawcett, Miss M. Lloyd George, Lady Gladstone, Captain Green, Lady Hall, Dr. C.W. Kimmins, G. Le M. Mander, Mark Patrick, Lord Rhyader, Councillor Shaw, Sir Archibald Sinclair, H.S. Syrett, General Temperley, Professor Webster, Mrs. Wilson-Fox, Major Lawrence Wright, L.M. Wynch, Sir Alfred Zimmern, together with the Secretary and Deputy Secretary.

73. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Lord Allen, F.M. Burris, Sir John Harris, Sir Arthur Haworth, Lady Layton, Commander Lewis, Captain Loder, Nowell Smith and A.G. Walkden.

74. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

- (a) Finance Committee. (Lord Rhyader reported) Subject to the following report on Minute 3(c) the Minutes of the Committee dated March 3rd, 1936 were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (2) Financial Statement; (3) Appeals Committee; (4) Additional Staff for Work in London; (5) Union Finances; (6) Pioneer Camps; (7) Luncheon to French Anciens Combattants; (8) World Youth Congress; (9) Magazine for Schools; (10) Nottinghamshire Federal Council; (11) Loan to Mr. S.M. Brayshaw; (12) Mr. Weston; (13) Superannuation for Members of the Clerical Staff; (14) Captain Fox; (15) Passing of Cheques for Payment.

On Minute 3(c) National Luncheon, Lord Cecil reported that, after speaking to the Chairman, he had written to Mr. Anthony Eden, inviting him to speak at the National Luncheon which it was proposed to hold in the City in the Spring. But, no doubt owing to the great pressure of the Foreign Secretary's business at the present time, Lord Cecil had not yet received any reply.

- (b) Welcome Committee. (Lady Gladstone reported) The Minutes of the Committee dated March 3rd, 1936 were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (1) Minutes of last meeting; (2) Arising out of Minutes; (3) Secretary's Report; (4) Extension of Panel of Hostesses;  
P.T.O.

- (5) Suggested Reception to Union Speakers;  
 (6) Co-operation with East and West Friendship Council; (7) Proposed reception to Delegates to Assembly. ✓

Meeting of League Council. It was suggested that since the Council of the League of Nations would shortly be meeting in London for the first time since 1922, the Welcome Committee might consider the question of entertaining the delegates. But after discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That no action be taken."

- (c) Christian Organisations Committee. (The Dean of Chichester reported) The Minutes of the meeting dated March 4th, 1936 were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (18) Minutes; (19) Proposed Deputation to the Foreign Secretary; ✓

- (d) Youth Committee. Miss Ansell reported, as a matter of urgency, on a Minute of the Youth Committee dated March 7th, concerning a Conference on the Far East to be held at Friends House on March 14th under the auspices of the Student Movement for Peace, Freedom and Culture, the Central Union of Chinese Students and the London Chinese Students Association in co-operation with the Friends of the Chinese People. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the Minute of the Youth Committee be not approved; but that, if the Chairman and Secretary of the Youth Committee wish to attend the Conference on March 14th they should do so in their personal capacity."

75. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Executive received resolutions from the Whalley Range, Canterbury, Witney and Withington Branches and from the Union Society of King's College, London. It was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Manchester Whalley Range Branch be thanked for their two resolutions; that in regard to the Government's re-armament proposals they be informed of the resolution adopted by the Executive at its last meeting; and that in regard to the Foreign Secretary's speech on oil sanctions, they be reminded that the Foreign Secretary has, on March 2nd, taken the action they hoped to see."

- (2) "That the Canterbury Branch be thanked for their resolution; that they be reminded that the League of Nations provides a conference of nations at which issues in dispute may be discussed, including (under Article 19 of the Covenant) the revision of

the Treaty of Versailles, and be informed of the steps which the Executive are taking to get Article 19 made practically effective. 206

- (3) That the Witney Branch be thanked for their resolution and be informed that the General Council at its meeting in December decided to consider a resolution of the Removal of National Grievances at Scarborough in June.
- (4) That the Withington Branch be thanked for their resolution.
- (5) That the Union Society of King's College be informed that the Executive is much impressed by the fact that 180 members of King's College have signed a protest against the delay in employing oil sanctions, and be informed of the action that the Executive has taken and is taking to secure the imposition of the oil sanction by the Committee of Eighteen unless that Committee is satisfied that Italy is prepared to agree to terms of peace based upon the principle that aggression does not pay.

On the motion of Sir Austen Chamberlain it was further

RESOLVED: (6) That Branch Secretaries be asked, when forwarding resolutions for the information of the Executive, to state approximately how many people attended the meeting at which the resolution was passed.\*

76. MINUTES. Subject to the following report and decision on Minutes 65 (b) (16), 68 and 71, the Minutes of the Committee dated March 5th were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 65(b) -- 16, ABYSSINIA, the Committee were informed that, in view of Miss Fawcett's generous offer, a statement had been circulated with the current number of ABYSSINIA to the effect that one further issue of the paper would be forthcoming.

On Minute 68 -- Italy and Abyssinia, Lord Cecil reported that Mr. Eden had been unable, owing to the great pressure of his work, to receive a deputation from the Executive and had suggested that a letter should be sent to him. Lord Cecil read to the Committee his letter to the Foreign Secretary of March 6th. Mr. Eden in thanking Lord Cecil for his letter had said that he would be very glad to see the Committee's recommendations concerning peace terms for the Italo-Abyssinian dispute if the Executive cared to send them to him. After discussion, in the course of which doubt was expressed whether the minute of the last meeting accurately recorded the findings of the Committee, it was P.T.O.

RESOLVE: "That in view of the change which has taken place in the international situation, no further action be taken at the present time concerning the proposed peace terms for the Italo-abyssinian dispute."

77. RASSEMELEMENT UNIVERSEL POUR LA PAIX. The Secretary reported that a meeting of the Sub-Committee to consider and recommend to the Executive what its relation should be to the new ad hoc Committee suggested in Lord Cecil's memorandum (S.G.8093) would be held at 11.30 a.m. on Tuesday, March 17th. The Secretary further reported that since Lord Lytton was shortly leaving for Palestine he would be unable to serve on the Sub-Committee, and it was

RESOLVED: "That Lady Layton and Lady Gladstone be invited to serve on the Sub-Committee in place of Lord Lytton."

Lord Cecil reported that he had arranged to meet some continental representatives of the R.U.P. in London on the following day in order to discuss the general situation and to consider the details of the proposed international congress in September.

78. AIR COMMODORE FELLOWES. At the invitation of the Committee Air Commodore Fellowes attended the meeting and spoke of his recent experiences in Abyssinia. He said that the Abyssinians had been very grateful for the gift of the aeroplane, and the Emperor had been immensely touched by the evident sympathy of the British people. Commodore Fellowes described his flight to Abyssinia. During the week he spent in Addis Abbaba he had formed the opinion that in spite of the high character and abilities of the Emperor, the Abyssinians were not really fitted to govern themselves, and he suggested that the only way of making peace was for the European nations as a whole to try and formulate reasonable terms which Italy in her present position could be forced to accept without destroying the Fascist Government. Commodore Fellowes gathered that the Abyssinians were very short of munitions and supplies as well as of money. If they could get more money he believed their position would be enormously improved. Meanwhile they seemed to enjoy the fighting.

Lord Cecil, on behalf of the Executive, thanked Commodore Fellowes for his kindness in coming to the Executive's meeting and for his interesting statement.

79. POLITICAL AND PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE. The Executive had before them a memorandum by Lord Cecil (S.G.8092) containing proposals for the division of the Political and Parliamentary Committee. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) That a Parliamentary Committee should be constituted as follows:-

- (a) Its membership should be open to Members of both Houses of Parliament who are also subscribers to the Union.

- (b) It should elect its own Chairman and other officers for each session of Parliament.
- (c) The services of Mr. Eppstein should be at its disposal as secretary and the Secretary of the Union should continue to enjoy the privilege of attending its meetings, but it should not otherwise include persons who are not Members of either House.
- (d) The purpose of each of its meetings should be to discuss a single important issue of international policy, or to hear an account of recent international negotiations by a British delegate returning from Geneva or some other competent authority.
- (e) It would be left to the Committee on each occasion to determine whether or not it desired to adopt a resolution indicating the line which the Committee thought British policy should pursue with regard to the problem under discussion. A report of each meeting would be laid before the Union's Executive Committee for its information, but the Committee would not be a sub-Committee of the Executive responsible to it.
- (2) That questions relating to the policy to be adopted by the League of Nations Union arising, for instance, from resolutions brought before the General Council or proposals made to the International Federation, etc. should, when the Executive Committee is unable to decide them directly, be referred to a Political Sub-Committee of the Executive. For this purpose the existing sub-Committee, which is at present considering a statement on disarmament and various matters adjourned at the last meeting of the General Council, should be maintained in being.

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GERMANY. The Executive discussed Herr Hitler's speech to the Reichstag on March 7th and the German occupation of the demilitarised zone. The Committee had before them a report from the Political Sub-Committee (S.G.8112) together with a memorandum by Mr. Noel Baker concerning the German Government's proposals (S.G.8117) and a memorandum prepared by Sir Alfred Zimmern in consultation with Professor Brierly (S.G.8119).

The Chairman observed that there were in the Union two strong currents of feeling, both of which commanded sympathy but which were hard to combine. One stressed the impossibility of condoning Germany's flagrant breach  
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of her freely negotiated treaty, the other was eager to explore the opportunity of general appeasement apparently offered to us by Herr Hitler's proposals. He considered that both these currents of feeling should be borne in mind.

Sir Austen Chamberlain said that, in his opinion, there could be no clearer case of a deliberate breaking of a voluntary engagement under which Germany had pledged herself to respect the demilitarised zone. He could not conceive of anything which would strike so fatal a blow at the system of collective security which we were trying to establish than to let Germany get away time after time with a violent resolution in her own favour of a question which she was invited to discuss. It did not seem to Sir Austen that negotiations could safely be conducted with Germany unless she first withdrew her troops from the occupied territory. He was afraid that the British public was not sufficiently aware of the solemnity of the undertaking given by Germany, the fulfilment of which was guaranteed by Great Britain. If we did not support France in the present situation we should be thrown back on a system of alliances without any common European association of any kind, and Germany would be encouraged to pursue again the same course. Events would then move towards war as fatally as they did before 1914. Sir Austen considered that the European situation was a greater peril to the peace of the world than the Italo-Abyssinian war. If it were a case of choosing between how Great Britain should use her forces he would prefer to use them against the greater peril rather than against the lesser.

Most members of the Executive including Lord Cecil expressed their general agreement with the point of view put forward by Sir Austen, while others argued that public opinion would be to some extent softened by the facts that the one-sided demilitarisation of territory was an "inequality" which could not be expected to last, and that the re-occupation of German territory by Germany was very different from an act of war.

Mr. Arnold Forster asked that before the Executive committed itself to any policy about sanctions in this case, as it might soon have to do, it would examine thoroughly the legal and the moral basis for sanctions at this stage. In his view, it was in the present circumstances doubtful whether either Locarno or the Covenant afforded sufficient legal authority for applying such sanctions as those of Article XVI; it was very questionable whether the moral basis was adequate; and it was certain that adequate support by British public opinion was still lacking. Mr. Arnold Forster cited Mr. Eden's declaration of March 9th that "There is no reason to suppose that the present German action implies a threat of hostilities."<sup>x</sup>

<sup>x</sup> This paragraph was inserted at Mr. Arnold Forster's request after the Minutes had been approved by the Chairman.

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Mr. Noel Baker suggested that the secretariat should prepare a paper for circulation to the Union's Branches explaining the real nature of Herr Hitler's proposals; what the bi-lateral pacts amount to; and the reservations attached to Germany's re-entry into the League. Such a paper might also state what a catastrophe it would be if Anglo-French co-operation in support of the League were to break down. Sir Alfred Zimmern suggested that the Union's Branches should also be made fully aware of the terms of the Locarno Treaty. Sir Austen Chamberlain considered that these matters could best be treated in the Union's journals.

After considerable discussion the report of the Political Sub-Committee (S.G.8112) was put to the meeting paragraph by paragraph, it was

RESOLVED: (1) "A scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations" is one of the foundations of the Covenant of the League of Nations. It is the basis of all peaceful relations between states. The unilateral denunciation of the Locarno Agreements by Germany together with her violation, through the military occupation of the demilitarised zone, of provisions of the Peace Treaty which those freely-contracted agreements confirmed and guaranteed, is the more flagrant because of the repeated assurances given by the Head of the German State of his intention to respect them.

"Since the alleged justification for this arbitrary proceeding is the claim that the recent Franco-Russian Treaty is incompatible with Locarno, the Permanent Court of International Justice should immediately be asked by the Council of the League of Nations for a decision on this subject.

"Pending the ruling of the Court, this country and the other signatories of the Locarno Agreements remain bound by the obligations which they contain.

"The Executive Committee assures His Majesty's Government of their full support for any policy designed, in the Foreign Secretary's words, to rebuild the foundations of peace which have been cut away by German action - including the objective examination of any proposals that have been made or may be made for this purpose."

(Note. Neither the first nor the last paragraph of this resolution was carried unanimously.)

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It was further

- RESOLVED: (2) "That a special meeting of the Executive be held on Tuesday, March 17th if the Chairman considers such a meeting desirable."
- (3) "That if a special meeting of the Executive is not held on March 17th, the Political Sub-Committee be asked to consider on that day the memoranda prepared by Mr. Noel Baker and Sir Alfred Zimmern and to report to the Executive at the next ordinary meeting on March 19th."



MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W. 1., ON THURSDAY, MARCH 19TH, 1936 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Professor Gilbert Murray (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams, Sir Norman Angell, Miss Joyce Ansell, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, P.J. Noel Baker, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, F.M. Burris, Major Anthony Buxton, L.C. Cadbury, Captain Cazalet, Lord Cecil, Sir Austen Chamberlain, Miss Courtney, Lord Dickinson, Admiral Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss F. Fawcett, Miss M. Lloyd George, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, Dr. C.W. Kimmins, Lady Layton, Commander Lewis, Captain Loder, G. de M. Mander, Mark Patrick, Lord Rhyader, Councillor H.F. Shaw, Sir Archibald Sinclair, General Temperley, Professor Webster, Mrs. Wilson-Fox, L.M. Wynch, together with the Secretary and Deputy Secretary.

01. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Lord Allen, Michael Barkway, the Dean of Chichester, Sir Arthur Haworth, Lord Lytton, Rowell Smith, H.S. Syrett, A.G. Walkden, Major Lawrence Wright and Sir Alfred Zimmern.

82. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

- (a) National Youth Committee. Subject to the following decision on Minute 21, and to the decision on Minute 19 recorded in Minute 74(d) of the last meeting of the Executive, the Minutes of the Committee dated March 7th, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (17) Youth Groups;  
(18) Finance; (19) Conference on the Far East;  
(20) British Youth Organisations; (21) "Youth";

On Minute 20 - British Youth Organisations, it was suggested that, in the draft Statement of Aims and Objects of the British Youth Organisations the words "Executive Committee" should be amended to read "Executive Committee of the British Youth Organisation".

On Minute 21 - "YOUTH", it was

RESOLVED: "That this Minute be referred to the Editorial Committee for consideration and report."

- (b) Library Committee. (Dr. Kimmins reported) The Minutes of the Committee dated March 9th, 1936 were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (9) Matters Arising out of Minutes; (10) Book List; (11) Proposal to Place Library on Self-supporting Basis.

- (c) Education Committee. (Dr. Kimmins reported) The Minutes of the Committee dated March 9th, 1936 were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (22) Arising out of the Minutes; (23) Membership of the Committee; (24) The Present International Situation; (25) Meetings for Teachers and Schools; (26) Report on Work in Universities and Colleges; (27) International Federation of League of Nations Societies; (28) Deputation to the President of the Board of Education; (29) Report of ad Hoc Committee of the Association of Assistant Masters; (30) Report of National Youth Committee; (31) National Council on the Teaching of International Relations and the Curriculum Sub-Committee; (32) Empire Day Leaflet; (33) World War and After: New Edition; (34) The Union's General Council; (35) Recognition of Junior Branches; (36) International Sign Language.

83. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Committee received resolutions from the Salisbury, Rugby, Hucknall and Bath Branches. The Secretary reported that the Branches had been thanked and the Executive's resolution of March 12th had been sent to them.
84. DEATH OF M. VENIZELOS. The Executive Committee were grieved to learn of the death of M. Venizelos who had been a staunch supporter of the League of Nations from its earliest days, and it was
- RESOLVED: "That the Chairman be asked to convey an expression of the Committee's sympathy to Madame Venizelos."
85. LOYAL ADDRESS TO HIS MAJESTY KING EDWARD VIII. The Secretary read to the Executive a letter dated March 17th from Sir John Simon, conveying to "the Officers and Members of the Union His Majesty's grateful thanks for the assurances of sympathy and devotion" to which their Loyal Address gave expression.

