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MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT 15, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, S.W.1, ON THURSDAY, MARCH 22ND, 1934 AT 11 a.m.

PRESENT: Major Hills (in the Chair), Sir Norman Angell, Major Anthony Buxton, Colonel David Carnegie, Lord Cecil, the Dean of Chichester, Miss R.D. Courtney, Lord Dickinson, Vice-Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Lady Gladstone, Dr. G.F. Gooch, Lady Hall, Lady Henschel, Dr. C.W. Kimmins, Captain J. de V. Leder, Lord Lytton, the Reverend Dagald Macfadyen, Sir Walter Meppel, Lord Knayser, Mrs. Walter Runciman, Mrs. Wilson-Pox, Herbert Worsley and L.M. Wynch, together with the Secretary and Deputy Secretary.

69. APPLICIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Vyvyan Adams, T.I. Burris, L.J. Cadbury, Captain R.C. Crookshank, Mrs. E. Dagdale, R.H. Elvin, Sir Arthur Heworth, Lady Layton, Lady Penmoor, Sir John Power, John Sherborne, Mennie Smith, Lord Strabelligi, Professor J.E. Zimmern.

70. MINUTES. Subject to the following reports and decisions on minutes 53, 63 and 65(c) the minutes of the Committee dated March 15th, 1934 were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 53(56) - National Referendum. Lord Cecil reported on the replies he had so far received to the letter he had addressed to certain societies regarding the proposed National Referendum. He suggested that a preliminary meeting of representatives of as many of these societies as possible should be called for the afternoon of Tuesday, March 27th. It was

RESOLVED: "That a preliminary meeting for the purpose of discussing the proposed National Referendum be held at 4 p.m. on Tuesday, March 27th; and that Lady Gladstone, Miss Courtney and Captain Leder be asked to represent the Executive Committee at that meeting."

On Minute 63 - Vacancy on Committee, it was

RESOLVED: "That the words 'ex-soldier' be substituted for the words 'ex-service men' in paragraph (2) of the resolution."

On Minute 65(c) (6) - The Saar, it was

RESOLVED: "That the words 'concerning the composition of an International Police Force' be inserted after the word 'statement' in paragraph (2) of the resolution."

71. SECURITY AND DISARMAMENT. It was

RESOLVED: "That a special meeting of the Executive be held at 11 a.m. on Tuesday next, March 27th, to consider the French reply to the British Government's Memorandum on Disarmament."

72. THE LEAGUE AND THE GREAT POWERS OUTSIDE. Lord Cecil reported a letter from Sir John Simon to Professor Murray regarding the possibility of the U.S.S.R. joining the

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League of Nations in which he stated "I can assure you that we are fully alive to the importance of this question and that if and when any such application from the Soviet Union is received at Geneva it will, for our part, receive here the most careful and unprejudiced consideration". On the motion of Major Hills, seconded by Lord Cecil, it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union would warmly welcome the adhesion of Russia to the League of Nations."

After further discussion, in the course of which Major Hills expressed his willingness to ask a question in the House of Commons regarding the attitude of H.M. Government to the Soviet Union's membership of the League, it was

RESOLVED: (2) "That Major Hills be asked to talk over with Sir John Simon his proposal to ask a question in the House of Commons with a view to obtaining an assurance that H.M. Government would welcome the entrance of Russia to the League."

(3) "That the resolution in paragraph (1) above be not published until a report has been received from Major Hills of his conversation with Sir John Simon."

73. AUSTRIA. It was reported that the resolution contained in paragraph (1) of minute 62 of the last meeting had been forwarded to H.M. Government and formal acknowledgments had been received. Lord Cecil stated that, in view of the fact that, since the resolution was adopted, the situation had been changed by the signature of the Rome Protocols, he had thought it undesirable that the resolution should be communicated to the press without being reconsidered by the Committee. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the resolution be communicated to the press in the following amended form:-

"That this Committee is of opinion that the present international difficulties of Austria are such that they should be dealt with, not by secret negotiations, but by the League of Nations within the terms of the Covenant with a view to securing Austrian independence in accordance with Article 10; and that, if necessary, a special meeting of the Council should be held with a view to carrying out that policy."

It was further

RESOLVED: (2) "That at the special meeting of the Committee on Tuesday, March 27th, consideration be given to the Protocols of Rome."

See minute 87.

74. CONVENTION RELATING TO THE INTERNATIONAL STATUS OF REFUGEES. The Committee had before them a memorandum on the subject of the Refugee Convention of October 28th, 1933 (I.M.24). In the absence of Mr. Noel Baker, Sir Walter Napier proposed that H.M. Government should be urged to sign and ratify this Convention which had already been signed by France and Belgium. Lord Cecil reported that the subject had been under consideration by the Home Office and their conclusions had been sent to the Foreign Office, who were now determining their policy. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union urges H.M. Government to sign and ratify the Convention Relating to the International Status of Refugees."

- (2) "That the Committee accepts with thanks Major Hills' offer to put down a question in the House of Commons, asking the Foreign Secretary whether H.M. Government intend to sign the Convention Relating to the International Status of Refugees; and that the resolution in paragraph (1) above be not communicated to H.M. Government until Major Hills' question has been asked."

75. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

- (a) Library Committee. (Dr. Kimmins reported.) The minutes of the Committee dated March 12th, 1934, were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (10) Book List; (11) Cleaning of Library; (12) Gift from the Friedrich List Gesellschaft; (13) Co-opting of the Reverend Dugald Macfadyn on to Library Committee.

- (b) Education Committee. (Dr. Kimmins reported.) Subject to the following decisions on minutes 35 and 38, the minutes of the Committee dated March 12th, 1934 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (32) Composition of the Committee; (33) Report on work in Universities and Colleges; (34) Report of the Youth Committee; (35) International Federation of League of Nations Societies; (36) Moral Disarmament; (37) Curriculum Sub-Committee; (38) Staff of the Education Department; (39) Meetings for Teachers and Schools; (40) Summer schools; (41) Observance of Empire Day in the Schools; (42) Communication from the London Teachers' Association; (43) Junior Branches; (44) Educational Corporate Members.

On Minute 35 - International Federation of League of Nations Societies, on the motion of Lord Cecil it was

- RESOLVED: (1) "That the third paragraph be deleted from resolution 11 for submission to the Plenary Congress, but that it be included in an appendix to the Congress resolutions."

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- (2) "That the words 'some of' be inserted after the words 'desirous that' in resolution III."

On Minute 38 - Staff of the Education Department, the Committee considered in this connection minute 11 of the Office Committee dated March 13th, 1934, and it was

RESOLVED: "That the appointment to be made in the Education Section be advertised in the TIMES and the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN, in addition to being advertised among the staff and notified to the Appointments Boards of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge."

- (c) Editorial Committee. (Major Buxton reported.) The minutes of the Committee dated March 15th, 1934 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (24) Youth Literature; (25) Women and the League of Nations; (26) The Best Means of Preventing War; (27) How to Organise a Public Meeting; (28) Celebration of the League of Nations; (29) Headway; (30) Lady Rhondda's Speech; (31) Posters.

- (d) Religions and Ethics Committee. (Mr. Wynch reported.) Subject to the following decision on minute 5, the minutes of the Committee dated March 15th, 1934 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (3) Death of Vice-Chairman; (4) Election of Vice-Chairman; (5) Resolution for General Council; (6) Series of lectures; (7) Christian Scientist Churches; (8) Speakers for Public Meetings; (9) Corporate Membership.

On Minute 5 - Resolution for General Council, it was

RESOLVED: "That consideration of this minute be adjourned until the next meeting when it is hoped Professor Murray will be present."

- (e) Industrial Advisory Committee. (Lady Hall reported.) Subject to the following decisions on minutes 29, 30, 33 and 34, the minutes of the Committee dated March 15th, 1934 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (27) Economic Nationalism; (28) Conferences on the I.L.O.; (29) Germany and the I.L.O.; (30) Austria and Trade Unionism; (31) Conference on "Hours of work and Employment"; (32) Speakers on the I.L.O.; (33) Industrial Affiliations; (34) International Federation; (35) XVth Annual Meeting of General Council; (36) Mr. Gillinder's Report.

On Minute 29 - Germany and the I.L.O., it was

RESOLVED: "That the words 'of February 14th' be inserted after the word 'letter' in the resolution."

On Minute 30 - Austria and Trade Unionism, it was

RESOLVED: "That a copy of the resolution adopted by the Industrial Advisory Committee on February 15th and subsequently approved by the Executive be forwarded to the Austrian Minister."

On Minute 33(b) - Communications to Industrial Organisations, it was

RESOLVED: "That the words 'for the three preceding months' be inserted after the words 'International Labour Organisation' in the resolution."

On Minute 34 - International Federation of League of Nations Societies, the Committee recalled that a resolution on the subject of Germany's withdrawal from the International Labour Organisation had been proposed at the Brussels meeting of the International Federation but had failed to secure adoption, and it was

RESOLVED: "That the resolutions concerning (1) Germany's withdrawal from the International Labour Organisation and (2) the Abolition of Fee-Charging Agencies, be not placed on the agenda of the XVIIIth Plenary Congress."

(f) Economic Committee. (Mr. Hartley Withers reported.) subject to the following decision on minute 2, the minutes of the Committee dated March 15th, 1934 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (2) Consideration of Mr. Meade's Memorandum; (3) M. Coquet's Proposal; (4) Rectorial Address Delivered by the Rt.Hon. Walter E. Elliott.

On Minute 2 - Consideration of Mr. Meade's Memorandum, it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the resolution for the XVIIIth Plenary Congress be approved in the following shortened form:-

'XVIIIth Plenary Congress

Believing that public opinion in all countries is beginning to realise the ruinous consequences of mutually defeating nationalist economic policies and the necessity of international economic co-operation if unemployment is to be diminished and prosperity restored,

Recognising, at the same time, that many states have adopted programmes of economic planning to which they are determined to adhere,

Calls for a renewed effort to secure common agreement between the nations on a programme of economic collaboration. (Suggestions for such a programme are annexed.)"

- (2) "That Mr. Hartley Withers, Lord Rhayader and the Secretary be asked to prepare suggestions for a programme of economic collaboration to be annexed to the above resolution."

(g) Office Committee. (Mr. Worsley reported.) Subject to the decision on minute 11 recorded in minute 75(b) above, and to the following decision on minutes 12 and 16, the minutes of the Committee dated March 13th, 1934 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (10) Miss Henson; (11) Education Section; (12) General Editor; (13) Press Section; (14) Plenary Congress of the International Federation; (15) Half-Time Secretary for Berkshire; (16) Editorial Committee.

On Minute 12 - General Editor, it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the following clause be added at the end of section 4 of the conditions of appointment of the General Editor:-

'but this shall not involve any interference with his editorial discretion'."

- (2) "That the candidates selected for inclusion on the 'short list' be informed of this amendment."

- (3) "That the Selection Committee be authorised to consider, at their discretion, applications for the appointment of General Editor which may be received after the closing date, Friday, March 23rd."

On Minute 16 - Editorial Committee, it was

RESOLVED: "That this minute be referred for consideration and report by the Editorial Committee."

(h) Finance Committee. (Lord Rhayader reported.) Subject to the following decision on minute 27, the minutes of the Committee dated March 20th, 1934 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (19) Financial Statement; (20) Accounts for 1933; (21) International Ball; (22) Worcestershire Federal Council; (23) Campaign in the Churches; (24) National Conference in Defence of the League; (25) Legacy of the Late Edward Chitty; (26) Plenary Congress of International Federation; (27) Brussels Congress; (28) Passing of Cheques for Payment; (29) Time of Meeting.

See minute 87.

On Minute 27 - Brussels Congress, after the Secretary had reported that he had received an offer of £5 towards the cost of publication in English of the Proceedings of the Brussels Congress, on condition that the published proceedings included Professor Edgar Brookes' speech, it was

RESOLVED: "That the sum of £10 be contributed by the Union towards the cost of the publication in English of the Proceedings of the Brussels Congress."

76. CO-OPTATIONS. Lady Gladstone reported on the meeting of the Co-optations sub-Committee held earlier in the morning, and it was

RESOLVED: "That Miss Joyce Ansell be invited to join the Executive as a representative of the Youth Committee; and that the Co-optations Committee be asked to continue their enquiries with a view to suggesting the name of an ex-soldier who might be invited to serve on the Executive."

77. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Committee received with interest resolutions from the Edinburgh, Waterloo, Little Ilford Congregational Church and Haslemere Branches.

78. CLOSING OF OFFICE AT EASTER. It was

RESOLVED: "That the office be closed from 1 p.m. on Thursday, March 29th until 10 a.m. on Tuesday, April 3rd, 1934."

79. INTERNATIONAL BALL. Lord Cecil reported that the Organising Committee for the International Ball had invited the Japanese Ambassador to attend the Ball. He thought it most unfortunate that, having regard to the Executive's decision of June 15th, 1933 (161) this invitation should have been conveyed without the Executive having first been consulted. It was

RESOLVED: "The Executive Committee, having learned that an invitation to attend the International Ball has been conveyed to the Japanese Ambassador, requests that, before action of this kind is taken in future by the Organising Committee, the approval of the Executive Committee shall first be obtained."

80. RECOGNITION OF BRANCHES.

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

Cheddar (Somerset); Gernforth (Yorks); Kidwelly (Carmarthenshire); Lezant (Cornwall); The Morgens - Steeple and Guilden (Cambridgeshire); Plumstead Central Hall (London); Ridgmont and Hasborne Crawley (Bedfordshire); Willington Quay (Northumberland).

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

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The formation of the following Junior Branches was reported:

Highbate Boys' Council School, Doncaster (Yorks);
Milham Ford School, Oxford; South Grove Central
Girls' School, Rotherham (Yorks).

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

The number of Branches is now 2,911 and of Junior Branches 1,364.

(b) Corporate Members and Associates. Receipt of an application for admission as a Corporate Member was reported from:

The Women's Liberal Association Study Circle,
Worthing, Sussex.

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

Receipt of applications for admission as Corporate Associates was reported from:

Eulphan Women's Institute; Churchill Women's
Institute; Pontrilas Women's Institute;
Thwaite and Stoke Ask Women's Institute.

RESOLVED: "That the applications be accepted and that certificates bearing the seal of the Union be issued."

The number of Corporate Members is now 3,509 and of Corporate Associates 759.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION. C.13
6.4.34.

MINUTES OF A SPECIAL MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, S.W.1, ON TUESDAY, MARCH 27TH, 1934 AT 11 a.m.

PRESENT: Lord Cecil (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams, Admiral J.D.Allen, Miss K.D.Courthey, Lord Dickinson, Miss Megan Lloyd George, Lady Gladstone, Lady Henschel, the Reverend Dugald MacFadyen, G. de M.Mender, Sir Walter Repler, Herbert Worsley, L. Wynch and Professor Zimmern, together with the Secretary and Deputy Secretary.

81. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Miss Joyce Ansell, F.M.Burris, L.J.Cadbury, Colonel David Carnegie, the Dean of Chichester, Captain H.F.C.Crookshank, Mrs.Dugdale, Dr.Gooch, Captain L.H.Green, Sir John Harris, Sir Arthur Haworth, Lady Layton, Lord Lytton, Lady Parmoor, Sir John Power, Rennie Smith and Mrs. Wilson-Fox.

82. DISARMAMENT: FRENCH REPLY TO H.M.GOVERNMENT'S MEMORANDUM. The Committee considered a memorandum by Lord Cecil (S.G.6647) on the Note of the French Government in reply to the British Government's Disarmament Proposals. After considerable discussion, it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the memorandum be approved and adopted in the attached amended form."

(Note: The final wording of paragraphs 9 and 10 was left to a sub-Committee consisting of Lord Cecil, Professor Zimmern and Miss Courtney)

(2) "That the first ten paragraphs of the memorandum be communicated immediately to members of H.M.Government, including the Leaders of the Opposition in the House of Commons and the House of Lords, to all Members of Parliament, to all Branch Secretaries of the Union and to the press."

(3) "That paragraph 11 of the memorandum be used as the basis of a confidential covering letter to be sent by Lord Cecil with the memorandum to the Prime Minister, the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Baldwin, Captain Eden, Mr. Henderson, Lord Stanhope, Major Atlee, Mr. Lloyd George, Sir Herbert Samuel, Lord Ponsonby and Lord Reading."

83. AUSTRIA. The Committee had before them an unofficial translation from PESTER LLOYD and LE TEMPS of the Protocols of Rome.

It was reported that, in accordance with minute 62(4) of March 15th, a short explanatory statement in support of the resolution adopted by the Executive Committee on March 15th had been prepared, dealing with the present situation in Austria. It was

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RESOLVED: "That this explanatory statement be used to furnish information in response to enquiries, and that it be also sent to the Union's principal speakers."

84. DECLARATION AND RESOLUTIONS OF BRUSSELS INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS. It was

RESOLVED: "That the Declarations and Resolutions of the International Congress in Defence of Peace held in Brussels from February 15th to 17th be communicated to H.M. Government.

85. RUSSIA. The Committee were reminded that at the last meeting it was decided that the Executive's resolution warmly welcoming the adhesion of Russia to the League of Nations (minute 72) should not be published until Major Hills had talked over with Sir John Simon his proposal to ask a question in the House of Commons with a view to obtaining an assurance that H.M. Government would welcome the entrance of Russia to the League. In the absence of Major Hills, Mr. Wynch reported that, after consulting the Foreign Office, Sir John Simon had asked Major Hills not to put his question in Parliament. It was

RESOLVED: "That the resolution contained in minute 72(1) be communicated to H.M. Government and to the press."

THE FRENCH NOTE.

Memorandum by
the Executive Committee
of the
League of Nations Union.

I.

The following propositions may be deduced from the terms of the French Note:

1. The French Government desires the success of the Disarmament Conference.
2. It welcomes the British Statement that the return of Germany to the League should be regarded as an essential condition of a Disarmament Treaty.
3. It re-iterates its acceptance of the principle applicable to all countries of "equality of rights in a regime of security".
4. It declares that the attitude of France has not changed from that taken up in the Notes of January 1st and February 14th, and refers to various points which will require settlement.
5. It disapproves of any proposals for the re-armament of Germany, referring in particular to the proposed increase of the numbers of the German army.
6. It does not reject proposals for reduction of armaments but declares it impossible to consider such proposals unless accompanied by proposals for security.

Further it accepts the view that it may be preferable not to deal with naval armaments at present.

7. It urges very strongly that any Treaty of Limitation or reduction of Armaments should include provisions that any infraction revealed by supervision should be rectified without delay by all methods of pressure recognised as necessary; and that if the infraction were such as to endanger the security of any other country and a fortiori if it involved actual aggression common action should be taken to re-establish the "disturbed equilibrium". The "proposals for consultation" put forward by the British Government are rejected as insufficient. Finally the obligations as to aggression in the Locarno Treaties and the Covenant are recalled and insisted on.

II.

8. It is regrettable that the French Government do not state what measure of disarmament they would accept in return for the guarantees of security which they demand. But since they accept "equality in a regime of security"

as a principle it seems legitimate to suppose that if the guarantees were granted to them they would go a long way in the direction of disarmament. Indeed the Note says that France will "refuse no sacrifice" provided her security is assured.

9. It is also clear that if abolition by stages of the aggressive land armaments now forbidden to Germany were accepted for other nations the Germans would not ask for any of such armaments. It may be further assumed that the Government of the United States would also accept this solution, as would all the other principal Powers with the possible exception of Japan. From our British point of view the abolition of military aircraft would be of incalculable advantage. What has been said of the attitude of the Powers about the abolition of aggressive land armaments applies also to the abolition of military and naval aircraft, except that the attitude of the Government of the United States has perhaps not been so explicit.

10. We therefore urge the Government to declare for the abolition by stages of all aggressive land armaments now forbidden to Germany; and we assure the Government of our full support both for the policy of economic and political guarantees against any breach of the Disarmament Treaty found by the Permanent Disarmament Commission to have taken place, and for a re-affirmation of the guarantees furnished by the Locarno Treaties and the Covenant against actual aggression. We also urge the advocacy of abolition by States of all national military and naval aviation accompanied by the international control of civil aviation, due consideration being given to the proposals for an international air force.

* President Roosevelt, in his message to Governments of May 16th, 1933, said:-

"The ultimate objective of the Disarmament Conference must be the complete elimination of all offensive weapons. The immediate objective is a substantial reduction of some of these weapons and the elimination of many others. This Government believes that the programme for immediate reduction of aggressive weapons now under discussion at Geneva is but a first step towards our ultimate goal. We do not believe that the proposed immediate steps go far enough. Nevertheless this Government welcomes the measures now proposed and will exert its influence towards the attainment of further successive steps of disarmament."

In his message to Congress at Washington, on the same day, for information of his message to foreign Governments, the President said:-

"Our people realise that weapons of offence are needed only if other nations have them. They will freely give up all, if all nations of the world will do likewise."

Mr. Norman Davis, speaking in the Disarmament Conference General Commission on May 22nd, said that the American Delegation and Government would propose reduction of armaments "approximately to the levels established by the peace treaties", bringing them to the basis of a "domestic police force."

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MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT
14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1, ON THURSDAY,
APRIL 19TH, 1934 AT 11 a.m. B

PRESENT: Professor Murray (in the Chair), Vice-Admiral J.D. Allen, Sir Norman Angell, Miss Joyce Ansell, F.M. Burris, Major Anthony Buxton, L.J. Cadbury, Lord Cecil, Miss K.D. Courtney, Vice-Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Miss Megan Lloyd George, Lady Gladstone, Dr. G.P. Gooch, Captain L.H. Green, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, Dr. C.W. Kimmins, Lady Layton, Captain J. de V. Loder, Lord Lytton, the Reverend Dugald Macfadyen, G. le M. Mender, Sir Walter Napier, Lady Parmoor, H.S. Syrett, Mrs. Wilson-Fox, Herbert Worsley, Major Wright, L.M. Wyndham and Professor Wyndham, together with the Secretary and Deputy Secretary.

86. APLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Vyvyan Adams, Colonel David Carnegie, the Dean of Chichester, Captain H.F.C. Crookshank, Mrs. E. Dugdale, Lady Henschel, Sir John Power, Mrs. Walter Runciman and John Sherborne.
87. MINUTES. Subject to the following report and decision on minutes 74, 76 and 85, the minutes of the ordinary meeting held on March 22nd and of the special meeting held on March 27th, 1934 were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 74 - Convention Relating to the International Status of Refugees, it was reported that Major Hills had not put down a question in the House of Commons asking whether H.M. Government intended to sign the Convention Relating to the International Status of Refugees, since notice of a similar question had previously been given by Mr. Rhys Davies. In the light of Sir John Simon's reply to Mr. Rhys Davies, Lord Cecil had agreed to the Executive Committee's resolution being communicated to H.M. Government.

On Minute 76 - Co-optations, Admiral Drury-Lowe suggested that the name of Sir Reginald May should be included among those to be considered by the Co-optations sub-Committee in connection with the one remaining vacancy on the Executive.

On Minute 85 - Russia, it was

RESOLVED: "That the resolution contained in minute 72 be forwarded to the Russian Ambassador."

88. SECURITY AND DISARMAMENT.

- (a) British Memorandum. The Committee had before them a reply dated March 26th, 1934 which Sir John Simon had sent to Professor Murray's letter of February 9th on the subject of the British Government's Memorandum.
- (b) French Note of April 17th. The Committee considered the French Note of April 17th on the subject of Disarmament, published in Command 4559. Lord Cecil felt that, in the present circumstances, the longer private negotiations were continued the less chance would there be of reaching a satisfactory result. In his view the right course was to have an immediate meeting of the General Commission of the Disarmament Conference and for

See minute 99a.

See minute 99b.

H.M. Government to put forward a drastic scheme of Disarmament. Lord Lytton agreed with Lord Cecil and thought the Committee should ask H.M. Government to state plainly at Geneva that Britain stands for real security, real disarmament and real equality. After considerable discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union recognises that, in view of the French Note and the recent memorandum of certain of the other powers, further private negotiations, such as have recently been pursued, have become undesirable and even impossible. The Committee urges H.M. Government to ask for an immediate meeting of the General Commission of the Disarmament Conference at which they would present a definite scheme of disarmament based on the general abolition of the weapons now forbidden to Germany, together with equally definite proposals for a collective economic guarantee of the observance of the Disarmament Treaty, as well as the reaffirmation of all existing international obligations for the preservation of peace."

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

- (c) Private Manufacture of Arms. At the request of the Chairman the Secretary read to the Committee a letter which Colonel Hogge (the Union's Travelling Secretary for the Northern Region) had written to Sir Herbert Lawrence, the Chairman of Vickers, Ltd. concerning statements made at the Annual General Meeting of Vickers on March 26th, 1934 and reported in the TIMES of March 27th, together with a reply from the Secretary of Messrs. Vickers. Colonel Hogge had invited Sir Herbert Lawrence to substantiate his statement that "no Company of the Vickers' Group is a member of any international armaments ring" with specific references to the charges which have been made against the Group, notably by the Union of Democratic Control in the pamphlet entitled THE SECRET INTERNATIONAL. Sir Herbert Lawrence's secretary had replied that "the statements put before the shareholders by the Chairman at the Annual General Meeting of the 26th March clearly set out the position of the Vickers Group in regard to the matters in question and I am therefore instructed to say that it is not our intention to elaborate any further thereon". After it had been reported that copies of a verbatim report of the Vickers' Annual Meeting could be obtained from the Union of Democratic Control, it was

RESOLVED: "That copies of the verbatim report of Vickers' Annual General Meeting be circulated for consideration by the Committee at its next meeting."

- (d) National Conference in Defence of the League. Major Buxton reported on the National Conference which had been held in the Goldsmiths Hall and the Guildhall on April 12th and 13th. Representatives from forty-six

national societies and from seventeen Embassies and Legations had attended the Conference, in addition to many members of the general public. Excellent publicity for the proceedings had been obtained in the national and provincial press. It was

- RESOLVED: (1) "That the congratulations of the Committee be conveyed to Mr. Epstein on the successful organisation of the Conference."
- (2) "That the cordial thanks of the Committee be conveyed to Mr. Syrett for his help in obtaining for the Union the use of the Guildhall for one session of the Conference, as well as to the Corporation of the City of London."
- (3) "That the cordial thanks of the Committee be conveyed to Lord Queensborough for his help in obtaining for the Union the use of the Goldsmiths Hall, as well as to the Goldsmiths Company."

It was further reported that Major Buxton had prepared a report on the Conference and that this would be submitted to the Editorial Committee at its next meeting.

89. THE FAR EAST. The attention of the Committee was drawn to a statement appearing in the TIMES that morning regarding a warning issued by the Foreign Office at Tokyo to the effect that "Japan will oppose international projects for assisting China as well as private enterprises or services which in Japan's opinion prejudice Far Eastern peace". After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the Committee accepts with thanks Mr. Loder's offer to ask a question in the House of Commons in order to obtain information concerning the above statement and, in particular, to learn what, if any, official communication on the subject has been made by the Japanese Government."

90. INTERNATIONALISATION OF CIVIL AVIATION. Mr. Mander reported a recent statement by Mr. Baldwin that the Government had had under consideration for the past year a scheme for the internationalisation of civil aviation but had failed to find any satisfactory plan. He suggested that the Union should prepare a scheme, suitably worked out and technically supported, and ask for an opportunity of discussing it with a representative of H.M. Government. The Committee were reminded of the Report of the sub-Committee on Aerial Disarmament and a League Air Force which had been adopted by the Executive a year ago and commended by the General Council to Branches of the Union as an important contribution to the problem. Reference was also made to a scheme prepared by Mr. Jonathan Griffin and by M. Pierre Oct. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That a sub-Committee, including Lord Cecil and Mr. Mander, be appointed to prepare a scheme for the internationalisation of civil aviation, and that it be left to the Chairman to nominate other members of this Committee."

See minute 100.

See minute 94.

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Members of the Committee were asked to send to the Chairman any suggestions they might wish to make in regard to nominations.

91. NATIONAL REFERENDUM. It was reported that a conference of societies prepared to consider co-operating in the proposed National Referendum had met at 15, Grosvenor Crescent on March 27th. The Conference appointed a Committee to draw up a plan of campaign, including the questions to be used in the Referendum. This Outline of a National Referendum (S.G.6692) of which the Executive had received copies, was being sent to all co-operating societies with a covering letter, expressing the hope that at the next meeting of the Conference on May 15th representatives of the co-operating societies would be in a position to state what help, financial and otherwise, their respective societies are able to give in the organisation of the Referendum. Lord Cecil reported that the Committee, at its meeting on April 11th, had decided to recommend the Conference to appoint Dame Adelaide Livingstone as Secretary of the Referendum Committee. Moreover, as the Outline indicated, the Committee desired that the Referendum should be organised from this office. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the Outline of a National Referendum (S.G.6692) be approved; that Dame Adelaide Livingstone should act as Secretary of the Referendum Committee; and that the offices of the Secretary or Secretaries to the National Referendum should be at 15a Grosvenor Crescent."

92. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

- (a) Religious and Ethics Committee. The Committee considered (adjourned) minute 5 of the Religious and Ethics Committee dated March 15th, 1934. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the Chairman be asked to redraft the resolution contained in this minute for consideration by the Executive at its next meeting."

- (b) Christian Organisations Committee. (Admiral Drury-Lowe reported). The minutes of the Committee dated March 21st, 1934 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (26) Pacifism and the Affirmation - Co-operation with Pacifist Groups in the Churches; (28) Death of Father Bede Jarrett; (29) Representative of Toc H; (30) Campaign in the Churches; (31) Geneva Clergy School; (32) New Form of Affirmation - Mr. Clark Gibson's Draft; (33) New Pamphlets; (34) Approach to English and Scotch Churches Overseas; (35) Applications for Corporate Membership; (36) Resolution of National Council of Evangelical Free Churches.

- (c) Overseas Committee. (Lady Gladstone reported.) Subject to the following decisions on minutes 8 and 9, the minutes of the Committee dated March 26th, 1934 were approved and adopted.

See minute 132a of 31.5.34.

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These minutes included (8) Report of the Brussels Meetings; (9) Plenary Congress at Folkestone; (10) The Union's Delegation; (11) Reform of the Federation's Method of Work; (12) International Exhibit; (13) Anglo-German Club.

On Minute 8 - Report of the Brussels Meetings, it was

RESOLVED: "That consideration of this minute be adjourned."

On Minute 9 - Plenary Congress at Folkestone, Lady Gladstone expressed the opinion that, having regard to the manner in which the Federation had been received in foreign countries, it was unfortunate that no official recognition was being given to the XVIIIth Plenary Congress by H.M. Government. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That Professor Murray be asked to communicate with the Prime Minister, and Lord Cecil with Mr. Baldwin, with a view to arranging for a Member of the Government to address the Inaugural Meeting of the Plenary Congress."

93. PEACE PALACE, CARDIFF. The Committee were reminded that on November 22nd, 1932 (minute 74) the Finance Committee had advised the Executive to accept as Trustee for the Welsh National Council a lease for 999 years at an annual rental of 1s.0d. of two of the three blocks of a building to be erected by Lord Davies in Cathays Park, Cardiff, to serve as offices for the King Edward VII Welsh National Association and the Welsh Council of the Union, "provided the Honorary Solicitors of the Union do not advise to the contrary". The Committee were informed that this condition had now been fulfilled and that the Welsh Council of the Union desired the Executive to give its decision at the earliest possible moment. It was

RESOLVED: "That the lease be accepted and the seal of the Union affixed to the necessary documents."

94. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Committee received with interest resolutions from the East of Scotland District Council and from the Kensington and Forest Row Branches.
95. COMMUNICATION FROM SIR ALEXANDER GORDON. At the request of the Chairman the Secretary read to the Committee a letter dated 31st March from Sir Alexander Gordon which he had asked should be brought to the notice of the Executive. The Committee decided to think over Sir Alexander Gordon's letter.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT
14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, S.W.1, ON THURSDAY, MAY 3RD, 1934,
AT 11 a.m.

PRESENT: Professor Murray (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams,
Sir Norman Angell, Miss Joyce Ansell, Miss K.D.
Courtney, Captain H.F.C. Crookshank, Vice-Admiral
S.R. Drury-Lowe, Mrs. E. Dugdale, Miss Megan Lloyd
George, Lady Gladstone, Dr. C. F. Cochr. Captain
L.H. Green, Sir Arthur Heworth, Lady Henschel,
Dr. C.W. Kimmins, Lady Layton, the Reverend Dugald
Macfadyen, T.M. McGiff, G. le M. Mander, Sir Walter
Napier, Lady Parmoor, Mrs. Walter Runcimen,
Mrs. Wilson-Fox, Herbert Worsley, Major Lawrence
Wright and L.M. Wynch, together with the Secretary
and Deputy Secretary.

96. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Admiral J.D. Allen,
F.W. Burris, L.J. Cadbury, Colonel David Carnegie, Lord Cecil,
the Dean of Chester, H.H. Elvin, Lord Lytton, Sir John
Power, John Sherborne, Lord Strabolgi and Professor Zimmern.
97. MINUTES. Subject to the following decision on minute 90,
the minutes of the Committee dated April 19th, 1934 were
confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 90 - Internationalisation of Civil Aviation,
it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the following be invited to serve
on the sub-Committee to prepare a
scheme for the international control of
civil aviation: Sir Norman Angell,
Lord Cecil, Miss Courtney, Mr. Jonathan
Griffin, General Groves and Mr. Mander;
and that Rear-Admiral Lawson as well as
aeronautical experts be invited to help
the Committee as witnesses."

(2) "That copies of the Report on Aerial
Disarmament and a League Air Force
approved by the Executive Committee
on March 30th, 1933 be circulated for
the information of the sub-Committee."

98. STATEMENT ON THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION. The Committee
discussed, on the motion of Miss Courtney, the "Statement
on the League of Nations Union" signed by Lord Cecil, Sir
Austen Chamberlain and Professor Murray. Miss Courtney
criticised the Statement on the ground that the views it
expressed would inevitably be regarded as the policy of
the Union. The Chairman explained that the document was
based on the Royal Charter and on the leaflet, adopted
by the Executive on February 4th, 1932 entitled "The League
of Nations, the League of Nations Union and the Services",
and had been prepared at the request of Colonel Fisher who
had found it most useful. The Secretary said that the
Statement had been treated purely as a personal one by the
three signatories and had not been circulated by the head
office to any Branches of the Union or to the Regional
Representatives. But the Warwickshire District Council
(whose President is Sir Austen Chamberlain and whose
notice had been drawn to the Statement by Colonel Fisher
who had promised to help the Council in collecting money
in Warwickshire) had, on their own initiative, used the

See minute 109.

See minute 110.

Statement as the basis of an appeal for funds in the county. Several letters had been received from members of the Union in Warwickshire concerning the Statement, but the purpose of the document had been explained to them and there had been no resignations from the Union. After it had been reported that certain amendments, to which Sir Austen Chamberlain had agreed, were to be made in the document, it was

RESOLVED: "That a meeting of the Committee be held on Thursday, May 10th, when further consideration be given to the STATEMENT ON THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION, and when it is hoped that Lord Cecil and, if possible, Sir Austen Chamberlain will be present; and that in the meantime no further copies of the Statement be issued."

99. SECURITY AND DISARMAMENT.

- (a) Communication from Mr. Arthur Henderson. The Committee had before them a letter dated April 21st from Mr. Henderson on the subject of the resolution adopted by the Committee on April 19th, and expressing the view that, for several reasons, it would not be practicable for the General Commission of the Disarmament Conference to meet before May 23rd.
- (b) Private Manufacture of Armaments. The Committee had before them a verbatim record of the speeches (other than the Chairman's speech which had already been published in full) made at Vickers' Annual General Meeting on March 26th, 1934. Captain Green suggested that the report should be published but that, before publication, Sir Herbert Lawrence should be invited to amplify certain statements made by him to the meeting. After it had been reported that Sir Herbert Lawrence had consented to meet a deputation of shareholders of Vickers who were dissatisfied with his replies to certain questions, and that if the proceedings of that deputation could be published they would probably provide the material which was required, it was

RESOLVED: "That steps be taken to ensure that a shorthand writer is present at the deputation which Sir Herbert Lawrence is to receive from shareholders of Messrs. Vickers."

Mr. Mander promised to discuss with Miss Eleanor Rathbone the deputation to Sir Herbert Lawrence.

In reply to Captain Green the Secretary said that the name of the Union's Honorary Solicitor would be printed in the Year Book for 1935.

- (c) Collective Security and the Treaty of Locarno. The Committee had before them a memorandum on Collective Security and the Treaty of Locarno by the Reverend Dugald Macfadyen (S.G.6713). Mr. Macfadyen, in explaining the purpose of his memorandum, said that at the present time it was essential to make it clear that Locarno was a special agreement dealing with a particular problem and was not to be taken as a statement of what was meant by collective security. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the thanks of the Committee be conveyed to Mr. Macfadyen for his interesting memorandum; and that the memorandum be received."

100. THE FAR EAST. The Committee considered recent declarations of Japanese policy in regard to China, and in particular the challenge by Japan to the action of the League in China. After considerable discussion, during which a letter dated April 27th from Mr. Leonard Behrens was read, it was

RESOLVED: (1) "In view of certain statements, official or non-official, of Japanese policy which seem to express hostility to any activity by the League of Nations in China, the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union urges H.M. Government at the next meeting of the Council of the League to see to it that there is no cessation or diminution of the co-operation of the League with the Chinese Government in the task of the national reconstruction of China.

The Executive Committee feels that the continuance of such co-operation in the fields of public health, education, economics, finance, communications and flood reliefs is indispensable both to the welfare of China and ultimately to the maintenance of world peace."

(Note: The final wording of this resolution was left to the Chairman and Sir Norman Angell.)

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

101. INCITEMENT TO DISAFFECTION BILL. The Committee considered the Incitement to Disaffection Bill now before Parliament. It was reported that a meeting of interested societies had been summoned by the Council of Civil Liberties on April 27th to protest against the Bill, and that the London Regional Federation of the Union had attended this meeting. The Council of Civil Liberties was proposing to hold a public meeting on May 16th. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the Union should use its influence, in co-operation with other societies, against the legislation proposed in the Incitement to Disaffection Bill; and that, in the meantime, the International Law Committee, when it meets on May 16th, be asked to express its opinion on the Bill."

102. ANNUAL MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL. The Committee had before them the Preliminary Agenda for the Annual Meeting of the General Council which was to be considered by the

Regions Committee on the following day. The Committee were reminded that the agenda containing the Regions Committee's recommendations would be submitted to the Executive at a later meeting.

103. MINORITIES PROCEDURE. On the recommendation of the Reform of the League sub-Committee it was

RESOLVED: "That the memorandum by Sir Walter Napier on Minorities Procedure (S.G. 6310) approved by the Executive Committee on December 21st, 1933, be now communicated to H.M. Government."

104. OFFICE COMMITTEE. Sir Norman Angell reported on minute 21 of the Office Committee dated April 24th, 1934, and on subsequent conversations which he and the secretary had had with Mr. H.W. Le Prevost. It was

RESOLVED: "That Mr. H.W. Le Prevost be appointed General Editor of the Union's publications, subject to his acceptance of the staff superannuation scheme."

Mr. Wersley reported on minute 22 of the Office Committee dated April 26th, and it was

RESOLVED: "That the recommendation of the Office Committee that Miss Barbara Wimperis, B.A. be appointed Assistant Education Officer, be approved."

105. ADJOURNMENT. It was

RESOLVED: "That the remaining items on the agenda be adjourned until the next meeting on May 10th."

CONFIDENTIAL.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION.

C.13
14.5.34.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT
14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, S.W.1, ON THURSDAY, MAY 10TH, 1934
AT 11 a.m.

PRESENT: Professor Murray (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams, Sir Norman Angell, Miss Joyce Ansell, F.M.Burris, Colonel David Carnegie, Lord Cecil, Miss K.D. Courtney, Captain H.F.C.Crookshank, Vice-Admiral S.R.Drury-Lowe, Mrs. E. Duggale, Miss Megan Lloyd George, Lady Gladstone, Dr.G.F.Gooch, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, Lady Henschel, Lady Layton, Captain J. de V.Loder, Lord Lytton, the Reverend Dugald Macfadyen, T.M.McGiff, G. de M.Mender, Sir Walter Napier, Lady Parmoor, Lord Rhayader, Mrs. Walter Runciman, H.F.Shaw, John Sherborne, Professor C.K.Webster, Herbert Worsley, Major Lawrence Wright and L.M.Wynch, together with the Secretary and Deputy Secretary.

106. APCLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Vice-Admiral J.D.Allen, Major Anthony Buxton, L.J.Cadbury, the Dean of Chichester, Captain L.M.Green, Sir Arthur Haworth, Sir John Power, Rennie Smith, Mrs. Wilson-Fox and Professor Zimmern.
107. LORD DICKINSON. It was
RESOLVED: "That the Chairman be asked to convey to Lord Dickinson the Committee's sympathy with him in his illness and their best wishes for his speedy recovery."
108. MR. SHERBORNE. The Chairman conveyed to Mr. Sherborne the Committee's congratulations on his recovery from his recent accident and their pleasure at his return to the Executive meetings.
109. MINUTES. Subject to the following report on minute 97, the minutes of the Committee dated May 3rd, 1934 were confirmed as circulated.

On minute 97(90) - Internationalisation of Civil Aviation, it was reported that the first meeting of the sub-Committee had been called for 11.30 a.m. on May 15th.

110. STATEMENT ON THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION. The Committee resumed their discussion of the STATEMENT ON THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION signed by Lord Cecil, Sir Austen Chamberlain and Professor Murray. Lord Cecil expressed his regret that he had signed the Statement in its present form without first consulting the Executive Committee. The Secretary read to the Committee a letter dated May 5th from Sir Austen Chamberlain. Sir Norman Angell reminded the Committee that the only means of fulfilling the task for which the Union existed, viz: of reaching people at present hostile to its purpose and rendering them less hostile, was by pointing out that views such as those expressed in the Statement, although they were not held by all members of the Union, were not incompatible with membership of the Union. Lord Cecil read to the Committee certain amendments which he suggested should be made in the Statement in order to make it quite clear that the views it expressed were the personal views of the three signatories. After discussion it was

P.T.O.

See minute 119.

- RESOLVED: (1) "That the Executive Committee be not committed to the views expressed in the Statement on the League of Nations Union; but that it be left to Lord Cecil, Professor Murray and Sir Austen Chamberlain to prepare a revised version on the lines suggested by Lord Cecil and stating clearly that the document expresses only the personal opinions of the three signatories."
- (2) "That in future the greatest caution be observed in preparing any document which purports to represent the views of the Union on any subject; and that before such views are expressed on any controversial subject the Executive Committee be first consulted."

111. REGIONS COMMITTEE'S MINUTES. (Mr. Worsley reported). The minutes of the Committee dated March 4th, 1934 were received.

These minutes included (2) General Council; (3) Conference of Branch Secretaries and Workers; (4) Literature for Branch Secretaries; (5) Statement on the Union; (6) National Referendum.

On Minute 2 - General Council, Mr. Worsley, on behalf of the Regions Committee, expressed the hope that the Chairman at the General Council Meetings would rigidly enforce the time limit for speeches laid down in the Standing Orders.

On Minute 4 - Literature for Branch Secretaries, it was RESOLVED: "That this minute be approved and adopted."

112. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

- (a) Religions and Ethics Committee. Minute 5 of the Committee dated March 15th, 1934 (Resolution for General Council of the Union) was approved and adopted.
- (b) Overseas Committee. (Lady Gladstone reported). Subject to the following decision on minute 17, the minutes of the Committee dated May 9th, 1934 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (16) Lord Dickinson; (17) Folkestone Congress;

On Minute 17 - Folkestone Congress, it was

RESOLVED: "That the following resolutions on (1) Disarmament; (2) The Far East; and (3) The Saar, be approved for submission as urgency resolutions to the XVIIIth Plenary Congress:

(1) Disarmament.

XVIIIth Plenary Congress

Convinced that the failure so far of the Disarmament Conference to reach any agreement, is largely due to the unwillingness of the Governments to adopt the policy which this Federation has consistently and unanimously advocated

since its Congress in Budapest in 1931;

Reaffirms the previous proposals of the Federation, and in particular urges the General Commission of the Disarmament Conference to make a determined effort to secure the adoption of a Convention embodying the following measures:-

1. The attainment of equality of status, chiefly by the general abolition within a limited period of national naval and military aircraft and of all the other weapons prohibited to Germany, Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria by the Peace Treaties;
2. The attainment of security by definite undertakings that all nations who adhere to the Disarmament Convention will loyally observe the obligations which they have already accepted for the preservation of peace;
3. Guarantees of the loyal execution of the Disarmament Convention, such as collective economic pressure against a country found guilty by the Permanent Disarmament Commission of breaking the Convention;
4. The prohibition of the use of civil aircraft for military purposes and the international control of civil aviation;
5. An international agreement by which the amount each country should spend annually upon armaments would be limited;
6. The application of the principle that private profit should be eliminated from the manufacture and sale of arms;
7. The supervision and inspection of the armaments of all nations, including the manufacture and sale of all arms and munitions, under the authority of the Permanent Disarmament Commission.

(2) The Far East:

(1) Manchuria.

XVIIIth Plenary Congress

Recognising that the continuance of the present situation in Manchuria, brought about as it has been by a use of force which the League of Nations found to be unjustifiable, is a barrier to the restoration of friendly relations between China and Japan,

Hopes that an early opportunity will be found of establishing in that part of the world permanent conditions of peace which will rest on international sanction and not on the presence of Japanese troops.

(11) China.

XVIIIth Plenary Congress

Welcomes the explanations given to the Governments of Great Britain and the U.S.A. by the Japanese Government that their recent utterances were not intended to establish a claim to decide unilaterally matters affecting China which are also the concern of all the signatories of the Nine Power Treaty.

The Congress further expresses the hope that the League of Nations will not be deterred by the recent utterances of Japan from continuing its beneficent work in helping the internal reconstruction of China.

(3) The Saar.

XVIIIth Plenary Congress

In view of the particular responsibility of the League of Nations for the Saar Territory,

Gravely concerned by the statement and proposals contained in the Letter to the League Council from the President of the Governing Commission dated April 30th,

Urges the Council of the League to give full support to the Governing Commission by demonstrating its determination to ensure conditions for the plebiscite which will enable the wishes of all sections of the Saar populations to be expressed freely and fairly.*

In connection with resolution (3) above, it was suggested that the Union's delegates, in speaking to this resolution, should, at their discretion, refer to the suggestion made by Mrs. Dugdale for the recruitment of an international police force from European countries (other than Germany and France) to take over the maintenance of public order and safety in the Saar for a limited time before and after the plebiscite.

- (c) Iraq Committee. The minutes of the Committee dated April 17th, 1934 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (9) Proposed Settlement of the Assyrians in Brazil; (10) Representations to the Government.

- (d) Women's Advisory Council. (Lady Gladstone reported). The minutes of the Council dated April 18th, 1934 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (328) Report of Standing Sub-Committee; (329) International Congress in Defence of Peace; (330) National Conference in Defence of the League; (331) Reports of Representatives; (332) National Referendum; (333) British Commonwealth League; (334) Applications for Corporate Associateship.

- (e) Industrial Advisory Committee. (Lady Hall reported.) Subject to the following decision on minute 45, the minutes of the Committee dated April 19th, 1934 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (39) Conference on "Hours of Work and Employment"; (40) Conferences on the I.L.O.; (41) Austria and Trade Unionism; (42) Speakers on the I.L.O.; (43) Press Publicity; (44) International Federation; (45) Association of the Friends of Albert Thomas; (46) XVth Annual Meeting of the General Council; (47) I.L.O. Governing Body; (48) Mr. Gillinder's Report; (49) Industrial Affiliations.

On Minute 45 - Association of the Friends of Albert Thomas, it was

RESOLVED: "That this minute be referred to the Finance Committee and that they be asked to consider a recommendation that a small donation, not exceeding £5, be made by the Union to the Memorial to Albert Thomas."

- (f) Youth Committee. Subject to the following decisions on minutes 39, 41 and 42, the minutes of the Committee dated April 21st, 1934 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (36) Youth Bulletin; (37) Vice-Chairman; (38) Report on Progress; (39) Youth Conferences; (40) Publicity; (41) National Youth Campaign; (42) Literature for Youth Groups; (43) Youth Hostels Association; (44) International Friendship League; (45) Further Proceedings.

On Minute 39 - Youth Conferences, it was

RESOLVED: "That this minute be referred back to the Youth Committee for further consideration in the light of the Outline of a National Referendum which was approved by the Executive on April 19th and which is to be considered by the Conference of Co-operating Societies on May 15th."

On Minute 41 - National Youth Campaign, it was

RESOLVED: "That paragraph (1) of this minute be referred to the Editorial Committee for consideration and report."

On Minute 42 - Literature for Youth Groups, it was

RESOLVED: "That this minute be referred to the Branches Committee for consideration and report (see minute (4) 29 below)."

- (g) Political Committee. The minutes of the Committee dated May 1st, 1934 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (11) Japanese Policy in regard to China; (12) The Disarmament Crisis; (13) International Federation.

- (h) Editorial Committee. (Sir Norman Angell reported.) Subject to the following decision on minute 34, the minutes of the Committee dated 3rd May, 1934 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (33) Youth Manual; (34) Youth Faces the New World; (35) How to Organise a Public Meeting; (36) Reprint of "The Foreigners' Turn to Disarm"; (37) History of the Union; (38) Leaflet on "The Traffic in Arms"; (39) Celebration of the League of Nations; (40) Reproduction of Poster; (41) Publication of Lecture by Dr. Berendsonn; (42) English Edition of "Das Arbeitsmaterial des Volkerbundes"; (43) Posters (44) Youth Bulletin.

On Minute 34 - Youth Faces the New World, in reply to a question from Miss Ansell, Sir Norman Angell assured her that no action should be taken to carry out the decision of the Editorial Committee until after the next meeting of the Youth Committee on May 26th.

- (i) Branches Committee. Subject to the following decisions on minutes 29(42) and 31, the minutes of the Committee dated May 3rd, 1934 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (25) Branches and Junior Branches; (26) Corporate Members and Corporate Associates; (27) Membership; (28) Lapsed Members; (29) Youth Committee; (30) Drawing Room Meetings; (31) Membership for Commercial Firms; (32) Schoolboys' Own Exhibition; (33) Proposed Exhibition Department; (34) Fifteenth Annual Meeting of General Council; (35) Peace Congress at Birmingham.

On Minute 29(42) - Literature for Youth Groups, it was

RESOLVED: "That this minute be approved and adopted, but that the question of providing literature for Youth Groups whose Branches do not agree to pay 7s.6d. to Headquarters for the purpose, be left to the discretion of the Branches Committee."

On Minute 31 - Membership for Commercial Firms, after it had been reported that Major Lawrence Wright wished to make some comments on the Statement for Business Firms, it was

RESOLVED: "That the Statement be communicated to Major Lawrence Wright for his comments before being issued."

- (j) Office Committee. (Mr. Worsley reported.) Subject to the following decision on minute 27, the minutes of the Committee dated April 24th and May 8th, 1934 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (18) Staff; (19) Fees for Union Speakers; (20) Captain Bell; (26) Miss Richards; (27) Public Meetings; (28) House Telephones.

On Minute 27 - Public Meetings, it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That a catalogue be prepared for use in the Public Meetings department, indicating the types of speakers most suitable for different districts and types of meeting."

(2) "That members of the Executive be asked, wherever possible, to consult the head office before accepting invitations sent to them direct by local branches of the Union to address meetings."

113. ANNUAL MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL. The Committee had before them the Preliminary Agenda, containing the recommendations of the Regions Committee, for the Annual Meeting of the General Council to be held in Bournemouth from 26th to 29th June, 1934. It was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the following nominations for co-optation to the General Council under Bye-Law 6(iii) and (iv) be included in the preliminary Agenda:-

Under Bye-Law 6(iii) Under Bye-Law 6(iv)

W. Arnold-Forster
Michael Berkway
Commander N. Lewis
J. C. Smuts
Sir A. Hort
Sir T. Urwick
Miss Joyce Ansell

Vyvyen Adams, M.P.
H. Bernays, M.P.
Lt. Col. Sir Edward
Grigg, K.C.M.G., K.C.V.C.
D. S. O., M.C., M.P.
Brig-General E. L.
Spears, C.B., C.B.E.,
M.C., M.P.
John Hillier, M.P.
Capt. Eric Fellowes

(2) "That the resolutions on Disarmament and the Far East, contained in minute 112(b) above, be submitted *mutatis mutandis* in the name of the Executive Committee to the General Council."

114. REPORT ON BYE-ELECTIONS. The Committee received a report on the Basingstoke and North Hammersmith Bye-Elections.

115. NATIONAL PEACE CONGRESS. A communication from Mr. Gerald Bailey, regarding the 24th National Peace Congress to be held in Birmingham on 22nd to 25th June, was reported to the Committee. After it had been stated that Professor Murray and Lord Cecil had accepted invitations to speak at the Congress, it was

RESOLVED: "That a notice of the 24th National Peace Congress be included in the next circular letter to the Union's Branch Secretaries; and that Professor Murray be asked personally to convey to the Congress greetings from the Union."

116. CLOSING OF OFFICE AT WHITSUN. It was

RESOLVED: "That the office be closed from 5.30 p.m. on Friday, May 18th until 10 a.m. on Tuesday, May 22nd."

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT
14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, S.W.1, ON THURSDAY, MAY 17TH, 1934
AT 11 a.m.

PRESENT: Professor Murray (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams,
Vice-Admiral J.D. Allen, Miss Joyce Ansell,
F.M. Burris, Major Anthony Buxton, L.J. Cadbury,
Lord Cecil, the Dean of Chichester, Miss K.D.
Courtney, Captain H.F.C. Crookshank, Vice-Admiral
S.R. Drury-Lowe, Mrs. E. Digdale, Lady Gladstone,
Dr.G.P. Cooch, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris,
Lady Henschel, the Reverend Digald Macfadyen,
G. le Mander, Sir Walter Manier, Lady Farnoor,
Lord Mayeder, John Sherborne, Lord Strabolgi,
Professor G.R. Webster, Herbert Worsley,
Major Lawrence Wright, L.M. Lynch and Professor
Zimmern, together with the Secretary and
Deputy Secretary.

117. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Colonel David
Carnegie, Miss Megan Lloyd George, Captain L.H. Green,
Sir Arthur Haworth, Sir John Power and Mrs. Wilson-Fox.

118. SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN. It was unanimously

RESOLVED: "That the Chairman be asked to convey to
Sir Austen Chamberlain an expression of
the Committee's sympathy with him in his
accident, and their best wishes for his
speedy recovery."

119. MINUTES. Subject to the following report and decision
on minutes 110 and 112, the minutes of the Committee
dated May 10th, 1934 were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 110 - Statement on the League of Nations
Union, the Chairman reported that he and Lord Cecil
had agreed upon a revised version of the Statement
and had sent it to Sir Austen Chamberlain for his
approval.

The attention of the Committee was drawn to the
fact that the Statement had been included in the
Programme of the International Ball, held under the
auspices of the Union on May 14th, and a letter on
this subject from Mr. Innes was read to the Committee.
Dr. Garnett stated that, immediately after the meeting
of the Executive on May 3rd, he had given instructions
that no more copies of the Statement were to be sent
out from this office until the Executive had decided
what was to be done in the matter. He understood from
Mrs. Allom, the organiser of the International Ball,
that copies of the Statement had been sent some time
ago to each member of the Ball Committee, and that the
Statement had been included in the Programme on her
initiative. Mrs. Allom explained that she had had no
opportunity of showing a proof of the Programme to
Colonel Fisher before it was printed off, since he was
away when she received it.

Admiral Allen stated that in Hampshire the
Branches had found the Statement immensely valuable and
he thought it would be a pity if such Branches were
deprived of the document. The Chairman expressed the
hope that it would soon be possible to issue a revised
version of the Statement. After discussion it was

See minute 128.

RESOLVED: "That no further copies of the Statement on the League of Nations Union be issued; and that Branches and members asking for the Statement be informed that a new edition of the paper is being prepared and that, in the meantime, no further use is being made of the present edition."

120. ARTICLE XIX. After it had been reported that Mr. Arnold Forster had suggested that the Union's delegation at the Plenary Congress of the International Federation should propose a resolution on the subject of Article XIX, since, if this were not done, there was grave danger of losing Hungary (and perhaps Austria) from the Federation, it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the following resolution be submitted as a matter of urgency by the Union's delegates to the XVIIIth Plenary Congress:

XVIIIth Plenary Congress

Observing that, while a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations is binding upon States Members of the League, so also is the maintenance of Justice,

Insisting that this double duty requires that treaties, in so far as they have become inapplicable or constitute obstacles to international goodwill, should be reconsidered and altered,

Proposes that Article 19 of the Covenant should be made effective for the revision of treaties by the adoption of the following procedure:-

- (1) It is generally desirable that, when a Member of the League desires the Assembly to advise under Article 19 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 to report on the facts and to recommend what, if any, action should be taken.
- (11) After considering the report or reports of the Commission of Inquiry, 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 11."

See minute 128.

(2) "That the above resolution be submitted, mutatis mutandis, in the name of the Executive to the Annual Meeting of the General Council at Bournemouth in June."

121. CHACO - EXPORT OF ARMS. The Committee discussed the situation in the Gran Chaco, and particularly the export of arms to Bolivia and Paraguay. Miss Courtney spoke of the tremendous feeling in the country on this question, and suggested that H.M. Government should be urged to impose an immediate embargo, on the export of arms to these two countries, even if other countries were not prepared to take similar action. She drew the attention of the Committee to the excellent precedent set by Great Britain's policy in respect of the slave trade. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That it be left to a sub-Committee, consisting of Lord Cecil, Miss Courtney, Mrs. Dugdale and the Chairman, to draft resolutions for communication to H.M. Government and the press, and for submission, as a matter of urgency, to the XVIIIth Plenary Congress of the International Federation."

Note. The resolutions were drafted by the sub-Committee as follows:-

1. While appreciating the repeated efforts made by the Council of the League of Nations to obtain general acceptance of the Arms Traffic Convention, and the separate initiative of the British and French Governments to obtain general agreement to prohibit the export of armaments to the warring States in South America; and the recent proposal with the same object made by Mr. Eden to the Council of the League;

The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union is deeply impressed by the Report of the Chaco Commission to the Council of the League (C.154(64)) stating that the present war between Paraguay and Bolivia in the Chaco - "a singularly pitiless and horrible one" - is being carried on entirely by means of imported arms;

And urges that His Majesty's Government, true to those traditions of national honour that guided her policy in respect of the slave trade, shall refuse to permit the despatch of arms, directly or indirectly, to either of those two countries.

2. XVIIIth Plenary Congress

Deeply impressed by the report of the Chaco Commission to the Council of the League of Nations stating that the present war between Paraguay and Bolivia in the Chaco - "a singularly pitiless and horrible one" - is being carried on entirely by means of imported arms;

Warmly approves the proposal of the Council of the League that no arms should be imported into either country, and

Trusts that all nations, whether members of the League or not, will co-operate in this effort to put an end to the terrible struggle.

122. THE FAR EAST. The Committee had before them a memorandum on the Far East (S.G.6771) prepared by Mr.L.M.Wynch. In the absence of Lord Lytton it was

RESOLVED: "That Mr. Wynch's memorandum be referred for consideration and report by the Far-East sub-Committee; and that a meeting of the sub-Committee be called for this purpose as soon as possible on a date convenient to Lord Lytton."

123. SECURITY AND DISARMAMENT. It was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union urges that His Majesty's Government shall lay before the General Commission definite proposals for international security and disarmament, and shall press the same to an issue with all their power."

(2) "That the above resolution be communicated to H.M. Government and to the press; and that the Chairman be asked to send it with a covering letter to Sir John Simon, suggesting that he might see his way to speak on the subject of the resolution when he addresses the Plenary Congress at Folkestone on May 22nd."

The Dean of Chichester drew the attention of the Committee to the Manifesto signed by the Archbishop of Canterbury and supported by the Archbishop of York and representatives of the different Christian communities in England, Scotland and Wales. The Manifesto appealed for a constructive peace policy, and had received wide publicity in the press that morning. It was

RESOLVED: (3) "That the Chairman be asked to convey to the Archbishop of Canterbury the Committee's great appreciation of his manifesto."

124. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

(a) Christian Organisations Committee. The Dean of Chichester reported, as a matter of urgency, on minute 42 of the Committee dated May 16th, concerning the Manifesto signed by the Archbishop of Canterbury (see minute 123 above). It was

RESOLVED: "That the following resolutions of the Christian Organisations Committee be approved and adopted:

- (1) That the Archbishop's letter be printed as a leaflet and that it be distributed as widely as possible.
- (2) That the Chairman of the Christian Organisations Committee be asked to write a letter to the TIMES and to the religious papers, following up the Archbishop's letter, drawing attention to the Committee's campaign, and appealing for help in this work.
- (b) Finance Committee. (Lord Rhyader reported.) The minutes of the Committee dated May 9th, 1934 were approved and adopted.
- These minutes included (32) Financial Statement; (33) Accounts for 1933; (34) Federal Councils; (35) Campaign in the Churches; (36) Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the General Council; (37) National Referendum; (38) Appeals Committee; (39) Branch Funds; (40) Loan to Mr. S.M. Brayshaw; (41) Passing of Cheques for Payment.
- (c) International Law Committee. (Sir Walter Nepler reported.) Subject to the following decisions on minutes 97, 98 and 99, the minutes of the Committee dated May 10th, 1934 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (95) Hour of Future Meetings; (96) Chairmanship of Committee; (97) Incitement to Disaffection Bill; (98) Peace Act of Parliament; (99) Reform of the League; (100) Equality of States in the League; (101) Disarmament Conference and the Definition of War; (102) Nominations for General Council.