The Secretary stated that he had made enquiries of the Home Office concerning a report appearing in the press that His Majesty the King was to receive on April 2nd representatives of various public societies and institutions holding the Royal Charter who would present Loyal Addresses. He understood that it was only certain bodies, some of which had received their Charter from Charles II, which had the privilege of presenting their Addresses to His Majesty in person.

86. GERMANY. The Executive considered events which had taken place since the last meeting of the Committee. They had before them (1) a statement prepared by Lord Cecil at the request of the Political Sub-Committee (S.G.8142); (2) a memorandum by Mr. Noel Baker on Herr Hitler's proposals (S.G.8140); and (3) proposals and observations by

M. Rolin, drafted as a result of a meeting of members of the French and British League of Nations Societies held in London on 13th March (S.G.8139).

The Executive also had before them a resolution adopted by the Christian Organisations Committee at its meeting on the previous day and presented by Admiral Drury-Lowe.

Commander Lewis did not feel that the resolutions passed at the last meeting of the Executive represented the views of more than a small proportion of the Union's members. He had addressed many meetings lately and had found each of his audiences practically unanimous in support of the German point of view.

Sir Norman Angell suggested that, without dictating to the Branches, the Executive should give them a lead in order that they might take the facts of the situation into account when drafting their own resolutions.

Professor Webster suggested that it was not for the Executive to formulate in detail what the League's Council should do at the present moment. They should rather continue to reaffirm the principles on which the League of Nations Covenant was based. He thought it might be useful if the Branches could be supplied with a historical survey such as that contained in Mr. Noel Baker's memorandum.

After considerable discussion, during which it was pointed out that events had changed since Lord Cecil's memorandum was written, it was

RESOLVED: (1) That Lord Cecil's memorandum (S.G.8142) be received;

- (2) That the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union re-iterates its resolution of March 12th as follows:

'A scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations' is one of the foundations of the Covenant of the League of Nations. It is the basis of all peaceful relations between states. The unilateral denunciation of the Locarno Agreements by Germany together with her violation, through the military occupation of the demilitarised zone, of provisions of the Peace Treaty which those freely-contracted Agreements confirmed and guaranteed, is the more flagrant because of the repeated assurances given by the Head of the German State of his intention to respect them.

Since the alleged justification for this arbitrary proceeding is the claim that the recent Franco-Russian Treaty is incompatible with Locarno, the Permanent

Court of International Justice should immediately be asked by the Council of the League of Nations for a decision on this subject.

Pending the ruling of the Court, this country and the other signatories of the Locarno Agreements remain bound by the obligations which they contain.

The Executive Committee assures His Majesty's Government of their full support for any policy designed, in the Foreign Secretary's words, to rebuild the foundations of peace which have been cut away by German action - including the objective examination of any proposals that have been made or may be made for this purpose; and

Considers that the objective examination mentioned in the foregoing paragraph should be directed to strengthening the collective system embodied in the Covenant of the League of Nations, particularly in regard to collective defence against an aggressor and the organisation of measures to prevent the outbreak of war, the reduction and limitation of armaments and the creation of trustworthy machinery for the peaceful revision of treaties.

In the meantime, the Executive recognise that in the acute and rapidly changing conditions in which the international negotiations are now proceeding, it is not useful for outside bodies to make any detailed proposals on the subject.

- (3) That the above resolution be communicated to all Branches of the Union
- (4) That Mr. Noel Baker's memorandum be not circulated as from the Executive to the Union's Branches; but that, if Mr. Noel Baker so desires, it be published in HEADWAY as a personal contribution from himself.
- (5) That the Secretary be entitled to use, at his discretion, Mr. Noel Baker's memorandum as a reservoir of argument in replying to enquiries from Branch Secretaries and other members of the Union.
- (6) That further consideration of the Christian Organisations Committee's resolution, part of which had been adopted by the Executive and incorporated in their resolution (2) above, be adjourned until the next meeting of the Executive.

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87. ITALY AND ABYSSINIA. On the motion of Lord Cecil it was

RESOLVED: "That the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union is of opinion that no measure would be more valuable for restoring peace and confidence to Europe than the settlement of the Italo-Abyssinia war on terms consistent with the Covenant of the League. It is therefore important that the sanctions now in operation against Italy should be maintained and if necessary intensified."

(Note. This decision has been sent privately to the Government and circulated to the Branches but has not been communicated to the Press.)

88. ADJOURNMENT. It was

RESOLVED: "That the remaining items on the agenda be adjourned for consideration at the next meeting of the Executive on March 26th; that the meeting be called for 10.45 a.m.; that the adjourned business be taken at 11.15 a.m. at latest; and that no new items be discussed until 12 noon or until the adjourned business has been completed."

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MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT 6, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W. 1., ON THURSDAY, MARCH 26TH, 1936 AT 10.45 A.M.

PRESENT: Professor Gilbert Murray (in the Chair), Sir Norman Angell, Miss Joyce Ansell, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, P.J. Noel Baker, Michael Barkway, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, F.M. Burris, Major Anthony Buxton, L.J. Cadbury, Captain V.A. Cazalet, Lord Cecil, Sir Austen Chamberlain, Miss K.D. Courtney, Lord Dickinson, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss P. Fawcett, Lady Gladstone, Captain L.H. Green, Dr. C.W. Kimmins, Lady Layton, Captain J. de V. Loder, G. le M. Mander, Councillor H.F. Shaw, H.S. Syrett, General Temperley, L.M. Wynch together with the Secretary and Deputy Secretary.

89. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Lord Allen, Admiral Drury-Lowe, Sir John Harris, Commander Norman Lewis, Lord Lytton, Nowell Smith, Mrs. Wilson-Fox, Major Lawrence Wright and Sir Alfred Zimmern.

90. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES:

(a) Religions and Ethics Committee. (Professor Murray reported) Subject to the following decision on Minute 9, the Minutes of the Committee dated March 10th, 1936, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (7) Series of Lectures, 1936; (8) Series of Lectures, 1937; (9) World Congress of Faiths; (10) Youth Group Meetings; (11) New Members of Committee; (12) Resignation from Committee; (13) Co-optations to General Council.

On Minute 9 - World Congress of Faiths, it was

RESOLVED: "That Mr. L.M. Wynch be invited to represent the Union at the World Congress of Faiths."

(b) Christian Organisations Committee. (Mr. Porter Goff reported) Subject to the decision on Minute 23 recorded in Minute 101 below and to the following decision on Minute 29, the Minutes of the Committee dated March 18th, 1936, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (22) Proposed Deputation to the Foreign Secretary; (23) Meeting of the Council of the League and the Locarno Powers; (24) Peace Child Scheme; (25) Sermon Notes; (26) Sunday School Lessons; (27) Co-optations to General Council; (28) New Member of Committee; (29) Corporate Membership.

On Minute 29 (b) - Applications for Corporate Membership, it was

RESOLVED: "That resolution (3) of this Minute be referred for consideration and report by the Finance Committee."

- (c) Industrial Advisory Committee. (Captain Green reported). Subject to the following decision on Minute 35, the Minutes of the Committee dated March 19th, 1936, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (25) Minutes; (26) Visit of Mr. H.B. Butler; (27) L.N.U. Party to International Labour Conference; (28) Conference on "The I.L.O. and World Planning"; (29) Composition of Committee - Employer Representatives; (30) Mr. Alec Wilson; (31) Ratification of Conventions; (32) International Federation of League of Nations Societies; (33) General Council of League of Nations Union; (34) London Conference on Work of 1936 Session of International Labour Conference; (35) Trades Union Congress, Plymouth; (36) Mr. Gillinder's Report; (37) Industrial Affiliations.

On Minute 35 - Trades Union Congress, Plymouth, it was

RESOLVED: "That, subject to the approval of the Finance Committee, the proposal to organise a tea-reception for the delegates to the Trades Union Congress be approved and adopted, provided that the cost to the Union shall not exceed £10."

- (d) Branches Committee. (Professor Murray reported) The Minutes of the Committee dated March 19th were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (22) Minutes; (23) National Peace Congress; (24) Territorial Army; (25) Branches; (26) Junior Branches and Sections; (27) Corporate Members; (28) Corporate Associates; (29) Membership; (30) Youth Committee; (31) Seventeenth Annual Meeting of the General Council; (32) Youth Group Members; (33) Camberley.

1. BRANCH RESOLUTION. The Executive received a resolution from the Southampton Branch and it was

RESOLVED: "That the Southampton Branch be thanked and be reminded of the Executive's resolutions which are in agreement with the Branch's point of view."

2. MINUTES. Subject to the following decision on Minute 82(c), the Minutes of the Committee dated March 19th, 1936, were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 82 (c) - Education Committee, it was

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RESOLVED: "That the following Junior Branches be recognised and that Certificates of Constitution bearing the Seal of the Union be issued:

The Beacon School, Bexhill-on-Sea.  
St. Edmund's School, Canterbury.  
Sandfield Girls' School, Guildford.  
County High School for Girls, Ilford.  
Southgate County School, Palmers Green."

23. RASSEMBLEMENT UNIVERSEL POUR LA PAIX. The Executive considered the report of the sub-Committee (S.G.8141) appointed on March 5th, 1936, (Minute 71) to consider and recommend to the Executive what its relation should be to the new ad hoc Committee suggested in Lord Cecil's memorandum (S.G.8093). The sub-Committee had unanimously recommended:

- (1) That the British Committee for the Rassemblement Universel pour la Paix should be an autonomous committee of the League of Nations Union reporting its Minutes for the approval of the League of Nations Union Executive;
- (2) That the Committee should have a special office and separate funds;
- (3) That the secretary of the Committee should be appointed with the approval of the Chairman of the Union and might be, for the present, a member of the League of Nations Union secretariat;
- (4) That the secretary should take his or her instructions from the Committee and should report to it;
- (5) That the Union should lend secretarial assistance and office accommodation to a limited extent, but apart from that the Union should be under no financial responsibility for the activities of the Committee, which would find its own funds but would collect nothing in the United Kingdom except in consultation with the Union's Appeals Committee.

In reply to a question from Miss Fawcett concerning the meaning of the word 'autonomous' in paragraph (1) above, Professor Murray said that the proposed British Committee for the Rassemblement Universel pour la Paix would report its Minutes to the Executive for approval and not merely for information, but it would be an autonomous body in the sense that it would have a special office and special funds. It was

RESOLVED: "That, subject to the words 'political party organisations' being substituted for the words 'political parties' in the second paragraph the report of the sub-Committee (S.G.8141) be approved and adopted."



94. GENERAL COUNCIL PROCEDURE. Lord Cecil presented the report of the sub-Committee appointed on December 19th, 1935 to consider and make recommendations concerning procedure at meetings of the General Council. After discussion during which the opinion was expressed that members of the Executive should continue to sit on the platform at meetings of the General Council, it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the recommendations of the sub-Committee be approved and adopted in the following amended form:

(1) (a) That the General Council shall appoint at the first session of each meeting a Steering Committee consisting of three persons, including not more than one member of the Executive;

(b) That this Committee shall deal with any matter referred to it by the Council or the President.

(11) (a) That applications for "urgency" shall stand referred to the Steering Committee;

(b) That it shall be an instruction to the Committee not to consider any such application made after the first day of the Council's meeting if such application could have been made on the first day; and

(c) That, in its report on such applications, the Committee shall state

(1) whether in its opinion the motion is urgent; and

(ii) whether there was difficulty in the mover's giving the formal notice required by Rule 29.

(iii) That the text of the motions for which 'urgency' was asked on the first day of the Council's meeting, together with the Steering Committee's report on these applications for 'urgency', shall be circulated to members of the Council and be taken as the first item of the Council's agenda on the second day.

- (iv) That in the case of Oxford and Cambridge University Branches, the requirements of rule 29 shall be deemed to be satisfied if notice of a motion is given within one week of the beginning-of-term next before the General Council's meeting.
- (v) That a motion to amend Standing Orders to give effect to (1), (2) and (3) above be placed on the agenda for the General Council Meeting at Scarborough in June next."

Miss Courtney suggested that the conduct of business at meetings of the General Council might be improved if more attention were given to the preparation of the agenda paper. She suggested that a small Committee should be appointed whose duty it would be to prepare the agenda paper for the Council.

The Secretary reminded Miss Courtney of the appointment by the General Council in June 1930 of the Regions Committee. This Committee meets regularly twice a year some two months before the meetings of the Council in order to examine the Preliminary Agenda and make recommendations. The Executive Committee had, of course, full power to make such alterations in the Final Agenda as it thought desirable.

After discussion it was

RESOLVED: (2) "That a sub-committee consisting of not more than three persons to be nominated by the Chairman, be appointed to consider the resolutions submitted for the forthcoming Annual Meeting of the General Council at Scarborough and to prepare a draft of the Preliminary Agenda for submission to the Regions Committee."

95. LEAGUE OF NATIONS FLAG. The Executive considered the report (S.G.3005) of the sub-Committee appointed on January 15th, 1936, to consider and report on the question whether, and if so under what conditions, use should be made of a League of Nations Flag. After discussion, in the course of which Lord Cecil suggested that it would be undesirable for a League of Nations Flag to be flown at the Permanent Court of International Justice, it was

RESOLVED: "That the report of the sub-Committee be approved and adopted in the following amended form:

- (1) That the League of Nations should possess a Flag of its own;
- (2) That the League of Nations Flag might be used unofficially to make the League better known and to focus and so to quicken loyalty to the League, just as a national flag provides a stimulus to patriotism. P.T.O.

- (3) That the following are among the official uses to which the League of Nations Flag might be put:
- (a) At the Secretariat of the League of Nations and the International Labour Office at Geneva.
  - (b) At all meetings of League conferences.
  - (c) By High Commissioners and other officials appointed by the League for duty in foreign countries, e.g. the Saar, Danzig, the Far East, etc.
  - (d) By civil aircraft when it is chartered to carry League representatives for official purposes (in this case an emblem would be used).
- (4) That the League Flag should not be used by the armed forces of any State Member of the League unless and until the Council of the League so recommends, and that, if the Council makes a recommendation under paragraph 2 of Article 16, such recommendation shall imply authority to use the League Flag.
- (5) That when the League Flag is used by Member States participating in collective action, it should be flown in addition to, and not in substitution for, their national ensigns."

96. BROADCASTING OF LEAGUE NEWS. The Executive considered a resolution (S.G.8058a) prepared by the Drafting Subcommittee in accordance with Minute 44 dated February 6th. The Committee also had before them a resolution drafted by the Education Committee of the International Federation for submission to the XXth Plenary Congress at Glasgow in June. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the following resolution be submitted to the XXth Plenary Congress of the International Federation:

The XXth Plenary Congress of the International Federation of Leagues of Nations Societies,

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That, without waiting for the conference called for September 3rd the League of Nations will regularly broadcast (if possible in Spanish, German and Italian as well as in French and English) its resolutions and decisions; and

That no Government will attempt to prevent, or interfere with, the reception by its nationals of transmissions broadcast by the League of Nations." 217

97. REPORT ON SPRING MEETINGS OF THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION. The Executive had before them a report on the Spring meetings of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies held in Geneva from February 21st to 23rd, 1936 (S.G.8088). It was

RESOLVED: "That the report be received."

98. NATIONAL DECLARATION COMMITTEE. The Executive considered (adjourned) Minute 6 of the Branches Committee dated February 13th, together with the Minutes of the National Declaration Committee and Conference dated March 12th, it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Minutes of the National Declaration Committee and Conference be received."

(2) "That the question of keeping the National Declaration Committee in being be further considered by the Executive Committee in the near future."

99. RUSSIAN REFUGEE WOMEN IN THE FAR EAST. The Executive considered (adjourned) Minute 2 of the Traffic in Women and Children Committee dated February 12th, 1936. It was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Minute of the Traffic in Women and Children Committee be approved and adopted."

(2) "That Dame Rachel Crowdy be invited to speak on the position of Russian Refugee Women in the Far East at the Conference on Refugees now being organised by the Union."

(3) "That a resolution on this subject be submitted to the XXth Plenary Congress of the International Federation, and that it be left to Lady Gladstone, in consultation with the Chairman and Secretary, to draft the resolution."

100. MINORITY POLICY. The Executive considered (adjourned) Minute 4 of the Minorities Committee dated February 6th, 1936.

Sir Austen Chamberlain felt that the proposal to set up a Standing Minorities Committee would do more harm than good, and would actually delay progress towards a more reasonable state of affairs than prevailed in most of the minority countries at the present time. There was no power in the Covenant as he read it, except by the assent of every Member, to establish a Permanent Minorities Commission. That assent was not likely to be given, and he did not think the Executive would add to its authority or dignity in putting forward a proposal that it knew would not be accepted.

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- (2) To inform Mr. Eden of the views of the Executive on the Minorities questions if and when a suitable opportunity occurs.

Major Buxton reminded the Executive of the action taken by the International Federation of League of Nations Societies at its recent meeting in Geneva, and it was

RESOLVED: (1) "To continue to press for a Standing Minorities Committee."