On Minute 97 - Incitement to Disaffection Bill, it was

RESOLVED: "That the International Law Committee be thanked for the opinion on the subject of the Incitement to Disaffection Bill expressed in this minute; that the minute be approved; but that since various amendments to the Bill have been and are being made, no further action be taken in the matter at the present time."

On Minute 98 - Peace Act of Parliament, it was

RESOLVED: "That this minute be approved and adopted subject to a footnote being added to explain that the word 'municipal' as used by lawyers has, in this connection, the meaning which laymen attach to the word 'national'."

On Minute 99 - Reform of the League, it was

RESOLVED: "That this minute be communicated to the Reform of the League sub-Committee."

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- (d) Economics Committee. (Lord Mayader reported.) The minutes of the Committee dated May 11th, 1934 were approved and adopted.

[These minutes included (6) Economic Sanctions.]

- (e) Education Committee. The Committee considered as a matter of urgency, minute 52 of the Committee dated May 14th, concerning an American resolution on the subject of an International Auxiliary Language to be considered by the XVIIIth Plenary Congress at Folkestone. It was

RESOLVED: "That the minutes of the Education Committee be approved and adopted."

125. NATIONAL DECLARATION. Lord Cecil reported on the Conference of Co-operating Societies held on May 15th. He read to the Committee a list of the Societies represented at the meeting. The Conference had decided that the purpose should be to obtain a NATIONAL DECLARATION, and had approved the Outline (already approved by the Executive on April 19th, minute 91) subject to the modification of clause 5 to read as follows:-

"Each Local Declaration Committee should arrange for these preliminaries to be complete and for the actual canvass to begin locally as soon as possible and in any case not later than Michaelmas, 1934."

Lord Cecil then read to the Committee the questions which had been approved for use in the Declaration.

With regard to finance, Lord Cecil stated that although it was almost impossible to submit any budget, Dame Adelaide Livingstone, Secretary to the National Declaration, after consulting various experts and drawing from her own experience of similar work, considered that the minimum expenditure for the head office of the National Declaration would be £4,000, in addition to the cost of office accommodation, her own salary and that of her secretary, which the Union had agreed to pay. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Executive Committee, having already approved the Scheme for a National Declaration, decides to co-operate in putting it into operation so soon as the Union's Finance Committee is satisfied concerning the cost to the Union."

- (2) "That the League of Nations Union be not committed to any expenditure in connection with the scheme without the sanction of the Finance Committee."

Lord Cecil suggested that the Secretary should prepare, for consideration by the Finance Committee, an estimate of the central expenditure which would be required in connection with the Declaration, together with suggestions for raising the necessary funds. He expressed the opinion that the money could be found without interfering with the funds of the Union.

Miss Courtney suggested that the attention of Union speakers should be drawn to the National Declaration and that they should be urged to deal with the subject in the course of their speeches.

126. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Committee received with interest resolutions from the Silverstone, Walkern and Ardeley, and Sheffield Branches.

DISCUSSION ON MINUTE 129: DISARMAMENT.

Lord Cecil suggested that the Committee should consider sending a telegram to Mr. Henderson, urging him, as President of the Conference, to propose a solution on the lines of the resolution adopted by the XVIIIth Plenary Congress at Folkestone, reminding him that this resolution had been accepted by both the French and the German delegations, urging him to ask the Conference to come to a definite decision on each point contained in the resolution, and suggesting that, if the Conference refused that procedure, he should resign. Lord Cecil reminded the Committee that the resolution adopted at Folkestone was based on the policy adopted by the Federation at Budapest in 1930 and advocated by the Union sincethat time.

Professor Murray said that there was no doubt that the situation in regard to the Conference was a very dangerous one, but in a great many similar conferences there seemed to be the most violent opposition just before agreement was reached. With regard to the policy suggested in the Federation's resolution, he was afraid it would be rejected immediately by the British delegation, and if that were so it would be very difficult for the other delegations to support it. He did not think we should get a Disarmament Convention this year, but it was quite clear that the problem of disarmament would remain and would have to be faced as an alternative to probable war.

Lord Lytton thought it was very desirable that the Union should call the attention of Mr. Henderson to the resolution of the Plenary Congress which had, in fact, received the approval of all the delegations at Folkestone. He strongly supported Lord Cecil's proposal and hoped the Committee would agree to act on it.

Mr. Loder, Mr. Vyvyan Adams and Mrs. Dugdale saw no objection to the Committee calling Mr. Henderson's attention to the Folkestone resolution, but they were doubtful whether the Committee should suggest resignation to him. Lord Cecil agreed that this suggestion should not be contained in an official communication from the Executive, but he would make it privately to Mr. Henderson.

CONFIDENTIAL.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION.

B. C.13
4.6.34. 60

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, S.W.1, ON THURSDAY, MAY 31ST, 1934 AT 11 a.m.

PRESENT: Professor Murray (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams, Vice-Admiral J.D. Allen, Sir Norman Angell, Miss Joyce Ansell, P.M. Burris, Major Anthony Buxton, Lord Cecil, Captain H.F.C. Crookshank, Vice-Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Mrs. E. Dugdale, Lady Gladstone, Dr. G.P. Gooch, Captain L.H. Green, Sir John Harris, Major J.W. Hills, Dr. C. Widdimins, Captain J. de V. Loder, Lord Lytton, the Reverend Dugald Macfadyen, G. le M. Mander, Sir Walter Napier, Lady Parmoor, Lord Rhayader, Mrs. Walter Runciman, Professor C.K. Webster, Mrs. Wilson-Fox, Herbert Horsley, Major Lawrence Wright and L.M. Wynch, together with the Secretary and Deputy Secretary.

127. APLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from L.J. Cadbury, Colonel David Carnegie, Miss K.D. Courtney, H.H. Elvin, Sir John Power, Lord Strabolgi.

128. MINUTES. Subject to the following report and decision on minutes 119 and 121, the minutes of the Committee dated May 17th, 1934 were confirmed as circulated.

See minute 136
On Minute 119 - Statement on the League of Nations Union. the Chairman stated that he and Lord Cecil hoped to be able, within the next few days, to discuss with Sir Austen Chamberlain a revised version of the Statement on the League of Nations Union and to make a report to the next meeting of the Committee.

See minute 136
On Minute 121 - Chaco: Export of Arms. Mr. Mander stated that, in the House of Commons on the previous day, he had called attention to the policy of H.M. Government in permitting one hundred British officers and naval ratings to enlist for service in the Colombian Navy. Lord Cecil felt it to be singularly unfortunate that H.M. Government should, at this moment, appear to be facilitating the armament of one of the countries to a dispute which was still under consideration by the League. On the motion of Lord Lytton it was

RESOLVED: "That an endeavour be made to get this subject raised in the House of Lords."

For discussion see opposite page
129. DISARMAMENT. Lord Cecil drew the attention of the Committee to the present serious position of the Disarmament Conference. After considerable discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the following telegram be immediately communicated to Mr. Arthur Henderson at Geneva:-

In view of serious news to-day am asked by League of Nations Union to urge that you as President of the Conference should now propose solution on lines of Folkestone resolutions

See minutes 136 + 137.

See minute 136.

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already sent to you and Agnides which were accepted unanimously including French and German Delegations by International Federation. We suggest that the presidential proposal should be passed to vote paragraph by paragraph so the world may know where nations stand on disarmament. Cecil."

- (2) "That the Secretary be asked to consult Mr. Henderson's secretary by telephone on the question of communicating the above telegram to the press."

Lord Cecil read to the Committee the text of the following telegram which he proposed to send privately to Mr. Henderson:-

"Private. My telegram on behalf of the Union. If suggestions there made are not accepted by Conference and you feel it necessary to resign in consequence you would receive support of the Union. Personally I feel that grave as such a step would be only hope now lies in unmistakable action by yourself. If it could be of service one of us would gladly come out to Geneva. Cecil."

Captain Green suggested that Major Buxton should be asked to go to Geneva for the purpose of reporting to Mr. Henderson the discussion which had taken place in the Committee. Lord Cecil was asked to discuss this suggestion with Major Buxton.

130. **XVIIIth PLENARY CONGRESS OF INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION.** The Committee had before them a report on the meetings of the XVIIIth Plenary Congress of the International Federation (S.G.6800) held at Folkestone from May 19th to 24th. The Congress had been most successful. A message from His Majesty the King, sent in reply to a message addressed to His Majesty by Signor Gennini, had been read at the inaugural meeting of the Congress, and speeches of welcome had been made by the Mayor of Folkestone and Lord Cecil. A large and crowded public meeting was held on May 22nd at which the speakers were Sir John Simon, Signor Gennini (Italy), Dr. Schnee (Germany), Madame Melterre Sellier (France), M. Henry Rolin (Belgium) and Sir Philip Sassoon, (M.P. for Rythe). After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That, subject to the deletion of the words 'in the event of it being necessary' in the last paragraph but two, the report on the XVIIIth Plenary Congress be received."

It was reported that letters of thanks had been sent to all those persons whose help had contributed to the success of the Congress.

131. **THE FAR EAST.** Lady Gladstone reported on the meeting of the Far East sub-Committee held on the previous day. Subject to the following decisions on minutes 9 and 10, the minutes of the sub-Committee were approved and adopted.

On Minute 9 - Ludwig Mond Lecture by Lord Lytton.
It was

RESOLVED: "That this minute be approved and adopted subject to the insertion of the words 'subject to the approval of the Editorial Committee' after the word 'recommended'."

On Minute 10 - Memorandum by Mr. L. M. Lynch, it was

RESOLVED: "That the revised resolution recommended by the sub-Committee for submission to the General Council at its meeting in June, be approved in the following amended form:-

'The General Council of the League of Nations Union

Recognising that the continuance of the present situation in Manchuria, brought about (as it has been) by a use of force which the League of Nations found to be unjustifiable, undermines the basis of confidence in the collective system, and is a barrier to the restoration of friendly relations between China and Japan;

Hopes that the earliest opportunity will be sought of utilising the machinery of the League to establish in that part of the world permanent conditions of peace which will rest on international sanction and not on the presence of Japanese forces; and in the meanwhile,

Trusts that the nations which agreed to the resolution of February 24th, 1933, will adhere to their refusal to recognise the existing regime in Manchuria which has been established in defiance of treaty obligations."

132. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

(a) Overseas Committee. The Committee considered (adjourned) minute 3 of the meeting held on March 28th, and it was

RESOLVED: "That this minute be received."

(b) Library Committee. (Dr. Kimmins reported.) The minutes of the Committee dated May 14th, 1934 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (17) Supply of Books on International Affairs in Public Libraries; (18) Book List; (19) Library Conferences.

- (c) Education Committee. (Dr. Kimmins reported.) With the exception of minute 52 which was considered at the last meeting of the Committee, and subject to the following decision and report on minutes 48 and 59, the minutes of the Committee dated May 14th, 1934 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (47) Meetings for Teachers and Schools; (48) National Women Citizens' Associations; (49) Report on work in Universities and Colleges; (50) Report of Youth Committee; (51) Curriculum Sub-Committee; (52) International Federation; (53) Composition of the Committee; (54) Co-optations to the General Council; (55) Appointment of Assistant Education Officer; (56) Isle of Wight Expedition to Geneva from the elementary schools, 1933; (57) Easter School, 1934; (58) Arrangements for Summer Schools; (59) Observance of Empire Day in the Schools; (60) Books for Children and Teachers; (61) British Institute of Adult Education; (62) Junior Branches; (63) Educational Corporate Members.

On Minute 48 - National Women Citizens' Association, it was

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

On Minute 59 - Observance of Empire Day in the Schools, the Secretary reported that more than 33,000 copies of the 1934 Empire Day Leaflet had been distributed as compared with 22,000 in 1933.

- (d) Christian Organisations Committee. (The Secretary reported.) With the exception of minute 42 which was considered at the last meeting, the minutes of the Committee dated May 16th, 1934 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (40) Geneva Clergy School; (41) Questions on the Affirmation; (42) Communication from Lambeth; (43) Campaign in the Churches; (44) Approach to English Congregations Abroad; (45) Sermon Notes and Sunday School Lessons; (46) Service in connection with December Meeting of the General Council; (47) Co-optations to General Council of the Union; (48) Resolutions; (49) Proposal from the Oxford Federation; (50) Applications for Corporate Membership; (51) Lord Dickinson.

- (e) Industrial Advisory Committee. (Captain Green reported.) The minutes of the Committee dated May 17th, 1934 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (52) Association of the Friends of Albert Thomas; (53) "Hours of Work and Employment"; (54) Posters; (55) Conferences on the I.L.O.; (56) I.L.O. Press Publicity; (57) Mr. Gillinder's Report; (58) L.N.U. Party to International Labour Conference; (59) World Labour Problems, 1934; (60) General Council;

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(61) Industrial Affiliations; (62) Trades Union Congress, 1934; (63) National Declaration; (64) 40-Hour week.

(f) Finance Committee. Major Lawrence Wright reported as a matter of urgency on minute 45 of the Committee dated May 30th. After considerable discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That a sum not exceeding £100 be advanced on loan to the Organising Committee of the National Declaration, this sum to be repaid out of the first monies received from the appeal to be made by that Committee."

(2) "That consideration of the remaining minutes and recommendations of the Finance Committee be deferred until next week."

138. INCITEMENT TO DISAFFECTION BILL. The Secretary reported a communication from the British Anti-war Movement asking if the Union would co-operate in a joint deputation to the Prime Minister and the Attorney General on the subject of the Incitement to Disaffection Bill. He also reported that the London Trades Council and the Council of Civil Liberties had invited the Union to send a representative to attend an Emergency Delegate Conference on Saturday, June 9th on the subject of the Bill. It was

RESOLVED: "That the invitation from the British Anti-war Movement and from the London Trades Council and Council of Civil Liberties, be not accepted."

CONFIDENTIAL.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION.

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MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
HELD AT 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, S.W.1, ON THURSDAY,
JUNE 7TH, 1934 AT 11 a.m.

PRESENT: Professor Murray (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams, Vice-Admiral J.D.Allen, Major Anthony Buxton, Lord Cecil, Captain H.F.C.Crookshank, Vice-Admiral S.H.Drury-Lowe, Mrs. E. Dugdale, Dr. G.P. Gooch, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, Lady Henschel, Major J.W.Hills, Dr. C.W.Kimmins, Lady Layton, Captain J. de V.Loder, Sir Walter Napier, Lady Parmoor, Lord Rhayader, Mrs. Walter Runciman, John Sherborne, H.S.Syrett, Mrs. Wilson-Fox, Herbert Worsley, Major Lawrence Wright, and L.M.Wynch, together with the Secretary and Deputy Secretary.

134. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Miss Joyce Ansell, F.M.Burris, L.J.Cadbury, Colonel David Carnegie, Miss K.D.Courtnay, H.H.Elvin, Captain L.H.Green, Sir Arthur Haworth, the Reverend Dugald Macfadyen, Sir John Power and Lord Strabolgi.

135. PROFESSOR J.Y.SIMPSON. The Committee learned, with deep regret, of the recent death of Professor J.Y. Simpson, one of the pioneers of the Union's movement in the East of Scotland, and it was

RESOLVED: "That the Chairman be asked to convey the Committee's profound sympathy to Mrs. Simpson."

136. MINUTES. Subject to the following report on minutes 128(119) and (121), 129 and 130, the minutes of the Committee dated May 31st, 1934 were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 128(119) - Statement on the League of Nations Union, the Chairman stated that he and Lord Cecil had arranged to discuss with Sir Austen that afternoon a revised version of the "Statement on the League of Nations Union".

On Minute 128(121) - Chaco: Export of Arms, it was reported that the question of the enlistment of British reservists in Colombian forces had been discussed by the Political Committee at their meeting on June 5th. A report would be presented to the Executive at its next meeting.

On Minute 129 - Disarmament, the Secretary reported that, in accordance with Mr. Henderson's wish, the telegram sent to him by the Committee on May 31st had not been communicated to the press.

On Minute 130 - XVIIIth Plenary Congress of International Federation, it was

RESOLVED: "That the amendments made to certain resolutions proposed by the Executive Committee to the International Federation at Folkestone be also made in the text of the corresponding resolutions to be submitted by the Executive to the Annual Meeting of the General Council at Bournemouth."

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137. SECURITY AND DISARMAMENT. The Committee had before them a letter, dated 2nd June, from Mr. Henderson in reply to the communication sent to him by the Committee at their last meeting. Lord Cecil asked that members of the Committee should treat this letter as confidential.

Mr. Henderson stated that the resolutions adopted by the Plenary Congress of the International Federation at Folkestone had been read in the General Commission at the opening of the proceedings on 1st June. He added "Should it seem desirable for me to make definite proposals to the General Commission, I will most carefully consider to what extent they may appropriately be based on the resolutions adopted by the Federation."

After discussion, the Committee decided that in view of the day-to-day change in the situation at Geneva, they would take no further action at the present time.

138. WAR DEBTS AND DISARMAMENT. It was

RESOLVED: "That the Economic Committee be asked to consider the connection between War Debts and Disarmament, and, if they see fit, to submit a resolution on this subject for the consideration of the Executive."

139. INTERNATIONAL CONTROL OF CIVIL AVIATION. Lord Cecil reported that the sub-Committee appointed by the Executive on April 19th to consider the problem of the international control of civil aviation, had already held one meeting. On that occasion the Committee considered a scheme prepared by Mr. Jonathan Griffin and others, and published under the title of WORLD AIRWAYS - WHY NOT? The Committee also considered the report on Aerial Disarmament and a League Air Force adopted by the Executive on March 30th, 1933. The Committee decided not to commit themselves to any particular scheme, at least until an attempt had been made to arrange for such plans as had already been prepared to be brought to the notice of H.M. Government and to be carefully considered by them. In this connection Lord Cecil was asked to see Mr. Baldwin, but he had not yet been able to arrange an interview. After discussion, during the course of which it was reported that some members of the New Commonwealth were investigating the problem of the international control of civil aviation, and that Mr. Horsfall Carter, the Editor of the NEW COMMONWEALTH, had expressed his willingness to serve on the Union's sub-Committee, if invited to do so, in order that the Union and the New Commonwealth might be kept in touch with each other's work on this subject, it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That Mr. Horsfall Carter be invited to serve on the sub-Committee for the International Control of Civil Aviation."

- (2) "That the sub-Committee be asked to hold a further meeting as soon as possible, with a view to submitting an interim report to the Executive at its next meeting on June 21st."

140. ANNUAL MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL. The Committee considered amendments to resolutions appearing in the Preliminary Agenda for the General Council's meeting at Bournemouth (D.S.1679). It was

- RESOLVED: (1) "That the deletions and additions reported by the Secretary in the list of persons for co-optation to the General Council under Bye-Law 6(iv) be approved."
- (2) "That Lady Henschel be asked to suggest to the Kensington Branch that the words 'continue to refuse' should be substituted for the words 'not accord' in the last paragraph of the Branch's amendment to resolution 3(a) (The Far East)."
- (3) "That, in the opinion of the Executive Committee, no useful purpose would be served by discussing at the present moment a proposal for the creation of a Tribunal in Equity as contained in the amendment of the New Commonwealth to resolution 5, (The Settlement of International Disputes); and that the previous question be moved."
- (4) "That the word 'municipal' be deleted from the Executive's amendment to resolution 6 (Peace Act of Parliament)."
- (5) "That further consideration be given, at the next meeting of the Committee, to the amendments to resolutions 10 (International Police Force), 11 (Aviation) and 12 (European Air Service) in the light of the interim report to be presented by the sub-Committee on the International Control of Civil Aviation."
- (6) "That an urgency resolution dealing with the situation in the Gran Chaco, on the lines of that adopted by the Political Committee on June 5th, be submitted in the name of the Executive Committee."
- (7) "That a notice be included in the Final Agenda that the Executive intends to move an urgency resolution dealing with the admission of Russia to the League."
- (8) "That the amendments to resolutions 21, 22, 24, 25 and 30 be adjourned for consideration at the next meeting of the Committee."

141. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

- (a) Finance Committee. (Lord Rhylander reported.) Subject to the following report and decision on minutes 45 and 47, the minutes of the Committee dated May 30th, 1934 were approved and adopted.

[These minutes included (44) Financial Statement; (45) National Referendum; (46) International Ball; (47) Memorial to the Late Albert Thomas; (48) Nottinghamshire Federal Council; (49) Assignment of Insurance Policies; (50) Union Membership; (51) Passing of Cheques for Payment.]

On Minute 45 - National Referendum or Declaration, it was reported that following upon the discussion at the last meeting of the Executive, certain amendments had been made to the original draft (prepared by Mr. Sherborne and Mr. Syrett) of the resolutions in minute 45. Mr. Sherborne had approved of the amendments. Mr. Syrett would have preferred to omit paragraph (3), and Lord Queenborough had been informed. During the discussion which followed, Mr. Syrett questioned the practicability of the National Declaration. In his opinion it was a very serious step to take, and he did not think that the present was a time in which the Union could afford to make experiments which were at all likely to be a failure. If it had been suggested that the scheme should be tried in certain large areas where the Union was well represented and had a body of willing workers, he would have entirely agreed. But he felt the scheme would be almost impossible if applied to the more remote parts of England, Scotland and Wales where no local organisation of the Union existed.

Lord Cecil reminded Mr. Syrett that the Executive had only taken its decision in this matter after very serious consideration and after ascertaining the views of the other co-operating Societies. If the work were undertaken with vigour and skill by all parties he did not doubt that a very large number of votes would be obtained. He regarded the Declaration as a means of carrying out the main purpose of the Union which was to educate the people of this country on League of Nations questions. If the Disarmament Conference proved a failure, the repercussion on the whole League system would be terrific, and the question would arise whether it was really worth going on with the League at all. Unless we could stem that movement in some way or other the situation would be very serious indeed, and he could think of no better plan for dealing with it than the National Declaration.

Mrs. Dugdale stated that she had attended a recent Conference of the Brotherhood Movement at Clacton-on-Sea, and had been much impressed by the eagerness on the part of the delegates to co-operate in the Declaration.

After considerable discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the minute of the Finance Committee be approved and adopted, subject to the deletion of paragraph (3) from the resolution."

(2) "That in view of the resolutions of the Finance Committee, the Secretary of the National Declaration be informed that the Executive now decides to co-operate in putting

the scheme into operation, subject always to the approval of the General Council."

On Minute 47 - Memorial to the Late Albert Thomas, in reply to a question from Lady Hall the Chairman stated that, although it would not be in order for the Union to make a contribution from its funds to the Memorial, there would be no difficulty in the way of creating a special fund for this purpose.

On Minute 50 - Union Membership, the Secretary reported that from January 1st to May 31st, 1934, 11,000 new members of the Union had been enrolled, as compared with 8,000 during the corresponding period last year.

- (b) Youth Committee. (Dr. Kimmins reported.) Subject to the following decision on minute 51, the minutes of the Committee dated May 26th, 1934 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (49) Composition of the Committee; (50) Young Women's Christian Association; (51) Youth Faces the New World; (52) Report on Progress; (53) National Camp in the New Forest; (54) Youth Expedition to Geneva; (55) Birmingham Central Youth Group; (56) Relation of Young Men and Women of Non-British Nationality; (57) Third National Conference of Youth Group Delegates.

On Minute 51 - Youth Faces the New World, it was

RESOLVED: "That with the exception of paragraph (3) concerning the Youth Manual, on which subject the Executive approves and adopts the minute of the Editorial Committee dated May 31st (see minute 141(c) below), and subject to the approval of the Editorial Committee on paragraphs (1) and (4), the minute of the Youth Committee be approved and adopted."

- (c) Editorial Committee. (Major Buxton reported.) Subject to the following decision on minute 56, the minutes of the Committee dated May 31st, 1934 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (46) Youth Faces the New World and Youth Manual; (47) Youth Bulletin; (48) Proposed Leaflet by Mr. T. Hellewell; (49) Posters advertising HEADWAY; (50) Economic Policy and the League; (51) International Anthem by Mrs. Hunter; (52) Biograms; (53) Posters; (54) The Foreigners' Turn to Disarm; (55) Leaflet on the Traffic in Arms; (56) Cartoons in HEADWAY; (57) Circulation of HEADWAY; (58) Speech by Lord Lytton.

On Minute 56 - Cartoons in HEADWAY, the opinion was expressed that cartoons should not, as a general rule, be included in HEADWAY unless really good ones could be obtained.

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- (d) Political Committee. (Lord Cecil reported.) Lord Cecil reported, as a matter of urgency on minutes 16 (The Gran Chaco Embargo) and 17 (Manufacture and Sale of Arms) of the Committee dated June 5th, 1934. Subject to the following decision on minute 17, these minutes were approved and adopted.

On Minute 17 - Manufacture and Sale of Arms,
it was

RESOLVED: "That a resolution, embodying paragraphs (a) and (c) of the Political Committee's resolution, be included as a matter of urgency in the name of the Executive Committee in the Final Agenda for the meeting of the General Council at Bournemouth."

142. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Committee received with interest resolutions from the Warwickshire and Birmingham Federal Council and the West Cumberland District Council.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, S.W.1, ON THURSDAY, JUNE 21ST, 1934 AT 11 a.m.

PRESENT: Professor Murray (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams, Vice-Admiral J.D. Allen, Sir Norman Angell, Miss Joyce Ansell, P.J. Noel Baker, P.M. Barris, Major Anthony Buxton, Lord Cockburn, Lord Cecil, Miss K.D. Courtney, Vice-Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Mrs. B. Dugdale, Lady Gladstone, Dr. G.P. Gooch, Captain L.H. Green, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, Dr. C.W. Kimmins, Lady Layton, Captain J. de V. Leder, G. le M. Mander, Sir Walter Napier, Lady Parmoor, Mrs. Walter Runciman, John Sherborne, Professor C.K. Webster, Mrs. Wilson-Pox, Herbert Worsley and Major Lawrence Wright, together with the Secretary and Deputy Secretary.

143. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Colonel David Carnegie, Captain H.P.C. Crookshank, H.H. Elvin, Sir Arthur Haworth, Lady Henschel, Major J.W. Hills, the Reverend Dugald Macfadyen, T.M. McGiff, Sir John Power, Lord Rhyader, Rennie Smith, Lord Strobelgi, H.S. Syrett, L.M. Wynch and Professor Zimmern.

144. MR. F.J. NOEL BAKER. The Chairman reported that Mr. Noel Baker, who had resigned from the Committee on March 15th in view of his forthcoming visit to the United States, had now returned to England. He further stated that there was still one vacancy on the Executive and that the present meeting would be the last of the existing Committee. It was

RESOLVED: "That Mr. Noel Baker be co-opted a member of the Executive Committee."

145. MINUTES. The minutes of the Committee dated June 7th, 1934 were confirmed as circulated.

146. SECURITY AND DISARMAMENT. Miss Courtney drew the attention of the Executive to the creation of sub-Committees of the Disarmament Conference to deal with the problem of air forces and of the private manufacture and trade in arms. Lord Cecil observed that there was also a third sub-Committee appointed to deal with security. Miss Courtney hoped the Executive would specially emphasise the importance of bringing pressure to bear on the Government in regard to the two subjects she had mentioned.

147. CO-OPTIONS SUB-COMMITTEE. The Secretary reported that he had communicated with the members of the co-options sub-Committee, but that it had proved impossible to arrange a meeting of the full Committee in order to consider and recommend the names of twenty persons for co-optation by the thirty elected members of the Executive for the year 1934/5. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That it be left to the Chairman, in consultation with Lady Gladstone, to make recommendations for the consideration of the thirty elected members of the Executive at a special meeting to be held on Tuesday, July 3rd at 11 a.m."

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148. ANNUAL MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL. The Committee considered the Final Agenda for the Annual Meeting of the General Council to be held in Bournemouth from June 26th to 29th, and it was

RESOLVED: "That members be invited to take charge of the various items included in the Final Agenda as follows:

- I. Minutes. Professor Murray.
 III. Presentation of Annual Report. Professor Murray.
Added Balance Sheet.
 Lord Queenborough
 VI. Co-optations. Professor Murray.

Resolutions.

1. Declaration in Defence of Peace. Lord Cecil said that he would be in the Chair and would endeavour to arrange for the Polkestone resolution (printed on pages 8 to 10 of the Final Agenda) to be taken as the substantive motion and for the other motions and amendments, printed under Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4, and perhaps also Nos. 10, 11 and 12, to be taken as amendments. Professor Murray would move the Polkestone resolution, proposing, however, to omit the words 'or other international authority' in the seventh line of section III.
- 4a. Treaty Revision. Mr. Arnold Forster. To move Executive's resolution as a matter of urgency.
5. The Far East. Lady Gladstone. To move Executive's amendment to (a) and resolution (b).
6. Peace Act of Parliament. Professor Murray. To move Executive's amendment.
7. Germany and the I.L.O. Lady Hall.
8. Freedom of Association. To withdraw this resolution.
9. Reduction of Hours of Work. Mr. Pugh. To move resolution and to propose that, in the light of events at the XVIIIth International Labour Conference, it be amended to read as follows:-

"The General Council of the League of Nations Union,
 Urges His Majesty's Government to undertake a national survey of industry and to propose to the International Labour Organisation that similar surveys be undertaken in other countries in order that all relevant facts relating to a shorter working week should be before the International Labour Conference in future discussions."

10. International Police Force. } Lord Cecil. (See under
 11. Aviation. } resolution 1 above and
 12. European Air Service } minute 151 below)

13. Gran Chaco Embargo. To move the following amended resolution as a matter of urgency:

"The General Council of the League of Nations Union

Hopes that every endeavour will be made to enforce the general embargo upon the export of arms from all countries to Paraguay and Bolivia;

Notes with satisfaction the decision of His Majesty's Government for the present to refuse licenses for the export of arms to both countries; and

Urges that H.M. Government should continue to pursue that policy whatever may be the decision of other countries."

The attention of the Committee was drawn to the fact that, according to a statement in the Board of Trade Journal, the export license system of Great Britain did not extend to aeroplanes or aeroplane engines, and that the embargo to be effective would have to cover military aircraft. Mr. Vyvyan Adams promised to ask a question on this subject in the House of Commons, and it was left to the discretion of Admiral Drury-Lowe, if necessary, further to amend the above resolution in the light of the answer received to Mr. Vyvyan Adams' question.

14. The Manufacture and Sale of Arms. (a) Miss Courtney. To move the following amended resolution as a matter of urgency:-

"The General Council of the League of Nations Union warmly welcomes the important statement made by Mr. Norman Davis at Geneva on May 29th that 'The American people and Government are convinced that by some means the production and traffic in engines of death and the profits resulting therefrom must be controlled or eliminated' and that his Government 'is ready to join in measures for suppressing this evil and is prepared to negotiate in connection with disarmament a treaty that would deal drastically with this problem.

The General Council urges His Majesty's Government to support the policy of the American Government in this matter both at the Committee on the Manufacture of and Trade in Arms now sitting in Geneva and in every other possible way."

- (b) Mr. Noel Baker. To move the following amended resolution as a matter of urgency:-

"The General Council of the League of Nations Union invites the Executive Committee to prepare,

in co-operation with other qualified and responsible organisations, a reasoned statement concerning the grave objections to which Article 8 of the Covenant declares the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war to be open, and setting forth in the light of recent history the reasons why the system of private profit from armament manufacture is contrary to the public interest."

15. World Economic Problem. Sir George Paish. To move amendment recommended by Economic Committee.
16. World Bank. Sir George Paish. To suggest that the Executive Committee be asked to study the problem of a World Bank on the lines suggested in the Economic Committee's amendment.
17. Trade Disputes. Sir George Paish. To oppose.
18. Re-organisation of the League. Lord Cecil. To accept.
19. The Basis of International Relations. Professor Murray.
20. Russia and the League. Sir Arthur Haworth. To move the following as an 'urgency' resolution:

"The General Council of the League of Nations Union,
 Expresses its satisfaction with the declaration of H.M. Government that they would welcome the entry of the U.S.S.R. into membership of the League of Nations;
 and
 Earnestly hopes that in the immediate future Russia will be admitted as a Member of the League and granted a permanent seat on the Council."
22. National Declaration. (Professor Murray in Chair). Lord Cecil.
23. Resolutions for H.M. Ministers and M.P.'s. Sir Arthur Haworth. To support.
24. Affiliation of Branches to other Organisations. Mr. Clift. To move resolution on behalf of Executive and Regions Committees.
25. Individual Action by Members. Lord Cecil. To propose amendment on the lines of resolution adopted by General Council at Edinburgh.
27. Youth Groups. Miss Ansell. To move resolution (a) and support resolution (b).
28. Union Membership. Mr. Burris. To move Executive's amendment and oppose Parkstone's amendment.

30. Teaching of International Affairs. Professor Murray.
31. National Pageant. Mr. Sherborne. To move amendment of Regions Committee.
33. Douglas Social Credit Scheme. Sir George Paish. To support Regions' Committee's amendment.
34. HEADWAY. Sir Norman Angell.
35. Invitation from the Mayor of Scarborough. To recommend the Council to accept the invitation to hold the Annual Meeting in 1936 in Scarborough.
149. COMMUNICATION FROM THE NEW COMMONWEALTH. The Secretary reported a letter from the New Commonwealth, inviting the Union to send a representative to a meeting of various organisations to discuss what action might be taken at the present time to urge upon H.M. Government the advisability of giving a lead to the Disarmament Conference by supporting the principle of collective security and translating it into terms of international organisation. The Secretary read to the Committee the reply dated 18th June, 1934 which, after consulting Lord Cecil he had sent to the Secretary of the New Commonwealth, and it was
- RESOLVED: "That the Secretary's reply to the invitation from the New Commonwealth be approved."
150. A STATEMENT ON THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION. The Committee had before them a revised version of the Statement on the League of Nations Union prepared by Sir Austen Chamberlain, Lord Cecil and Professor Murray. After discussion it was
- RESOLVED: (1) "That the Executive Committee recognises that the Statement made by Lord Cecil, Sir Austen Chamberlain and Professor Murray is a perfectly legitimate expression of their view as to the attitude of the Union."
- (2) "That the Executive Committee approves of the Statement being used by Colonel Fisher and being supplied in response to requests from members and local organisations of the Union."
151. INTERNATIONAL CONTROL OF CIVIL AVIATION. The Committee had before them an interim report from the sub-Committee on the International Control of Civil Aviation (S.G. 6851). After discussion it was
- RESOLVED: (1) "That the interim report from the sub-Committee on the International Control of Civil Aviation be adjourned for consideration at the next meeting of the Executive."
- (2) "That it be left to Lord Cecil's discretion to deal with resolutions 10, 11 and 12 in the Final Agenda for the General Council, but that he be asked to inform the Council that the subject is still under consideration by the Executive Committee."

See Minute 156.

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- (3) "That the sub-Committee on the International Control of Civil aviation be asked to consider the scheme prepared by Rear Admiral Lawson."

152. ADJOURNMENT. It was

RESOLVED: "That the remaining items on the agenda be adjourned for consideration at the next meeting of the Committee on July 5th."

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION.

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MINUTES OF A SPECIAL MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
HELD AT 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, S.W.1, ON TUESDAY,
JULY 3RD, 1934 AT 11 a.m.

PRESENT: Professor Murray (in the Chair), W. Arnold-Forster, P.J. Noel Baker, Lord Cecil, Lady Gladstone, Major Hills, Lady Layton, L.M. Wynch and Professor Zimmern, together with the Secretary and Deputy Secretary.

152. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Major Anthony Buxton, L.J. Cadbury, Miss K.D. Courtney, Admiral Drury-Lowe, Sir Arthur Haworth, Commander N. Lewis, Lord Lytton, Lady Henschel and Sir John Power.
153. CO-OPTIONS TO COMMITTEE. The Committee considered the report of the Co-optations sub-Committee dated June 21st, 1934. The Chairman stated that, after consultation with Major Hills he had written to ask Mr. Arthur Henderson if it would be possible for him to accept an invitation to serve on the Executive Committee. Mr. Henderson had sent Professor Murray a very friendly reply stating that, while he remained President of the Disarmament Conference, he felt he could not join the Union's Executive, but that when the Conference was over and if he were free he would like to be able to consider an invitation again. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the following twenty-one persons be co-opted to serve on the Executive Committee for the year 1934/35:-

Miss Joyce Ansell
Colonel Sir John Brown, C.B.E., D.S.O.
Dean of Chichester
Mrs. Dugdale
H.H. Elvin
Dr. G.P. Gooch
Captain L.H. Green
Lady Hall
Dr. C.W. Kimmins
Captain the Hon. J. de V. Loder, M.P.
T.M. McGiff (or some other representative of the Co-operative Union)
G. le M. Mander, M.P.
Sir Walter Napier
Sir John Power, M.P.
Lord Rhayader
Mrs. Walter Runciman
John Sherborne
H.S. Syrett
Professor C.K. Webster
Mrs. Wilson-Fox
Herbert Worsley."

- (2) "That if Dr. Gooch is unable to serve on the Committee an invitation be sent to a representative of the T.U.C. and, failing him, to Miss Philippa Fawcett."

See minute 156.

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- (3) "That it be suggested to Lord Davies that, if he is still unable to attend the meetings of the Executive Committee, Lord Allen should be invited to sit in his place until such time as he is able to resume regular attendance."
- (4) "That Major Hills be asked to ascertain from Sir Austen Chamberlain and Lord Eustace Percy the names of the Conservative Members of Parliament who should be invited to act as their deputies during the remainder of the sessions of the India Committee; and that Lord Cranborne's name be mentioned to Sir Austen Chamberlain in this connection."
- (5) "That the Chairmen 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."

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION.

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9.7.34.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, S.W.1, ON THURSDAY, JULY 5TH, 1934 AT 11 a.m.

PRESENT: Professor Gilbert Murray (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams, Miss Joyce Ansell, P.J. Noel Baker, D.W. Barris, L.J. Cadbury, Lord Cecil, Miss R.D. Courtney, Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Mrs. E. Dugdale, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, Dr. C.W. Kimmins, Lady Layton, Commander N. Lewis, Captain J. de V. Loder, G. le M. Mender, Sir Walter Napier, Lord Rheyder, Mrs. Walter Runciman, John Sherborne, H.S. Syrett, Mrs. Wilson-Fox, Major Lawrence Wright and L.M. Wynch, together with the Secretary and Deputy Secretary.

154. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Sir Norman Ansell, Michael Barkway, Major Anthony Buxton, the Reverend Gwilym Davies, R.H. Elvin, Captain L.H. Green, Sir Arthur Heworth, Lady Henschel, Sir John Power, ~~H.S. Syrett~~, Professor C.K. Webster and Professor J. E. Zimmern.
155. THE LATE MADAME CURIE. The Committee learned with deep regret of the death of Madame Curie. Professor Murray stated that, as Chairman of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, he had sent a message of sympathy to Madame Curie's daughter, and it was
- RESOLVED: "That Lord Cecil be asked to send a message of sympathy from the Union."
156. MINUTES. Subject to the following decisions on minutes 150 and 153, the minutes of the meeting dated June 21st and of the special meeting dated July 3rd, 1934 were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 150 - A Statement on the League of Nations Union, it was

RESOLVED: "That unless the Statement is specially asked for it should not be supplied to members or local organisations of the Union."

On Minute 153 - Co-optations to Committee, a letter was reported from Mr. Worsley in which he expressed his inability to continue to serve on the Executive or on any of its sub-Committees. It was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Chairman be asked to urge Mr. Worsley to reconsider his decision and that, if he still maintains his present decision regarding the Executive, to press upon him the request that he will remain a member of the Office and Branches Committees."

P.T.O.

See minute 168.

The Secretary reported a letter from Sir Austen Chamberlain stating that he would be delighted if the Executive would appoint Lord Cranborne to represent him on the Committee during the remainder of the sessions of the India Committee. It was therefore

RESOLVED: (2) "That Lord Cranborne be invited to take the place of Sir Austen Chamberlain on the Executive Committee until such time as Sir Austen is able to resume his attendance."

After the Secretary had reported a conversation he had had with Mr. Citrine on July 3rd, it was

RESOLVED: (3) "That resolution (2) in minute 153 be amended to read as follows:-

"That if Dr. Gooch is unable to serve on the Committee, an invitation be sent to Mr. Arthur Pugh and, failing him, to Miss Philippa Pawcett."

157. SPEECH BY LORD LONDONDERRY ON JUNE 27TH. The Committee considered the speech delivered by Lord Londonderry in the House of Lords on June 27th and particularly the following sentences:-

"Until recent months the Government have had every reason to believe, and every motive to encourage the hope, that something might be achieved out of the Disarmament Conference which would render unnecessary any substantial addition to the size of our Air Force. Now, as I have already pointed out, the situation has become unhappily all too clear. We can no longer hope that an international convention will solve the problems which agitate the whole of Europe. His Majesty's Government have therefore decided that they can no longer delay the steps which are necessary to provide adequately for the air defence of these shores."

Mr. Vyvyan Adams reported that, in accordance with the request made by the Political Committee on July 3rd, he intended to ask a question in the House of Commons whether H.M. Government still proposed to endeavour to obtain a Convention at Geneva in view of the fact that it was proposed to make an immediate increase in the British Air Force. After further discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Chairman be asked to write to Sir John Simon, informing him of the great anxiety caused in the Executive Committee and the General Council of the Union by the recent statements of Lord Londonderry and Sir Bolton Eyles Monsell, and asking whether the Foreign Secretary will be good enough to explain the meaning of these statements

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in the light of the British Government's attitude towards the Disarmament Conference."

- (2) "That no further action be taken regarding Lord Londonderry's speech until Mr. Vyvyan Adams has obtained an answer to his question in the House of Commons; and that it be left to the Chairman to call a meeting of the Executive on Thursday, July 12th if such a course appears to him to be desirable."

158. SECURITY AND DISARMAMENT. The Secretary drew the attention of the Committee to an article appearing in the DAILY HERALD of July 4th, concerning M. Barthou's forthcoming visit to London, in which it was stated that the chief question to be discussed was "the abandonment by Great Britain of a foreign policy based on the League and a reversion to a policy based on a close Anglo-French alliance". Lord Cecil suggested that Mr. Loder might see his way to bring the article in question to the notice of Sir John Simon or Mr. Eden.

Miss Courtney drew the attention of the Committee to the Draft Convention on the Trade in and Manufacture of Arms, prepared by the sub-Committee of the Disarmament Conference. The Secretary reported that Mr. Gerald Bailey had stated that the National Peace Council was prepared to give unqualified support to this Convention, and had asked whether the Union would join with them and with other Societies in sending a joint statement on the subject to H.M. Government and to the press. After discussion it was

- RESOLVED: (1) "That an analysis of the Draft Convention on the Trade in and Manufacture of Arms be circulated, together with the complete text of the Convention for consideration at the next meeting of the Executive."
 (2) "That Mr. Gerald Bailey be informed that the Executive will reply to his communication after fully considering the Draft Convention at their next meeting."

159. INTERNATIONAL CONTROL OF CIVIL AVIATION. The Committee had before them the interim report of the sub-Committee on the International Control of Civil Aviation (S.G. 6851). Lord Cecil reported on the discussions which had taken place on this subject at the annual Meeting of the General Council at Bournemouth, and read to the Committee the resolutions which were finally adopted by the Council. After considerable discussion it was

- RESOLVED: (1) "That the interim report of the sub-Committee on the International Control of Civil Aviation be received."
 (2) "That the resolutions adopted by the General Council concerning the internationalisation or international control

P.T.O.

See minute 168.

of civil aviation and the establishment of an international air force be submitted to the sub-Committee appointed by the Executive on April 19th; that the sub-Committee be given power to add to its number; and that it be asked, after considering the schemes proposed by Admiral Lawson and others, to prepare a report for submission by the Executive to the next meeting of the General Council."

It was suggested that Lord Crenborne and Lord Allen might be invited to serve on the sub-Committee.

160. LABOUR POLICY ON WAR AND PEACE. The attention of the Committee was drawn to the statement of Policy on War and Peace issued by the joint meeting of the I.U.C. General Council, the National Executive of the Labour Party, and the Executive Committee of the Parliamentary Labour Party, on June 28th, 1934.
161. MONETARY REFORM. At the request of Lord Strabolgi the Committee considered the following motion which he had proposed in the House of Lords on June 13th:-

"To call attention to the growing opinion that defects in the principles governing the issue and recall of money and credit are primarily responsible for continued economic distress in a world which has never been so well equipped to provide for all material needs; and to move to resolve.

That His Majesty's Government do institute an immediate investigation of the monetary system apart from its administrative machinery, with terms of reference sufficiently wide to permit full enquiry into its principles and proposals for its modification."

It was

RESOLVED: "That in the opinion of the Executive Committee the above motion, involving as it does large issues at present outside the scope of the League of Nations, is not one which the Committee can usefully consider, and that therefore no action be taken."

162. COMMUNICATION FROM THE GLASGOW BRANCH. The Committee considered a communication from Miss Mine McDonald (Secretary of the Glasgow Branch) dated 11th June, 1934, stating that it had been unanimously decided by the Executive of the Glasgow Branch to invite the Plenary Congress of the International Federation to meet in Glasgow in 1936, and asking the Executive Committee to sponsor that invitation as the Scottish National Council was doing. The Secretary reminded the Committee that the Federation was due to meet in Brussels in 1935, and that the sub-Committee on Internal Affairs had recommended that an endeavour should be made to get an invitation from Scandinavia for 1936. He read to the Committee a letter dated

15th June, 1934 from the Secretary of the Danish League of Nations Society, stating that they would not hinder the plans of the Glasgow Branch but if the Federation should not desire to go to Glasgow they would examine the possibility of receiving the Congress in Copenhagen in 1936. Otherwise the Congress might meet there in 1937. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the League of Nations Union should sponsor the invitation of the Glasgow Branch for the Plenary Congress of the International Federation to meet in Glasgow in 1936."

163. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

- (a) Welcome Committee. (Lady Gladstone reported.)
The minutes of the Committee dated June 5th, 1934 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (11) Secretary's Report; (12) Minute of Youth Group Committee; (13) Fourth Women's World Games; (14) Visit of Dutch Children; (15) Letter from Sir Evelyn Wrench; (16) New Member; (17) National Declaration on the League of Nations and Armaments.

- (b) Political Committee. (Lord Cecil reported.)
Subject to the following decisions on minutes 18 and 22, the (adjourned) minutes of the meeting dated June 5th and the minutes dated July 3rd were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (15) Proceedings of the Disarmament Conference; (18) Enlistment of British Reservists in Colombian Forces; (19) By-Elections; (21) The Return of Germany to the League; (22) Disarmament Conference; (23) The Gran Chaco.

On Minute 18 - Enlistment of British Reservists in Colombian Forces, it was

RESOLVED: "That this resolution be communicated to H.M. Government."

On Minute 22 - Disarmament Conference, the Committee having already discussed the subject of this minute (see minute 157 above) it was

RESOLVED: "That this minute be received and acted upon."

- (c) Library Committee. (Dr. Kimmins reported.)
The minutes of the Committee dated June 11th, 1934 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (23) Time of Commencement of Library Committee Meetings; (24) Book List; (25) Book List for Children and Teachers Selection sub-Committee; (26) Special Library Subscriptions.

(d) Education Committee. (Dr. Kimmins reported.) Subject to the following decision and report on minutes 72 and 77, and to the approval of the Finance Committee on minute 78 and of the Editorial Committee on minute 74, the minutes of the Committee dated June 11th, 1934 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (67) Composition of the Committee; (68) Meetings for Teachers and Schools; (69) Report on Work in Universities and Colleges; (70) Report of Films and Slides Sub-Committee; (71) Report of the Youth Committee; (72) Report of the Junior Branches sub-Committee; (73) Composition of the Junior Branches Sub-Committee; (74) League News; (75) Peace Adventure Books; (76) Nigerian Boys; (77) London County Council; (78) Curriculum sub-Committee; (79) International Federation; (80) Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the General Council; (81) National Association of Head Teachers; (82) Junior Summer School; (83) Goodwill Day; (84) Junior Branches.

On Minute 72 - Report of the Junior Branches sub-Committee, the Committee were gratified to learn of the large number of Junior Branches which had been formed in Public and Secondary Schools in England and Wales, and it was

RESOLVED: "That the congratulations and thanks of the Executive be conveyed to the Education Committee."

On Minute 77 - London County Council, Dr. Kimmins reported that after talking to Miss Philippa Fawcett and others, he was of opinion that it was undesirable to ask for any formal resolution from the London County Council on the subject of this minute.

(e) Religions and Ethics. (Professor Murray reported.) Subject to the following report on minute 15, the minutes of the Committee dated June 12th, 1934 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (13) Corporate Membership; (14) Drawing Room Meetings; (15) Resolution for General Council - Speakers; (16) Series of Lectures, 1934-35; (17) Christian Scientist Churches.

On Minute 15 - Resolution for General Council, Professor Murray reported that, at the General Council meeting he had not moved the draft resolution set forth in this minute but that he hoped to do so at the next meeting of the Council.

(f) Branches Committee. (Major Lawrence Wright reported.) Subject to the following report on minute 40, the minutes of the Committee dated 14th June, 1934 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (38) Branches and Junior Branches; (39) Corporate Members and Corporate and Industrial Associates; (40) Membership; (41) Lapsed Members; (42) Youth Committee; (43) Drawing Room Meetings; (44) Membership for Commercial Firms;

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(45) Baling Exhibition; (46) Membership of Committee; (47) Lord Mayor's Show.

On Minute 40 - Membership, it was reported that the number of new enrolments up to the end of June was 30,632 as compared with 25,639 in the corresponding period of last year. The number of renewal subscriptions received in the same period was 159,000 as compared with 145,000 last year. Sir John Harris stated that in recent speeches he had dealt with the successes of the League and that these speeches had been well received. It was suggested that HEADWAY might devote a section each month to the League's successes. The Secretary stated that a pamphlet on this subject was now in course of preparation.

(g) Economic Committee. (Lord Rhayader reported.) Subject to the following decision on minutes 8 and 9, the minutes of the Committee dated 19th June, 1934 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (8) Economic Sanctions; (9) War Debts and Disarmament; (10) Resolutions on Economic Subjects submitted to the General Council; (11) International Federation.

On Minutes 8 (Economic Sanctions) and 9 (War Debts and Disarmament), it was

RESOLVED: "That consideration of these minutes be adjourned until such time as Mr. Hartley Withers can be present."

(h) Christian Organisations Committee. (Admiral Drury-Lowe reported.) The minutes of the Committee dated June 20th, 1934 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (56) Communication from Lambeth; (57) Campaign in the Churches; (58) National Declaration; (59) Service in connection with December Meeting of the General Council; (60) Presbyterian Church of England; (61) Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America; (62) Resolutions; (63) Miss Lucy Gardner; (64) Corporate Membership.

(i) Office Committee. The minutes of the Committee dated June 12th, 1934 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (30) Miss Richards; (31) Half-Yearly Revision of Salaries and Wages; (32) Hours of Attendance at the Office; (33) Public Meetings Section; (34) National Declaration Committee; (35) Advance to Member of the Staff.

Mr. Bullock. It was

RESOLVED: "That the seal of the Union should be affixed to the necessary documents in connection with the reassignment to the Union of Mr. Bullock's insurance policies under the Superannuation Scheme."

See minute 168

164. ANNUAL MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL. Lord Cecil reported on the Annual Meeting of the General Council held in Bournemouth. All but four of the English counties were represented at the meeting, as were also all three Scottish Districts and Wales and Northern Ireland. The Committee had before them the text of the resolutions which were adopted by the Council (S.G.6367). Lord Cecil spoke of the difficulty caused at the meeting by the Executive's insertion in the Final Agenda of the resolutions adopted by the International Federation at Folkestone, and it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That in future the Executive Committee should avoid inserting important new material in the agenda for a General Council meeting after the Preliminary Agenda has been issued."

It was further

RESOLVED: (2) "That a sub-Committee, consisting of not more than nine members, be asked to consider what if anything can be done to improve the character of the attendance at meetings of the General Council and to report to the Executive; and that it be left to the Chairman to nominate this sub-Committee."

(3) "That the Regions Committee also be asked to consider and report on the question in (2) above."

(4) "That speakers on League of Nations Union platforms be asked to refer in their speeches to the importance of the General Council meetings, and to urge Branches to send delegates to these meetings."

(5) "That the cordial thanks of the Executive be conveyed to the Bournemouth Branch for the excellent arrangements made for the Council Meetings and for the Public Meeting held in connection with them."

(6) "That it be left to the Chairman to decide which of the resolutions adopted by the General Council should be communicated to H.M. Government."

165. PLACE OF MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL IN 1936. It was reported that the Council had asked the Executive to decide where the Annual Meeting of the Council in 1936 should be held, and that formal invitations had been received from Scarborough and Birmingham. It was

RESOLVED: "That the invitation to hold the Annual Meeting of the General Council in 1936 in Scarborough be accepted."

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166. COMMUNICATIONS FROM THE BRITISH ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT. The Secretary reported two communications from the British Anti-War Movement (1) asking for support from the Union in a campaign for the release of Herr Thaelmann (the leader of the German Working Class and the Anti-Fascists in Germany) and inviting the Union to send a representative to join a delegation to visit the Concentration Camps in Germany; and (2) inviting the Union to join in a mass demonstration against war and fascism to be held in Hyde Park on Sunday 5th August. It was

RESOLVED: "That the invitations from the British Anti-War Movement be not accepted."

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MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, HELD AT
 15, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, S.W.1, ON THURSDAY, JULY 12TH, 1934
 AT 11 a.m.

PRESENT: Lord Cecil (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams, Miss Joyce Ansell, F.J. Noel Baker, Michael Barkway, F.M. Burris, Major Anthony Buxton, Miss K.D. Courtney, Lord Cranborne, the Reverend Gwilym Davies, Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Mrs. E. Dugdale, Miss Megan Lloyd George, Lady Gladstone, Captain L.H. Green, Dr. C.W. Kimmins, Lady Layton, Captain J. de V. Loder, Sir Walter Napier, Mrs. Walter Runciman, Professor C.K. Webster, Major Lawrence Wright and L.M. Wynch together with the Secretary and Deputy Secretary.

167. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from L.J. Cadbury, the Dean of Winchester, Lord Dickinson, Sir Arthur Haworth, Lady Henschel, Major J.W. Hills, Commander N. Lewis, Professor Gilbert Murray, Sir John Power, H.F. Shaw, John Sherborne, H.S. Syrett and Professor A.E. Zimmern.
168. MINUTES. Subject to the following report and decisions on minutes 156(153), 159 and 164, the minutes of the Committee dated July 5th, 1934 were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 156(153) - Co-optations to Committee, Lord Cecil reported that Professor Murray had written to Mr. Worsley in accordance with the request contained in resolution (1), but that Mr. Worsley had declined to reconsider his decision. Captain Green, Admiral Drury-Lowe and Dr. Kimmins also reported conversations they had had with Mr. Worsley on this subject. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That Lord Cecil be asked to write to Mr. Worsley, expressing on behalf of every member of the Committee their deep regret that he should have decided not to continue to serve on the Executive and its sub-Committees; thanking him for all his past help which has been of the greatest value both in the Executive and its Sub-Committees; and stating that, although the Committee feel bound to accept his decision, they want him to know that, if at any future time he should desire to reconsider the matter, the Committee would greatly welcome his return."

Lord Cecil further reported that Dr. Gooch had written to Professor Murray, stating that he did not feel able to rejoin the Executive Committee but thought it best to concentrate on the Committees where he could be most useful.

It was also reported that Colonel Sir John Brown regretted that, since he had given up the Chairmanship of the British Legion in order to confine his whole attention to business, he was unable to accept the invitation to serve on the Executive Committee.

See minute 177.

The Secretary read to the Committee a letter dated 11th July from Mr. John Sherborne, stating that during the past year he had been working at such high pressure, owing to exceptional business engagements and responsibilities, that his medical advisers insisted on his taking a prolonged rest. In these circumstances, and to his poignant regret, he felt it necessary to tender his resignation from the Executive. It was

RESOLVED: (2) "That Mr. Sherborne's resignation be accepted with deep regret; and that a letter be sent to him, expressing the Committee's sincere hope that he will be speedily restored to good health, and that, at some future time, he may again be able to serve on the Executive."

The Committee considered the four vacancies which now existed on the Executive, and it was

RESOLVED: (3) "That Mr. Arthur Pugh and Miss Philippa Fawcett be invited to join the Committee."

(4) "That the question of filling the two remaining vacancies on the Committee be adjourned."

On Minute 159 - International Control of Civil Aviation, it was reported that Lord Allen and Captain Mumford had joined the sub-Committee, and that Mr. P.J. Noel Baker had also been invited to serve.

On Minute 164 - Annual Meeting of General Council, it was reported that the Chairman proposed to nominate the sub-Committee appointed in paragraph (2) early in the autumn. It was also reported that the political resolutions adopted by the General Council at Bournemouth had been communicated to H.M. Government.

169. SECURITY AND DISARMAMENT.

- (a) Draft Articles on the Manufacture of and Trade in Arms. The Committee considered an analysis showing the principles contained in the Draft Articles on the Manufacture of and Trade in Arms adopted by a sub-Committee of the Disarmament Conference on June 27th, together with the complete text of the Articles. The Secretary reminded the Committee of the resolution adopted by the General Council at Bournemouth. After considerable discussion, in the course of which Mr. Noel Baker proposed a resolution, it was, on the motion of Lord Cecil,

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

While insisting on the necessity of eliminating private profit from the manufacture of arms;

Trusts that His Majesty's Government will support the Draft Articles on the Manufacture of and Trade in Arms adopted by a sub-Committee of the Disarmament Conference on June 27th, and will seek to amend the Draft so as to obtain complete publicity in all cases."

The Secretary reminded the Committee of the communication dated July 3rd from Mr. Gerald Bailey, Secretary of the National Peace Council, which had been reported to the last meeting of the Committee. Mr. Bailey had invited the Executive to adhere to a statement, which it was intended should be signed by as many organisations as possible, urging the British Government to give prompt and unequivocal support to the proposals contained in the Draft Articles. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: (2) "That the Secretary be asked to thank Mr. Bailey for his invitation; to send him a copy of the above resolution; and to inform him that since the Committee has now adopted a resolution on this subject for communication to H.M. Government, it does not think any useful purpose would be served by including the Union among the signatories to the proposed statement."

- (b) Speeches by Ministers and Questions in Parliament.
The Committee considered the answers given in Parliament to questions by Mr. Vyvyan Adams, Mr. Bernays and Sir Austen Chamberlain on the subject of air armaments. It was

RESOLVED: "That further consideration of this subject be adjourned until after the debate in the House of Commons on July 13th, and until a reply has been received from Sir John Simon to Professor Murray's letter of July 5th."

Lord Cecil reported that Professor Murray had written to Mr. Eden concerning his speech at Stoke on July 5th and in particular his statement that "In my judgment there is no security which a British Government could conceivably offer to-day which would of itself enable a Disarmament Convention to be reached."

Mr. Eden had replied "I need hardly say that there has been no change in the policy of H.M. Government either as to the Disarmament Conference or as to the future of the League of Nations, as seems to be implied in your letter. The policy of the Government remains what it always has been - the attainment of a Disarmament Convention should that be possible, but I am sure that you will agree with me that no good purpose would be achieved by disguising from the country the difficulties which stand in the way."

- (c) M. Barthou's visit. The committee considered reports on M. Barthou's recent visit to London, and in particular the proposal for an "Eastern Locarno". Lord

Cecil felt that this proposal if it was to be reciprocal, was a very good thing so far as it went. But if Germany was to be left out and it was not reciprocal, it seemed to him almost certain to end in the old system of alliances.

170. U.S.S.R. AND THE LEAGUE. The Secretary reported that he had recently communicated with Major Hills concerning the possibility of his asking a question in Parliament designed to obtain from H.M. Government an assurance that they would do all in their power to secure that, if and when the U.S.S.R. was admitted a Member of the League of Nations it should have a permanent seat on the Council. Major Hills had replied that, after talking to Ministers, he felt unable to ask a question on these lines. Dr. Garnett had thereupon suggested that Major Hills might ask the Foreign Secretary if he would make an affirmative statement privately to Mr. Waiski. To this request Major Hills had replied: "I doubt very much whether the Foreign Secretary can give any statement which could be told to the Committee even in confidence." Lord Cecil stated that M. Avenol had recently told him that he regarded it as fantastic to suggest that the Russians would not have a permanent seat. When it had been discussed at Geneva the assumption had always been that Russia would have a permanent seat.
- The Committee felt that in view of the resolutions adopted on this subject by the Executive and by the General Council, H.M. Government were fully aware of their views and it was

RESOLVED: "That no further action be taken."

171. THE FAR EAST. The attention of the Committee was drawn to a recent statement by Mr. Hirata, the Japanese Foreign Minister, to the effect that the time had arrived for the leading Powers to realise their responsibility for the peace of the world.

172. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

- (a) Economic Committee. It was reported that Mr. Hartley Withers was unable to attend the present meeting of the Executive, but that he hoped to attend on Thursday, July 19th at 12 noon. It was

RESOLVED: "That consideration of minutes 8 and 9 of the Economic Committee dated June 19th be further adjourned until the next meeting of the Executive, and that Mr. Bullock be also invited to attend that meeting."

- (b) Overseas Committee. (Lady Gladstone reported.) Subject to the following decisions on minutes 20(b), 21 and 23, the minutes of the Committee dated July 4th, 1934 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (20) Report of the Folkestone Congress; (21) Autumn Meetings of the Federation; (22) Communication from Mr. Buckler; (23) Relations with League of Nations Societies Abroad. 7

On Minute 20(b) - Report of the Folkestone Congress, Mr. Gwilym Davies stated that at the Conference of the Welsh Education Committee to be held at Gregynog in November, it was hoped that a representative of the Prussian Ministry of Education would be present. They would then be in a position to obtain first hand information regarding school text books in Germany. It was therefore

RESOLVED: "That consideration of paragraph (b) of minute 20 be adjourned, pending a report from Mr. Gwilym Davies after the Conference of the Welsh Education Committee."