(2) "Not to lay the Union's views on minority policy before Mr. Eden at the present time."

01. GERMANY. The Committee discussed the present situation. Sir Austen Chamberlain felt that it would be a complete misconception of the present issue if it were treated as a Franco-German dispute. What was really at stake was a question whether treaties were to be broken at will by any Power and whether force was to prevail over law. He suggested that in letters to Branches or in publications, much useful work might be done if, without saying anything about how the immediate situation was to be met, an endeavour was made to try and put before the country the real issue to which the minds of the people, as well as the minds of statesmen in the different countries, ought to be directed: whether the basis of international security is the faithfulness to treaty engagements and the confidence which can only exist if these engagements are faithfully kept until they are altered by agreement.

Lord Cecil referred to the general outcry against the inclusion of Italian troops in the proposed international force. He thought that the attitude of the French in regard to the Italo-Abyssinian dispute had been largely responsible for the anti-French feeling in this country, and any suggestion that Great Britain should weaken its attitude in regard to Abyssinia would seriously exacerbate that feeling.

At the request of the Chairman the Secretary reported a conversation he had had with Senor de Madariaga on the previous day.

Mr. Noel Baker agreed with Sir Austen Chamberlain that the Union should take every opportunity of recalling to the people of this country that the real issue at stake was the sanctity of international law. The British people had so strong a feeling about the right of Germany to equality that there was a grave danger of the major issue being lost from sight.

Sir Norman Angell thought that the crux of the whole situation was France; it was the key to restraint of Italy; it was the key to public opinion in this country. Our people were not disposed to give what they would term further guarantees to France or indeed anything in the way of a dramatic demonstration that our guarantees should be more than they had been in the past. Since France had felt, on the basis of her experience since the war, that our guarantee could never be clear and unquestioned, she had sought re-assurance elsewhere and she had sought it in Rome. The sanctity of treaties and obligations under

the collective system meant nothing unless we were prepared to fulfil our obligations fully to the French, and this might mean naval and military obligations. He suggested that it was the task of the Union during the next few months to bring home to the British public that we have not given fair play to France.

Lord Cecil proposed the following resolution:

"That the Executive Committee desires to insist on the necessity of re-establishing the system of collective security seriously threatened by the invasion of Abyssinia by Italy and by the re-occupation of the Rhineland, and assures H.M. Government that, on condition that the French will unreservedly join us in putting a stop to the Abyssinian invasion, we will co-operate with them to secure them against any danger resulting from the German aggression."

Sir Austen Chamberlain deprecated the passing of a further resolution by the Executive at the present time. An interesting discussion had taken place at the meeting and he felt that many members would welcome an opportunity of further considering the situation in all its aspects before it was discussed again by the Committee. Lord Cecil's resolution was accordingly not put to the meeting.

After the Committee had been reminded that part of the Christian Organisations Committee's resolution of March 18th had been incorporated in the Executive's resolution of the following day, and that the substance of the resolution had been included in the communication issued by the Archbishop of Canterbury on March 21st, it was

RESOLVED: "That no further action be taken on the resolution of the Christian Organisations Committee of March 18th."

102. ITALY AND ABYSSINIA. On the motion of Lady Gladstone it was

RESOLVED: "That the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union in forwarding the following telegram to His Majesty's Government takes the opportunity of expressing its indignation at Italy's repeated attacks upon the Red Cross and her violation of the 1925 Protocol (ratified by Italy, April 3rd, 1926) by the use of poison gas, "prohibited alike by the conscience and practice of nations"; and

Urges His Majesty's Government to take whatever action is possible to stop these outrageous practices."

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Telegram from the Ethiopian Women's Work  
Association

For seven days without break enemy have been bombing armies and people of my country including women and children with terrible gases. Our soldiers are brave men they know that they must take consequences of war. Against this cruel gas we have no protection no gas masks nothing. This suffering and torture is beyond description hundreds of countrymen screaming and moaning with pain. Many many of them are unrecognisable since the skin has been burned off their faces. These are facts. The Ethiopian Women's Work Association decided to appeal to women of world to use influence not to use these ghastly methods. With all the power that is in me and with the greatest appreciation for what the women of England and Scotland have done to help our wounded and suffering on behalf of my mother empress and members of Association may I appeal to the Women's Council League of Nations Union to protest against this criminal breach of the 1925 protocol.

TSEHAI  
President.

It was suggested that the above resolution should be communicated to H.M. Government, to the press, to the International Federation of League of Nations Societies and to the Italian Society.

CONFIDENTIAL

## LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

C.13  
6.4.30.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD  
AT 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W. 1., ON THURSDAY,  
APRIL 2ND, 1930, AT 10.45 A.M.

PRESENT: Professor Gilbert Murray (in the Chair),  
Sir Norman Angell, Miss Joyce Asell, Mrs.  
Corbett Ashby, P.J. Noel Baker, Michael  
Barkway, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Major  
Anthony Buxton, Captain V.A. Casalet, Lord  
Cecil, Sir Austen Chamberlain, Miss K.D.  
Courtney, Lord Dickinson, Admiral Brury-  
Lowe, Miss F. Fawcett, Miss M. Lloyd-George,  
Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris,  
Dr. C.W. Kimmins, Lady Layton, Captain Loder,  
G. le M. Kinans, Nowell Smith, Sir Archibald  
Sinclair, L.M. Lynch together with the  
Secretary and Deputy Secretary.

103. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Lord Allen,  
W. Arnold-Forster, F.M. Burris, L.J. Cadbury, the Dean of  
Chichester, Captain L.H. Green, Sir Arthur Haworth,  
Commander Norman Lewis, Lord Lytton, General Temperley,  
Mrs. Wilson-Fox, Major Lawrence Wright and Sir Alfred  
Zimmern.

104. MR. NOWELL SMITH. The Chairman, on behalf of the Executive,  
expressed the pleasure which they all felt by Mr. Nowell  
Smith's return to the Committee after his long illness.

105. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

(a) Economic Committee. (Dr. Garnett reported) Subject  
to the following decisions on minutes 2, 3 and 5, the  
Minutes of the Committee dated 23rd March, 1930 were  
approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (1) Minutes; (2) Over-  
Population and Raw Materials; (3) Nutrition;  
(4) Bribery and Unfair Commercial Practices;  
(5) International Economic Co-operation; (6)  
Composition of the Committee; (7) Co-optations  
to the General Council of the Union.

On Minute 2 - Over-Population and Raw Materials, on  
the motion of Sir Austen Chamberlain it was

RESOLVED: "That subject to the approval of Mr. Hartley  
Withers, the resolution on Over-Population  
and Raw Materials be submitted to the XXth  
Plenary Congress of the International Federa-  
tion in the following amended form:

'XXth Plenary Congress,

Considering the injury done to all  
nations by the lessened volume of inter-  
national trade,



'Recommends that, with a view to making the resources of the world fully available to all people who are able and willing to put them to good use, the Economic Committee of the League of Nations and the International Labour Office, be asked to investigate the extent to which overpopulation and inability to obtain required raw materials exist, and to what extent and by what measures these difficulties could be remedied.'

On Minute 3 - Nutrition, it was

RESOLVED: "That the draft resolution be approved for submission to the XXth Plenary Congress, subject to the last paragraph being amended to read as follows:

'Hopes that the Committee will proceed to formulate measures for the removal of any impedimenta, national or international, that stand between people suffering from deficient or unwholesome nourishment and the available agricultural products of the world.'

On Minute 5 - International Economic Co-operation, it was

RESOLVED: "That the draft resolution be not submitted to the XXth Plenary Congress of the International Federation."

Membership of Committee, it was, on the motion of Lord Cecil,

RESOLVED: "That Sir Alan Anderson, Mr. Robert Brand and Mr. S.R. Beale be invited to join the Economic Committee."

- (b) Refugees Committee. (Lord Cecil reported) Subject to the following decision on Minute 15, the Minutes of the Committee dated March 24th, 1936, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (12) Appeals for Saar and Armenian Refugees; (13) Maitre Rubinstein's Visit; (14) National Conference on the Refugees Problem; (15) Resolution for the XXth Congress of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies; (16) further activities.

On Minute 15 - Resolution for the XXth Plenary Congress of the International Federation, it was on the motion of Lord Cecil,

. 3 -

RESOLVED: (1) "That the draft resolution be approved and adopted for submission to the XXth Plenary Congress in the following amended form:

'The XXth Plenary Congress,

Calls attention to the increasing number of refugees, so many of whom are destitute;

Affirms its conviction that it is necessary, in the interests of humanity and of international order, that a unified organisation under the League of Nations should be established for dealing with the whole question of refugees; and

Urges that no considerations of false economy and timidity should prevent the adoption by the Assembly of the League of Nations of effectual means to that end."

(2) "That the above resolution be submitted mutatis mutandis to the Annual Meeting of the General Council."

(c) Overseas Committee. (Lady Gladstone reported) Subject to the following decision on Minute 13, the Minutes of the Committee dated 25th March, 1936 be approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (10) Minutes; (11) The Spring Meetings of the International Federation; (12) XXth Plenary Congress; (13) Work of the Constituent Societies of the International Federation; (14) Overseas Report; (15) Sale of League and Union Publications at Geneva.

On Minute 13 -- Work of the Constituent Societies of the International Federation, it was

RESOLVED: "That the draft resolution be approved and adopted for submission to the XXth Plenary Congress subject to the words 'and Youth Groups' being inserted after the word 'Branches' in paragraph (1)."

(d) Editorial Committee. (Sir Norman Angell reported) The Minutes of the Committee dated March 26th, 1936 were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (23) Minutes; (24) Posters; (25) Publicity; (26) Recent and Forthcoming Publications; (27) "Youth"; (28) Foreign Policy Association and World Peace Foundation.

On Minute 16 -- "ABYSSINIA", it was

RESOLVED: "That the Executive Committee associates itself with the Editorial Committee in warmly thanking Miss Fawcett for her very generous gift of £120 to cover the cost of three issues of ABYSSINIA."

(e) Finance Committee. Dr. Garnett reported that a meeting of the Finance Committee had been held on the previous day. The Committee had been informed that since the appeal of March 1935 had wiped out the overdraft, the income of the Union had during the remaining months of 1935 fallen short of the authorised expenditure by about £1,000 a month, with the result that the Bank overdraft was now £11,000 greater than it had been a year ago. The Finance Committee, after considering proposals submitted by the Secretary for reducing the expenditure of the Union by some £10,000 a year, had made alternative proposals and had decided to meet again towards the end of the month in order to submit a detailed plan to the Executive at the beginning of May. It was

RESOLVED: "That members of the Office Committee be invited to attend the meeting of the Finance Committee when proposals for reducing the expenditure of the Union are under consideration."

106. PAMPHLET ISSUED BY WOODFORD BRANCH. Sir Austen Chamberlain drew the attention of the Executive to a pamphlet entitled PEACE AND YOU issued by the Woodford Branch of the Union. He read to the Committee certain extracts from the paper which were outside the declared policy of the Union.

The Secretary stated that the pamphlet had been issued under the auspices of the Woodford Branch and that the quotations which Sir Austen had read had not been drawn from HEADWAY or from any other source for which the Executive was responsible. So soon as he had seen a copy of the pamphlet he had written to the local secretary suggesting that, since it was stated in the paper that it was hoped, through the publication, to pass on to Members in Woodford "the guidance of the Executive Committee of the Union for consideration and help", it would have been a wise precaution to send the MSS or the proof of the paper to this office before printing it off.

Lord Cecil felt that it was undesirable to try and limit the activities of Branches more than was absolutely necessary. Nine-tenths of the work of the Union was done by people of very strong opinions and if they were discouraged too much the Union would be likely to lose their support. No one could say that the proposals in question were in conflict with the Covenant of the League of Nations and, within that limit, he thought it very difficult for

tee Executive to say that local Branches were not entitled to advocate any policy they liked. He was much more afraid of their becoming inert than he was of their becoming extravagant. He suggested that publications issued by local organisations should include a clear statement on the cover to the effect that they represented the views of the local Branch but not necessarily the views of the Union as a whole. On this understanding, and provided the views expressed were consistent with the Covenant, he thought that a large amount of liberty should be left to the local organisations.

After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That a resolution on the lines of Lord Cecil's suggestion be submitted to the General Council at its forthcoming Annual Meeting at Scarborough."

107. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Executive received resolutions from the Edinburgh Branch and the Western Regional Youth Groups. It was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Edinburgh Branch be thanked; that in regard to resolution (1) on H.M. Government's re-armament proposals the Branch be informed that the reference to the Limitation of armaments in paragraph VIII of the white Paper containing the Locarno Powers proposals is an indication that the British Government share the strong desire of the country for an all-round reduction and limitation of armaments as a necessary step towards collective security; and that in regard to resolution (2) the Branch be informed that a study of the same White Paper also indicates that the British Government have already used their influence to ensure a discussion of the German proposals, although it is not proposed that that discussion shall take place forthwith."

- (2) "That the Western Regional Youth Groups be thanked, and that their attention be directed to the references to the limitation of armaments and to 'international arrangements having as their object the extension of economic relations and the organisation of commerce between the nations' contained in the Proposals drawn up by the representatives of Belgium, France, Great Britain and Italy (Command No. 5134), as well as to the Executive Committee's resolution of March 19th."

108. MINUTES. Subject to the following decision and report on Minutes 94, 95 and 100, the Minutes of the Committee dated March 26th, 1936 were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 94 - General Council Procedure, it was reported that the Agenda sub-Committee would consist of Lord Cecil, Miss Courtney, and Professor Murray, together with the Secretary, and that the Committee would meet on the morning of Tuesday, April 20th.

On Minute 95 - League of Nations Flag, it was

RESOLVED: "That the proposals in regard to a League of Nations Flag be submitted to the XXth Plenary Congress of the International Federation."

On Minute 100 - Minority Policy, it was on the motion of Major Buxton,

RESOLVED: "That paragraph (2) of the resolution be amended to read as follows:

'To inform Mr. Eden of the views of the Executive on the Minorities question if and when a suitable opportunity occurs.'

It was left to the Minorities Committee to bring a proposal before the Executive when, in their opinion, a suitable opportunity occurred.

109. GERMANY AND ITALY-ABYSSINIA IN DISPUTE. Professor Murray felt that the present situation was extremely difficult, and that if the Government adopted a clear and consistent policy of carrying out its treaty obligations of supporting the League and collective security it was likely to incur a rather widespread though temporary unpopularity in the country. He suggested that the Executive should assure H.M. Government that if they did follow such a policy the Union would do its best to support them by explaining that policy and making it clearly understood throughout the country.

Lord Cecil said there appeared to be a strong feeling that the Abyssinian question was on quite a different plane from the German situation, and there was a good deal of irritation at the suggestion that, while acting with so little effect on behalf of Abyssinia who had been actually attacked, we were bound to take strong action to restrain Germany.

Sir Austen Chamberlain thought the present state of public opinion extremely disquieting. We seemed to be getting further away from collective security, and it was becoming more and more evident that the support which this country was prepared to give to the League depended upon the particular issue at stake, and not upon any general principle. Public opinion was, in fact, only prepared to fulfil its obligations under certain conditions and within certain narrow limits.

Sir Norman Angell reminded the Committee that public opinion in Great Britain was, at the present time, intensely

disturbed by the Italian aggression in Abyssinia; and he suggested that the opportunity should be taken to make clear to the public that the place to defend Abyssinia was on the Rhine.

Lady Rocham Carter said that it was equally true that the way to defend the Rhine was to stop the war in Abyssinia.

Sir Archibald Sinclair suggested that the best way of educating and mobilising public opinion in support of the general principle would be for the Executive to call upon the Government to summon the Committee of Eighteen in order to impose further progressive sanctions against Italy.

Lord Cecil felt that the time had come for the Union to take some step, for example by a great meeting in the Albert Hall, in order to enforce the view that it is the duty of H.M. Government to press the Council of the League to take whatever measures are necessary to stop the war in Abyssinia. He thought that British public opinion, realising that support for the collective system depended on stopping Italy's war in Abyssinia, would support H.M. Government in any steps they might take to cut off communications between the two countries, even though they recognised the possibility of such action resulting in war with Italy.

After further discussion it was, on the motion of Sir Archibald Sinclair, and with three dissentients,

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

Re-affirming its determination to uphold and apply universally the principle of collective security,

Considers that, unless the Italian Government stops the war in Abyssinia forthwith, the Committee of Eighteen should be summoned and effective sanctions imposed, including oil sanctions, a shipping embargo and, if necessary, the severance of communications between Italy and Abyssinia."

It was further, nem con

RESOLVED: (2) "That the League of Nations Union should take immediate steps to convince public opinion of the necessity of these measures and to explain their relation to the present crisis in Western Europe."

(3) "That a mass meeting be held in the Albert Hall on Friday, May 8th."

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Lady Gladstone drew the attention of the Executive to the debate which had taken place in the House of Lords on March 30th concerning the use of poison gas by Italy. She had drafted a letter which was being widely signed by representative women in Great Britain, but it had been decided to postpone the publication of the letter until confirmation of the use of poison gas by Italy could be obtained from the Foreign Office. A resolution adopted by the Women's Advisory Council at its meeting on the previous day was placed before the Executive.

110. BRITISH LEGION RALLY. The Secretary reported that a British Legion Rally was to be held at Scarborough on Sunday, June 21st, during the Annual meeting of the Union's General Council. More than one thousand delegates from the Legion's Branches in the three Ridings were expected to be present, and General Sir Frederick Maurice, the President of the Legion, would be the chief speaker. The Legion had sent a cordial invitation to the Union to be represented at the rally. They hoped that the President and the Chairman as well as other members would appear on their platform. It was

RESOLVED: "That the invitation of the British Legion be accepted."

111. CLOSING OF OFFICE FOR EASTER. It was

RESOLVED: "That the office be closed from 1 p.m. on Thursday, April 9th until 10 a.m. on Tuesday, April 14th."

112. DATE OF NEXT MEETING. It was

RESOLVED: "That the next ordinary meeting of the Executive be held on Thursday, April 23rd at 11 a.m., but that it be left to the Chairman to call a special meeting for 3 p.m. on Thursday, April 9th or April 16th if he thinks such a course desirable."

CONFIDENTIAL

## LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

C.13  
27.4.36.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD  
AT 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W. 1., ON THURSDAY,  
APRIL 23RD, 1936 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Professor Gilbert Murray (in the Chair),  
Wyvan Adams, Sir Norman Angell, Miss Joyce  
Ansell, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, F.J. Noel Baker,  
Michael Barkway, Captain Cazalet, Lord Cecil,  
Miss K.D. Courtney, Admiral Drury-Lowe, Miss  
F. Fawcett, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, Dr.  
C.W. Kimmins, Commander Norman Lewis, Captain  
Loder, Lord Lytton, C. Le M. Mander, Lord  
Rhavader, Nowell Smith, H.S. Syrett, General  
Temperley, Professor C.K. Webster, Mrs. Wilson  
Fox, L.M. Wynch together with the Secretary  
and the Deputy Secretary.

113. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from W. Arnold  
Forsuer, F.M. Burris, Major Anthony Buxton, L.J. Cadbury,  
Sir Austen Chamberlain, the Dean of Chichester, Miss  
M. Lloyd George, Captain Green, Sir John Harris, Lady  
Layton, Major Lawrence Wright, and Sir Alfred Zimmern.

114. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

- (a) Office Committee. Subject to the following report  
on Minute 19, the Minutes of the Committee dated  
March 31st, 1936, were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (16) Minutes; (17)  
Representation of Staff on the Committee;  
(18) Miss Wimperis; (19) Method of Electing  
the Executive; (20) Mrs. Crabb.

On Minute 19 - Method of Electing the Executive,  
in reply to a question from Miss Fawcett, the  
Secretary stated that the Report (S.G.81c4) sub-  
mitted by the Office Committee and now approved  
and adopted by the Executive would be printed in  
the Preliminary Agenda for discussion by the  
General Council at Scarborough in June.

- (b) Finance Committee. Subject to the following decision  
on Minute 18, the Minutes of the Committee dated  
April 1st, 1936, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (18) Financial Statement;  
(19) Accounts for 1935; (20) New Deals; (21)  
Expenditure in 1936; (22) London Regional  
Federation; (23) Auditors' Report on the Method  
of Keeping the accounts; (24) Temporary  
Assistant for the Cashier; (25) Superannuation  
Scheme; (26) Rassemblement Universel; (27)  
Trades Union Congress at Plymouth; (28) Passing  
of Cheques for Payment.

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On Minute 18 -- Financial Statement, Sir Norman Angell asked whether, in the present critical situation of the League and of the Union, the Finance Committee would consider the possibility of asking subscribers to raise to one guinea all subscriptions less than that amount. The Secretary reported that letters had been sent out over Lord Cecil's signature to all Foundation Members, asking them to double their subscriptions and to pay them under deed. More than five hundred such deeds had already been received, representing a total value of more than £8,500. Branches had also been requested to send to all their members subscribing less than £1 a year, a letter, also signed by Lord Cecil, asking them to double their subscriptions to the Union. After discussion it was

RESOLVED. "That the Finance and Appeals Committees be asked to consider the question of issuing an appeal to all subscribing members of the Union."

Luncheon to be addressed by Mr. Anthony Eden. Lord Cecil and Mr. Syrett described the circumstances which necessitated arrangements being made for the Luncheon which Mr. Eden had promised to address on May 26th to be held in the Hall of the Grocers Company instead of in the Mansion House. It was suggested that Sir Alan Anderson should be invited to preside at the Luncheon since the Lord Mayor was unable to do so.

- (c) National Youth Committee. (Miss Ansell reported) The Minutes of the Committee dated April 4th, 1936, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (23) British Youth Organisations; (24) World Youth Congress; (25) Nominations to Council; (26) Federation Congress; (27) Abyssinia and Italy; (28) The Rhineland Situation; (29) Youth Groups.

- (d) Christian Organisations Committee. (Admiral Drury-Lowe reported) The Minutes of the meeting dated April 15th, 1936 were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (32) Prebendary Thompson; (33) Task of the Committee in the present international situation; (34) Albert Hall Meeting; (35) Gas Warfare in Abyssinia; (36) Peace Child Scheme; (37) Corporate Membership.

- (e) Minorities Committee. Subject to the following decision on Minute 8, the Minutes of the Committee dated April 22nd, 1936 were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (7) Composition of Committee; (8) Union Policy; (9) Agenda for the Federation.

On Minute 8 - Union Policy, it was

RESOLVED: "That this Minute be received."

115. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Executive Committee received resolutions from the Exeter, Bungay, Bournville Works, Sheffield, Ramsbottom, ~~Sheffield~~, Macclesfield, Hertford and Purley Branches; from the East of Scotland District Council and the Essex Federal Council; from the Port Said Group, Egypt; and from the League of Nations Union's Easter School at Bristol.

It was

- RESOLVED: (1) "That the Exeter Branch and the East of Scotland District Council be thanked for their support of the action taken by the Executive Committee."
- (2) "That the Essex Federal Council be thanked for their support of the action taken by the Executive; and that, in regard to the question of over-population and raw materials, they be informed of the resolution to be submitted by the Union to the forthcoming Plenary Congress of the International Federation."
- (3) "That the Bungay Branch be thanked and be reminded of the resolutions adopted by the Executive Committee on March 19th and April 2nd."
- (4) "That the Bournville Works Branch and the Sheffield Branch be thanked for their resolutions and be informed of the resolution adopted by the Executive Committee on March 5th, to which the Committee still adheres."
- (5) "That the Ramsbottom Branch be thanked for their resolution; and that they be reminded of the resolution adopted by the Executive Committee on March 19th and of the resolution to be submitted by the Union to the XXth Plenary Congress of the International Federation in Glasgow in June."
- (6) "That the Macclesfield Branch be thanked for their resolution; that they be reminded that the League of Nations provides machinery by which issues in dispute may be discussed, including (under article 19 of the Covenant) the revision of the Treaty of Versailles, and be informed of the steps which the Executive are taking to get Article 19 made practically effective."

- (7) "That the Hertford Branch be thanked for their resolution."
- (8) "That the Port Said Group be thanked for their resolution; and that they be informed of the action taken by the Executive in the direction they desire."
- (9) "That the Purley and District Branch be thanked for their resolution."
- (10) "That the resolution of the League of Nations Union's Easter School be received with thanks."

116. PORT SAID GROUP. Lord Lytton reported that, after consulting the High Commissioner, who had welcomed the existence of the Port Said Group of the League of Nations Union, he had recently addressed a public meeting for the Group on his way home from Palestine. The Group possessed an energetic secretary and many keen members. He thought in a short time it would be possible to form a general Egyptian Group of the League of Nations Union pending the formation of a national League of Nations Society. Lord Lytton had conveyed to the Port Said Group the greetings of the Executive Committee, and they had asked him to bring back an expression of their thanks and of their goodwill.

117. MINUTES. Subject to the following report on Minutes 105(a), 105(d) and 109, the Minutes of the Committee dated April 2nd, 1936 were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 105(a) - 2 - Over-Population and Raw Materials, it was reported that Mr. Hartley Withers had approved the amended draft resolution for submission to the XXth Plenary Congress.

On Minute 105(a) - Membership of Committee, the Secretary read to the Committee a letter dated 17th April from Sir Alan Anderson, stating that, since his programme was already very full in connection with the work for the International Chamber of Commerce and the Carnegie Institute, he did not feel able to join the Union's Economic Committee. But he added that he was in complete sympathy with the objects to which the Committee was working and would gladly co-operate at any time if the Chairman (Mr. Hartley Withers) would let him know that he could help. No reply had yet been received from Mr. Robert Brand or Mr. S.R. Beale.

On Minute 105 (d) - 16 - "Abyssinia", it was reported that the last of the three numbers of ABYSSINIA (now entitled THE CRISIS) which, by the generosity of Miss Fawcett, the Union had been able to publish, had appeared on the previous day. After discussion, during which it was stated that nineteen issues of the Bulletin had appeared and that, while the publication had been found most useful, many Branches were now beginning to find difficulty in distributing copies week by week, it was

RESOLVED: "That no further copies of ABYSSINIA be published."

On Minute 109 -- Germany and Italo-Abyssinia Dispute, the Secretary read to the Committee a letter from the Secretary of the Essex Federal Council asking whether the Executive Committee were unanimous in adopting the resolution circulated to Branches on 2nd April, and, if not, who composed the minority. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the Essex Federal Council be informed that it is contrary to the Union's practice to disclose the names of members of the Executive Committee who vote for or against resolutions adopted by the Committee."

118. THE LATE M. VENIZELOS. the Chairman read to the Committee a letter from Madams Venizelos, thanking the Executive for their message of sympathy.
119. ITALY AND ABYSSINIA. Lady Gladstone reported that, after receiving many urgent requests from Sir Sydney Barton for further aeroplanes for use in Abyssinia, she had recently published a further appeal. The response had been magnificent and she had already obtained more than £3,000. The letters accompanying the gifts showed how deeply public opinion had been stirred by the continuation of the war and the use of poison gas by the Italians. Extracts from the letters were being made and would be circulated for the information of members of the Executive. After consulting Air Commodore Fellowes, it had been decided to buy two aeroplanes, of a smaller size than the first machine which was sent out, and Lady Gladstone hoped that the aeroplanes would be ready for despatch within the next fortnight. She hoped to have enough money not only to send two aeroplanes and pilots, but also to provide a mechanic.

The Executive Committee considered a proposal that a further appeal should be made for chemical materials and gas masks to combat the effect of the poison gas being used by Italy. In this connection the Committee had before them a memorandum (S.G.8198) by Mr. Noel Baker.

General Temperley pointed out that it would not suffice to supply the Abyssinians with gas masks. It would also be necessary to send out a small technical commission of instructors in the use of gas masks and of competent people to treat gas injuries.

After discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That Lady Gladstone be asked to discuss with the British Red Cross Society the possibility of issuing a joint appeal for the purpose of supplying the Abyssinians with gas masks and other gas equipment and with the chemical materials required for dealing with the injuries caused by poison gas; and that the suggestion that a small

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technical commission be sent to discuss with the Abyssinian authorities the best way in which anti-gas measures can be applied, be borne in mind."

- (2) "That an endeavour be made to get the proposed appeal broadcast by the B.B.C."
- (3) "That H.M. Government be informed of the proposed appeal; that they be asked to support it; and that they be urged to take such measures as will induce other States Members of the League to take similar action."

The Executive discussed the recent meeting of the League's Council. Lord Cecil expressed the opinion that the only effective way to stop the war was to sever communications between Italy and Abyssinia.

The attention of the Committee was drawn to the fact that Great Britain, as a shareholder in the Suez Canal, was profiting by the passage through the Canal of supplies of poison gas for use by Italy in Abyssinia.

Lord Lytton suggested that since the only way to end the war in Abyssinia was to cut communications between Italy and Abyssinia, H.M. Government should press for that issue to be decided publicly at the next meeting of the Council. If the French were not prepared to do this publicly and to take the burden of it, they should be informed beforehand that it would mean, in our view, the end of the League and the withdrawal of Great Britain from all our obligations to defend France. He suggested that a deputation from the Executive should wait upon H.M. Government and inform them of the Executive's views. Lord Lytton thought the danger to the League was not a reason for slackening our efforts but for very greatly increasing them.

It was suggested that H.M. Government should be asked to make a clear statement of their policy in regard to collective security, not only in Abyssinia but anywhere and everywhere in Europe.

(During the above discussion Professor Murray had to leave the meeting and the Chair was taken by Lord Lytton.)

After discussion, on the motion of Lord Lytton, it was, nem con

RESOLVED: (1) "That in view of the declared intention of Italy to pursue to the end her aggression in Abyssinia and of the failure of economic sanctions alone to prevent the continued violation of the Covenant, and

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Having regard to the recent declaration of the Prime Minister that collective security will only work if all the nations are prepared simultaneously to fight if necessary an aggressor,

The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union urges H.M. Government to propose publicly to the Council on May 11th, to take the only effective way of stopping the Italo-Abyssinia war, namely to sever the communications between Italy and Africa."

- (2) "That the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary be asked to receive a deputation from the Executive Committee in order to discuss the above resolution."
- (3) "That the resolution be not published until after the deputation has taken place."
- (4) "That the Secretary be asked to make enquiries of the Foreign Office on the question of supplies of poison gas for use by Italy passing through the Suez Canal."
- (5) "That a resolution on the lines of (1) above be submitted to the Albert Hall Meeting on May 8th."

Miss Courtney drew attention to the title of the Albert Hall meeting as printed on the posters and handbills, and it was

RESOLVED: (6) "That in any future publications concerning the Albert Hall Meeting the title be amended to read STOP WAR IN ABYSSINIA AND THUS PREVENT WAR ELSEWHERE."

120. DATE OF NEXT MEETING. It was

RESOLVED: "That the next meeting of the Executive Committee be held at 11 a.m. on Thursday next, April 30th."

CONFIDENTIAL

## LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD  
AT 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W. 1., ON THURSDAY,  
APRIL 30TH, 1936 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Professor Gilbert Murray (in the Chair),  
Vyvyan Adams, Lord Allen, Sir Norman Angell,  
Miss Joyce Ansell, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, P.J.  
Noel Baker, Michael Barakway, F.M. Burris,  
L.J. Cadbury, Captain V.A. Cazalet, Miss  
K.D. Courtney, Admiral Drury-Lowe, Miss  
Philippa Fawcett, Miss M. Lloyd George,  
Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, Sir Arthur Haworth,  
Dr. C.W. Kimmins, Lady Layton, Commander  
Norman Lewis, Lord Lytton, G. le M. Mander,  
Mark Patrick, Lord Rhayader, Councillor Shaw,  
Sir Archibald Sinclair, Nowell Smith, H.S.  
Syrett, Professor C.K. Webster, Mrs. Wilson-  
Fox, Major Lawrence Wright, L.M. Wynch, Sir  
Alfred Zimmern together with the Secretary  
and Deputy Secretary.

121. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from W. Arnold Forster  
Major A. Buxton, L.J. Cadbury, Lord Cecil, Sir Austen  
Chamberlain, Captain L.H. Green, Sir John Harris, General  
Temperley and Major Lawrence Wright.
122. MR. E. AMMENDE. The Chairman spoke of the recent death  
of Mr. E. Ammende and reminded the Committee of the  
splendid work he had done for reconciliation between  
the minorities in different countries. It was

RESOLVED: "That the Chairman be asked to send a message  
of sympathy to Mr. Ammende's relatives."

123. REPORT OF COMMITTEE.

Women's Advisory Council. (Lady Gladstone reported)  
The Minutes of the Committee dated 1st April, 1936, were  
approved and adopted.

[These Minutes included (596) Minutes; (597)  
Report of Standing Sub-Committee; (598) representa-  
tion on General Council; (599) Red Cross Aeroplanes  
for Abyssinia; (600) Poison Gas in Abyssinia;  
(601) Activities of Women's Peace Societies in  
Europe; (602) The European Crisis; (603)  
Rassemblement Universel pour la Paix; (604) Russian  
Refugee Women in the Far East; (605) British  
Commonwealth League; (606) applications for Corporate  
Associateship; (607) Time of Future Meetings.]

124. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Executive Committee received  
resolutions from the Executive Committee of the Welsh  
National Council, the Guild of Undergraduates of Liverpool  
University, the Bristol University Union, the Eccles Youth  
Group and the Hornchurch and Beaconsfield Branches. It was

P.T.O.