On Minute 21 - Autumn Meetings of the Federation, Mr. Gwilym Davies hoped that, since the autumn meetings of the Federation would be the first to take place since the Headquarters of the Federation had been transferred to Geneva, the delegations to these meetings would be as strong as possible. It was therefore

RESOLVED: "That consideration of this minute be adjourned until July 26th; and that in the meantime Lady Gladstone be asked to prepare definite proposals regarding the Union's delegation to the Autumn meetings of the Federation."

The Chairman requested members of the Committee who expected to be in Geneva towards the end of the Assembly and who would be prepared to attend the meetings of the International Federation on 29th and 30th September, to send in their names to the Secretary.

On Minute 23 - Relations with League of Nations Societies abroad, Captain Green suggested that more information concerning the work of the International Federation and of its constituent societies should be given in Union publications. It was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Editorial Committee be asked to consider the desirability of more information concerning the work of the International Federation and of its constituent societies being given in Union journals, particularly in HEADWAY and SPEAKERS NOTES."

(2) "That a report on the work of the International Federation form a regular feature at meetings of the General Council."

(c) Iraq Committee. (Sir Walter Napier reported.) The minutes of the Committee dated July 5th, 1934 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (12) The Brazilian Scheme for the Settlement of the Assyrians; (13) Alternative Schemes of Settlement; (14) The Condition of the Assyrians in Iraq; /

- (d) Women's Advisory Council. Lady Gladstone reported that the Women's Advisory Council proposed to invite Miss Horsburgh to meet the Council and other interested persons in order that they might place before her the views of the various women's organisations before she joined the British delegation to the League's Assembly at Geneva. It was

RESOLVED: "That the Executive Committee warmly approves of the proposal of the Women's Advisory Council."

173. NATIONAL DECLARATION. The Committee had before them a copy of a circular letter which Lord Cecil had written to all the Secretaries of the Union's Branches on the subject of the National Declaration. The Secretary read to the Committee specimens of letters, including draft letters to the Honorary Secretary of every one of the Union's Branches which he was sending to the Regional Representatives and County and District Secretaries in England, as well as to the whole-time paid officials of the Union in Scotland and Wales, on the same subject.

Miss Ansell criticised the appearance of the 'literature' prepared for the Declaration, and in particular the Notes on the questions. Lord Cecil said that, although it would not be possible to make changes in the substance of the Notes, the presentation of the paper might be altered without adding greatly to the cost.

It was further reported that it was hoped to obtain articles written by prominent persons for insertion in local papers. It was suggested that Mr. Priestley might be invited to contribute such an article. After considerable discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the 'National Declaration' appear regularly as an item on the Executive's agenda paper; and that the minutes of the Declaration Organising Committee be circulated for the information of members of the Executive."

- (2) "That it be suggested to the National Declaration Committee or its Organising Committee to ask all the organisations co-operating in the Declaration to write to each of their local societies on the lines of the letter from the Secretary of the Union to the Branches of the Union."

174. INTERNATIONAL ZONE OF TANGIER. The Committee had before them a memorandum (S.G.6866) on the International Zone of Tangier prepared by Sir Walter Napier. Sir Walter stated that at the Plenary Congress of the International Federation at Folkestone a resolution had been submitted by the Tangier Society asking that a new constitution should be instituted for Tangier and that the League of Nations should assist in the elaboration of this constitution. The resolution of the Tangier Society had

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been adjourned for consideration later by the Juridical and Political Committee of the Federation, and Sir Walter Napier had prepared his memorandum in order that all the facts of the case might be fully considered. After discussion it was

- RESOLVED: (1) "That the cordial thanks of the Committee be conveyed to Sir Walter Napier for his valuable memorandum."
- (2) "That copies of the memorandum be sent to the British Chamber of Commerce in Tangier, to the British section of the International Chamber of Commerce, and to the Society of British Merchants in Morocco; and that when their comments have been obtained, a sub-Committee of the Executive be asked to consider the memorandum in the light of the comments received, and to make a report with a view to its being submitted to H.M. Government."
- (3) "That copies of Sir Walter Napier's memorandum be circulated to members of the Union's delegation to the autumn meetings of the International Federation."

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MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT
14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, S.W.1, ON THURSDAY, JULY 19TH, 1934
AT 11 a.m.

PRESENT: Lord Cecil, (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams,
Miss Joyce Ansell, W. Arnold-Forster, Michael
Barkway, Major Anthony Buxton, L.J. Cadbury,
Lord Cranborne, Miss K.D. Courtney, ~~Lord~~ Davies,
Lord Dickinson, Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Mrs.
E. Dugdale, Miss Philippa Fawcett, Lady Gladstone,
Captain L.H. Green, Sir John Harris, Dr. C. W. Kimmins,
Lady Layton, Commander N. Lewis, Captain J.
de V. Loder, G. Le M. Mander, Sir Walter Napier,
Lord Rheyder, H.S. Syrett, Mrs. Wilson-Fox,
Major Lawrence Wright, and L.M. Wynch, together
with the Secretary and Deputy Secretary.

175. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from F.M. Burris,
Sir Arthur Heworth, Lady Henschel, Miss Megan Lloyd George,
Professor Gilbert Murray, Sir John Power, Mrs. Walter
Runciman and Professor Zimmern.
176. LORD DICKINSON. The Chairman conveyed to Lord Dickinson
a cordial welcome on his return to the Executive, and
said how delighted the Committee were by his recovery
from his long illness.
177. MINUTES. Subject to the following report on minute
168(156), the minutes of the Committee dated July 12th,
1934 were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 168(156) - Co-optations to Committee,
Lord Cecil welcomed Miss Philippa Fawcett who
was attending the Committee for the first time.
He also reported that Mr. Arthur Pugh had
accepted the invitation to serve on the Executive.

178. SECURITY AND DISARMAMENT.

- (a) Speech by Sir John Simon in the House of Commons
on July 13th. The Committee noted with great
interest the speech delivered by Sir John Simon
in the House of Commons on July 13th. The
Secretary read to the Committee a letter dated
July 21st from Sir Austen Chamberlain, suggesting
that the only thing for the Union to do was to
place itself wholeheartedly behind the new offer to
Germany of an equal partnership in the system
of European security. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That Lord Cecil be asked to write to
Sir John Simon, expressing the
gratification of the Executive Com-
mittee at the statements made in his
speech on July 13th concerning the
admission of Russia to the League,
the proposed Eastern Pact of Mutual
Guarantee, and equality of rights for
Germany."

(b) Air Armaments. Mr. Arnold-Forster drew the attention of the Committee to the fact that in the House of Commons that afternoon a statement in regard to an air expansion programme was to be made. He reminded the Committee that the Air Commission of the Disarmament Conference had not met since March, 1933, and had therefore had no opportunity of considering in detail the British draft proposals of March 8th and the Spanish proposals of May 27th, 1933. He asked the Committee to consider whether it might not be desirable for some emergency action to be taken by the Executive after the statement in the House of Commons had been made. It was pointed out that to decide on emergency action before the statement had been made was difficult and Lord Cecil added that, at the next meeting of the Executive, he hoped to be able to present the Report of the Aviation sub-Committee, and the Committee would no doubt wish to consider that Report before they made a pronouncement on this subject. After considerable discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That further consideration of this question be adjourned until the next meeting of the Executive."

179. NATIONAL DECLARATION. Lord Cecil reported that, following a conversation with Mr. Eden, he had sent him a copy of each of the papers prepared for the Declaration in order to allay his doubts concerning its expediency. Lord Cecil read to the Committee a letter which Mr. Eden had written to him on July 13th and in which he stated that Questions 3, 4 and 5 and their commentary did not seem to him to set out in their true perspective the problems with which they sought to deal.

Lord Cecil also read to the Committee a letter which Sir Austen Chamberlain had sent to Dr. Garnett on July 14th concerning the Declaration, as well as a letter dated July 18th which he (Lord Cecil) had received from Sir Austen on the same subject.

Lord Cranborne made a statement to the Committee on behalf of Sir Austen Chamberlain and of Lord Eustace Percy as well as on his own account. In his opinion the questions contained in the Briot Form were not susceptible of a clear 'Yes' or 'No' and the Notes on the Questions made the matter worse because they made no attempt at impartiality. Neither he nor Sir Austen nor Lord Eustace could associate themselves with the Declaration in its present form. He felt that in a Briot of this kind there were very important arguments on both sides and those arguments had not been ventilated to the general public in the Notes on the Questions. He suggested that the Notes should be withdrawn and replaced by a new document, giving no advice to the voters but presenting arguments on both sides of all the Questions. Unless this were done Sir Austen, Lord Eustace and Lord Cranborne would feel it necessary to dissociate themselves publicly from the Declaration and to state why they recommended other people to follow their example.

Mrs. Wilson-Fox associated herself with the statement made by Lord Cranborne.

Mr. Syrett urged that very serious consideration should be given by the Committee to the statement made by Lord Cranborne, not only for the reasons he had given, but also from the financial point of view.

Lord Cecil reminded the Committee that Mr. Crookshank, representing Sir Austen Chamberlain, had been present at most of the meetings of the Executive when the Declaration had been discussed. Having regard to the terms of the Royal Charter, he did not see how the Union could avoid advocating particular answers to the questions in the Ballot. But if, at an earlier stage, any members of the Executive had suggested alterations to the wording of the questions, he was sure the Organising Committee of the Declaration would have been glad to have considered how their views could be met. As it was Lord Cecil would gladly do whatever he could to remove any sense of injustice, although he did not think it would be practicable to withdraw the Notes already published.

Mr. Syrett suggested that the green Notes might be accompanied by another paper of a different colour, setting forth the comments which Lord Cranborne and his friends had to make upon the Questions.

Mrs. Dugdale expressed surprise at the objections raised to the Notes on the Questions. She realised that the paper was by no means perfect, but it did represent a compromise between many organisations represented on the Committee after a considerable divergence of opinion had been expressed.

After considerable discussion, in the course of which a letter dated June 19th from the National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations, and Lord Cecil's reply of June 22nd, on the subject of the Declaration had been read, it was

RESOLVED: That Lord Cranborne be asked to inform Lord Cecil as soon as possible whether Sir Austen Chamberlain, Lord Eustace Percy and he himself would prepare such a paper as Mr. Syrett had suggested, for circulation with the present Notes if the Conference of Co-operating Societies or its Organising Committee agreed.

It was pointed out that such a paper could not be circulated if its purport was to prevent the ballot being held. |||

180. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

- (a) Economic Committee. Subject to the following decisions (adjourned) minutes 8 and 9 of the Committee dated June 19th, 1931 were approved and adopted.

P.T.O.

On Minute 8 - Economic Sanctions, Mr. Hartley Withers presented to the Committee the Report on Economic Sanctions (S.C.6860) which had been prepared at the request of the Executive. The Committee thanked Mr. Withers for his attendance at the Committee and for his presentation of the Report, and

- RESOLVED: (1) "That, subject to the insertion of the words 'in general' after the word 'should' in the second line of paragraph (c) on page 19, the Report on Economic Sanctions be approved and adopted; but that, in approving the Report, the Executive reserves its opinion on the question how far it would be possible to apply economic pressure gradually by stages, or whether it is necessary in all cases to act immediately."
- (2) "That the Report be printed for circulation to Branches as a contribution to the study of the subject, and that a prefatory note be included containing the Executive's reservation in (1) above."

On Minute 9 - War Debts and Disarmament, it was

RESOLVED: "That this minute be received."

- (b) Youth Committee. (Miss Ansell reported.) The minutes of the Committee dated July 7th, 1934 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (60) Composition of the Committee; (61) Youth; (62) Report on Progress; (63) Gray's Youth Group; (64) Coventry; (65) The National Censuss and the National Declaration; (66) News Chronicle; (67) The Union Tie; (68) Resolution from the Croydon Youth Group; (69) Chairman.

- (c) Education Committee. (Dr. Kimmins reported.) The minutes of the Committee dated July 9th, 1934 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (87) Meetings for Teachers and Schools; (88) City of London Vacation Course; (89) Report on Work in Universities and Colleges; (90) The Affirmation of Christian Faith; (91) Report of Curriculum Sub-Committee; (92) Conference of Educational Associations; (93) North of England Education Conference; (94) Report of the Geography Panel; (95) National Conference; (96) The British Co-ordinating Committee for International Studies; (97) National Association for Training in Citizenship; (98) Deputation to the President of the Board of Education and the Secretary of State for Scotland; (99) List of

Books for Children and Teachers; (100) Public and School Libraries; (101) Message to the Schools for Amalstice Day; (102) Communication from the Headmaster of Alderman Newton's Boys' School; (103) Summer Schools; (104) Empire Schools Tour to Oberammergau; (105) Relations with the Irish Free State; (106) Junior Branches; (107) (Educational) Corporate Members.

- (d) Women's Advisory Council. (Mrs. Wilson-Fox reported.) Subject to the following report and decision on minute 538, the minutes of the Council dated 11th July, 1934, were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (537) Representation on W.A.C.; (538) Conference with Woman Delegate to Assembly; (539) National Declaration; (540) Arms Traffic and Manufacture; (541) Applications for Corporate Membership.

On Minute 538 - Conference with Woman Delegate to Assembly, it was reported that Miss Horsburgh had agreed to attend a conference of representatives of women's organisations on Wednesday, July 25th at 5 p.m.

It was further reported that it was proposed to invite Captain Eden and Miss Horsburgh to attend a similar conference towards the end of October and to give a report on the XVth Assembly.

It was

RESOLVED: "That Lady Gladstone be asked to consider and report on the possibility of the Union arranging a dinner or reception after the Assembly at which the members of the British delegation might be invited to give an account of the work of the XVth Assembly."

- (e) Finance Committee. (Major Lawrence Wright reported.) The minutes of the Committee dated 11th July, 1934, were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (49) Financial Statement; (50) General Council Meeting at Bournemouth; (51) National Declaration; (52) Worcestershire; (53) Nottinghamshire; (54) Northamptonshire; (55) Essex; (56) International Bell; (57) International Exhibition of art work; (58) Passing of Cheques for Payment.

- (f) Branches Committee. (Major Wynch reported.) The minutes of the Committee dated July 12th, 1934, were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (50) Composition of Committee; (51) Branches and Junior Branches; (52) Corporate Members; (53) Membership; (54) Leeds and Wakefield District; (55) Drawing Room Meetings; (56) Policy Questions; (57) General Council Meeting at Bournemouth.

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181. COMMUNICATION FROM MR. CITRINE. The Secretary reported that Mr. Citrine had recently discussed with him the question of members of the staff joining Trade Unions, and had subsequently written to him on the subject. It was

RESOLVED: "That Mr. Citrine's letter be considered at the next meeting of the Committee."

182. BRANCH RESOLUTION. The Committee considered a resolution on the subject of the Incitement to Disaffection Bill, passed by the Chippenham Branch, who had asked for the Executive's opinion before sending the resolution to their local Member of Parliament. It was

RESOLVED: "That the Chippenham Branch be asked not to forward their resolution to their Member of Parliament."

183. DATE OF NEXT MEETING. It was

RESOLVED: "That a meeting of the Executive Committee be held at 11 a.m. on Thursday, July 26th; and that the Committee then adjourn until Thursday, September 20th."

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MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, S.W.1, ON THURSDAY, JULY 26TH, 1934 AT 11 a.m.

PRESENT: Lord Cecil (in the Chair), Miss Joyce Ansell, P.J. Noel Baker, Michael Barkway, Major Anthony Buxton, Miss K.D. Courtney, Lord Grenborne, the Reverend Gwilym Davies, Lord Dickinson, Vice-Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Lord Dunsley, Miss Philippa Rawcutt, Miss Megan Lloyd George, Lady Gladstone, Captain L.H. Green, Sir Arthur Haworth, Major J.W. Hills, Dr. C.W. Kilmmins, Lady Layton, Commander N. Lewis, Captain J. de V. Loder, G. le M. Mender, Sir Walter Nepler, Arthur Pugh, Lord Rhayader, Mrs. Walter Runcimen, H.S. Syrett, Major Lawrence Wright and L.M. Wynch, together with the Secretary and Deputy Secretary.

184. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Vyvyan Adams, Sir Norman Angell, W. Arnold-Forster, F.M. Burris, L.J. Cadbury, Sir John Harris, Lady Henschel, Sir John Power, Mrs. Wilson-Fox and Professor Zimmern.
185. MINUTES. Subject to the following report and decision on minute 177(163) the minutes of the Committee dated July 19th, 1934 were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 177(163) - Co-optations to Committee. Lord Cecil welcomed Mr. Arthur Pugh who was attending the Committee for the first time.

The Secretary reported a letter from the Secretary of the Co-operative Union, stating that his Committee had decided not to renominate a representative to sit on the Executive since it was impossible for any one of their number to give the time necessary to attend even a reasonable number of meetings of the Executive. It was

RESOLVED: "That the Co-optations sub-Committee be asked to meet early in the autumn in order to (a) consider the letter from the Co-operative Union and (b) make recommendations for filling the remaining vacancies on the Executive."

186. INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION: COMPOSITION OF UNION'S DELEGATION TO AUTUMN MEETINGS. Lady Gladstone reported that Mr. Gwilym Davies, Dr. Garnett and Captain Thomas would be attending the autumn meetings of the International Federation in Geneva on September 29th and 30th, and that Captain Green, Lady Layton and Miss Courtney would also probably be in Geneva at that time. It was

RESOLVED: "That the Union's delegation to the autumn meetings of the International Federation include Mr. Gwilym Davies, Dr. Garnett and Captain Thomas; and that the appointment of any further delegates be left in the hands of Lady Gladstone in consultation with Captain Thomas."

P.T.O.

The Secretary suggested that the (green) Notes and the (blue) memorandum signed by the five Conservative Members of Parliament, together with a prefatory note to be drafted by Lord Cecil and to which he hoped the signatories of the blue paper would agree, should be printed as one document which would then be placed before every person who received the Ballot Form.

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187. NATIONAL DECLARATION. Major Hills presented to the Committee a (blue) memorandum (S.G.6943) prepared in accordance with minute 179 of the last meeting and signed by Sir Austen Chamberlain, Lord Grenborne, Captain Loder, Lord Eustace Percy and himself. The signatories hoped that their (blue) paper would accompany the (green) Notes on the Five Questions.

Lord Cecil said that the attitude adopted by the Conservative Central Office in their recent correspondence in the press had made the situation much more difficult. After considerable discussion it was unanimously

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Executive Committee recommend the Organising Committee of the National Declaration to assent to the proposal to issue the (blue) paper, with a preamble

pointing out that those who agree to the contentions in the blue paper should answer 'Yes' to questions 1 and 2.

With regard to questions 3 and 5 the differences of opinion are mainly questions of emphasis. As the green paper has already stated, the abolition of national military and naval aircraft should be accompanied by an agreement by all nations to control civilian flying. As to question 5, the argument stated in the blue paper is stated in the green paper.

As to question 4, the arguments suggested are undoubtedly substantial, but the Declaration Committee believe that they are of the type frequently raised by reforms of the character under consideration, and that they can be overcome in practice without any difficulty.

(2) "That the above recommendation be made to the Organising Committee of the National Declaration at the meeting to be held at 2.45 p.m. on July 26th."

(3) "That the minutes of the meeting of the Declaration Organising Committee be circulated for the information of members of the Executive as soon as possible."

Major Hills undertook to submit immediately to Sir Austen Chamberlain for his comments the text of the draft preamble to the blue paper.

188. COMMUNICATION FROM MR. WALTER CITRINE. The Committee had before them a letter written by Mr. Walter Citrine to Dr. Garnett on 17th July concerning the question of members of the Union's staff joining Trade Unions. At

the suggestion of Mr. Fugh who said that Mr. Elvin would like to be present when this matter was discussed it was

RESOLVED: "That consideration of Mr. Citrine's letter be adjourned until after the vacation."

189. INTERIM REPORT FROM AVIATION SUB-COMMITTEE. Lord Cecil presented the interim report (S.C.6924) from the Aviation sub-Committee, appointed by the Executive on July 4th. He stated that, in submitting their Interim Report, the sub-Committee wished to make it clear that they had not attempted to draft the Report in the manner most suitable for presentation to the public, but that they intended to consider, in the autumn, the preparation of a paper for this purpose, and in that connection to consider introducing the word 'Police' into the description of the proposed International Air Force. After discussion it was, with three dissentients

RESOLVED: "That, with the exception of the final paragraph, the Interim Report of the Aviation sub-Committee be approved and adopted; and that Lord Cecil be asked to communicate the substance of the Report, in confidence, to H.M. Government, informing them, at the same time, of the regret expressed by members of the Executive at the absence of meetings of the Air Commission since March, 1933."

190. BRITISH AIR EXPANSION PROGRAMME. The Committee had before them a draft resolution on the subject of the proposed increase in British air armaments, and it was

RESOLVED: "That the draft resolution be adjourned for consideration at a special meeting to be held at 11.30 a.m. on Monday, July 30th."

191. REPORT ON DEPUTATION TO PRESIDENT OF BOARD OF EDUCATION AND THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR SCOTLAND. The Committee received a report on the deputation from the Education Committee which had waited upon Lord Halifax and Sir Godfrey Collins on July 19th, 1934. It was

RESOLVED: "That the congratulations of the Executive be conveyed to the Education Committee on the reception accorded to their deputation by Lord Halifax and Sir Godfrey Collins, and on the interest which His Majesty's Ministers had displayed in the work of their Committee."

192. REPORT OF COMMITTEE.

Industrial Advisory Committee. (Captain Green reported.) The minutes of the Committee dated July 19th, 1934 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (67) Association of the Friends of Albert Thomas; (68) Hours of Work and Employment; (69) Disarmament and Unemployment; (70) I.L.O. Press Publicity; (71) Conferences on the I.L.O.; (72) XVIIIth International Labour

Conference; (73) General Council; (74) Mr. Gillinder's Report; (75) Industrial Affiliations; (76) Trades Union Congress, 1934: Arrangements for L.N.U. Public Meeting; (77) Annual Conference; (78) International Federation.

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

RESOLVED: "That the office be closed from 5.30 p.m. on Friday, August 3rd until 10 a.m. on Tuesday, August 7th."

194. RECOGNITION OF BRANCHES.

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

Hartley Wintney (Hants.)

RESOLVED: "That the above mentioned Branch 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:-

Edgbaston Collegiate School, Birmingham;
St. Michael's Senior Mixed School, Langley,
Birmingham; Clifton High School, Bristol;
Clwyd Street Boys' School, Rhyl (Flints.).

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

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

St. Marks Unitarian Church, Edinburgh;
West Methodist Church, Chopwell (Durham);
Chapter Row Methodist Church, S. Shields
(Durham); Bourton-on-the-Water Baptist
Church, Bourton-on-the-Water (Glos.);
St. Mary's Parish Church, Walkern, (Herts.);
Walkern Congregational Church, Walkern (Herts.);
Belvedere Congregational Church, Belvedere
(Kent); St. James' Church, Haslington (Lanc.);
Bourne Congregational Church, Bourne, (Lincs.);
The New Synagogue, Stamford Hill (London);
St. Margaret's Women's Guild, Blackheath
(London); Church Road Methodist Church,
Weston-super-Mare, (Somerset); Cross Street
Methodist Church, Stoke-on-Trent; Warwick
Sisterhood, Warwick; Great Malvern Baptist
Church, Malvern (Worcs.); The "Circle"
Wesley Hall, Oxford.

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

MINUTES OF A SPECIAL MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,
HELD AT 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, S.W.1, ON MONDAY,
JULY 30TH, 1934 AT 11.30 a.m.

PRESENT: Lord Cecil (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams,
P.J.Noel Baker, the Dean of Chichester,
Miss K.D.Courtney, Lord Cranborne,
Vice-Admiral S.R.Drury-Lowe, Mrs. E. Dugdale,
Miss Philippa Fawcett, Lady Gladstone,
Lady Hall, Dr. C.W.Kimmins, Commander N.
Lewis, Captain J. de V. Loder, Sir Walter
Napier, Arthur Pugh, H.F.Shaw and L.M.Wynch,
together with the Secretary and Deputy
Secretary.

195. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Miss Joyce
Ansell, F.M.Burris, L.J.Cadbury, Captain L.H.Green,
Sir Arthur Haworth, Lady Henschel, Lord Lytton,
Professor Gilbert Murray, Sir John Power, Mrs. Walter
Runcimen, H.S.Syrett, Major Lawrence Wright, and
Professor Zimmern.
196. BRITISH AIR ARMAMENTS. The Committee considered a
resolution drafted by Lord Cecil (S.G.6940) on the
subject of the proposed British air expansion programme,
together with an amendment suggested by Mrs. Dugdale
(S.G.6947). A letter from Sir Austen Chamberlain,
criticising the draft resolution, was reported to
the Committee; and, after considerable discussion,
it was

- RESOLVED: (1) "The Executive Committee of the League
of Nations Union welcomes the statement
of His Majesty's Government that they
do not intend to relax their efforts
to obtain a satisfactory Convention
for the general reduction of armaments.
The Committee regrets that in the
opinion of His Majesty's Government it
has become necessary to announce now
an increase in British air armaments,
and trusts that it will be made clear
that no such increase will take place
if the Disarmament Conference accepts
proposals made or supported by His
Majesty's Government which, if adopted,
will render such increase unnecessary."
- (2) "The Executive Committee of the League of
Nations Union urges His Majesty's
Government to use all its influence
to secure an early meeting of the Air
Committee of the Disarmament Conference
to consider proposals for the abolition
of national air armaments combined with
adequate safeguards against the use of
civil aircraft for disloyal aggression."
- (3) "That the above resolutions be communicated
to H.M.Government and to the Secretaries
of the Union's Branches."

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197. AUSTRIA. The Committee considered the present situation in Austria. After discussion, in the course of which the resolutions on the subject of Austria adopted by the Committee on March 15th and March 22nd (minutes 62 and 73) were read, it was

RESOLVED: (1) "The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union feels that the present situation in connection with Austria is of the utmost danger to the peace of Europe and should not be allowed to continue; it believes that there is no possibility of a solution except on international lines through the League of Nations; and it urges His Majesty's Government to ask for a meeting of the Council without unnecessary delay to consider the situation."

- (2) "That the above resolution be communicated to H.M. Government, to the press and to the Secretaries of the Union's Branches."

198. NATIONAL DECLARATION. Lord Cecil reported that the Organising Committee of the National Declaration, at their meeting on July 26th, had agreed to the issue of the blue paper (S.G. 6943) referred to in minute 187; and that this paper, together with a preamble which had been approved by Sir Austen Chamberlain and the other signatories, would in future accompany each copy of the Green Notes on the Five Questions. At the suggestion of the Organising Committee the names of the five signatories would not appear on the blue paper. Lord Cranborne expressed his willingness to enquire privately of Colonel Herbert whether, in the present conditions, the National Executive of the Conservative and Unionist Organisations would be willing to modify their attitude towards the National Declaration.

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MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT
14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, S.W.1, ON THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 20TH,
1934 AT 11 a.m.

PRESENT: Professor Murray (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams,
Miss Joyce Ansell, P.J.Noel Baker, F.M.Burris,
Major Anthony Duxton, L.J.Cadbury, Lord Cecil,
the Dean of Chichester, Lord Dickinson,
H.H.Elvin, Miss Philippa Fawcett, Captain
L.H.Green, Lady Hall, Dr. C.W.Kimmins, Lady
Leyton, Commander N. Lewis, Arthur Pugh,
Lord Playeader, J.C.Smits, Mrs. Wilson-Fox,
Major Lawrence Wright and L.M.Wynch, together
with the Secretary and Deputy Secretary.

199. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from W.Arnold-Forster,
the Reverend Gwilym Davies, Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe,
Lady Gladstone, Sir Arthur Haworth, Lady Henschel,
Miss Megan Lloyd George, Sir Walter Napier, Sir John
Power, Mrs. Walter Runciman, H.P.Shaw and H.S.Syrett.

200. THE LATE MR. A.W.CLAREMONT. The Committee were distressed
to learn of the death of Mr.A.W.Claremont, who had been
a staunch friend of the Union since its inception and had
rendered invaluable service as the Union's Honorary
Solicitor, and it was

RESOLVED: "That the Committee records its profound
sense of gratitude for the valuable
service rendered to the Union and the
cause of the League of Nations by the
late Mr.A.W.Claremont as a member of
the Executive and Finance Committees and,
letterly, as Honorary Solicitor to the
Union; and that the profound sympathy of
the Committee be expressed to Mrs. Claremont."

201. THE LATE SIR GEORGE HENSCHEL. The Committee learned
with deep regret of Lady Henschel's bereavement, and
it was

RESOLVED: "That the Chairman be asked to convey to
Lady Henschel an expression of the
Committee's profound sympathy."

202. MINUTES. Subject to the following report and decision
on minutes 186 and 189, the minutes of the meeting
dated July 26th and of the special meeting dated
July 30th, 1934 were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 186 - International Federation:
Composition of Union's delegation to Autumn
meetings, it was reported that a meeting of
the Minorities Committee of the Federation

had been called for Monday, October 1st in Geneva to discuss the action of the Assembly in regard to Minorities, and it was

RESOLVED: "That Miss Freda White, who has been attending the meetings of the Fifteenth Assembly on the Union's behalf, be appointed one of the Union's representatives at this meeting of the Federation's Minorities Committee."

On Minute 189 - Interim Report from Aviation sub-Committee, Lord Cecil reported that, in accordance with the Executive's decision, he had communicated the substance of the Interim Report of the Aviation sub-Committee to H.M. Government. He read to the Committee a reply, dated 27th August, 1934, which he had received from Mr. Eden on the subject.

203. RUSSIA AND THE LEAGUE. The Committee discussed the admission of Russia to the League. The Chairman suggested that the Executive might wish to send a letter to H.M. Government, expressing its satisfaction that, at a time when the League seemed to be in rather low water, three nations (Turkey, Mexico and Russia) had all thought it worth while to join, and that the League had actually been strengthened by the entry of these three nations. Lord Cecil felt that the Union ought to express its pleasure particularly at the admission of Russia, but he was of the opinion that this could best be done in speeches rather than in the form of a message to H.M. Government. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the Chairman be asked to write a letter to H.M. Government, expressing the Committee's satisfaction at the admission of Russia, Turkey and Mexico to the League."

204. POLISH MINORITIES. The Committee considered the discussions by the Fifteenth Assembly on the subject of Minorities, and recalled the memorandum on the Protection of Minorities approved by the Executive on December 21st, 1933. Lord Dickinson suggested that H.M. Government should be asked to put down a motion in the Assembly asking for an inquiry into the whole subject of Minorities procedure, or alternatively to support such a motion if it were made by another Government. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the memorandum on the Protection of Minorities be printed immediately."

- (2) "That a copy of the memorandum be communicated to Mr. Eden with a covering letter, explaining that the paper was prepared before the proposals of the

Polish Government were made, and requesting that H.M. Government will propose at the Assembly an inquiry into the subject of Minority procedure."

- (3) "That the Secretary be asked personally to convey copies of the memorandum to Senor Macarige, to M. Politis and to the Head of the Minorities Section; and that he be asked also to submit the memorandum to Professor Ruyssen with the request that he should communicate it to the Assembly as a document received from one of the Federation's constituent societies."

205. FIFTEENTH ASSEMBLY. At the request of the Chairman, Mr. Noel Baker read to the Committee a draft resolution on the subject of the Bolivia-Paraguay dispute, and it was

RESOLVED: (1) "The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union, recalling the declaration of the President of the Chaco Commission on May 13th, 1934, that 'what is actually being fought for in the Chaco are the conflicting interests of foreign capitalists connected with various concessions with, as final motive, the inevitable lure of oil, that apple of discord all over the world'; recalling the declaration of the Chaco commission that 'the arms and material of every kind (by which the war is conducted) are not manufactured locally, but are supplied to the belligerents by American and European countries', hopes that H.M. Government will (a) see that the Assembly does not separate until it has secured the acceptance by every member of the League of the full application of the arms embargo, and (b) shall strive its utmost to induce the Parties to the dispute to accept the draft treaty prepared by the Chaco commission as the only satisfactory solution for the present conflict."

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

The Secretary reported that, in accordance with the request contained in minute 180(d) of July 19th, 1934, Lady Gledstone had considered the possibility of the Union arranging a dinner or reception at which the members of the British delegation might be invited to give an account of the work of the Fifteenth Assembly, and that she had suggested that a luncheon, which could be made to pay for itself, would best serve the purpose. After discussion it was

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RESOLVED: (3) "That Lady Gladstone and Dame Adelaide Livingstone be authorised to proceed with the arrangements for a luncheon to the members of the British delegation to the Fifteenth Assembly."

206. **U.S.A. ARMS INQUIRY.** The Secretary reported that, at the opening of the U.S.A. Arms Inquiry, Mr. Eichelberger (Secretary of the American League of Nations Association) had been asked to supply the Union with verbatim reports so soon as they were available. Copies of the NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE containing full accounts of the inquiry had also been obtained. Lord Cecil stated that, although he was entirely in favour of the American inquiry which he thought was producing very good results, and while he was anxious that the Union should endeavour to get as much publicity as possible for the proceedings in America, he would be against proposing that a similar inquiry should be initiated in Great Britain unless a recent Act of Parliament rendered possible a really effective inquiry which hitherto required a special Act of Parliament in each case. Mr. Vyvyan Adams said that a number of questions on the subject of the Arms Inquiry would be asked in Parliament when it re-assembled; but, in the meantime, he urged that an influential letter should be sent to the TIMES. After further discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That a memorandum on the subject of the Tribunals of Inquiry (Evidence) Act, 1921 be circulated for the information of the Committee at its next meeting; and that the proposal for a letter or letters to the TIMES and the possibility of including a definite proposal for an inquiry in this country, be then further considered."

(2) "That so soon as complete information regarding the American Arms Inquiry is available the Union should publish a pamphlet on the subject; and that, in the meantime, articles based on the information received from America, be circulated by the Union to the provincial press."

207. **SECURITY AND DISARMAMENT.** The Committee considered the speech delivered by Signor Mussolini on August 24th on the occasion of the Italian Army Manoeuvres. They also considered Signor Mussolini's plan for the military training of boys of eight years old and upwards, and it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That Professor Murray be asked, as President of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, to call the attention of the Government to the question whether the Italian Government were also acting upon the recommendation accepted by them in the Assembly of 1926, that

'all children and young people should, before completing their formal education, receive instruction suitable to their stage of intellectual development in the aims and achievements of the League of Nations and, generally speaking, in the development of international co-operation'."

(2) "That Professor Murray be also asked to write a letter for publication on this subject."

208. COMMUNICATION FROM MR. WALTER CITRINE. The Secretary reported a conversation he had had with Mr. Walter Citrine on July 5th, and read to the Committee a letter he had written him on July 13th. The Committee had before them a communication dated 17th July, which Mr. Citrine had sent in reply. The Committee were reminded of the resolution they had adopted on October 30th, 1930 on the subject of members of the staff and Trade Unions. After Mr. Pugh had suggested that, instead of asking the Executive Committee to ratify or rescind its previous decision, a satisfactory solution of the problem might be provided by a further consultation between the Secretary and other officers of the Union and Trade Union representatives, it was

RESOLVED: "That Mr. Pugh be asked to discuss with the Secretary and other principal officers of the Union the question of members of the staff joining Trade Unions."

209. NATIONAL DECLARATION. The Committee had before them the minutes of a special meeting of the National Declaration Committee held on September 11th, 1934. Lord Cecil reported on the progress of the Declaration in the constituencies. He felt that, since the work had been undertaken entirely in the holiday season, the result so far achieved was extremely satisfactory. He told the Committee that as a result of many protests which had been received concerning the green and blue papers, the Declaration Committee had decided to leave it to the discretion of Local Committees to distribute both or neither the green and blue papers. This decision had been communicated to all Local Declaration Committees and to organisers of local conferences.

The Secretary reported that, early in October, the Union's Finance Committee would be considering how far, if at all, the Union might be liable for debts incurred by the National Declaration Committee.

210. REPORT OF SUB-COMMITTEE ON REFORM OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS. The Committee had before them the Report of the sub-Committee on the Reform of the League of Nations (S.G.6997). The Secretary stated that, although the International Law Committee had expressed a desire to see the Report of the sub-Committee in its final form, a Committee of the International Federation would be discussing the reform of the League at its meeting in Geneva on September 29th and 30th and the Union's delegates would be grateful for guidance from the Executive. After discussion, in the course of which Lord Cecil suggested various amendments to the Report, it was

RESOLVED: "That, subject to the amendments suggested by Lord Cecil and subject also to any observations which the International Law Committee may make, the Report of the sub-Committee be approved and that the first two paragraphs of section 1 of the Report (General Considerations) be regarded as the Executive's instructions to its delegates at the meeting of the International Federation's sub-Committee."

211. REPORT OF COMMITTEE.

Advisory Conference on Publicity. Subject to the following decision on minute 5, the minutes of the first Advisory Conference on Publicity held on March 22nd and June 21st, were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (1) The Press; (2) Posters; (3) Exhibitions; (4) The Disarmament Deadlock; (5) The National Declaration.

On Minute 5 - The National Declaration, it was

RESOLVED: "That this minute be communicated to the National Declaration Committee as a recommendation from the Publicity Advisory Conference."

212. INTERNATIONAL ZONE OF TANGIER. It was reported that, in accordance with the decision contained in minute 174, Sir Walter Nepler's memorandum on the International Zone of Tangier (S.G.6866) had been communicated to the British Chamber of Commerce in Tangier, the British National Committee of the International Chamber of Commerce, and the British Merchants' Morocco Association, and that comments on the memorandum had been received from these bodies. It was therefore

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RESOLVED: "That a sub-Committee be appointed to consider Sir Walter Napier's memorandum together with the comments upon it which have been received; and that Sir Walter Napier, Sir Charles Hobhouse, Miss Ruth Fry, and Sir John Fischer Williams be invited to serve on this Committee."

213. INTERNATIONAL BALL. It was

RESOLVED: "That the question of arranging an International Ball for 1935 be referred to the Appeals Committee for consideration and report."

214. COMMUNICATION FROM THE NATIONAL PEACE COUNCIL. The Secretary reported that, since he had received the communication dated September 5th, from the National Peace Council asking for the Union's co-operation in a programme it was proposed to follow during the coming autumn and winter, he had spoken to Mr. Gerald Bailey who had withdrawn his proposal in its present form. A further communication would be submitted to the Executive after the meeting of the National Peace Council which was taking place that day.

215. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Committee received with interest resolutions from the Rawtenstall Branch and the Welsh National Council Executive Committee.

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MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, S.W.1, ON THURSDAY, OCTOBER 4TH, 1934 AT 11 a.m.

PRESENT: Lord Cecil (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams, Sir Norman Angell, Miss Joyce Ansell, Michael Barkway, F.M.Burris, L.J.Cadbury, Miss K.D.Courtney, Admiral S.R.Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Philippa Fawcett, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, Sir Arthur Haworth, Captain J. de V. Loder, Sir Walter Napier, A. Fugh, Lord Rhayader, H.F.Shaw, H.S.Syrett, Professor C.K.Webster, Major Lawrence Wright and L.M.Wynch, together with the Secretary and Deputy Secretary.

216. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Major Anthony Buxton, Lord Cranborne, Lord Davies, H.H.Elvin, Miss Megan Lloyd George, Captain L.H.Green, Commander N.Lewis, Professor Gilbert Murray, Sir John Power, Mrs. Wilson-Fox, Professor A.E.Zimmermann and J.C.Smuts.

217. MINUTES. Subject to the following decisions and reports on minutes 203, 205, 207, 208 and 212, the minutes of the Committee dated September 20th, 1934 were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 203 - Russia and the League, it was reported that, in addition to sending an official message on behalf of the Committee to H.M.Government, the Chairmen had written privately to M. Avenol. He had also written privately to Mr. H.B.Butler concerning the participation of the United States in the International Labour Organisation. A reply from Mr. Butler was read to the Committee.

On Minute 205 - Fifteenth Assembly, Lady Gladstone reported that invitations to attend a luncheon had been sent to Sir John Simon and Mr. Eden, but that definite replies had not yet been received from them. It was suggested that, in the event of the Ministers being unable to accept the invitation, they should be requested to receive a deputation from the Executive on the subject of the Fifteenth Assembly. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That no further action be taken pending a reply from Sir John Simon and Mr. Eden to the luncheon invitation."

On Minute 207 - Security and Disarmament, it was

RESOLVED: "That consideration of this minute be adjourned until Professor Murray's return."

P.T.O.

On Minute 208 - Communication from Mr. Walter Citrine, the Secretary reported that he and Mr. Pugh would meet on Friday, October 5th, and discuss the question of members of the staff joining Trade Unions.

On Minute 212 - International Zone of Tangier, Sir Walter Napier reported that the sub-committee would not be meeting in the immediate future since, although comments on the memorandum had been received from officials of the three bodies to whom the Executive directed that the memorandum should be sent, he was still awaiting further comments from their Committees. He felt that it would be useful if someone with special knowledge of Tangier could serve on the sub-Committee, and it was

RESOLVED: "That the Chairman of the sub-Committee be given authority to co-opt additional members."

218. LEAGUE OF NATIONS EXPENDITURE. The Committee had before them a memorandum and draft resolution prepared by Mr. Noel Baker concerning the allocation of expenditure among members of the League. In the absence of Mr. Baker it was

RESOLVED: "That consideration of the memorandum and draft resolution be adjourned until the next meeting."

219. POLISH MINORITIES. It was

RESOLVED: "That the Minorities Committee be asked to meet as soon as possible and to consider and report upon the consequences of Colonel Beck's statement to the League's Assembly that

'Pending the bringing into force of a general and uniform system for the protection of minorities, my Polish Government finds itself compelled to refuse, as from to-day, all co-operation with the international organisations in the matter of the supervision over the application by Poland of the system of minority protection.'

220. U.S.A. ARMS INQUIRY. The Secretary reported that in accordance with the decision taken at the last meeting of the Committee a pamphlet dealing with the first session of the U.S.A. Arms Inquiry was now in course of preparation and would be available in about a week's time. A further pamphlet would be issued after the conclusion of the next session of the Inquiry in November.

Sir Norman Angell stated that it might be possible for him to obtain a complete transcript of all the documents produced at the U.S.A. Arms Inquiry dealing with British firms. After it had been suggested that the publication of the first of the Union's pamphlets should be deferred until this material became available, it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That consideration of this suggestion be referred to the Editorial Committee."

Lord Cecil drew the attention of the Committee to a striking paragraph in the current number of the NEWS LETTER, urging that for the future private profit should be taken out of armament manufacture, and expressing the hope that the matter would be actively pursued (if necessary by an inquiry) in this country.

Mrs. Dugdale drew the attention of the Committee to a statement in the current issue of the TIMES that opinion in America was tending to favour an international conference. Reference was made to question 4 of the National Declaration which includes the words 'international agreement' which suggests that private profit from armaments should be prohibited by international agreement.

The Committee then considered a memorandum dealing with the Tribunals of Inquiry (Evidence) Act of 1921 (S.G.7019). Lord Cecil was of the opinion that further inquiry of a legal character was desirable before the Executive put forward any definite proposal for the utilisation of the Act of 1921, and it was

RESOLVED: (2) "That the International Law Committee be requested to investigate the legal aspect of the Tribunals of Inquiry (Evidence) Act of 1921 and to report to the Executive, if possible at their next meeting."

Miss Courtney referred to the statement by Mr. Norman Davis on May 29th, 1934, that the United States Government was willing to go further and work out by international agreement an effective system for the regulation of the manufacture of and traffic in arms and munitions of war, and proposed that copies of the Draft Articles subsequently prepared by a Committee of the Disarmament Conference be circulated for the information of the Committee. It was

RESOLVED: (3) "That members of the Committee be supplied with copies of the Draft Articles on the Manufacture of and International trade in arms, adopted on July 2nd, 1934 by the Committee for the Regulation of the Trade in, and Private and State Manufacture

of, Arms and Implements of War, submitted to the General Commission of the Disarmament Conference for inclusion in a Disarmament Convention."

221. NATIONAL DECLARATION AND THE UNION. The Committee considered the following resolution proposed by Lord Cecil:-

"The success of the National Peace Ballot is a matter of the first importance for all the causes which the League of Nations Union exists to promote; and all the departments of the Union, including the Appeals section, should regard the promotion of its success as the most urgent of their present duties."

Lord Cecil reminded the Committee of the circumstances in which the proposal for a National Declaration had been approved first by the Executive and afterwards by the General Council. In order that it might be brought to a successful conclusion it was necessary that the work should be undertaken with absolutely whole-hearted endeavour. Speaking generally, the staff of the Union had entirely accepted that view and had worked with great devotion and ability for the success of the undertaking. But at the same time some sections of the Union's staff had felt that they must not allow their duties to the Union to be interfered with even by the Declaration, and therefore they had been reluctant to throw their whole weight into support of the Declaration. Lord Cecil felt it would be of great assistance to such members of the staff if the Executive would pass the resolution he proposed. If poor results were obtained from the Declaration it would undoubtedly do more harm than good to the cause of peace and to the Union itself.

Lord Rhayader stated that the Finance Committee had met on the previous day for the purpose of considering the possible effects of the National Declaration upon the finances of the Union, and they had taken the opportunity to discuss the resolution of which Lord Cecil had given notice to the Executive. He reminded the Committee that the Finance Committee had, in a week's time, to frame a budget of 237,000 for the Union in 1935. A large part of that sum was obtained by the activities of the Appeals section, and if Colonel Fisher and his staff were to be taken off their regular work in order to raise a special fund for the National Declaration, the consequences to the Union would be very serious. Moreover, Colonel Fisher was already committed to visit districts all over the country for the purpose of collecting funds partly for the local organisations of the Union and partly for the head office. Lord Rhayader then read to the Committee the following resolutions which had been unanimously adopted by the Finance Committee on the previous day:-

- (1) "The Finance Committee invites the attention of the Executive to the following facts:-
- (a) That the Executive decided on May 17th:
- 'That the League of Nations Union be not committed to any expenditure in connection with the scheme without the sanction of the Finance Committee';
- (b) That Lord Queenborough informed the General Council of this decision before the Council approved the 'Plan for a National Declaration on the League of Nations and Armaments';
- (c) That on May 31st the Executive Committee resolved on the recommendation of the Finance Committee:-
- (1) That a sum not exceeding £100 be advanced on loan to the Organising Committee of the National Declaration, this sum to be repaid out of the first monies received from the appeal to be made by that Committee.
- (2) That in any plans or appeals for raising money for the National Declaration, care should be taken to avoid interfering with the normal sources of income of the Union; and for this purpose Colonel Fisher and the Secretary of the Union should be consulted before any such appeal is issued;
- (d) That the Secretary of the Union has been informed by the Acting Secretary of the National Declaration Organising Committee that his Committee has incurred liabilities which exceed the receipts of his Committee by more than £3,000; and
- (e) That the Finance Committee has not sanctioned any contribution by the Union to the sums spent or owed by the National Declaration Committee."
- (2) "That, in order to enable the Union to carry on the work upon which it is engaged and much of which is directed to promoting the success of the National Declaration, the services of the Union's Appeals officers, whose business it is to collect part of the Union's revenue, must not be diverted from that object; nor must the

collection of the Union's membership subscriptions (which represent the greater part of the Union's income) be interrupted."

- (3) "That Lord Queenborough be asked to write at once to Lord Cecil enclosing a copy of the above resolutions and expressing their earnest hope that in the circumstances he would not move his resolution at to-morrow's meeting of the Executive."

Mr. Syrett spoke in support of the Finance Committee's recommendations. He suggested that consideration of Lord Cecil's motion should be adjourned until the next meeting of the Executive, and that in the meantime Lord Cecil should discuss the whole situation with the Finance Committee at their meeting on Tuesday, October 9th.

After considerable discussion, in the course of which Sir Arthur Haworth assured Lord Cecil that the Finance Committee were determined to work with him in bringing the Declaration to a successful conclusion, it was unanimously

- RESOLVED: (1) "That the success of the National Peace Bellot is a matter of the first importance for all the causes which the League of Nations Union exists to promote; and all the departments of the Union should regard the promotion of its success as the most urgent of their present duties; and that Lord Cecil be asked to confer with the Finance Committee as to how this principle can be best carried into effect with due regard to the general financial interests of the Union."
- (2) "That consideration of the minutes of the Finance Committee dated October 3rd be adjourned until after Lord Cecil has met the Finance Committee."

222. NATIONAL DECLARATION AND THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY. Lord Cecil read to the Committee a letter, dated September 30th, from Colonel Herbert stating that, although there was no resolution regarding the National Declaration at the Conference of Conservative Associations, the question would come before the Executive Committee at their meeting at Bristol. He did not know what line the Committee would take now, but in any case Conservatives were already left with a free hand to do what they thought best.

223. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

- (a) Youth Committee. (Miss Ansell reported.) Subject to the approval of the Editorial Committee on minute 73, the minutes of the Committee dated September 22nd, 1934 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (73) Report of the Youth Editorial Sub-Committee; (74) Report on Progress; (75) Youth Visits to Geneva; (76) Co-ordination between the Parent Branch and the Youth Group; (77) Relations with the International Friendship League.

- (b) Religions and Ethics Committee. (Mr. Wynch reported.) The minutes of the Committee dated September 27th, 1934 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (20) Resolution for General Council; (21) Series of Lectures, 1934-5; (22) Corporate Members.

224. AUSTRIA. Lord Cecil drew attention to the present situation in Austria which he regarded as very disquieting. He referred to a letter which he had received from Captain Eden stating that H.M. Government would not go any further than they had done unless the matter was definitely and decisively left in the hands of the League. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That a small sub-Committee be appointed to investigate and report on the Austrian situation; that Professor Gooch be invited to serve on this Committee; and that it be left to the Chairman to nominate the other members."

- (2) "That a paragraph be included in SPEAKERS NOTES drawing attention to the fact that Article 10 still covers the responsibilities of Great Britain to Austria."

225. RESOLUTIONS FOR GENERAL COUNCIL. It was

RESOLVED: "That consideration of the two resolutions submitted by the Industrial Advisory Committee for the December meeting of the General Council be adjourned until the next meeting; and that in the meantime the observations of the Education Committee be invited on resolution (2)."

226. REPORT ON AUTUMN MEETINGS OF INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION. It was

RESOLVED: "That consideration of the report on the Autumn meetings of the International Federation (S.G. 7022) be adjourned until the next meeting."

227. COMMUNICATION FROM THE NATIONAL PEACE COUNCIL. The Secretary reported that the National Peace Council were proposing to hold a public meeting in the Queen's Hall or Central Hall to oppose the private manufacture of arms. Professor Murray had been consulted and was ready to

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recommend to the Executive that the Union should co-operate in a joint meeting with the National Peace Council, provided a resolution could be agreed upon between the two bodies; but Mr. Gerald Bailey had stated that he had not yet thought of having a resolution or of exactly what policy should be advocated. Subsequently Mr. Bailey had enquired whether, if the National Peace Council conducted the meeting under its own auspices alone, the London Regional Federation of the Union and its constituent Branches would co-operate. It was

RESOLVED: "That the Union be not formally associated with the National Peace Council in the organisation of the proposed public meeting, but that the London Regional Federation and its Branches be encouraged to support the National Peace Council in any meeting they may arrange for the purpose of advocating the prohibition by international agreement of the manufacture and sale of arms for private profit."

228. ROTARY JOINT COMMITTEE. It was reported that a Joint Meeting of R.I.B.I. and the Union would be held on Tuesday, October 23rd, and it was

RESOLVED: "That Admiral Drury-Lowe, Mr. Burris and Captain Green be invited to represent the Union at the joint meeting with Rotary International."

CONFIDENTIAL.B C.13
22.10.34.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, S.W.1, ON THURSDAY, OCTOBER 18TH, 1934 AT 11 a.m.

PRESENT: Professor Gilbert Murray (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams, Miss Joyce Ansell, P.J. Noel Baker, F.M. Burris, Major Anthony Buxton, L.J. Cadbury, Lord Cecil, Lord Dickinson, Vice-Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Mrs. E. Dugdale, H.H. Elvin, Miss Philippa Fawcett, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, Dr. C.W. Kimmins, Lady Layton, Commander N. Lewis, Captain J. de V. Loder, Lord Lytton, Sir Walter Napier, Mrs. Wilson-Fox, Major Lawrence Wright and L.M. Wynch, together with the Secretary and Deputy Secretary.

229. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from W. Arnold-Forster, the Dean of Chichester, Miss K.D. Courtney, the Reverend Gwilym Davies, Captain L.H. Green, Lady Henschel, Major J.W. Hills, G. le M. Mander, Sir John Power, Arthur Pugh, Mrs. Walter Runciman, H.F. Shaw, J.C. Smuts, H.S. Syrett and Professor Zimmern.
230. MINUTES. Subject to the following decisions and reports on minutes 217(205), 217(212) and 228, the minutes of the Committee dated October 4th, 1934 were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 217(205) - Fifteenth Assembly. Lady Gladstone reported that Sir John Simon and Mr. Eden, although they were much gratified by the Committee's invitation to attend a luncheon for the members of the British delegation to the Fifteenth Assembly, did not feel it expedient to create a precedent by accepting this invitation.

On Minute 217(212) - International Zone of Tangier, it was, on the motion of Sir Walter Napier,

RESOLVED: "That the words 'Executive Committee' be substituted for the words 'sub-committee' in the resolution."

On Minute 228 - Rotary Joint Committee, it was reported that Mr. Burris was unable to attend the Joint Meeting of R.I.B.I. and the Union on Tuesday, October 23rd; and it was agreed that the Union's representatives at the meeting should be Admiral Drury-Lowe, Captain Green and Mr. Vyvyan Adams.

P.T.O.

231. LORD CECIL'S SEVENTIETH BIRTHDAY. It was unanimously

RESOLVED: "That the hearty congratulations and best wishes of the Committee be conveyed to Lord Cecil who recently celebrated his seventieth birthday."

232. THE MURDERS AT MARSEILLES. The Secretary reported that a telegram of sympathy had been sent from the Union to the Jugo-Slav Society and to the French Society.

233. THE SAAR. The Chairman referred to an article by Mr. Wickham Steed in the CHRISTIAN WORLD pointing to the gradual formation of a German-Polish-Hungarian bloc, and stating that, if any crisis arose in the Saar, the situation would be exceedingly dangerous. If there were any danger of the Germans not getting an easy majority, there would almost certainly be an invasion of the Saar. In these circumstances Mr. Wickham Steed stressed the importance of obtaining from Great Britain and the Dominions a statement to the effect that they would act according to the Covenant.

Mr. Noel Baker referred to the proposal for the recruitment of an international force made by the Chairman of the Saar Governing Commission and subsequently approved by the Council. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the Foreign Office and the League Secretariat be asked for information concerning the recruitment of the International Police Force for the Saar, and that further consideration be given to this matter at the next meeting."

234. RESOLUTIONS FOR GENERAL COUNCIL FROM INDUSTRIAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE. The Committee considered two draft resolutions (S.G.7011) prepared by the Industrial Advisory Committee for submission to the December meeting of the General Council. It was reported that the second resolution had, in accordance with minute 225 of the last meeting, been referred to the Education Committee, but that Committee had regarded the matter of the resolution as outside their terms of reference. After considerable discussion, in the course of which various amendments to the draft resolutions were suggested, it was

RESOLVED: "That the substance of the first draft resolution be approved; and that the Industrial Advisory Committee be asked to decide the final wording of this resolution in the light of the Executive's

discussion on this subject and to revise the second resolution so as to limit it to a request that the lowest age of admission of children into paid employment should be reconsidered by the International Labour Organisation; and that the draft resolutions thus revised be printed on the General Council's Preliminary Agenda."

235. ARMS INQUIRY: TRIBUNALS OF INQUIRY (EVIDENCE) ACT.

The Secretary reported that he had consulted Professor Brierly (Chairman of the International Law Committee) and Sir John Fischer Williams, in accordance with the request contained in minute 220 of the last meeting. They had both replied that, in their opinion, this was not a matter for the international lawyers but rather for legal advice from people concerned with the municipal law of this country. In these circumstances the Secretary had consulted the Union's Honorary Solicitors and Mr. H.S. Syrett on the question whether, and if so how, the Tribunals of Inquiry (Evidence) Act might be employed to elicit information concerning the desirability or otherwise of prohibiting the manufacture and sale of armaments for private profit.

Mr. Tildesley of Messrs. Claremont, Haynes and Co., had replied that "Before the Act can be brought into force there must be (a) a resolution by both Houses of Parliament that a Tribunal be established; (b) there must be some definite matter to be enquired into; and (c) such matter must be described in the resolution as being of urgent and public importance".

Mr. Syrett had stated "I think it would be right to say if it were possible to obtain an Inquiry into the Arms Traffic under the Statute in question, there would be nothing to prevent the whole system being investigated without any limitation.... It would, of course, depend no doubt upon the exact nature of the investigations ordered by the Government, and no doubt the authorities would endeavour to prevent any general inquiry of the nature which we want".

Lord Cecil stated that, from the evidence at the U.S.A. Arms Inquiry which he had read, he felt it would be difficult to formulate a very definite charge against particular individuals, and, unless this could be done, he doubted whether an inquiry would be of any use.

In reply to a question from Mr. Baker, the Secretary stated that he had arranged with Sir Norman Angell for a first instalment of copies of documents

relating to British firms which had been produced as evidence at the first session of the American Arms Inquiry to be supplied to the Union at a cost of £6. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That further consideration of this question be adjourned pending the receipt of the documentary evidence from America."

236. SECURITY AND DISARMAMENT.

(a) Minute 207 of September 20th. The Chairmen reported that, in accordance with minute 207 of September 20th, he had written a personal letter to the Editor of the TIMES, that he had also written to Dame Edith Lyttelton, and that he had arranged to see Lord Halifax on the subject. The Chairman suggested that it would be a good thing if a small group of educators were appointed to visit the countries where education in League matters is good (such as Great Britain, France and some Scandinavian countries) and thereafter to be ready to visit the educational authorities in any country which chose to invite them for the purpose of giving advice on the subject of League teaching.

(b) Resolution from the London Regional Federation. The Committee considered the following resolution adopted by the Executive Committee of the L.R.F. on September 25th, 1934:-

In view of the British proposal that plans should be worked out for the abolition of military and naval air weapons and the control of civil aviation - and in view of the fact that the delegations of the U.S.A., France, Japan and U.S.S.R. were in favour of holding a Conference in 1935 for the purpose of discussing and if possible of finally ratifying the total abolition of military and naval air weapons, the Executive Committee of the L.N.U. is urged to conduct a vigorous campaign in support of total disarmament in the air.

After the Committee had been reminded that this subject was fully discussed in Chapter 3 of the Workers' Guide prepared for use in the National Declaration, it was

RESOLVED: "That no further action be taken."

(c) Disarmament Conference. Lord Cecil urged that the Union should make a great effort to try and persuade the Government that it would be regarded

with profound disfavour by this country if they did not insist on the Disarmament Conference continuing its work. He suggested that, as a first step, the Committee should ascertain from Mr. Henderson what the present situation was, and if and when he contemplated calling a meeting of the Bureau. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the Chairman, Mr. Noel Baker and Lord Cecil be asked to see Mr. Henderson and to report to the next meeting of the Committee."

237. LEAGUE OF NATIONS EXPENDITURE. The Committee considered a memorandum and draft resolution (S.G.7016) prepared by Mr. Noel Baker concerning the proposal made by Sir Ernest Bennett to the Fifteenth Assembly for an alteration of the method of allocating the expenditure of the League. After considerable discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union, while recognising the excellent work done by the British delegation in connection with the finance of the League of Nations, doubts the advisability of the proposal made by that delegation for a change in the allocation of expenditure among Members of the League, and suggests that the plan approved by Lord Balfour's delegation in 1921 is founded on sound principles and should be adhered to."

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

238. CO-OPTATIONS. Lady Gladstone reported on the meeting of the Co-optations sub-Committee held earlier in the morning, and it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That Lord Allen of Hurtwood be invited to join the Executive Committee."

(2) "That Lord Lytton be asked to ascertain from Colonel Balfour of Balbirnie whether he would be willing to accept an invitation to serve on the Committee."

(3) "That the Co-optations Committee be asked to meet again in the near future and to consider the names of Colonel Blacker and Air Commander Fellowes."

239. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

- (a) Finance. (Major Lawrence Wright reported.) Subject to the following decision on minute 64, the minutes of the Committee dated 3rd October, 1934 were received, and the minutes dated 9th October, 1934 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (60) National Declaration; (62) National Declaration; (63) Financial Statement; (64) Budget for 1935; (65) Worcestershire; (66) Warwickshire and Birmingham Federal Council; (67) Nobel Prize; (68) Passing of Cheques for Payment.

On Minute 64 - Budget for 1935, it was

RESOLVED: "That in submitting future Budgets, the estimates for the current year and the actual expenditure for the previous year be included for the purpose of comparison."

- (b) Editorial Committee. The minutes of the Committee dated October 4th, 1934 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (60) Posters Advertising Headway; (61) Youth Faces the New World; (62) Proposed Leaflets; (63) Youth Bulletin; (64) Proposed History of the Union; (65) Proposed Pamphlet; (66) Posters; (67) Pamphlet on the Fifteenth Assembly; (68) Proposed Reprinting of Two Articles by Sir Norman Angell; (69) Proposed Enlargement of Headway.

- (c) Economic Committee. The minutes of the Committee dated October 5th, 1934 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (13) Draft Report for submission to the General Council of the Union.

- (d) Library Committee. (Dr. Kimmins reported.) Subject to the following decision on minute 31, the minutes of the Committee dated October 8th, 1934 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (30) Purchase of Book Trolley; (31) Book List; (32) Notice of Library in Branch Letter; (33) Mrs. Claremont.