- RESOLVED: (1) "That the Executive Committee of the Welsh National Council, the Guild of Under-graduates of Liverpool University, the Bristol University Union and the Horchurch Branch be thanked for their resolutions."
- (2) "That the Eccles Youth Group be thanked for their resolution, and that they be reminded that the reference to the limitation of armaments in the Text of Proposals drawn up by the Representatives of Belgium, France, Great Britain and Northern Ireland and Italy (Command 5134) is an indication that the British Government share the strong desire of the country for an all-round reduction and limitation of armaments as a necessary step towards collective security."
- (3) "That the Beaconsfield Branch be thanked and be reminded of the resolution adopted by the Executive Committee on March 19th."

The Executive also considered a resolution adopted by the Cardiff District Committee on 16th April, suggesting that the Executive Committee should "present a strong letter of condemnation and protest to Italy through the Italian Ambassador regarding the use of poison gas by Italy." It was

- RESOLVED: (4) "That the Cardiff District Committee be informed of the resolution adopted by the Executive on March 27th, and that no further action be taken."

The Secretary stated that, in response to his circular letter of March 27th, 141 Branches had written stating that communications on their behalf had been sent to their local member of Parliament and/or to H.M. Government on the lines suggested.

25. MINUTES. Subject to the following report and decision on Minutes 114(b), 117 (105), and 119, the Minutes of the Committee dated April 23rd, 1936 were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 114(b) - Luncheon to be addressed by Mr. Anthony Eden, it was reported that the Lord Mayor had now consented to preside at the Luncheon on the understanding that Mr. Eden will speak.

On Minute 117(105) - Membership of Economic Committee, it was reported that Mr. S.R. Beale regretted that, owing to a large number of other commitments, he was unable to accept membership of the Economic Committee.

On Minute 119 - Italy and Abyssinia, the Secretary stated that the Regions Committee, at their meeting on the previous day, had recommended that the second



paragraph should be deleted from the resolution on Italy and Abyssinia when it was presented to the General Council. After discussion, during which the Secretary stated that notice would be given in the Preliminary Agenda to the effect that an amended version of the resolution would be included in the Final Agenda or, if circumstances required it, an urgency resolution would be moved, it was

RESOLVED: "That the second paragraph be deleted from the resolution on Italy and Abyssinia to be included, in the name of the Executive Committee, in the Preliminary Agenda for the Annual Meeting of the General Council."

126. RESIGNATION OF LORD QUEENBOROUGH. The Secretary reported the circumstances in which Lord Queenborough's letter, resigning the office of Treasurer of the Union and Chairman of the Finance Committee, had appeared in the press, accompanied by a letter signed by himself and written after consultation with Lord Lytton, thanking Lord Queenborough for his services to the Union during the past sixteen years. The Committee approved the terms of Dr. Garnett's letter. The Secretary stated that, so far as could be ascertained at the moment, the effect produced by the publication of these letters had been to increase the Union's membership and funds.

Admiral Drury-Lowe reported that at a meeting in a small mining village in Nottingham, where he had an audience of little more than one hundred, sixty-nine people had joined the Union, including the Managing Director of the Colliery who had hitherto been opposed to the League and the Union.

Reference was made to a report appearing in the MORNING POST to the effect that Lord Queenborough's resignation had followed that of Major Hills and Sir Edward Grigg. The Executive were reminded of the letter written by Major Hills to Professor Murray on 2nd December, 1935, when he resigned his office of Vice-Chairman of the Executive and stated that "I have never in all my connection with the Union been more thoroughly in agreement." The Secretary stated that Sir Edward Grigg had not resigned from the Executive but had asked that his name should not be included in the list of those members of the Committee who were standing for election to the Executive for 1936-37. It was suggested that the Chairman should write a letter for publication, correcting the mis-statements which had appeared in the press and that, if permission were forthcoming from Major Hills, extracts from his letter of 2nd December should be included in the Chairman's statement. It was also suggested that Major Hills should himself be asked to write a letter to the press concerning his relations with the Union.

The Committee discussed the question of a successor to Lord Queenborough, and several names were suggested. It was

RESOLVED: "That the Finance Committee, at their next meeting on May 6th, be asked to consider and make recommendations to the Executive concerning the appointment of a Treasurer of the Union and Chairman of the Finance Committee in succession to Lord Queenborough." 2307

127. QUORUM FOR EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. Admiral Drury-Lowe suggested that, in order to avoid the difficulties which resulted from the Executive having to take important decisions at the end of a long meeting when few members were present, controversial resolutions should not be passed after a certain time or, alternatively a quorum should be fixed for the Committee. After considerable discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That, as an experiment, the Executive shall not take any controversial decision after 1.15 p.m. at a morning meeting unless there are at least twenty members present."

128. HOURS OF WORK. On the motion of Lady Hall it was

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

Points out that the refusal of the British Government to ratify the Draft Convention establishing the general principle of the 40 hour week is liable to be regarded as a rejection of the entire principle of the reduction of hours of labour; and

Urges the Minister of Labour when he attends the 1936 Session of the International Labour Conference to make it clear that H.M. Government favours the reduction of hours of work, together with the maintenance of wages, and will collaborate actively in bringing about the conclusion of Draft Conventions to apply the principle of a 40 hour week to individual industries."

129. ITALY AND ABYSSINIA. Lady Gladstone reported that she had discussed the proposed appeal for gas masks and anti-gas equipment with the British Red Cross Society and with Lord Cranborne. The position was rather complicated because so many appeals were at present being made for different aspects of the needs of the Abyssinians. She understood that the British Red Cross Society were considering the question of issuing an appeal but they were not sure that the necessary facilities existed for getting the medicaments to the people who needed them. The Foreign Office had sent a cable to Sir Sydney Barton, asking for his advice in this matter. Lady Gladstone pointed out that the British Red Cross Society, under the terms of their Geneva Convention, would be precluded from co-operating with the Union in the issue of a joint appeal. But this difficulty might be overcome if the Union decided to publish an appeal and to hand over the proceeds to the

Red Cross. Mr. Noel Baker suggested that mention might be made in HEADWAY, for example, that the Red Cross Society was willing to receive subscriptions. The Committee agreed that, pending a report from Sir Sydney Barton, no appeal should be made by the Union but that Lady Gladstone should continue her negotiations with the Red Cross Society.

Miss Courtney suggested that the report of the Jurists Committee, which was appointed to consider the Italian and Abyssinian allegations, should be made more widely known.

The Secretary reported that Miss Margery Perham had suggested that there was an urgent need for a short and authoritative statement of the Abyssinian case in pamphlet form which could be widely distributed. She had suggested the outline of such a paper which would contain short statements by various contributors, and she added that Lord Lugard had approved of her suggestion and would be ready to contribute an article. She asked whether the Union would be prepared to publish such a paper.

The Secretary suggested that Mr. Kingsley Martin should be asked to produce a pamphlet on these lines in the series issued from time to time by the NEW STATESMAN. It would then be offered for sale on the railway bookstalls.

The Chairman reported a letter from Mr. Arnold Forster suggesting that the Union should publish a definite appeal about Abyssinia. Mr. Arnold Forster had drafted such a paper and asked if the Executive would approve it and take the responsibility for its publication. If not, his local Branch would publish it. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Editorial Committee be asked to meet as soon as possible and to consider the question of publishing papers on the lines suggested by Miss Perham and by Mr. Arnold Forster, and that the Committee be informed that the Executive expresses the hope that these proposals will be favourably received."

Deputation to H.M. Government. The Secretary reported that the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary had consented to receive a deputation from the Executive Committee at 12 noon\* on Monday, May 4th, at No. 10, Downing Street. The Chairman hoped that as many members of the Executive as possible would join the deputation and twenty-five of those present at the meeting indicated their willingness to do so. It was suggested that the names of members of the Executive who were unable, for various reasons, to join the deputation should be given to H.M. Ministers. It was agreed that Lord Cecil, who would be returning from Geneva later in the day, should lead the deputation.

\* The time of the deputation has since been changed to 4 p.m. P.T.O.

The Secretary reported a conversation he had had with Sir George Paish who had suggested that the deputation to the Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary should, among other things, ask whether H.M. Government would be prepared to advocate a League loan of, say, 10 million pounds for Abyssinia. Sir George had also asked whether the Executive would approve of Dr. Garnett becoming a member of the Abyssinia Committee in order that the Union might be kept in touch with the work of the Committee and pass on to them suggestions for action.

Sir Alfred Zimmern spoke of his recent visit to Canada and the U.S.A. He had found a strong feeling that the present situation in Abyssinia was not so much a League failure as a failure by Great Britain. The difference between the reaction of American public opinion to Great Britain's domestic policy and to our foreign policy was very marked. Sir Alfred thought that the British Empire was at this moment in greater danger than it had ever been. The one foreign policy which could keep the Empire united was the collective system. He expressed the opinion that, judging from the attitude of the smaller neutrals, there was extreme likelihood of war in Central and Eastern Europe within the next two or three years; and the only thing that could prevent that war would be decisive action on the part of Great Britain at the present moment by enlarging the Locarno system to embrace the whole of Europe.

Miss Fawcett stated that at the annual meeting of the London Regional Federation held earlier in the week the resolution adopted by the Executive at its last meeting had been wholeheartedly supported.

The hope was expressed that the deputation to H.M. Government would deal with the whole European problem as well as with the particular problem of the war in Abyssinia. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: (2) "That it be left to Lord Cecil, Professor Murray and Lord Lytton to arrange the programme for the deputation to the Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary."

Peace Terms for Abyssinia. The Committee were reminded of the letter which Lord Cecil had written, at the request of the Executive, to Mr. Eden on March 6th, and of Mr. Eden's reply in which he had said he would be interested to see the suggested principles drawn up by the Mandates Committee on which peace terms for the Abyssinian war might be based. After considering a suggestion that these recommendations should be sent to the Foreign Secretary with a covering letter explaining that they represented the proposals of a sub-Committee which had not yet been approved by the Executive, it was

RESOLVED: (3) "That the recommendations contained in Minute 3 of the Mandates Committee dated February 4th, be referred back to the Committee for further consideration."

130. RASSEMBLEMENT UNIVERSEL POUR LA PAIX. In the absence of Lord Cecil it was

RESOLVED: "That the Minutes of the meeting of the International Peace Campaign (I.P.C.) held on 23rd April, 1936, be adjourned for consideration at the next meeting of the Executive."

131. REFORM AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE LEAGUE. The Executive had before them the draft Report (S.G.8204) on The Reform and Development of the League of Nations prepared by the sub-Committee appointed by the Executive for submission to the General Council at its annual meeting in June. It was

RESOLVED: "That consideration of the draft Report be adjourned; but that, in the meantime, the draft Report be printed in the Preliminary Agenda for the General Council with a note explaining that the Report, which is included in the Preliminary Agenda for the convenience of Branches and members of the Council represents the findings of a sub-Committee which have not yet been approved by the Executive."

132. INTERNATIONAL NEGOTIATIONS OUTSIDE THE LEAGUE. The Executive had before them a memorandum on International Negotiations Outside the League (S.G.8210) prepared in accordance with Minute 684 of the last meeting of the General Council. The Secretary reported two amendments recommended by the Regions Committee at its meeting on the previous day. It was

RESOLVED: "That the recommendations of the Regions Committee be accepted, and that the memorandum be approved and adopted in the following amended form:

While it is not suggested that all international treaties and agreements should be negotiated under the League's auspices, provided they are registered with the League in accordance with Article 18 of the Covenant, great anxiety has been expressed at the tendency, especially of certain great Powers, to conduct private negotiations with a view to achieving international agreements or preventing international disputes. Among the instances often quoted are the Anglo-German Naval Treaty, various negotiations between Paris and Rome at different stages of the Italo-Abyssinian conflict and especially the Hoare-Laval proposals. It is not possible to contend that such negotiations are undesirable in every case; but it is undoubtedly damaging to the League's authority that questions directly coming within its scope and which have been submitted to the Council or Assembly should be the subject of private negotiations and agreements between two or more states. It should be the general rule that such questions should be dealt with at Geneva by the proper organs of the League. I.L.O.

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133. REGIONS COMMITTEE. The Secretary reported as a matter of urgency that the Regions Committee, at its meeting on the previous day, had recommended the Executive to submit a resolution on the subject of H.M. Government's re-armament proposals to the General Council at Scarborough. (Other recommendations of the Regions Committee reported as matters of urgency are included in Minutes 125 and 132 above). It was

<sup>2</sup>  
RESOLVED: "That notice be given in the Preliminary Agenda that the Executive Committee intends to submit a motion to the Scarborough meeting of the General Council on the subject of H.M. Government's re-armament proposals."

CONFIDENTIAL

## LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD  
AT 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W. 1., ON THURSDAY,  
MAY 7TH, 1936, AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Professor Gilbert Murray (in the Chair),  
Vyvyan Adams, Lord Allen, Sir Norman Angell,  
Miss Joyce Ansell, W. Arnold Forster, P.J.  
Noel Baker, Michael Barkway, Lady Violet  
Bonham Carter, P.M. Burris, Major Anthony  
Buxton, Captain V.A. Casalet, Lord Cecil,  
Sir Austen Chamberlain, the Dean of Chichester,  
Miss K.D. Courtney, Lord Dickinson, Admiral  
Drury-Lowe, Miss F. Fawcett, Miss Megan Lloyd  
George, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, Sir John  
Harris, Sir Arthur Haworth, Dr. C.W. Kimmins,  
Lady Layton, Commander Norman Lewis, Lord  
Lytton, G. de M. Mander, Mark Patrick, Sir  
Archibald Sinclair, Nowell Smith, H.S. Syrett,  
General Temperley, A.G. Walkden, Professor  
Webster, Mrs. Wilson-Joy, Major Lawrence Wright,  
L.M. Wynch, Sir Alfred Zimmern, together with  
the Secretary and Deputy Secretary.

On the suggestion of the Dean of Chichester, seconded by  
Admiral Drury-Lowe, the members of the Executive observed  
two minutes' silence at the outset of the meeting.

134. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Mrs. Corbett  
Bentley, L.J. Cadbury and Captain L.H. Green.

135. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

(a) Youth Committee. Miss Ansell reported, as a matter  
of urgency, that the Youth Committee at its meeting  
on May 2nd, 1936 had resolved

"That the Executive be urged to induce Branches  
and Youth Groups to contribute to a special  
fund which could enable a new film on the League  
of Nations to be produced for the Union."

It was

RESOLVED: "That the recommendation of the Youth  
Committee be referred to the Finance  
Committee for consideration and report."

(b) Finance Committee. The Secretary reported, as a  
matter of urgency, that the joint meeting of the  
Finance and Offices Committees held on the previous  
day had resolved;

(1) That the thanks of the Union be given to  
Lord Queenborough for his long and valued  
service as Treasurer of the Union and Chairman  
of the Finance Committee.

(2) That Sir Josiah Stamp be invited to accept  
nomination as Treasurer of the Union, and that  
he be informed that an active deputy Chairman  
of the Finance Committee will be ready to

preside in his place over the Finance Committee and to relieve him of responsibility for the details of the Union's finance. 795

It was

RESOLVED: "That the resolutions of the Finance and Office Committees quoted above be approved and adopted."

The Secretary reported that a further joint meeting of the Finance and Office Committees would be held on Monday, May 11th. It was hoped that the Minutes of that meeting as well as of the meeting on May 6th together with proposals regarding the future of the Union's finances, would be circulated with the Executive Committee's papers for the next meeting.

136. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Executive received resolutions from the Ashton-under-Lyne Youth Group, the Essex Conference of Branch Secretaries, the Marple, Mellor and Ludworth Branch and the Watford Branch. It was

- RESOLVED: (1) "That the Ashton-under-Lyne Youth Group be thanked for their resolution; that they be informed that the Executive Committee adheres to its resolution of March 5th, on the subject of H.M. Government's re-armament proposals; and that they be reminded that the reference to the limitation of armaments in the Text of Proposals drawn up by the Representatives of Belgium, France, Great Britain and Northern Ireland and Italy (Cmd. 5134) is an indication that the British Government share the strong desire of the country for an all-round reduction and limitation of armaments as a necessary step towards collective security."
- (2) "That the Essex Conference of Branch Secretaries be thanked, and be reminded of the resolutions adopted by the Executive on April 2nd and April 23rd and immediately communicated to H.M. Government."
- (3) "That the Watford Branch be thanked for their resolution."

On the resolution of the Marple, Mellor and Ludworth Branch, Sir Austen Chamberlain remarked that if Great Britain was to pursue a League of Nations policy it must possess the armaments which a Great Power ought to have. Anyone who was not ready to vote for those armaments was really not prepared to make British co-operation in the League effective. It was

RESOLVED: (4) "That the Secretary be asked to reply to the Marple, Mellor and Ludworth Branch on the lines suggested by Sir Austen Chamberlain; to recall the resolutions adopted by the



General Council at its December meeting and by the Executive Committee on March 5th; and to remind the Branch that the reference to the limitation of armaments in the Text of Proposals drawn up by the Representatives of Belgium, France, Great Britain and Northern Ireland and Italy (Cmd. 5134) is an indication that the British Government share the strong desire of the country for an all-round reduction and limitation of armaments as a necessary step towards collective security."

Mr. L.M. Wynch reported a resolution which had been adopted by the Camberley Branch at its meeting on May 5th.