On Minute 31 - Book List, it was, on the motion of Sir Walter Napier

RESOLVED: "That the Library Committee be asked to consider the question of purchasing a copy of Mr. O'Sullivan Molony's NATIONALITY."

- (e) Education Committee. (Dr. Kimmins reported.) Subject to the following report and decision on minutes 118 and 123, the minutes of the Committee dated October 8th, 1934 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (111) Statement by Chairman; (112) Meetings for Teachers and Schools; (113) Report on work in Universities and Colleges; (114) Deputation to the President of the Board of Education and the Secretary of State for Scotland; (115) Report of the Youth Committee; (116) International Federation; (117) Books for Children and Teachers; (118) Message to the Schools for Armistice Day; (119) Observance of Empire Day; (120) Summer Schools and Camps; (121) December Meeting of General Council; (122) Draft Resolution of the Industrial Advisory Committee; (123) Junior Branches; (124) Junior Sections; (125) Educational Corporate Members.

On Minute 118 - Message to the Schools for Armistice Day. It was reported that the Lord Chancellor had consented to write this year's Message.

On Minute 123 - Junior Branches, it was

RESOLVED: "That this minute be approved and adopted subject to the inclusion of High School, Macclesfield, in the list of Junior Branches."

- (f) Iraq Committee. (Professor Murray reported.) The minutes of the Committee dated October 9th, 1934, were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (15) Proposed Assyrian Settlement in British Guiana; (16) General Considerations; (17) Health; (18) Finance; (19) Communication to the Foreign Office; (20) Communication to the Press; (21) French Proposal to Settle some Assyrians in the bend of the Niger.

- (g) Office Committee. The minutes of the Office Committee dated October 9th, 1934 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (36) South Western, Southern and South Eastern Regions; (37) Mr. Joyce; (38) Dame Adelaide Livingstone; (39) Hours of Attendance at the Office; (40) Secretary for General Editor; (41) Miss Whittell; (42) Mr. Whalen.

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240. NATIONAL DECLARATION: STATEMENT BY THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK. On the motion of Sir Walter Napier it was

RESOLVED: "That the Declaration Organising Committee be asked to consider the possibility of printing as a leaflet the statement by the Archbishop of York in connection with the National Declaration."

241. BRANCH RESOLUTION. The Committee received with interest resolutions from the Edgware and District Branch and the Birmingham Youth Groups District Committee.

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MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD
AT 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, S.W.1., ON THURSDAY,
NOVEMBER 1ST, 1934, AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Professor Gilbert Murray (in the Chair),
Vyvyan Adams, Lord Allen, Miss Ansell,
W. Arnold-Forster, P.J. Noel Baker,
Michael Barkway, Major Anthony Buxton,
L.J. Cadbury, Lord Cecil, Sir Austen
Chamberlain, Miss K.D. Courtaey, Lord
Dickinson, Vice-Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe,
Mrs. E. Dugdale, H.H. Elvin, Miss Philippa
Fawcett, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris,
Sir Arthur Haworth, Lady Henschel, Dr.
C.W. Kimmins, Lady Layton, Commander Norman
Lewis, Captain J. de V. Loder, Lord Lytton,
G. le M. Mander, Sir Walter Napier,
Professor C.K. Webster, Mrs. Wilson-Fox,
Major Lawrence Wright, L.M. Wynch,
Professor A.E. Zimmern.

242. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from F.M. Burris,
the Dean of Chichester, the Reverend Gwilym Davies,
Lady Gladstone, Captain L.H. Green, Sir John Power,
Arthur Pugh, Mrs. Walter Runciman and E.S. Syrett.
243. WELCOME. The Chairman welcomed Sir Austen Chamberlain
who had resumed his membership of the Executive and
Lord Allen of Hurtwood who was attending for the first
time.
244. MINUTES. Subject to the following report on minutes
233 and 238, the minutes of the Committee dated
October 18th were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 233 - the Saar, the Secretary reported
that official information had not yet been received
in response to the enquiries he had addressed to
the Foreign Office and the League Secretariat con-
cerning the recruitment of the international police
force. Mr. Mander stated that Mr. Knox with whom
he had discussed the question, had said that the
figure of two thousand for the international police
which had been published in the press was never
authorised. He had not asked for any particular
number, but rather deprecated the figure of two
thousand. Mr. Knox had been obstructed a good deal
in his endeavours to get a police force; but he
would have from two to three hundred men who would
be kept in national units in special places; and,
although he did not anticipate that there would be
any trouble, if any serious disturbance did occur
he had arranged that these police should be rushed
to the spot.

On Minute 238 - Co-optations, Lord Lytton reported
that he had not yet had an opportunity of ascertaining
whether Colonel Balfour of Balbirnie would be willing

to join the Executive Committee. Mrs. Dugdale stated that since Colonel Balfour had recently returned to Active Service it was most unlikely that he would be able to serve on the Committee.

245. REPORT OF AVIATION SUB-COMMITTEE. The Committee considered the Report of the Aviation sub-Committee (printed as Appendix A to the Preliminary Agenda for the December meeting of the General Council). This report had been prepared for presentation to the General Council in December in accordance with the request made by the Council at its meeting in Bournemouth in June.

Lord Cecil, in presenting the Report, said it had been accepted as a reasonable compromise by all the members of the sub-Committee after very earnest consideration.

Sir Austen Chamberlain spoke at length against the Report. He expressed the opinion that the successful development of the League depended infinitely more on its power of conciliation and persuasion than on its power to direct the application of sanctions. He could not bring himself to believe that the nations of the world were going to put their forces at the disposal of the Council without any control themselves of the use that was made of them. The idea that the Council should intervene as an active belligerent or should be a potential belligerent in every war which took place would be destructive of the League itself. He believed that the greatest difficulty in the application of sanctions was the universality of the clauses which related to it. You would only get security when you had regional agreements where it was obvious that the people who promised to provide the sanctions had a direct reason for doing so. He thought that if any British Government undertook to apply sanctions universally at the bidding of the Council it would be making a pledge on behalf of the country which when the time came it would not be able to fulfil.

Sir Austen further asked how the Council was to decide in each particular case whether or not the force was to be applied. If it was to be by unanimity he was confident that it would not give the sense of security which was its sole purpose. A single member of the Council could prevent its being used. And if it was to be by a simple majority, which to certain parties would give that sense of security, he doubted whether the Council should be trusted with such a tremendous responsibility.

Lord Cecil reminded Sir Austen of the decisions regarding an international air force which had been taken by the General Council at its Bournemouth meeting in June.

Lord Allen said that although there might be great administrative difficulties which had to be faced in the present proposal, the principle of the use of arms under certain conditions in order to maintain the security of the world was inherent in the Covenant from the very first moment of its being. Since the Covenant was first created a new problem of a very acute kind - the problem of the air - had come under discussion. That problem had to be dealt with on its merits even if it did not seem to some members of the Committee as yet related to the general system of security.

Mr. Noel Baker said that the proposal contained in the sub-Committee's Report was in substance almost identical with the scheme which M. Pierre Cot put forward. This scheme was proposed and confirmed by M. Barthou on behalf of the French Government in June of this year who urged that the Disarmament Conference should consider it and if possible adopt it. M. Pierre Cot was quite certain that if such a scheme was accepted in this country there was no possible Government in France who would not immediately accept it and carry it through.

In reply to a question the Secretary stated that, according to the terms of the Union's constitution, the proposals contained in the sub-Committee's Report would not become part of the policy of the Union until they had been adopted by the General Council. Any member of the Executive could, if they so desired, table an amendment to the Executive's resolution for the consideration of the General Council. After further discussion it was, by 23 votes to 8

- RESOLVED: (1) "That the Report of the Aviation sub-Committee be approved and adopted for submission to the December Meeting of the General Council."
- (2) "That Sir Austen Chamberlain and other members of the Committee who voted against the Report be urged to attend the December meeting of the General Council in order to place their views before the Council."

246. PRELIMINARY AGENDA FOR THE DECEMBER MEETING OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL. The Committee considered the Preliminary Agenda for the December Meeting of the General Council. It was

RESOLVED: (1) "That item V be amended to read as follows:-

At 4 p.m. on December 13th Sir William Rothenstein will present to the Union, on behalf of an anonymous donor, a bronze head of Professor Gilbert Murray by Herr Huttenbach."

P.T.O.

(2) Resolution 1. The Basis of International Relations.

"That the words 'superior to all other political loyalties' be deleted from the third paragraph of this resolution."

(3) Resolution 4. Private manufacture of Armaments.

"That the title be amended to read 'Private Manufacture and Sale of Armaments; that the words 'and Executive Committee' be deleted from paragraph (a); and that the following motion be included in the name of the Executive Committee:-

The General Council of the League of Nations Union,

Maintaining its previously expressed opinions concerning the evils attendant upon the manufacture and sale of arms for private profit,

Urges His Majesty's Government as a first step to make known without delay its acceptance of the Draft Articles on the Trade in and Manufacture of Arms drawn up in July, 1934, by the Committee of the Disarmament Conference, and to take the initiative in giving practical effect to the proposals of these Articles."

- (4) "That the Executive Committee does not propose to indicate in the Preliminary Agenda its opinion on any of the motions on the Agenda except those standing in its own name."

247. THE SAAR. Mrs. Dugdale moved the following resolution:

"In view of the fact that a vote in favour of Germany would be a vote, which under existing political conditions in that country, would have consequences not contemplated by the Treaty;

And that a large section of the population would be confronted by a conflict between their principles of religious and political liberty and their patriotic sentiments;

The League of Nations Union Executive Committee urges H.M. Government to propose the following course to the League Council:-

The Council should announce that in the event of a majority for the maintenance of the régime established by the Treaty, the League does not intend to enforce its rights under Article 35a of the Annex to Part III of the Treaty by insisting upon Germany immediately renouncing her sovereignty over the Saar in favour of the League;

In consequence the Saar population should be given an opportunity to express its desires concerning re-union with Germany by a final plebiscite to be taken at a date to be determined.

In the meantime the Council should make clear that it will take all appropriate steps so to adopt the régime of the territory as to establish a greater degree of self-government."

Mrs. Dugdale reminded the Committee that under the terms of the Treaty the population of the Saar were to vote on three alternatives: (a) Maintenance of the régime established by the Treaty; (b) union with France; or (c) union with Germany. But when these alternatives were embodied in the Treaty the question of a return to Germany had a very different application from that which it had to-day. She suggested therefore that the League should now, before the plebiscite was taken, give the people some idea of what it would mean if they were to vote for a continuance of the present régime. She reminded the Committee that a similar proposal had already been put forward by France.

Lord Cecil was afraid that a proposal of this kind would be represented by the Germans as proving that in dealing with Germany the League was not impartial and not fair. If thereafter there was an overwhelming majority for re-union with Germany, the League would be placed in a very awkward position. After considerable discussion it was

- RESOLVED: (1) "That the Executive Committee views the situation in the Saar with great anxiety, and requests the Foreign Office to receive a small deputation from the Committee to discuss the matter."
- (2) "That Major Buxton, Lord Cecil, Mrs. Dugdale, Mr. Mander and Professor Murray be asked to serve on the deputation, and to discuss together, before the deputation takes place, what proposals might be made."

248. BRANCHES COMMITTEE. It was

RESOLVED: "That consideration of the minutes of the Branches Committee dated October 18th, 1934 be adjourned until the next meeting; but
P.T.O.

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that in the meantime the Secretary be authorised to proceed with the preparation of the report asked for in minute 76 (National Pageant or Exhibition)."

249. INDUSTRIAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE. It was

RESOLVED: "That consideration of the minutes of the Committee dated October 19th be adjourned until the next meeting; but that the Chairman be asked to discuss with Lady Hall minute 89 (Conference on Social and Economic Planning) and the action that the Committee might take at its meeting that afternoon concerning the draft programme for the Conference."

250. ADJOURNMENT. It was

RESOLVED: "That the remaining items on the agenda be adjourned until the next meeting of the Executive Committee to be held at 11 a.m. on Thursday, November 8th, 1934."

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MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD
AT 15, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W. 1., ON THURSDAY,
NOVEMBER 8TH, 1934 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Professor Gilbert Murray (in the Chair),
Lord Allen, Sir Norman Angell, Miss Joyce
Ansell, P.J. Noel Baker, Michael Barkway,
F.M. Burris, Major Anthony Buxton, Lord
Cecil, Sir Austen Chamberlain, Mrs. Dugdale,
Lady Hall, Lady Henschel, Captain Loder,
Lord Lytton, G. de M. Mander, Sir Walter
Napier, Lord Eustace Percy, Sir John Power,
Arthur Pugh, Lord Rayader, Mrs. Runciman,
H.S. Syrett, Professor Webster, Mrs. Wilson-
Fox, Major Lawrence Wright, L.M. Wynch.

251. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from W. Arnold-
Forster, L.J. Cadbury, the Dean of Chichester, the
Reverend Gwilym Davies, Vice-Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe,
Captain L.H. Green, Sir John Harris, Sir Arthur Haworth,
and Professor A.E. Zimmern.
252. MINUTES. Subject to the following report and decision
on minute 247, the minutes of the Committee dated
November 1st, 1934 were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 247 - The Saar, the Chairman reported
that the date of the deputation to the Foreign
Office had not yet been fixed.

Major Buxton drew attention to a memorandum
(S.G. 7063) on the Saar Plebiscite which by the
Chairman's direction, had been sent to the members
of the Deputation and had also been privately com-
municated to the Foreign Office, it was

RESOLVED: "That Mr. Seymour of the Foreign Office,
to whom the memorandum on the Saar
Plebiscite had been communicated be in-
formed that this document is merely a
record of certain conversations and must
not be taken to represent the views
of the Executive Committee of the Union."

253. SECURITY AND DISARMAMENT: INTERVIEW WITH MR. ARTHUR
HENDERSON. Lord Cecil reported an interview which he
and the Secretary had had with Mr. Arthur Henderson
and Mr. Agnides on Wednesday, October 31st. Neither
Professor Murray nor Mr. Noel Baker was able to be
present at the interview.

Lord Cecil had asked Mr. Henderson what he wished
the League of Nations Union to do now, and Mr.
Henderson had asked Lord Cecil what suggestions the
Union had to make. Lord Cecil stated that Mr. Norman
Davis, in conversation with him, had made three pro-
posals. The first was that the Disarmament Conference
should be brought to a sudden end, and with that view

P.T.O.

Mr. Devis thought that the British Government was inclined to agree. The second proposal was that some little things should first be done, for example, a Convention might provide for budgetary publicity, for some measure of international control over the manufacture and sale of arms for private profit, and for the setting up of a Permanent Disarmament Commission. The third proposal was that the Conference should go on, but Mr. Devis did not see clearly how this was to be accomplished. Lord Cecil had made a fourth suggestion, viz: that there should be a prolonged adjournment to some definite date, say a year hence. In Lord Cecil's opinion it would be a fatal mistake to allow the Conference to come to an end without every effort having first been made to get each Government to say openly and plainly what it thinks should be done.

Mr. Henderson, in reply, had said that it was necessary to retain the co-operation of the United States if the Conference was to go on; and that therefore it was necessary to decide upon a course of action which would enable Mr. Norman Devis and Mr. Hugh Wilson to obtain the necessary appropriations from Congress. In Mr. Henderson's opinion these considerations ruled out the fourth proposal made by Lord Cecil. Moreover, a long adjournment might diminish public interest in the Conference and allow the whole thing to peter out. On the other hand there was Mr. Litvinoff's proposal for a permanent body representative of the whole collective system which is centred in the League of Nations but is not confined to Members of the League; this was not a bad idea. Mr. Henderson thought that the Bureau might meet in the near future, for example at the time of the forthcoming special Assembly of the League. Mr. Henderson said that the Disarmament Conference would not be able to do much until Germany came back, and the British Government were really trying to facilitate Germany's return to the Conference. If, meanwhile, the Conference went on, it might strengthen the present Drett Report on the Trade in and Manufacture of Armaments. Lord Cecil had asked why it should not also deal with the international control of civil aviation; to which Mr. Henderson replied that the British Government did not wish an enquiry into the possibilities of international control of civil aviation to proceed in Germany's absence. Mr. Henderson had agreed with Lord Cecil's opinion that it was in any case essential to keep the Disarmament Conference in being.

254. THE FAR EAST.

- (a) Federation of British Industries Mission to Manchuria.
The Chairman spoke of the anxiety which had been aroused throughout the country with regard to the trade mission to Japan of the Federation of British Industries.

Lord Lytton stated that, although the F.B.I.'s mission had no official status, it had undoubtedly given

rise to a feeling amongst other countries that Great Britain was trying to promote its own interests in defiance of the international obligations it had undertaken. He felt that when the F.B.I.'s mission returned it would endeavour to secure the approval of H.M. Government of a proposal it may have tentatively made with Japan in the interests of British trade. Lord Lytton urged that the Union should consider whether it could do anything to strengthen the hands of the Government from the point of view of those who felt that the dominant consideration was our international obligations and not the interest of any particular British trade organisation.

The attention of the Committee was drawn to a letter appearing in the TIMES that morning from Mr. H.A. Smith, implying that Great Britain could disregard the report of the League's Assembly to which she had agreed.

Lord Cecil read to the Committee a statement from the Foreign Office which he had received in reply to his question concerning the F.B.I.'S mission in the House of Lords on the previous day.

Mr. Mander reported that, in reply to his question in the House of Commons, the Foreign Secretary had stated that the attitude of H.M. Government towards the question of the recognition of the present regime in Manchuria continued to be governed by the principles embodied in the resolution taken by the Assembly of the League of Nations on February 24th, 1933.

After further discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union takes note of the following statement made by the spokesman of the Foreign Office in reply to Lord Cecil's question in the House of Lords

'The Economic Mission which under the auspices of the Federation of British Industries recently visited Manchuria and Japan was of a purely unofficial and commercial nature and had naturally no mandate to speak for H.M. Government on any question. In this connection I would draw attention to the letter from the Chairman of the Mission published in the MORNING POST on August 24th last, in which he stated that the Mission was not concerned in any way with political questions which were entirely outside its scope. Opportunity has been taken of explaining to the Japanese Government the Mission's non-political and unofficial character.'

The Executive Committee welcomes the Foreign Secretary's statement that the attitude of H.M. Government towards the question of the recognition of the present regime in Manchuria continues to be governed by the principles embodied in the resolution taken by the Assembly of the League of Nations on February 24th, 1933."

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

(b) REPRESENTATION OF CHINA ON THE LEAGUE COUNCIL.

On the motion of Lord Cecil it was

RESOLVED: "That the Chairman be asked to appoint a small sub-Committee, including Sir Austen Chamberlain, Major Buxton, Mr. Noel Baker and Lord Cecil, to consider the question of China's representation on the League Council and to report to an early meeting of the Executive."

255. NATIONAL DECLARATION. The Executive received a progress report on the National Declaration (S.G.7068).

Sir Walter Napier stated that in his constituency the opinion had been expressed that to deliver the National Declaration papers by hand in addressed envelopes was a breach of the Post Office monopoly. He had received a letter from a London solicitor, whose wife was a member of his local Committee, stating that it was illegal for anyone, paid or unpaid, to deliver circulars in unaddressed envelopes if that person was supplied with a list of names and addresses at which the envelopes were to be delivered. Mr. Wynch said that the Frensham division had recently addressed a large number of envelopes for use in the National Declaration and had destroyed them on representations made by the Post Office. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That this question be referred to the National Declaration Committee for consideration and report."

256. ARMS ENQUIRY. The Secretary reported that the Union had now received a copy of the verbatim record (in 700 galley proofs) of the U.S.A. Arms Enquiry. This report was available for any members of the Executive who wished to see it.

In reply to a question the Chairman stated that the Executive had not decided either in favour of or against the suggestion that an Arms Enquiry should be held in this country; but that he thought that if a really effective and thorough-going enquiry could be

initiated it would be worth having. Lord Cecil said that an enquiry under the Tribunals of Enquiry (Evidence) Act was found to be impracticable; an enquiry by a Select Committee would be worse than useless; and for an enquiry by a Royal Commission the terms of reference would have to be very carefully watched.

The Secretary stated that several resolutions on the subject had been submitted for discussion at the December meeting of the General Council, and that the Executive, three weeks hence, would have an opportunity of putting down any amendments they wished to propose.

257.

COMMUNICATION FROM LORD DAVIES. The Chairman reported that some weeks ago the New Commonwealth had requested that the Union should send a circular letter from the New Commonwealth to the Branch Secretaries of the Union, the New Commonwealth defraying the expenses. Professor Murray had considered the circular letter and had decided that if it was to be sent to the Union's Branch Secretaries it ought to be amended in two or three particulars. He had therefore asked the Secretary to discuss these points with Mr. Herbertson, the Secretary of the New Commonwealth. Mr. Herbertson had accepted the alterations suggested by Professor Murray. But Lord Davies had subsequently objected to any alterations being made. In these circumstances the Chairman had declined to accede to the New Commonwealth's request. Lord Davies had thereupon asked that the question should be considered by the Executive Committee. After considerable discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the Chairman's action in declining to accede to the New Commonwealth's request be approved; that the names and addresses of the Union's Branch Secretaries be used only for the purposes of the Union's administration; and that the Chairman be asked to convey to Lord Davies the Committee's regrets that the Executive cannot make any exception to its rule even for the New Commonwealth."

258.

B.B.C.'S BAN ON PROFESSOR HALDANE'S BROADCAST. The Committee had before them the text, as published in the DAILY HERALD of November 3rd, of the talk which Professor Haldane was to have broadcast on November 2nd. The Chairman suggested that it might be worth while making a friendly enquiry of Sir John Reith concerning the reasons for the B.B.C.'s refusal to broadcast the talk.

Sir Austen Chamberlain spoke of the circumstances in which he had received and finally accepted an invitation from the B.B.C. to broadcast a talk in the Causes of War series. He drew, he said, a great distinction between a single statement which ought to be as objective and as impartial as human nature could make it, and a series of addresses in which various points of view were

expressed. In the latter case he felt it was quite wrong to attempt to dictate to a speaker within what limits he might express his views. 141

Mr. Barkway said that he and other officers of the British Broadcasting Corporation regarded it as very unfortunate that Professor Haldane's talk had not been broadcast. He explained that the officer of the B.B.C. who sent the original invitation to Professor Haldane omitted to make it clear that he was required to speak as a biologist. When the manuscript was received by another officer of the B.B.C. it was explained that the idea of the series was to give as many different points of view as possible of the fundamental causes of war as distinguished from the political viewpoints which were continually being put forward, and, since Professor Haldane's talk did not fit in with the scheme, he was asked to re-write it. Professor Haldane, however, declined to do so. Mr. Barkway assured the Committee that there was no question of censorship on the part of the B.B.C.

After further discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That no action be taken."

259. REGIONS COMMITTEE. (Major Wright reported). The minutes of the meeting of the Regions Committee dated October 25th, 1934 were received.

These minutes included (8) Observance of Rule 29; (9) Observance of Standing Orders at General Council Meetings; (10) General Council; (11) Conference of Branch Secretaries and Workers; (12) Appointment of Standing Orders and Drafting Committee; (13) Conference on International Affairs; (14) Character of Attendance at General Council Meetings; (15) Date of General Council Meeting; (16) Enrolment of Foundation Members by County Organisations.

260. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

- (a) Christian Organisations Committee. Subject to the approval of the Finance Committee on minute 71(2), the minutes of the Committee dated October 17th, 1934 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (69) Communication from Lambeth; (70) National Declaration; (71) Campaign in the Churches; (72) The Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Union; (73) Affirmation and the Schools; (74) Suggested amendment to EVERYONE WANTS PEACE; (75) League of Nations Service at Fulham; (76) New Member of Committee; (77) Resolutions; (78) Corporate Membership; (79) Armistice literature.

- (b) Industrial Advisory Committee. (Lady Hall reported). Subject to the following report and decision on minute 89, the minutes of the Committee dated October 19th, 1934 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (81) Mr. Walkden's Bereavement; (82) Mr. Foulton; (83) "World Labour Problems, 1934"; (84) Membership of the Committee; (85) Conferences on the I.L.O.; (86) General Council of League of Nations Union; December Meeting; (87) I.L.O. Press publicity; (88) Trades Union Congress, Weymouth; (89) Conference on "Social and Economic Planning"; (90) U.S.A. and the I.L.O.; (91) Speakers' Notes; (92) International Federation of League of Nations Societies; (93) Mr. Gillinder's Report; (94) Industrial Affiliations; (95) Contract Labour; (96) Interview with Mr. H.B. Butler

On minute 89 - Conference on Social and Economic Planning, Lady Hall read to the Committee the revised draft programme for the Conference, and it was

RESOLVED: "That the revised draft programme be approved."

- (c) Branches Committee. (Major Wright reported). Subject to the following report and decision on minutes 67, 71 and 76, the minutes of the Committee dated October 18th, 1934 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (60) Membership for Commercial Firms; (61) Reporter; (62) Policy Questions; (63) Attendance of Representatives of the Executive at Meetings of the Regions and Committee; (64) Branches, Junior Branches and Junior Sections; (65) Corporate Members and Corporate Associates; (66) Membership; (67) Character of Attendance at General Council Meetings; (68) Conference of Branch Secretaries and Workers; (69) Dates of Council Meetings; (70) Enrolment of Foundation Members by County Secretaries; (71) International Friendship League; (72) Lord Mayor's Show; (73) Youth Committee (74) Schoolboys' Own Exhibition; (75) Ideal Home exhibition; (76) National Pageant or Exhibition; (77) Three-Counties "Scheme"

On Minute 67 - Character of Attendance at General Council Meetings, it was reported that, instead of appointing a new sub-Committee to consider this question (in accordance with minute 164(2) of July 5th, 1934) the Chairman had referred the matter to the Branches Committee.

On Minute 71 - International Friendship League, it was reported that as a result of the discussion referred to in this minute, the Executive Committee of the Sussex Federal Council had, subject to

ratification by Head Office, given its approval to members of the Brighton Branch of the International Friendship League constituting themselves a Branch of the Union in Sussex. It was

RESOLVED: "That the action of the Sussex Executive be approved."

On Minute 76 - National Pageant or Exhibition, the Secretary reminded the Committee of the Cambridge Anti-War Exhibition which had been displayed at 15, Grosvenor Crescent on the occasion of the previous meeting of the Executive.

- (d) Overseas Committee. (Mrs. Dugdale reported). Subject to the following decision on minute 26, the minutes of the Committee dated October 24th, 1934 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (26) Autumn Meetings of the International Federation; (27) Composition of the Committee; (28) Overseas Report;

On Minute 26 - Autumn Meetings of the International Federation, it was

RESOLVED: "That consideration of section (3) of this minute be adjourned."

- (e) Youth Committee. (Miss Ansell reported). The minutes of the Committee dated October 20th, 1934, were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (80) Miss Corcoran; (81) Mr. Joyce; (82) Report on Progress; (83) Third National Conference of Youth Group Delegates; (84) National Constitution for Youth Groups; (85) Relations with the International Friendship League; (86) International Songbook;

- (f) Minorities Committee. (Sir Walter Napier reported). Subject to the following decisions on minutes 9, 11 and 14, the minutes of the Committee dated November 1st, 1934, were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (9) New Books on Minorities; (11) The Polish Declaration and the Minorities Situation; (12) Meetings of the Federation; (13) Denationalisation; (14) Resolution for the General Council;

On Minute 9 - New Books on Minorities, on the motion of Sir Walter Napier it was

RESOLVED: "That the Education Committee be asked to consider the question of recommending Universities to introduce courses in Minorities for higher degrees, and to

use as text books NATIONAL STATES AND NATIONAL MINORITIES by C.A. Macartney and NATIONALITY AND THE PEACE TREATIES by W. O'S. Molony."

On Minute 11 -- the Polish Declaration and the Minorities Situation, it was

RESOLVED: "That the Minorities Committee be informed that since the Executive is already in communication with H.M. Government regarding a deputation on the subject of the Saar, it does not feel able to ask H.M. Government to receive a further deputation from the Union on the Polish Declaration and the Minorities Situation; but that members of the Minorities Committee remain free to discuss the situation with members of the Foreign Office in their individual capacity if they so desire."

On Minute 14 -- Resolution for the General Council, it was

RESOLVED: "That consideration of this minute be adjourned until the Final Agenda for the December Meeting of the General Council is before the Executive."

261. COMMUNICATION FROM THE LANCING BRANCH. A letter, dated October 21st, from the Secretary of the Lancing Branch was read to the Committee, criticising the Executive's attitude towards the Incitement to Disaffection Bill. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the Chairman be asked to reply to the Secretary of the Lancing Branch."

262. REPORT ON EYE-ELECTIONS. The Committee received a report on recent Eye-Elections at North Lambeth and Swindon.

263. RESOLUTIONS. The Committee received with interest resolutions from the Montague Burton, Tunbridge Wells, Castleford and Dursley Branches of the Union, as well as from the National Council of Women.

CONFIDENTIAL.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

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19.11.34.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
HELD AT 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W. 1.,
ON THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 15TH, 1934 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Professor Gilbert Murray (in the Chair),
Vyvyan Adams, Lord Allen, Miss Joyce Ansell,
P.J. Noel Baker, Michael Burkway, Major
Anthony Buxton, L.J. Cadbury, Lord Cecil,
Sir Austen Chamberlain, the Dean of Chichester,
Miss K.D. Courtney, Lord Dickinson, Vice-
Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dagdale,
H.H. Elvin, Miss Philippa Fawcett, Miss
Megan Lloyd George, Lady Gladstone,
Captain L.H. Green, Lady Hall, Sir Arthur
Haworth, Lady Henschel, Major Hills, Lady
Layton, Commander Norman Lewis, Captain
J. de V. Loder, Lord Lytton, G. le M. Mander,
Sir Walter Napier, Lord Eustace Percy,
Sir John Power, Lord Rhayader, Councillor
H.F. Shaw, H.S. Syrett, Professor Webster,
Mrs. Wilson-Fox, Major Lawrence Wright,
L.M. Wynch, Professor A.E. Zimmern.

264. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Sir Norman
Angell, F.M. Burris, Dr. Kimmins, Arthur Pugh and
Mrs. Walter Runciman.
265. MINUTES. The minutes of the Committee dated November
8th, 1934 were confirmed as circulated.
266. NATIONAL DECLARATION. After a long but entirely
friendly discussion it was not found possible to
reach unanimity with regard to the National Declaration,
as five members of the Committee still maintained their
objections to it. It was
- RESOLVED: (1) That the Executive Committee of the
League of Nations Union continues its
full support of the National Declaration
and expresses its unabated confidence
in its representatives on the National
Declaration Committee.
- (2) That the above resolution, together
with a statement to be prepared by the
Chairman, be communicated to the press
immediately.
- (3) That members of the Executive refrain
from making communications to the press
concerning the proceedings at the
Committee's meeting.

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Further to correct possible misunderstandings, Sir Austen Chamberlain wrote to the Chairman as follows:

"You tell me that you and some of our friends think that my letter to THE TIMES conveyed a charge of personal dishonour and bad faith against Lord Cecil and those of our colleagues on the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union who are also members of the Declaration Committee.