137. MINUTES. Subject to the following report and decision on Minutes 125 (114b) and 129, the Minutes of the Committee dated April 30th, 1935 were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 125 -- 114(b) -- Luncheon to be addressed by Mr. Eden. Lord Cecil reported that Mr. Eden had asked that, in view of the great pressure of his work and of the uncertainty whether he would be in England on May 26th, the luncheon which he had promised to address in the Grosvenor Hall should be postponed. It had accordingly been decided to postpone the luncheon and communications would be sent to all those who had received invitations. It was suggested that the Foreign Secretary might be willing to write a letter commending the Union's work for enclosure with the notice concerning the postponement of the luncheon.

On Minute 126 -- Resignation of Lord Queanborough, the Chairman reported that the MORNING POST and other papers had published a letter which he had written on April 30th, correcting the mis-statements which had appeared in the press and including, with Major Hills' permission, extracts from his letter of 2nd December, 1935.

On Minute 129 -- Italy and Abyssinia, The Chairman reported that, since it had been found impossible to hold a meeting of the Editorial Committee, he had considered the leaflet drafted by Mr. Arnold Forster and had agreed to its being set up in proof immediately in order that it might be available at the Albert Hall meeting on May 6th. It was

RESOLVED: "That the Chairman be asked to discuss with Mr. Arnold Forster any further alterations in the leaflet necessitated by the changed international situation, and that thereafter the leaflet be published."

138. ITALY AND ABYSSINIA.

(a) Deputation to the Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary. Lord Cecil reported the circumstances in which it had been arranged for the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary to receive a small deputation consisting of twelve P.T.O.

persons on Monday, May 4th at 4 p.m. Lord Cecil said that the Prime Minister had agreed that, in addition to the communique published after the deputation, he should be at liberty to make a fuller report to members of the Executive. Otherwise the proceedings should be regarded as strictly confidential.

Lord Cecil had introduced the deputation and was followed by Lord Lytton and Mr. Walkden. The Foreign Secretary and the Prime Minister had replied to the speeches. Professor Murray had then moved a vote of thanks and Sir Archibald Sinclair had seconded it. The official communique reads as follows:

"This afternoon the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary received a deputation from the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union which had been arranged ten days ago. It was introduced by Viscount Cecil.

The deputation expressed the conviction that H.M. Government would receive vigorous support in pursuing a courageous policy in the critical situation caused by the apparent success of Italian aggression in Abyssinia. The Union had consistently urged ever since the outbreak of hostilities that the most effective measures should be taken collectively in order to stop the war. The Union had not altered in its conviction that this policy should still be carried out.

The alternative was frankly to admit the complete failure of the League with the implied admission that it was impossible to prevent military aggression by joint international action. This alternative could not be contemplated without great injury to the moral authority of Great Britain and the imminent danger of European war. A foreign policy based upon the League was the only one upon which the British Empire could be united. It was necessary to consider what could be done, in view of the inadequacy of the League's action in the present case, to make it a more efficient instrument for the prevention of war, rather than for attempting to arrest hostilities after they had begun. British public opinion was, the Union believed, deeply humiliated by the failure of the League of Nations to save Abyssinia from invasion and from the horrors of gas warfare. Unless Italy were prevented by the economic pressure of the League from enjoying the fruits of her unjust victory, it was doubtful whether the British people would be ready to come to the assistance of other members of the League who might be the victims of aggression in the future.

The Foreign Secretary gave the latest information of the situation in Addis Ababa. Both he and the Prime Minister emphasised to the deputation that the Government would have to take stock of the League's

position in the light of the apparent failure of collective action in this dispute. The question of the reform of the Covenant would need very careful consideration.

The deputation consisted of Viscount Cecil (President), Professor Gilbert Murray (Chairman), the Earl of Lytton (Vice-Chairman), Lord Allen, Sir Norman Angell, Mr. Arnold Forster, Mr. Noel Baker, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Viscountess Gladstone, Mr. G. le M. Mander, M.P., Sir Archibald Sinclair, M.P., and Mr. A.G. Walkden, M.P.

The Chairman read to the Committee a letter from Mrs. Corbett Ashby on the subject of the deputation.

In reply to a question from Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Lord Cecil stated that he gathered from Mr. Eden the impression that he sympathised with the Union's view generally, but that he felt he could not undertake to press even for the continuance of sanctions unreservedly because he was not at all sure that when he got to Geneva he would be able to carry it through. Lord Cecil did not think that either of the Ministers accepted the position that it was of vital importance that they should make quite clear in open meeting what their view was.

(b) Albert Hall Meeting. The Executive discussed the present situation and, in particular, the policy which should be advocated at the meeting to be held in the Albert Hall on the following evening, May 8th.

Professor Murray reminded the Committee that the Union was in charge of a very great cause which would not probably be won in the lifetime of any of them. This country and other countries had to be persuaded to move away from the conception of the sovereign independent state surrounded by possible and even probable enemies to the conception of each nation being a member of a great society. The Union was now faced with an acute political crisis, and he hoped the Committee would not allow their feeling about the crisis to blind them as to the importance of the greater work they were engaged in. He suggested that the Executive should express its general feeling about the present situation and promise its support to H.M. Government in the strongest action that they felt able to take for re-establishing the authority of the League.

The Committee then considered draft resolutions proposed by Lord Cecil for submission to the Albert Hall meeting.

Lord Cecil said he had been in favour of cutting communications as against economic sanctions from the outset because he thought the important thing was to hit at the war arm. Economic sanctions were a very indirect method, since they could only stop the war by putting such

pressure on the Italian population as to make it extremely disagreeable to go on with hostilities. But he felt that if military sanctions had not been applied up to now, it would be almost unthinkable that the Council of the League should agree to put them on at the present time. He was, on the other hand, in favour of maintaining the existing sanctions since by this means the situation in Italy might become so difficult within the next few months that Signor Mussolini would be prepared to discuss with the League what was the best way of settling the situation which had arisen. If sanctions were to be abandoned at this stage he thought it would cause the utmost indignation in this country and would result, in particular, in intense indignation against France. We had never in international law recognised a complete change in the government of a country until we were satisfied that it was a permanent and well-established change. Until we recognised that such a change had taken place and we recognised the Italian Government as the new government of Abyssinia, he saw no reason why we should modify the policy we had hitherto adopted, seeing that we were bound to support Abyssinia against Italy.

Mr. Vyvyan Adams did not agree with Lord Cecil's view regarding the impracticability of cutting Italy's communications with Abyssinia at the present time.

Sir Austen Chamberlain felt it was the duty of the Executive in any resolution it passed to say plainly what was meant and to leave no ambiguity. If military sanctions were not envisaged they ought to be definitely excluded in the text of the resolution.

A general discussion then took place in which many members of the Executive took part. Some members suggested that Italy should be expelled from the League and others were against this course; some were in favour of maintaining and of increasing sanctions while others were in favour of going further and cutting Italy's communications; and some members proposed definite military action.

Sir Alfred Zimmern reminded the Committee that the time factor which had hitherto been working in the opposite direction was now on the side of the League. It was no longer a question of stopping the war and the difficulties of the Italians were increasing. He suggested that a vote on the policy of continuing sanctions should be deferred until the new French Government was able to speak at Geneva.

Eventually it was

RESOLVED: "That the following resolution be approved and adopted for submission to the Albert Hall meeting on Friday, May 8th:

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This meeting

Affirms its support of the League of Nations and the principle of collective security;

Pledges itself to take all constitutional means to strengthen the League as an instrument of international peace and of peaceful change;

Expresses its indignation at the invasion of Abyssinia by Italy in defiance of her treaty obligations and at her barbarous methods of warfare; and

Calls upon H.M. Government to urge the maintenance of sanctions against Italy until she is ready to accept terms of peace approved by the Council of the League."

(The first three paragraphs of the above resolution were adopted unanimously. Sir Austen Chamberlain asked that his dissent from the last paragraph should be recorded.)

139. REGIONS COMMITTEE. Mr. Burris reported on the meeting of the Regions Committee held on April 29th, 1936. The Executive also had before them the Preliminary Agenda for the Scarborough meeting of the General Council. Subject to the decisions recorded in Minutes 125, 132 and 133 of the last meeting of the Executive, and subject also to the following decisions on Minute 2 (2) and (8), the Minutes of the Regions Committee dated April 29th, 1936 were received.

On Minute 2 - General Council - II Procedure, it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the amendments suggested by the Regions Committee in the proposals for Procedure at General Council Meetings be approved and adopted."

- (2) "That a note be included on page 4 of the Final Agenda to the effect that it is desirable, wherever possible, that members of the Council who wish to speak on a motion should send in their names in writing to the Chairman at the meeting, at the same time indicating whether they wish to speak for or against the motion."

On Minute 2 - 8 - The Union's Budget, it was

RESOLVED: "That this motion be submitted to the General Council in the name of the Regions Committee."

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140. REFORM OF THE LEAGUE. It was reported that copies of the draft Report on the Reform and Development of the League of Nations had been circulated to all the members of the sub-Committee which prepared the report, with a note asking for their observations in the light of the changed international situation. Amendments had been suggested by two members of the sub-Committee. It was

RESOLVED: "That Lord Cecil and the Secretary be asked to consider the draft Report in the light of the amendments suggested by members of the sub-Committee before the Report is again submitted to the Executive."

141. INTERNATIONAL PEACE CAMPAIGN. The Executive had before them the Minutes of the first meeting of the British Committee of the International Peace Campaign (Assemblée Universel pour la Paix), and it was

RESOLVED: "That the Minutes of the meeting of the International Peace Campaign dated April 23rd, 1936, be approved and adopted."

CONFIDENTIAL

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

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1815.30.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD  
AT 6, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W. 1., ON THURSDAY,  
MAY 14TH, 1936 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Professor Gilbert Murray (in the Chair),  
Vyvyan Adams, Lord Allen, Sir Norman Angell,  
Miss Joyce Ansell, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, P.J.  
Noel Baker, Michael Barkway, Lady Violet  
Bonham-Carter, Captain V.A. Cazalet, Lord  
Cecil, Sir Austen Chamberlain, the Dean of  
Chichester, Miss K.D. Courtney, Lord Dickinson,  
Admiral Drury-Lowe, Miss P. Fawcett, Lady  
Gladstone, Lady Hall, Sir Arthur Haworth,  
Lady Layton, Commander N. Lewis, Lord Lytton,  
Sir John Mann (Finance Committee), Lord  
Rhayader, Councillor H.F. Shaw, Sir Archibald  
Sinclair, Rowell Smith, H.S. Syrett, General  
Temperley, Lord Mac-hurst, Professor G.H.  
Webster, Mrs. Wilson-Pax, Major Lawrence Wright,  
L.M. Wynn, Sir Alfred Zimmern together with  
the Secretary and Deputy Secretary.

142. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Major Anthony  
Buxton, L.J. Cadbury, Miss M. Lloyd George, Mark Patrick,  
a.G. Walkden.
143. FINANCE AND OFFICE COMMITTEES. The Minutes of the joint  
meeting held on May 6th, 1936, were approved and adopted.  
Subject to the following decision on Minute 42, the  
Minutes of the joint meeting dated May 11th were approved  
and adopted.

These Minutes included (31) Resignation of Lord  
Queenborough; (32) Financial Statement; (33)  
Audited Accounts for 1935; (34) The Union's Finances;  
(35) Additional Staff for Work in London; (36)  
Kent and Surrey, and Berks, Bucks and Oxon; (37)  
International Peace Campaign; (38) London Regional  
Federation; (39) Loan to Mr. Brayshaw; (40) Passing  
of Cheques for Payment; (41) Minutes; (42) Union  
Finances; (43) Kent and Surrey, and Berks, Bucks  
and Oxon; (44) Essex Federal Council.

On Minute 42 - Union Finances, at the request of the  
Chairman the Secretary briefly described the principles  
followed and the methods employed in financing the Union  
during the past sixteen years. Had the Union been more  
anxious for its own security and less concerned to achieve  
its objects it might now be living on the interest of its  
investments. But it had preferred to live dangerously,  
with a minimum of financial reserve and a maximum output  
of work. The present unsatisfactory position was directly  
due to the international situation and its influence  
in restraint of large donations from the commercial com-  
munity and other well-to-do people.

Consideration was then given to the proposals con-  
tained in Minute 42 of the meeting of the Finance and

X he accepted the report as far as he could, including a recommendation that the staff be asked to accept the proposal to reduce salaries; and he requested that the cuts should be restored before any additions were made to the Staff.

Minute 167

X that the names of those whose services should be dispensed with should forthwith be made known to the Committee and, at the same time, a statement should be made showing which of the Union's activities would be affected by the dismissals in question.

Office Committees on May 11th and to memorandum S.G.8269 by Mr. Noel Baker. Lord Lytton urged the adoption of the proposals of the Finance and Office Committees: organised efforts should be made to obtain funds and increase the membership, and, so soon as the financial position was sufficiently improved, the cuts should be restored, preferably as from July 1st. Sir Norman Angell was of opinion that an immediate reduction in expenditure was inevitable; but he held that the Press section, specially if it were strengthened, could facilitate the raising of funds, and he pointed out that some parts of the Union's work were of more immediate importance than others. Lord Cecil gave general support to the proposals but thought that greater efforts might be made to secure more £1 members: the position would be secure if 100,000 could be enrolled. Lady Layton thought that sufficient attention had not been paid to the different Appeals which had already been made and urged that a special letter should be sent to all Branch Chairmen setting forth the position and asking them to get their branches to make special efforts. Mr. Macartney said that the Staff accepted the proposal to reduce salaries and asked that the cuts should be restored before any additions were made to the Staff. Mr. Noel Baker considered that any decision to cut salaries or reduce staff was dangerous; efforts should be made to secure legacies and obtain more Foundation Members. Mrs. Corbett Ashby suggested that every Branch should be asked to raise a definite sum of money and instanced the success which had attended such action by a society with which she was connected. Mrs. Dugdale thought the Committee ought to discuss forthwith the names of those whose services were to be dispensed with rather than wait for them to come up on the report by the Secretary on the action taken. Lady Hall supported Lady Layton's proposal and urged that effect should be given to her own proposal set forth in Minute 34 of the Finance Committee's meeting of May 6th to call meetings of Federal Councils and larger Branches to have a full explanation of the position from Lord Cecil and other prominent members of the Committee. Lord Allen pleaded for delay before dismissals or cuts were made. He recommended that each Branch should be asked to raise a specified quota of the full income required, and he cited the experience of the I.L.P.

Sir John Mann said that though there was no need for panic, the deficiency in the income had reached a perilous point. Delay in giving effect to the proposals would be disastrous: they must prepare for the contingency that was close upon them. He was opposed to mentioning the names of the listed individuals to the Committee and urged that every care should be taken to avoid publicity.

Councillor Shaw thought that money might be obtained locally by Branches and Branch members. He was meeting the Leeds and Wakefield District Council on Saturday and asked whether or not he should put the whole position to them: on the



Minne 147  
 Consider whether cuts in salary or reductions in staff should be restored first if funds came in; and he read the following declaration:

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grounds that publicity about the actual position was not desirable, the general opinion was that he should say that greater efforts had been made last year and that some economies were now being made.

Lord Lytton moved that the question be now put. Sir Arthur Haworth seconded and said that action should be taken at once, if the appeals for money were successful, the first thing to be done should be to restore cuts. Mr. Macartney thought that the Finance and Office Committees should meet again to decide whether reductions in staff or cuts in salaries should take place first, and read the following:

We recognise that the present crisis in the Union is partly due to the political situation, and we realise that the first pre-occupation of Executive Committee has necessarily been to further the cause for which the Union exists.

Nevertheless we are convinced that the affairs of the Union need never have come to the present pitch had the members of the Executive, before undertaking fresh activities on the part of the Union or connected with it, always assured themselves that they were not jeopardising the present and future financial position of the Union. An improvident policy for which Executive Committee is partly responsible, is now being visited on the staff, all of whom are in consequence threatened with a reduction in their standard of living and many with dismissal. No member of Executive Committee is so far as he has not constantly resisted this improvidence can escape his share of personal responsibility for its consequences to ourselves. We say this in no spirit of recrimination, but in order to add weight to our earnest appeal to the members of Executive Committee,

Firstly, to make every personal effort, even at the cost of trouble or inconveniences, to further the appeals work of the Union and restore its finances to a sounder condition;

Secondly, to give his or her personal and active attention to the task of placing in alternative employment those members of the staff who must now be dismissed.

Mr. Vyvan Adams thought that names might be given. Sir Archibald Sinclair thought it better that that should not be done and said that the staff should be assured that there would be no fresh expenditure till the cuts were restored. Professor Murray urged that the proposals should be adopted, that the cuts should be restored as soon as possible, and that then dismissals should be cancelled where practicable; there should also be a re-organisation of Committees. Lord Cecil then made the following statement:

Minute 147

X at the ruling which required that the 'economy' resolution should be voted on as a whole.

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- (1) In any scheme of economy, the most essential thing is to preserve the efficiency of the political side of the Union's action. We have undoubtedly got to face in the very near future a determined attack on some of the chief principles of the League. If we are to defeat that attack, we must keep in good order our political machinery.
- (2) Next to the political part of our work, the educational part is the most important, and I should look with great anxiety on any proposal to cut down the work in the schools and colleges and amongst the teachers.
- (3) In general, it is better to keep a smaller number of adequately paid employees rather than a large number who are not adequately paid. It is therefore for consideration whether in any retrenchment it would not be more advantageous to suppress altogether certain branches of our work rather than to maintain them and to seek the necessary economy in cutting down salaries of those who are working in them and diminishing the number of people engaged in each department.

After observations by Mr. Nowell Smith, Lady Hall, Lady Gladstone, Miss Courtney and Mrs. Wilson-Fox, and a protest by Mrs. Dugdale, the Chairman put the motion and it was, by twenty votes to ten

RESOLVED: I. "That in order to enable the expenditure of the Union to be reduced by £10,000 a year in the near future, unless in the meanwhile an increase in the Union's income renders that reduction or part of it unnecessary, the Executive Committee should immediately decide as follows:

- (1) To reduce the expenditure on publications by a minimum of £2,000 a year, either by spending £300 a year less on the News Sheet and £1,700 a year less on pamphlets and leaflets, or in such other manner as the Executive Committee may prefer after consultation with the Editorial Committee. Saving not less than.....£2,000 a year
- (2) As from July 1st, 1936 to reduce the expenditure on Speakers Notes by £100 a year; on Overseas Travel by £100 a year; on purchases for the Library by £50 a year; and on postages and stationery by £200 a year. Saving... £450 a year

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(3) to cease to occupy No. 6, Grosvenor Crescent and to save..... £400 a year and as soon as possible to dispose of the lease or to sub-let No. 6 and so to save a further..... £500 a year

(4) To invite all officers of the Union voluntarily to accept as a temporary measure a reduction of ten per cent in their salaries and wages as from July 1st, 1936, except that the reduction in the case of those whose salaries or wages are less than £200 a year shall be 5% thereby saving..... £2,790 a year

(The amount of the reduction of salaries and wages would be diminished in so far as further savings on printing or other expenditure rendered such diminution possible.)

(5) That notice be given to certain members of the staff whose names were listed by the Committee to terminate their engagements on the expiry of the period of notice to which they are respectively entitled by law, and that the Secretary be directed to give such other notice as may be required to terminate the engagements of a sufficient number of clerks in certain specified departments, thereby saving (on these two counts)..... £4,000 a year

provided that, if any of the persons concerned cannot obtain other suitable employment earlier, the Secretary shall have authority to retain their services until such date, not later than August 15th, as he may consider just in each case.

(It was agreed that the Union would use all its resources to obtain employment for these members of the staff before the expiry of their period of notice and that members of the Executive should be asked to assist personally.)

II. That since the excess of the Union's expenditure over its income is now approximately £12,000 a year, further reductions of expenditure will become necessary unless the Union's revenue is increased by more than £2,000 a year in the near future.

(The committee considered certain further reductions which might eventually become necessary.)

III. That the London Regional Federation be invited to agree that their income from the Executive Committee be reduced in proportion to the reduction in the Executive's expenditure.

IV. That an attempt be made to secure payment for articles supplied by the Press Section.

V. That the Secretary report from time to time on the action taken in accordance with these decisions.

It was further

RESOLVED: (a) "That the following members of the Executive be constituted a Committee for the purpose of giving effect to the proposal of the Office and Finance Committee that the Union should use all its resources to obtain employment for members of the Union's staff whose engagements are being terminated and to find such employment before the expiry of their period of notice in each case, and that members of the Executive should be asked to assist personally:

Sir John Power (Chairman)  
 Mr. Burris  
 Mr. Cadbury  
 Captain Green  
 Lady Layton  
 Mr. Mander  
 Mr. Nowell Smith  
 Mr. Syrett  
 Lord Wakehurst  
 Mr. Walkden."

(b) "That in imposing upon the staff these dismissals and cuts in salary, the Executive Committee, recognising its moral obligation, pledges itself to make every effort to incur no fresh expenditure which it is not satisfied is supremely important until salaries and wages are restored to at least their present level. In any future extension of the Union's activities, every

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consideration should be given to the possibility of re-employing members of the present staff who are leaving under this re-organisation."

- (c) "That the Branches Committee consider (3) of Lord Cecil's statement."
- (d) "That the Appeals Committee, with possible additions, examine the proposals which had been made for raising money through the Branches."

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD  
AT 6, GROSVENOR GARDENS, LONDON, S.W. 1., ON THURSDAY,  
MAY 21ST, 1936, AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Professor Gilbert Murray (in the Chair),  
Vyvyan Adams, Sir Norman Angell, Miss Joyce  
Ansell, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, F.J. Noel Baker,  
Lady Violet Bonham Carter, F.M. Burris,  
Major Anthony Buxton, Lord Cecil, Sir Austen  
Chamberlain, Miss K.D. Courtney, Admiral Drury-  
Lowe, Mrs. Digdale, Miss P. Fawcett, Miss  
M. Lloyd George, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall,  
Sir John Harris, Dr. C.W. Kinnins, Lady Layton,  
Commander Norman Lewis, G. le M. Mander, Mark  
Patrick, Newell Smith, H.S. Syrett, Professor  
C.K. Webster, Mrs. Wilson-Fox, Major Lawrence  
Wright, L.M. Wynch, together with the Secretary  
and the Deputy Secretary.

144. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from L.J. Cadbury,  
Captain L.H. Green, Sir Arthur Haworth, Lord Lytton and  
General Temperley.

145. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

(a) Youth Committee. (Miss Ansell reported) Subject to  
the following decision on Minute 31 and to the  
approval of the Finance Committee on Minutes 33(b),  
35, 36 and 40, the Minutes of the Committee dated  
May 2nd, 1936, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (31) Youth Groups; (32)  
Geneva World Youth Congress; (33) Pax Players;  
(34) Youth Groups National Council, 1937; (35)  
Youth Groups Manual and New Pamphlet; (36)  
Nominations to Council; (37) Resolution of  
Chelmsford Youth Group; (38) Next Meeting of the  
National Youth Committee; (39) British Youth  
Peace Assembly; (40) The Film We Want.

On Minute 31 - Youth Groups, it was

RESOLVED: "That paragraph (3) of the resolution con-  
tained in this Minute be referred back to  
the Youth Committee for further considera-  
tion."

(b) Industrial Advisory Committee. The Minutes of the  
Committee dated May 7th, 1936 were approved and  
adopted.

These Minutes included (39) Minutes; (40)  
Composition of Committee; (41) Visit of Mr.  
H.B. Butler; (42) L.N.U. Party to International  
Labour Conference; (43) Ratification of Con-  
ventions; (44) Hours of Work; (45) International  
Federation of League of Nations Societies, Glasgow,  
June 1st-4th; (46) Conferences on the I.L.O.;  
(47) Trades Union Congress, Plymouth - Proposed

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 Tea-Reception; (48) Mr. Gillinder's Report;  
 (49) 74th Session of Governing Body of I.L.O.;  
 (50) Industrial Affiliations; (51) I.L.O.  
 Speakers' Class; (52) Abyssinia - Albert Hall  
 Meeting.

- (c) Branches Committee. (Admiral Drury-Lowe reported)  
 The Minutes of the Committee dated May 7th, 1936,  
 were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (35) Branches; (36)  
 Junior Branches and Sections; (37) Corporate  
 Members; (38) Corporate Associates; (39)  
 Membership; (40) Future of the Branches Committee;  
 (41) Local Peace Councils.

- (d) Education Committee. (Dr. Kimmins reported) Subject  
 to the following decision on Minute 40, the Minutes  
 of the Committee dated May 11th, 1936, were approved  
 and adopted.

These Minutes included (39) The Present Inter-  
 national Situation; (40) Speech By Lord Cecil;  
 (41) Meetings for Teachers and Schools; (42)  
 Report on Work in Universities and Colleges;  
 (43) Magazine for Public and Secondary Schools;  
 (44) International Federation of League of Nations  
 Societies; (45) Collection of School Textbooks  
 for the League Library; (46) Special Occasions  
 in the Schools; (47) Report of the National Youth  
 Committee; (48) National Council on the Teaching  
 of International Relations; (49) 1936 Easter  
 School; (50) League of Nations Pioneers' Expedi-  
 tion to Holland; (51) Arrangements for the  
 Summer; (52) Seventh World Conference of the  
 New Education Fellowship; (53) Provision of  
 Government Scholarships for Foreign Students in  
 British Universities; (54) Proposal of the  
 British Esperanto Association; (55) B.B.C. Talks  
 to Schools; (56) Resolutions; (58) Educational  
 Corporate Members; (59) Recognition of Junior  
 Branches; (60) Junior Sections.

On Minute 40 -- Speech by Lord Cecil, it was

RESOLVED: "That this Minute be referred to the  
 Editorial Committee for consideration  
 and report."

- (e) Political Committee. Lord Cecil reported as a matter  
 of urgency on a Minute of the Committee dated May  
 19th containing instructions which the Political  
 Committee recommended should be given to the British  
 delegation to the XXth Plenary Congress of the  
 International Federation. It was

RESOLVED: (1) Re-form of the League

- (a) That no attempt be made to secure  
 the adoption by the XXth Plenary

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Congress of the Report prepared by the Union's Committee on the Reform and Development of the League of Nations, but that the Plenary Congress be asked to commend the Report to the study of constituent societies.

- (b) That the British delegation should inform the Plenary Congress that the Union sees no objection to the detachment of the Covenant of the League from the Peace Treaties, provided that the obligations undertaken by the Members of the League under the Covenant remain unimpaired.

(2) Prevention of War.

That the following be moved as an 'urgency' motion:

The XXth Plenary Congress

- (1) Declares that no alteration of the Covenant or procedure of the League of Nations designed to make it a more satisfactory instrument for the prevention of war, will be of any practical value unless the Governments and peoples of States Members are firmly resolved to fulfil the obligations which they have undertaken:
- (ii) Believes that the general reduction and limitation of national armaments by international agreement is an indispensable condition of a lasting peace:
- (iii) Insists that the principle embodied in Article X of the Covenant is of fundamental importance and must on no account be abandoned:
- (iv) Asks that, in accordance with proposals suggested to the Federation in May, 1934\* the assembly of the League shall

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 Inquiry should be appointed, unless the Assembly decides otherwise, to report on the facts and to recommend what, if any, action should be taken.



X until that to this end the Council should be enabled

X every Member

~~accept~~  
<sup>adopt</sup>

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:

- (v) Is convinced that it is of paramount importance to ensure that the Council of the League shall, in dealing with any international dispute, take vigorous and timely action to prevent the outbreak of hostilities, ~~especially by enabling it~~ to adopt and put into force, under Article XI but without counting the votes of the parties to the dispute, whatever measures are considered wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations.
- (vi) Remains of the opinion that the repression of aggression, committed in breach of the Covenants of the League, requires, as part of the League system, the imposition of economic, financial and, if necessary, military sanctions upon the aggressor:
- (vii) And believes, that, in the application of such sanctions, it is the duty of ~~all members~~ of the League to co-operate loyally and effectively in support of the Covenant and in resistance to any act of aggression to an extent which is compatible with its military situation and takes its geographical position into account (*see Annex A to the Locarno Agreements*).
- (3) Italy, Abyssinia and the League.

That the following be moved as an 'urgency' motion:

The XXth Plenary Congress

In view of the vital importance to the peace of Europe and of the world of maintaining the authority of the League of Nations and the sanctity of treaties:

Recognising that the strength of the League, if fully and unflinchingly exercised, is ample to prevent the use of war by an aggressive government as an instrument of national policy:

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 XI.

- 5 -

Expresses its indignation at the invasion of Abyssinia by Italy in defiance of her treaty obligations and at her barbarous methods of warfare; and

Calls upon the League of Nations to maintain and intensify sanctions until Italy is ready to accept terms of peace approved by the Council of the League.

146. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Executive received resolutions from the London Regional Federation, Heaton Mersey Congregational Church, Birkenhead West Youth Group, Cardiff District Committee, London Youth Groups Easter Conference, Hunts. District Council, Central London Youth Groups, North Devon Group of Branches, the Belgian League of Nations Union, and the Rowlands Castle, Bishopston and Horfield, Waterlooville, Camberley, Ross-on-Wye, Battersea, and Leeds Branches. It was

- RESOLVED: (1) "That the London Regional Federation be thanked and be reminded that the letter addressed to all Branches of the Union on May 1st contained the substance of the Executive's resolution of April 23rd, a further resolution adopted by the Executive at its meeting on May 7th was communicated to all Branches of the Union on the following day."
- (2) "That the Rowlands Castle Branch be thanked and be reminded that the policy of the Union in regard to the creation of an air police is that set forth in the resolution adopted by the General Council at Cambridge in June, 1935."
- (3) "That the Bishopston and Horfield Branch and the members of the Heaton Mersey Congregational church be thanked for their resolutions."
- (4) "That the Waterlooville and District Branch be thanked."
- (5) "That the Birkenhead West Youth Group, the Camberley Branch, the Cardiff District Committee, the Ross-on-Wye Branch, the Committee of Leeds Branches and the Battersea Branch be thanked; and that their attention be drawn to the resolution which was adopted by the Executive Committee on May 7th, communicated to the Union's Branches on May 8th and, after being carried by acclamation at the Albert Hall meeting on May 8th, was communicated to H.M. Government on May 9th."

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- (6) That the Conference of London Youth Groups be thanked for their resolutions; that resolution (iii) be referred to the Christian Organisations Committee for consideration and report; and that resolutions Nos. (vi) (vii) and (viii) be referred to the Youth Committee for consideration and report.
- (7) That the Hunts. District Council and the Central London Youth Groups be thanked for their resolutions.
- (8) That the North Devon Branches be thanked and be informed that their resolution has been referred to the Branches Committee for consideration and report.
- (9) That the Belgian League of Nations Union be thanked and be informed of the resolution which was adopted by the Executive Committee on May 7th and, after being carried by acclamation at the Albert Hall meeting on May 8th, was communicated to H.M. Government on May 9th.

It was further

RESOLVED: (10) That, for the future, before submitting resolutions from local organisations to the Executive, the Secretary be asked to ascertain in each case the approximate number of people present when the resolution was adopted.

147. MINUTES. Subject to the following report and decision on Minutes 135(b) and 143, the Minutes of the meetings dated May 7th and May 14th, 1936, were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 135(b) - Finance Committee, the Secretary reported that he had seen Sir Josiah Stamp and had conveyed to him the Executive's invitation to him to accept nomination as Treasurer of the Union. Sir Josiah thanked the Executive for their kind invitation and stated that in other circumstances he would gladly have accepted the office of Treasurer. But a charity with which he had been associated for more than thirty years had recently pressed him to become its Treasurer and the terms in which Sir Josiah had declined the invitation were such as to make it impossible for him honourably to accept the Treasurership of the League of Nations Union. It was

RESOLVED: "That the Finance Committee be asked to make a further recommendation for consideration by the Executive."

On Minute 143 - 42 - Union Finances, it was

RESOLVED: "That the following amendments be made in this Minute:

Page 2 - Fourth Sentence to be amended to read:

"Mr. Macartney said that he accepted the report as far as he could, including a recommendation that the staff be asked to accept the proposal to reduce salaries; and he requested that the cuts should be restored before any additions were made to the staff."

Page 2 - Seventh Sentence to be amended to read:

"Mrs. Dugdale thought that the names of those whose services should be dispensed with should forthwith be made known to the Committee and, at the same time, a statement should be made showing which of the Union's activities would be affected by the dismissals in question."

Page 3 - Third Sentence of second paragraph to be amended to read:

"Mr. Macartney thought that the Finance and Office Committees should meet again to consider whether cuts in salary or reductions in staff should be restored first if funds came in; and he read the following declaration:"

Page 4 - Fourth paragraph, after the words "and a protest by Mrs. Dugdale" add the following:

"at the ruling which required that the 'economy' resolution should be voted on as a whole."

Mr. Syrett thought that a statement concerning the Union's present financial position and the reasons for the proposals made in Minute 42 of the joint meeting of the Finance and Office Committees should have been included in the Minutes of the Executive Committee.

148. UNION FINANCES - SECRETARY'S REPORT ON ACTION TAKEN. The attached report by the Secretary dated 20th May, 1936, was considered. Observations upon it or questions regarding it were answered by the Chairman, Lord Cecil or the Secretary. Mr. Noel Baker urged that Branches should immediately be asked to send financial assistance without delay and to plan systematic attempts to raise money, in particular by obtaining many more Foundation Members. Admiral Drury-Lowe hoped and believed that cuts and dismissals would not be necessary if an immediate appeal were made to all our Branches to send a special donation. Finally it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Finance and Office Committees be asked to consider and advise upon recommendations contained (in the last

sub-paragraphs under Publicity and Speakers) on Section 5 of the Secretary's Report." 266

- (2) "That an appeal be made to Branches for immediate assistance."
- (3) "That detailed plans for the regular and systematic raising by the Union's Branches of additional funds, particularly by the enrolment of many more Foundation Members subscribing £1 and upwards, be presented to the General Council at Scarborough in connection with the resolutions on the Union's budget submitted by the Regions Committee."

149. STATEMENTS TO PRESS CONCERNING DISCUSSIONS AT EXECUTIVE MEETINGS. The Chairman drew the attention of the Executive to a statement appearing in the STAR of May 7th and in the NEWS CHRONICLE of the following day purporting to record decisions taken by the Executive at its meeting on May 7th concerning the Abyssinian crisis. He read to the Committee a statement from Sir Walter Layton that:

"The Editor of the STAR informs me that the text of the resolution that was laid before the Executive Committee on May 7th regarding the Abyssinian crisis and printed in the STAR in its unamended form was obtained in the normal way and through his normal contacts by a STAR reporter whose duty it is to keep in touch with League of Nations Union activities. His report was in print while the Executive was still sitting.... The later statement in the STAR as to what happened in the course of the meeting was obtained by the same representative who spoke to five members of the Executive before leaving Grosvenor Crescent at lunch time. (Lady Layton was not one of the five.)... Incidents of the kind complained of can be avoided without weakening the close and valuable contact between the Union and the Press - if all concerned will make it clear in speaking to press representatives what information is and what is not to be regarded as confidential. If this simple precaution is taken, confidence will be respected."

The Secretary was asked to make further enquiries among members of the staff with regard to information given to press representatives concerning the Executive's meeting on May 7th.

Sir Auston Chamberlain suggested that notice should be given to the staff that no information should be supplied to the press concerning the Executive's meetings except such as was approved after the Executive's meeting was concluded. It should also be made perfectly clear that it was not to be taken for granted that any resolution would be adopted by the Executive in the form in which it appeared on the agenda paper.

150. REFORM AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS. The Secretary reported that, in accordance with the decision contained in Minute 140 of the Executive's meeting of May 7th, he had consulted Lord Cecil with regard to amendments suggested by several members in the draft Report on the Reform and Development of the League of Nations. The text of the amendments (S.G. 8280) which it was proposed should be made in the draft report was considered by the Executive, and it was

RESOLVED: "That the amendments suggested in S.G. 8280 be made in the draft Report on the Reform and Development of the League of Nations; that the Report, as thus amended, be commended at Scarborough for study by the Branches and other local organisations of the Union; and that the Report be also presented to the Glasgow Congress of the International Federation in this form (see Minute 145 (c) above)."

CONFIDENTIAL

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

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2.6.36.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT  
14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W. 1., ON THURSDAY,  
MAY 28TH, 1936 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Professor Gilbert Murray (in the Chair),  
Vyvyan Adams, Lord Allen, Sir Norman Angell,  
Miss Joyce Aspell, P.J. Noel Baker, Lady Violet  
Bouham Carter, F.H. Burris, Major Anthony Buxton,  
Captain Cazulet, Lord Cecil, the Dean of  
Chichester, Miss K.D. Courtney, Lord Dickinson,  
Mrs. Dugdale, Miss P. Fawcett, Miss M. Lloyd  
George, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, Sir John  
Harris, Lady Layton, Commander Lewis, Lord  
Lytton, G. Le M. Mander, Mark Patrick, Councillor  
R.F. Shaw, Nowell Smith, H.S. Syrett, Mrs.  
Wilson-Fox, L.M. Wynch together with the  
Secretary and Deputy Secretary.

151. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Michael Barkway,  
E.O. Cadbury, Admiral Drury-Lowe, Captain L.H. Green,  
Sir Arthur Haworth, Sir Archibald Sinclair, General  
Temperley, Lord Wakehurst, A.G. Walkden and Sir Alfred  
Zimmern.

152. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

(a) Political Committee. Subject to the decisions con-  
tained in Minute 145(e) of the last meeting of the  
Executive, the Minutes of the Committee dated May 19th  
were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (2) Minutes; (3)  
XXth Plenary Congress of the International  
Federation of League of Nations Societies.

(b) Overseas Committee (Lady Gladstone reported)  
Subject to the following decision on Minute 16(b)  
the Minutes of the Committee dated May 26th, 1936 were  
approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (17) Minutes; (18)  
Glasgow Congress; (19) Visit to Russia;  
(20) Overseas Report.

On Minute 18 - Glasgow Congress (b) Congress Agenda,  
it was

RESOLVED: (1) That the following amendments be made  
in the motion on 'Prevention of War'  
adopted by the Executive at its last  
meeting for submission to the XXth  
Plenary Congress:

Paragraph (iv) Fourth Line.

Substitute the word 'adopt' for the  
word 'accept'.

Paragraph (v) Sixth Line.

Delete the words 'especially by enabling it' and substitute the words 'and that to this end the Council should be enabled'.

Paragraph (vii)

In the second line substitute the words 'every Member' for the words 'all members' and, at the end of the paragraph, insert the words "(see Annex F to the Locarno Agreements)".

- (2) That the motion on 'Violation by Japan of the Independence and Territorial Integrity of China be supported; but that the Union's delegation be asked, if possible, to secure some modification of the last paragraph.
- (c) Christian Organisations Committee. (The Dean of Chichester reported). The Minutes of the Committee dated May 20th, 1936, were approved and adopted.
- These Minutes included (39) Minutes; (40) Affirmation on Peace or War; (41) Task of the Committee in the Present Situation; (42) Morning Post; (43) Christian Principles in Politics; (44) Prayer at League of Nations Union Meetings; (45) World Youth Congress; (46) International Peace Campaign; (47) Resolutions; (48) Applications for Corporate Membership.
- (d) Editorial Committee (Sir Norman Angell reported) The Minutes of the Committee dated May 21st, 1936, were approved and adopted.
- These Minutes included (29) Minutes; (30) Publications Budget; (31) Headway Distribution Costs; (32) Outside Publishers and League Booklets; (33) Posters; (34) Appeal to Branches; (35) Meetings of the Committee.
- (e) Finance and Office Committees. Subject to the following decision and report on Minute 49, the Minutes of the Committee dated May 25th, 1936, were approved and adopted.
- These Minutes included (45) Minutes; (46) Appointment of Treasurer; (47) Chairman of Finance Committee; (48) Presentation of Accounts at Scarborough; (49) Union Finances; (50) Financial Statement; (51) Communications from Branches; (52) Office of North-Western Regional Representative; (53) Appeals; (54) Mr. Popham; (55) Mr. Figgures; (56) Passing of Cheques for Payment.



On Minute 49 -- Union Finances, Professor Murray reported that he had addressed the members of the staff on Monday, May 25th concerning the financial situation of the Union. He had been greatly impressed by the spirit in which the staff had faced the exceedingly disagreeable situation. On the motion of the Chairman it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Executive desires to put on record its sense of the remarkable loyalty and unselfishness with which the staff has faced the sacrifices made necessary by the present financial crisis, particularly their voluntary acceptance of cuts in salary."

Lady Gladstone reported a conversation she had had with Dame Adelaide Livingstone at the request of the Office and Finance Committees. Dame Adelaide had said that she would be very willing to give her services voluntarily to the Union provided that the letter sent to her on May 15th in accordance with the decision of the Executive Committee (Minute 143 of 14.2.36.) was cancelled. Lady Gladstone had explained that the decision of the Executive to diminish office accommodation would not permit of more than one room being placed at Dame Adelaide's disposal for use by herself and her secretary, nor could the Executive hold out the hope that she would be provided in the immediate future with any assistants other than her secretary, Miss Bruce. It was

RESOLVED: (2) (a) That the Chairman be asked to write to Dame Adelaide Livingstone, thanking her and accepting her kind offer to retain her present appointment under the existing conditions, except that the payment of her salary would be discontinued and on the understanding that it would not be possible to place more than one room at Dame Adelaide's disposal for use by herself and her secretary, nor could the Executive hold out the hope that she would be provided in the immediate future with any assistants other than her secretary, Miss Bruce; and

(b) That the letter sent to Dame Adelaide Livingstone in accordance with the Executive's decision of May 14th be cancelled.

The Committee considered a memorandum (S.G.8292) submitted by Sir Norman Russell in regard to paragraph (b) of the Finance and Office Committee's minute. Sir Norman drew the Committee's attention to the direct relation

between the publicity and appeals work of the Union. It was suggested that Sir Norman Angell should be invited to join the Appeals Committee, but Sir Norman felt he could render greater assistance to the Union by suggesting draft appeals or by stating a case than by joining the Committee. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: (3) That Sir Norman Angell's memorandum be received; and that paragraph (b) of resolution 49 of the Finance and Office Committees be referred to the Finance and Appeals Committees for further consideration and report in the light of Sir Norman's memorandum.

It was reported that an appeal letter, signed by Lord Cecil, Professor Murray and Lord Lytton had been sent to the Chairmen of all the Union's Branches.

Lady Hall suggested that this appeal should also be sent to all affiliated organisations of the Union. Lady Gladstone reported that she was writing to a number of women's organisations suggesting that they should either join the Union as affiliated members or send a donation to its funds.

Lord Lytton hoped that the Union would organise its appeal for funds with the determination that the money would be forthcoming. He personally had not the slightest doubt that sufficient funds would be obtained.

153. **UNION FINANCES — SECRETARY'S REPORT ON ACTION TAKEN.** The Secretary reported that the reduction in expenditure on publications had been considered by the Editorial Committee whose report had now been approved by the Executive. He spoke of the difficulties which had been encountered with Grosvenor Estates Ltd. on the question of sub-letting No. 6, Grosvenor Crescent for office accommodation. He mentioned a suggestion which had been made by Mr. Syrett in this connection and which was now under consideration. Lord Lytton said that if the Secretary would let him have in writing particulars of the Union's negotiations in regard to No. 6, Grosvenor Crescent, he would make representations on its behalf to Grosvenor Estates Ltd.

The Secretary also reported the measures which were being taken with a view to increasing the income of the Union. He added that the sub-Committee appointed by the Executive (Minute 143(a)) over which Sir John Power presided had met on the previous day to consider the possibility of finding alternative employment for those members of the staff who had received notice of the termination of their appointments with the Union.

154. **BRANCH RESOLUTIONS.** The Executive received resolutions from the Edinburgh Branch and Women's Peace Crusade and the Greenford Branch. It was

RESOLVED: (1) That the Edinburgh Branch of the Union and the Women's Peace Crusade be thanked for their resolution.

- (2) That the Greenford Branch be thanked for their resolution; that they be informed that the Executive Committee adheres to its resolution of March 5th on the subject of H.M. Government's re-armament proposals; and that they be reminded that the reference to the limitation of armaments in the text of the proposals drawn up by the Representatives of Belgium, France, Great Britain and Northern Ireland and Italy (Cmd. 9134) is an indication that the British Government share the strong desire of the country for an all-round reduction and limitation of armaments as a necessary step towards collective security.

155. MINUTES. Subject to the following report on Minute 149, the Minutes of the Committee dated May 21st were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 149 - Statements to Press concerning Discussions at Executive Meetings, the Secretary reported that he had made further enquiries with regard to information supplied to press representatives concerning the Executive's meeting on May 7th, and had been unable to discover that any member of the staff had given to the representative of THE STAR a copy of the draft resolution which had been prepared for consideration by the Executive on that date. Instructions had now been given to the staff on the lines suggested by Sir Austen Chamberlain at the last meeting of the Executive.

156. ITALY AND ABYSSINIA.

- (a) Report on Albert Hall Meeting. The Secretary reported that the proceeds from the sale of tickets and from the collection taken in the hall were almost sufficient to cover the expenses of the meeting held in the Albert Hall on May 6th.
- (b) Letter from General Smuts. The Chairman read to the Executive extracts from a letter dated May 10th, which he had received from General Smuts. After considerable discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) That the Chairman be asked to cable to General Smuts with a view to securing his permission to publish extracts from his letter in the press.

Mr. Noel Baker drew the attention of the Executive to a leaflet which the Union had just issued containing quotations from speeches by M. Blun, General Smuts and General Hertzog. It had been suggested that copies of this leaflet might be sent to all Members of Parliament. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: (2) That the leaflet entitled THREE STATESMEN ON SANCTIONS be not sent to Members of Parliament, but that it be distributed to the larger branches of the Union and be made available for the delegates to the XXth Plenary Congress of the International Federation and to the Annual Meeting of the General Council.

- (c) Visit of Emperor of Ethiopia. The Committee were reminded that the Emperor of Ethiopia would probably be arriving in England on June 3rd. It was suggested that the Union should organise a private luncheon or else a dinner followed by a reception in honour of the Emperor. Tuesday, June 9th was mentioned as a possible date. It was

- RESOLVED: (3) That the Chairman be asked, on behalf of the Executive, to send a message to the Emperor of Abyssinia welcoming him to this country.
- (4) That the Secretary be asked to consult the Ethiopian Minister concerning the proposed function in honour of the Emperor; and that thereafter it be left to the Secretary to make the necessary arrangements on the understanding that it shall involve no charge on the Union's funds.
- (d) Further Action by the Union. Lord Cecil drew the attention of the Executive to a letter which, at the suggestion of the Secretary, he had written on the previous day to all the Union's Branches, urging them to take immediate action to inform their Members of Parliament and the Government of their feeling in regard to the Abyssinian situation.

The Secretary reported a communication from the Addlestone Branch suggesting that the Union, in co-operation with other societies, should organise a large open-air demonstration in Hyde Park. It was

RESOLVED. (5) That no action be taken.

157. ANNUAL MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL. The Secretary reported that the present day (May 26th) was the last day for receiving amendments from local organisations and members of the Council for inclusion in the Final Agenda for the Scarborough meeting. The Final Agenda had to be circulated to Branches not later than June 12th. It was
- RESOLVED: "That the preparation of the Final Agenda be left to the Secretary in consultation with Mr. Nowell Smith and any other member of the Executive who might be willing to attend a meeting at 11.30 a.m. on Friday, May 29th for this purpose."
158. BUSINESS OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. It was
- RESOLVED: "That consideration of Mr. Nowell Smith's memorandum (S.G.8279) be adjourned until the next meeting of the Executive."
159. CORONATION OF H.M. KING EDWARD VIII. The Secretary reported a communication from the Withington Branch, suggesting that the Secretary General of the League of Nations should be invited to take part in the Coronation Procession. It was
- RESOLVED: "That consideration of the proposal of the Withington Branch be adjourned until the date of the Coronation of H.M. King Edward VIII has been announced."
160. COMMUNICATION FROM MR. O.F.H. ATKEY. The Secretary reported a letter from Mr. O.F.H. Atkey, who owned a private aeroplane and had stated that if, at any time, there was any work in which he could help the Union he would be very glad to consider it. It was

RESOLVED: "That Mr. C.F.H. Atkey be thanked and be informed that the Union will be very glad to avail themselves of his most kind offer if and when an opportunity occurs."

161. INTERNATIONAL PEACE CAMPAIGN. The Minutes of the meeting of the International Peace Campaign dated May 14th, 1936 were received.

These Minutes included (6) Minutes of last meeting; (7) Finance; Appointment of Appeals Officer; (8) Appointment of International Secretary; (9) appointment of Assistant to Miss Manus; (10) Office of the International Secretariat; (11) Date of Paris Meeting; (12) Geneva Conference; (13) Minutes of Geneva Meeting; Four Points; Slip in Translation; (14) Publicity Committee; (15) Co-operation of New Organisations; (16) Statement to Organisations; (17) Appointment of Delegates of the British Committee to the Meeting in Paris in June.

162. COMPENSATION FOR LOSSES ATTRIBUTABLE TO THE APPLICATION OF ECONOMIC SANCTIONS. It was

RESOLVED: "That consideration of the communication from Mr. Nadhar dated May 14th, together with the resolution prepared by the Economic Committee on March 29th, 1935, for the information of the Executive, be adjourned until the next meeting."

163. COMMUNICATION FROM THE NEW COMMONWEALTH. The Secretary reported a communication from the New Commonwealth dated 16th May, asking whether Branches of the Union might be allowed to become Corporate Associate Members of the New Commonwealth. The Secretary reminded the Executive of the resolution adopted by the General Council at Bourne-mouth in June, 1934, on the subject of affiliation of Union Branches to other organisations. It was

RESOLVED: "That consideration of the communication from the New Commonwealth be adjourned until the next meeting of the Executive."

164. NATIONAL DECLARATION COMMITTEE. It was

RESOLVED: "That consideration of the continuance of the National Declaration Committee be adjourned until a meeting of the Executive when Sir Austen Chamberlain is present."

165. CLOSING OF OFFICE FOR WHITSUN. It was

RESOLVED: "That the office be closed from 5.30 p.m. on Friday, May 29th until 10 a.m. on Tuesday, June 2nd."

166. DATE OF NEXT MEETING. It was

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