It never entered my head that my words would be so interpreted and I am sorry that they should have been thought capable of bearing such a meaning. I have often differed from Lord Cecil, but I have never doubted his good faith or his passionate desire to serve the cause of peace. My letter dealt with results, not motives."

267. INTERNATIONAL BALL. The Committee considered the following resolution adopted by the Appeals Committee at its meeting on November 13th, 1934:

"That an international Ball be held in May, 1935, and that Lady Gladstone be asked to join the Appeals Committee, and to be the Union's representative on the Ball Committee."

It was

RESOLVED: "That the resolution of the Appeals Committee be approved and adopted; and that it be left to the Appeals Committee to make the arrangements for the International Ball in 1935."

Executive should consider what was the best form in which such an assurance could be given. Sir Austen Chamberlain expressed the opinion that, before the Executive could effectively discuss this proposal, a memorandum should be prepared and circulated for their consideration, and it was

RESOLVED: "That Mr. Arnold Forster be asked to prepare a memorandum for the consideration of the Executive; and that the memorandum be submitted to Sir Austen Chamberlain for his comments before being circulated to the other members of the Executive".

72. THE FAR EAST: REPRESENTATION OF CHINA ON THE LEAGUE COUNCIL. The Chairman reported that a meeting of the sub-Committee to consider the representation of China on the League Council had been summoned for 12 noon on Tuesday, November 27th.

73. THE CHACO DISPUTE. The Committee considered the situation in regard to the Bolivia-Paraguay dispute, and after discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union thanks Mr. Eden for his continued efforts to make the arms embargo on Bolivia and Paraguay effective, and for his insistence that the first duty of the League is to stop the fighting".

(2) "That the above resolution be communicated to Mr. Eden and to the press".

The Chairman stated that since the Union worked a good deal in conjunction with Rotary, the Committee would probably be interested to know that he had recently learned that, when war broke out between Bolivia and Paraguay, the Rotaries of the respective countries assumed the responsibility of caring for the comforts of all prisoners taken from their respective enemies. At the Rotary International Convention held at Detroit last summer, the Governors of the Rotary movement in Paraguay and Bolivia were both present and on the best of terms with one another.

274. THE SAAR. The Chairman reported that Sir John Simon had consented to receive a deputation from the Union on the subject of the Saar at 12 noon on the following day, November 23rd. A memorandum (S.G.7096) prepared at the meeting held on November 20th for the use of members of the deputation, was read to the Committee.

Sir Austen Chamberlain said he did not wish to exclude the possibility of the presence of British troops in the Saar, but it was a very delicate question. In his view the British Government ought to act only on a request from the League. If the League made such a

request he thought the British Government should at least consider it very closely and should be slow to refuse assistance if it was asked for. Sir Austen did not think the proposal for a referendum at a subsequent date could be sustained in view of the provisions of the Treaty in Chapter III, Part III Article 35. After considerable discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) That the deputation to the Foreign Office consist of the following:-

Mr. Bernays, M.P.,
Major Anthony Buxton,
Lord Cecil,
Lord Davies,
Mrs. Dugdale,
Lord Khayadar,
General Spears, M.P."

- (2) That the memorandum (S.G.7096) be not regarded as representing the policy which the Union wishes to urge on H.M. Government, but merely as points which the Executive would like to have discussed and to receive the opinion of the Government upon; that the first paragraph of the quotation from Article III of the Treaty with Poland be deleted from the memorandum; that the deputation should state clearly that, although ~~it~~ *it might* be ~~more desirable~~ *desirable* that a detachment, however small, of British troops should be present in the Saar, the Union does not suggest that the Government should take any action except on a request from the League; and that, having regard to the legal difficulty, the deputation should but very tentatively the question whether, if the Saar votes for a continuance of the present regime, it would be possible to have a referendum at a later date.

The Chairman read to the Committee a letter dated 17th November from ~~Col~~ Knox, concerning the recruitment of the International Police Force. ~~Col.~~ Knox had said that "If the League of Nations Union wishes to assist the Governing Commission in this significant international experiment, it can, in the present delicate phase, best do so by recommending silence until the Governing Commission feel that it is possible to break it."

The Committee also had before them a resolution on the subject of the Saar Plebiscite adopted by the Federation of French League of Nations Societies on November 13th.

The Chairman reported that the German Emergency Committee of the Society of Friends had enquired if the Union could help them in an appeal on behalf of refugees from Germany. Since the League had appointed a Committee for dealing with this question, and since Lord Cecil was the Chairman of that Committee, he had no hesitation in saying that in general the Union supported it. The Friends Committee proposed to send a letter to every member of the Executive, asking them to do what they could to call attention to the terrible problem that was produced by the German refugees and which was going to be intensified by the exodus of refugees from the Saar.

275. NATIONAL DECLARATION. At the request of the Committee, the Secretary read a letter which he had that morning received from Miss F. Horsburgh, M.P., concerning the distribution of papers in connection with the National Declaration in Putney. It was

RESOLVED: "That the National Declaration Committee be asked to deal with Miss Horsburgh's communication as a matter of urgency".

276. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

- (a) Rotary Joint Committee. (Captain Green reported). The minutes of the Committee dated October 23rd, 1934 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (3) Reports;
 (4) National Declaration on the League of Nations and Armaments; (5) Disarmament;
 (6) International Labour Organisation;
 (7) International Youth Contacts.

- (b) Political Committee. Subject to the following decision on minute 27, the minutes of the Committee dated November 6th, 1934 were approved and adopted:

These minutes included (25) The Saar Plebiscite;
 (26) Enquiry into the Armaments Industry;
 (28) National Declaration.

On Minute 27 - Manchukuo, it was

RESOLVED: "That this minute be approved and adopted, subject to the words 'The general opinion of the Committee was' being substituted for the words 'It was resolved'".

- (c) Education Committee. (Dr. Kimmins reported). The minutes of the Committee dated November 12th, 1934, were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (129) Membership of the Committee; (130) Meetings for Teachers and Schools; (131) Report on work in Universities and Colleges; (132) Report of Junior Branches Sub-Committee; (133) Record of Service Card, Class A (World Knowledge); (134) Periodicals for School Branches; (135) Report of the Youth Committee; (136) Report of the Curriculum Sub-Committee; (137) The affirmation of Christian Faith; (138) Observance of Armistice Day; (139) Easter School, 1935; (140) The New Education Fellowship; (141) The Cinema Committee of the National Council of Women; (142) London County Council; (143) League teaching in other countries; (144) Junior Branches; (145) (Educational) Corporate Members.

- (d) Library Committee. (Dr. Kinmins reported). The minutes of the Committee dated November 12th, 1934 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (36) Book List; (37) Reprinting of Catalogue.

- (a) Industrial Advisory Committee. (Captain Green reported) Subject to the following decision on minutes 100 and 104, the minutes of the Committee dated November 15th, 1934 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (99) Conference on "Social and Economic Planning"; (101) Mr. Gillinder's Report; (102) Meetings of the I.L.O.; (103) Industrial affiliations; (105) Governing Body of the I.L.O. - 68th Session.

On Minute 100 - International Federation of League of Nations Societies, it was

RESOLVED: "That, subject to any amendments which may be made in resolution (2) by the General Council at its meeting in December, the resolutions contained in this minute be submitted for the I.L.O. Committee of the International Federation."

On Minute 104 - Constitution of Committee for 1934, it was

RESOLVED: "That Miss Lloyd George be invited to serve as one of the Executive Committee's representatives on the Industrial Advisory Committee".

277. OVERSEAS COMMITTEE. The Executive considered minute 20 (paragraph b) of the meeting dated July 4th, 1934, which had been adjourned on July 12th pending a report from Mr. Gwilym Davies after the Conference of the Welsh Education Committee. In the absence of Mr. Gwilym P.F.O.

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Davies, the Secretary reported that the Conference had taken place at Gregynog during the previous week-end, and that M. Bonnet, the Director of the Paris Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, had been present. M. Bonnet confirmed the information which the Secretary had received from other sources, viz; that the books at present in use in German schools are those which in Dr. Bruning's time were adopted by the schools of the whole Reich; that the Nazis have issued printed supplements for the purpose of correcting the Weimar books wherever they are not in line with Nazi thought; that these supplements are mere interim productions to be withdrawn when the new Nazi school books become available; and that these new books are expected to come into use at any time after Easter, 1935. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the minute of the Overseas Committee be approved and adopted".

The Executive further considered minute 26 (paragraph 3) dated October 24th, and it was

RESOLVED: (2) "That consideration of this minute be adjourned until the next meeting when it is hoped Lord Cecil and Lady Gladstone will be present".

278. DATE OF NEXT MEETING. It was

RESOLVED: "That in view of the fact that the Royal Wedding is taking place on Thursday, November 29th, the next meeting of the Executive be held on Tuesday, November 27th at 11 a.m. instead of on November 29th".

279. CLOSING OF OFFICE. It was

RESOLVED: "That the office be closed on Thursday, November 29th; on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, December 24th, 25th and 26th; and from 4 p.m. on the Friday of the Staff Party until the following Monday morning".

280. RESOLUTIONS. Resolutions were received with interest from the Welsh National Council, and from the Enfield and Southampton Branches.

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30.11.34.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
HELD AT 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W. 1.
ON TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 27TH, 1934 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Professor Gilbert Murray (in the Chair),
Sir Norman Angell, Miss Joyce Ansell,
W. Arnold-Forster, P.J. Noel Baker,
Michael Barkway, Lord Cecil, Sir Austen
Chamberlain, the Dean of Chichester,
Miss A.D. Courtney, Lord Dickinson,
Vice-Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Mrs.
Dugdale, Lady Hull, Sir John Harris,
Captain J. de V. Loder, Lord Lytton,
Sir Walter Napier, Lord Rhyavader, Mrs.
Runciman, Professor C.A. Webster, Mrs.
Wilson-Fox, L.M. Wynch.

281. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Lord Allen,
F.M. Burris, Major Anthony Buxton, L.J. Cadbury,
H.H. Elvin, Lady Gladstone, Captain L.H. Green, Sir
Arthur Haworth, Arthur Pugh, H.S. Syrett and Major
Lawrence Wright.
282. MINUTES. Subject to the following report and decision
on minutes 271, 272 and 274, the minutes of the Committee
dated November 22nd were confirmed as circulated.
- On Minute 271(a) - Germany and the Disarmament
Conference, the Chairman suggested that it might be
well, perhaps by a friendly question in the House
of Commons, to endeavour to obtain a statement of
what H.M. Government was doing or was anxious to do,
in regard to Germany and the Disarmament Conference.
after discussion it was
- RESOLVED: "That enquiries be made privately of
Sir John Simon whether he would be
willing to make a statement on this
subject in reply to a friendly question
in Parliament."
- On Minute 271(b) - Security, it was
- RESOLVED: "That the words 'in the interval before
the General Council meeting in December'
be deleted from the second sentence."
- On Minute 272 - The Far East: Representation of
China on the League Council, it was reported that
since the Executive was meeting on November 27th,
the meeting of the China sub-Committee had been
postponed until 11.30 a.m. on Tuesday, December 4th.

On Minute 274 - The Sear, on the motion of Sir Austen Chamberlain, it was

RESOLVED: "That the words 'it might be' be substituted for the words 'the Union regards it as' in paragraph 2."

283. THE VISCOUNTESS GLADSTONE. The Committee were distressed to hear of the motor accident in which Lady Gladstone had been involved when on her way to the meeting of the Executive on November 22nd, and it was unanimously

RESOLVED: "That the Chairman be asked to convey to Lady Gladstone the Committee's sincere sympathy and their best wishes for her speedy recovery."

284. COMMUNICATION FROM LORD DAVIES. The Chairman read to the Committee a letter dated 24th November, which he had received from Lord Davies regarding the decision taken by the Executive on November 8th (Minute 257).

285. DECEMBER MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL. The Committee considered the proof of the Final Agenda for the December Meeting of the General Council. It was

RESOLVED: Item IV.

That Lord Queenborough be asked to present to the Council the Interim Report on Income and Expenditure in 1934 and the Budget for 1935.

Item VI. (Motions on World Affairs)

1. The Basis of International Relations.

That Professor Murray be asked to make the necessary verbal alterations in resolution 1(a); that Professor Zimmern be asked to move this resolution; and that Professor Murray be asked to move resolution (b).

2. Hours of Work.

That Lady Hall be asked to move and Captain Green to second this resolution; that the first amendment proposed by Mrs. White be opposed; and that it be left to the discretion of the mover and seconder of the resolution to deal with the second amendment.

3. Age of Entry of Children into Employment.

That Mr. Elvin be asked to move this resolution.

4. Private Manufacture of Arms.

That the following amendment to the second paragraph of resolution (a) be submitted in the name of the Executive Committee:

Welcomes the proposals made by the American Government on November 20th, 1934, for the Regulation and Control of the Manufacture of and Trade in Arms and the Establishment of a Permanent Disarmament Commission; notes that H.M. Government have already expressed their approval in principle; and urges H.M. Government to do all in their power to secure international agreement on these lines';

that Mr. Noel Baker be asked to move and Miss Courtney to second the resolution with the above amendments; that in regard to resolutions (b), (c) and (d), Lord Cecil be asked to explain that, since these resolutions were submitted, the situation has been altered by Sir John Simon's answers to questions in Parliament and to make a general statement about terms of enquiry; that if the movers of resolutions (b) and (d) insist on proposing their motions, they be opposed; and that, if further changes in the situation take place before the General Council meets, an urgency resolution on the subject, which the Kensington Branch be invited to accept in place of resolution (c) be prepared for submission to the Council.

5. The Collective System.

(a) That resolution (a) be taken at 10.30 on the morning of Friday, December 14th; that Lord Allen be asked to move the resolution; and, if his motion is carried, to support the amendment of the Haslemere Branch and to oppose the amendment of the Cambridge University Branch.

(c) That Lord Cecil be asked to consider the best method of presenting the resolutions and amendments in items 5, 6 and 7 to the Council, and to prepare a statement on the subject for consideration by the Executive at its next meeting.

6. Tribunal in Equity and International Police Force; and
7. International Police Force.

That Sir Norman Angell be asked to oppose these resolutions on behalf of the Executive.

8. Treaty Revision. 56

That Mr. Noel Baker be asked to take charge of this resolution and to move the previous question.

9. Minorities.

The Executive considered (adjourned) Minute 14 of the Minorities Committee dated November 1st, 1934 and

RESOLVED: "That the following amendment to the last paragraph of resolution 9 be submitted in the name of the Executive:-

"To replace the first six words of the final paragraph by 'asks the Executive Committee to enquire how far it is practicable'";

that the attention of the Council be drawn to the memorandum on the subject of the Protection of Minorities adopted by the Executive on December 21st, 1933 and printed in September, 1934; and that Major Buxton be asked to move the Executive's amendment.

10. Alleged Economic Causes of War.

That Mr. Hartley Withers be asked to move this resolution; to oppose the amendment submitted by Mrs. White; and to draw the attention of the Council to the pamphlet written by Professor Zimmern and now being printed on this subject.

286. THE SAAR. At the request of the Chairman, the Secretary reported upon the deputation which had waited upon Sir John Simon on November 23rd.

287. COMMUNICATION FROM THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES. The Committee considered a communication on behalf of the High Commissioner for Refugees, asking that copies of the paper entitled "The Third Meeting of the Governing Body of the High Commission for Refugees (Jewish and Other) Coming from Germany including the Report of the High Commissioner and the concluding remarks of the Chairman", might be circulated among Foundation Members of the Union and offering to meet the cost of this distribution. It was

RESOLVED: "That copies of this document, dated November 1st and 2nd, 1934, be distributed to certain Foundation Members of the Union."

288. CHRISTIAN ORGANISATIONS COMMITTEE. The Secretary reported, as a matter of urgency, on Minute 86 (Campaign in the Churches - Public Meeting) of the Committee dated November 21st. He reminded the Executive that on November 8th they had approved the proposal of the Christian Organisations Committee to hold a public meeting of the Churches some time before Easter. Lord Cecil and other members of the Executive expressed the opinion that, in view of the necessity for concentrating on the National Declaration, the Churches meeting should be postponed until May, and it was

RESOLVED: "That consideration of the proposal of the Christian Organisations Committee be adjourned until the next meeting of the Executive."

289. MR. BALDWIN'S GLASGOW SPEECH. Lord Cecil told the Executive that he had discussed with Mr. Baldwin the statement made by the latter in his speech on November 23rd at Glasgow regarding the National Declaration. Mr. Baldwin said that he did not believe that the originators of the Peace Ballot had any party motives in their minds, and that he earnestly hoped it would not be made a party question. He did not object to any Conservative taking part in the Ballot who wished to do so, but he was afraid that perhaps other people might use it for a party purpose. Lord Cecil said that he was as much against that as Mr. Baldwin was, but that if the Ballot was attacked by the Conservatives it would necessarily throw it into the hands of their opponents. Mr. Baldwin said he thought two or three of the questions were too complicated. Lord Cecil replied that he did not agree, but that if anyone thought so he need not answer them. In any case that was no excuse for tearing up the Ballot paper."

Admiral Drury-Lowe drew the attention of the Committee to the report of Mr. Baldwin's speech which appeared in THE DAILY TELEGRAPH and several other papers and which included the following:

'A collective peace system, in my view, is perfectly impracticable in view of the fact to-day that the United States, to our unbounded regret is not yet a member of the League of Nations, and that in the last two or three years two Great Powers, Germany and Japan, have both retired from it. It is hardly worth considering when those be the facts... Never as an individual will I sanction the British Navy being used for an armed blockade of any country in the world until I know what the United States of America are going to do.'

It was

RESOLVED: "That Lord Cecil be asked to convey to Mr. Baldwin the thanks of the Executive for the assurance he has given regarding the Peace Ballot; and, at the same time, to discuss with him the above quotation from his Glasgow speech."

CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, S.W. 1., ON THURSDAY, DECEMBER 6TH, 1934, AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Professor Gilbert Murray (in the Chair), Lord Allen, Miss Joyce Ansell, P.J. Noel Baker, F.M. Barris, Major Anthony Buxton, L.J. Casbury, Lord Cecil, Sir Austen Chamberlain, Miss K.D. Courtney, Vice-Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dugdale, Lady Gladstone, Sir John Harris, Dr. Kimmins, Lady Layton, Commander Norman Lewis, Captain J. de V. Loder, Lord Lytton, G. Le M. Mander, Sir Walter Napier, Sir John Power, Lord Rhayader, H.S. Syrett, Mrs. Wilson-Fox, L.M. Wynch.

290. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Sir Norman Angell, W. Arnold-Forster, Michael Barkway, Dean of Chichester, the Reverend Gwilym Davies, Captain L.H. Green, Sir Arthur Haworth, Lady Henschel, Major J.W. Hills, Miss M. Lloyd George and Arthur Pugh.
291. MINUTES. Subject to the following report on minutes 282 (271) and 289, and to the deletion of paragraph 5(b) in minute 285, the minutes of the Committee dated November 27th were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 282 - 271(a) - Germany and the Disarmament Conference, the Chairman reported that, in view of Mr. Baldwin's speech in the House of Commons on November 28th, he had not made the enquiries suggested in this minute.

On Minute 289 - Mr. Baldwin's Glasgow Speech, the attention of the Committee was drawn to the debate which had taken place in the House of Lords on the previous day.

292. BOLIVIA AND PARAGUAY. The Chairman read to the Committee a letter from Mr. Eden, dated November 29th, thanking the Executive for the resolution they had adopted on November 22nd concerning the arms embargo on Bolivia and Paraguay.
293. DECEMBER MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL. The Committee discussed a statement prepared by Lord Cecil (S.G.7118) on the order in which he proposed to take the resolutions and amendments printed in item VI. 5, 6 and 7 on pages 8 to 12 of the Final Agenda of the forthcoming meeting of the General Council. It was

RESOLVED: "That this statement be not circulated to members of the Council."

P.T.O.

294. THE SAAR. The Committee were gratified to learn of the action taken by H.M. Government in regard to the constitution of an international force to preserve order in the Saar, and it was unanimously

RESOLVED: (1) "The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union thanks His Majesty's Government for their valuable and positive contribution to the discharge of the responsibilities shared by Members of the League in connection with the Saar. In particular, it assures the Government of its warm support for the initiative they have taken in the constitution of an international force to preserve order in the Saar."

- (2) "That the above resolution be communicated immediately to Mr. Eden and other members of H.M. Government, and to the press."

295. SECURITY AND DISARMAMENT: GERMANY AND THE DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE. The attention of the Committee was drawn to the letter from Lord Allen appearing in the TIMES of the previous day.

296. THE JUGO-SLAV NOTE. The Committee considered the Jugo-Slav Note to the League. Lord Cecil suggested that this presented a case in which the International Court was very much more highly qualified than anyone else to give an opinion. In 1923 the Assembly had urged, in a similar case arising out of the murder of the Italian Generals in Albania, that the matter should be referred to the Court; and if, at that early stage of the League's development, when the Court had only just been formed, the Assembly had adopted this course, he saw no reason why the present case, which was in some ways more difficult, should not also be sent to the Court.

Sir Austen Chamberlain thought that a reference to the International Court would probably be the best solution if the various parties concerned could be persuaded to agree. But, on the other hand, he deprecated the Executive passing any resolution at the present time on a subject which was so delicate and difficult.

Lord Cecil suggested that a letter might usefully be written to H.M. Government, stating that this matter had been considered by the Executive Committee; that the opinion had been expressed that the best solution of the problem might be obtained by submitting it to the International Court; and that, although the Executive did not pass any resolution since it did not wish to make any public utterance in this very delicate matter, it thought H.M. Government might be glad to know that if they did feel disposed to adopt this solution, they could rely on such support as the Union was able to give them. Sir Austen Chamberlain did not object to this proposal, and it was

RESOLVED: "That the Chairman be asked to write a letter to H.M. Government on the lines suggested by Lord Cecil."

97. THE FAR EAST: REPRESENTATION OF CHINA ON LEAGUE'S COUNCIL. The Committee had before them the interim report of the sub-Committee, appointed to consider the question of the representation of China on the Council of the League. On the motion of Sir Austen Chamberlain, it was

RESOLVED: "That consideration of the interim report of the sub-Committee be adjourned until the final report is available."

98. NATIONAL DECLARATION. The Committee received the minutes of the Organising Committee of the National Declaration dated November 30th, 1934. The Secretary drew the attention of the Executive to the fact that the Organising Committee had (in minute 77) approved a revised edition of the yellow paper of which copies had been circulated to members of the Executive.

299. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

- (a) Christian Organisations. (Admiral Drury-Lowe reported). Subject to the following decision on minute 86, the minutes of the Committee dated November 21st, were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (83) Affirmation and the Schools; (84) Armistice Day; (85) National Declaration; (86) Campaign in the Churches; (87) Archbishop of York's Sermon on Armistice Day; (88) Composition of Committee for 1935; (89) Pastoral Letter of the Bishops of the American Protestant Episcopal Church; (90) Bishop of Nottingham's Letter; (91) applications for Corporate Membership.

On Minute 86 - Campaign in the Churches, Public Meeting, it was

RESOLVED: "That a public meeting be held in the first week of February in the Queen's Hall (or, if that is not available, in the Central Hall) to wind up the campaign which had been conducted in various dioceses throughout the country on the basis of the Affirmation, and to declare the support of the Church for the League and the collective system."

- (b) Women's Advisory Council. (Mrs. Wilson Fox reported). The minutes of the Council dated 21st November, 1934, were approved and adopted;

P.T.O.

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These minutes included (545) Representation on W.A.C.; (546) Conference on XVth Assembly; (547) Report of Standing Sub-Committee; (548) Reports of Representatives; (549) National Declaration; (550) Corporate associate applications.

(c) Overseas Committee. The Committee had before them (adjourned) minute 26 (paragraph 3) of the meeting dated October 24th, 1934, and it was

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

300. RESOLUTIONS. The Committee received with interest resolutions from the Alston Branch, the World Evangelical Alliance and the Torquay Co-operative Society.

301. PUTNEY BY-ELECTION. The Committee received a report on the Putney By-Election (S.G.7117).

302. DATE OF NEXT MEETING. It was

RESOLVED: "That the next meeting of the Committee be held on Thursday, December 20th; and that thereafter the Committee adjourn until Thursday, January 17th."

Cecil

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION.

CONFIDENTIAL.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1. ON THURSDAY, DECEMBER 20TH, 1934 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Cecil (in the Chair), Lord Allen, Sir Norman Angell, Miss Joyce Ansell, W. Arnold-Forster, Michael Barkway, F.M. Burris, Major Anthony Buxton, L.J. Cadbury, Sir Austen Chamberlain, Miss K.D. Courtney, Lord Dickinson, Vice-Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dugdale, H.H. Elvin, Captain L.H. Green, Sir John Harris, Lady Henschel, Dr. Kimmins, Lady Layton, Captain Loder, G. le M. Mander, Sir Walter Rappier, Lord Abeyader, Mrs. Runciman, Professor Webster, Mrs. Wilson-Fox, L.M. Wynch, Professor A.E. Zimmerman.

303. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from P.J.Noel Baker, Commander Norman Lewis, Professor Murray, H.S. Syrett and Major Lawrence Wright.

304. MINUTES. Subject to the following report on minutes 294, 296 and 299, the minutes of the Committee dated December 6th were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 294 - The Saar, and Minute 296 - The Jugo-Slav Note, Lord Cecil reported that Captain Eden had written to thank the Union for their resolutions.

On Minute 299 - (a) - 86 - Campaign in the Churches, Public Meeting, the Secretary reported that the Christian Organisations Committee, at their meeting held on the previous day, had decided to postpone the proposed public meeting until October of next year.

305. DECEMBER MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL. The Committee considered the resolutions adopted by the General Council at its meeting held in the Conway Hall on December 13th and 14th, 1934 (S.G.7154). It was reported that resolutions (1) (Saar and Hungarian-Yugoslavian Dispute) and (8) (Arms Enquiry) had already been communicated to H.M. Government. It was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the following resolutions be also communicated to H.M. Government:

- (5) Hours of Work
- (6) Age of Entry of Children into Employment
- (7) Private Manufacture of Arms"

(2) "That resolutions (4), (10) and (11) be referred for consideration by the following sub-Committees:

P.I.O.

- (4) Education - Education Committee
 (10) Treaty Revision - Reform of the League Committee
 (11) Minorities - Minorities Committee'

- (3) "That resolutions 4 (Education) and 6 (Age of Entry of Children into Employment), as well as 5 (Hours of Work) be submitted to the International Federation of League of Nations Societies."

Mrs. Runciman expressed the opinion that the Council's meeting had been very unrepresentative of the Union's movement as a whole, and asked how many of those local organisations who were entitled to be represented at the meeting had, in fact, sent delegates. The Secretary stated that if every organisation which was entitled to do so sent a full delegation to the Council meeting and if all the co-opted members also attended, about twelve hundred members would be present. Some three hundred delegates had attended the December meeting. They included representatives from each of the three divisions of Scotland, Wales and all but four of the English counties. He reminded the Executive of the scheme for the reconstitution of the General Council which had been adopted at Blackpool in 1931 and which was designed to give the Union, in accordance with the Charter, a governing body at once representative and possessing a corporate sense of responsibility for the Union's affairs, rather than a crowded meeting dependent for guidance upon the Executive Committee. The following resolution adopted by the Executive on July 5th, 1934, after the meeting of the Council in Bournemouth last June was read:

"That a sub-Committee, consisting of not more than nine members, be asked to consider what if anything can be done to improve the character of the attendance at meetings of the General Council and to report to the Executive; and that it be left to the Chairman to nominate this sub-Committee."

Mr. Elvin suggested that a communication should be sent to all Branches who were entitled to be represented at the Council Meetings but who had not in fact sent a delegate to the December meeting, enquiring why they were unable to be represented and asking for any suggestions they might be able to make for ensuring that the deliberations of the General Council were more widely representative of the Union as a whole. After discussion it was, on the motion of Mrs. Runciman,

RESOLVED: (4) "That a sub-Committee be appointed to consider and report on the constitution of the General Council, and in this connection to consider Mr. Elvin's suggestion; and that it be left to the President and the Chairman to nominate this Committee."

On resolution 9 (International Air Force) Lord Cecil drew the attention of the Executive to the fact that he had stated at the General Council's meeting that he would ask the Executive to agree that, in any documents which were circulated to Branch Secretaries bearing on the questions to be considered by the General Council in June, the Welsh National Council should be allowed to send information concerning the proposed Tribunal in Equity, provided of course that the Executive was satisfied that this material did not include anything more than the advocacy of that particular proposal.

Mr. Arnold Forster stated that the Executive's report on the creation and use of an international air force did not make it plain that it was intended to concern a situation in which Germany would be a co-operating power.

Mr. Arnold Forster also complained that the Report, as submitted to the General Council, included the word 'primarily' in the following sentence:

"In connection with the abolition of air warfare its /the international air police force/ use would be primarily for the prevention of and resistance to, air aggression attempted by the civilian machines of any country".

He thought that the Executive had decided to omit this word. It was pointed out to Mr. Arnold Forster that there was no record in the minutes of the Executive of any decision to omit the word 'primarily'; that the word was included in the Report printed in the Preliminary Agenda and in the Final Agenda of the General Council; and that the Report, as presented to the Council, could not be altered during the period for which the Council had adjourned consideration. After considerable discussion it was

RESOLVED: (5) "That the Welsh National Council should be informed that if they would prepare a memorandum setting out the case for the proposal which they desired to bring before the Council it would be forwarded to Branches at a time to be agreed upon with the Welsh Council. The memorandum should deal only with the proposal in question and not with any other matter."

306. REPRESENTATION OF CHINA ON THE LEAGUE COUNCIL. The Committee considered a report from the sub-Committee on the Representation of China on the Council of the League (S.G.7149). Lord Cecil reminded the Executive that on December 6th they had adjourned consideration of the interim report of the sub-Committee; but that the Committee had since learned that China proposed to ask the League's Council at its next meeting in January to appoint a Committee of the Council to investigate the

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question of China's representation on that body. The sub-Committee wished to support this proposal, and they therefore submitted an amended interim report to the Executive.

Sir Austen Chamberlain reminded the Executive that when the earlier report from the sub-committee was considered, he had urged that the Executive should take no decision in the matter until the further report dealing with the difficulties regarding the constitution and efficiency of the Council was available. He stated that friendly observers felt that the size of the Council was militating against the efficiency of that body because it helped to destroy that sense of corporate responsibility and corporate feeling which he thought was very much in the interests of the League to cultivate in the Council. China's case would not be met until she was given what was called a 'semi-permanent' seat, which meant practically an additional permanent Member of the Council. Sir Austen would not be surprised if this demand were not followed in a short time by a demand from other Powers to have the balance restored in the Council by an additional seat for those who could not hope to be either permanent or semi-permanent members.

Lord Cecil replied that if the sub-Committee were making a definite recommendation of a new seat for China he thought Sir Austen Chamberlain's arguments would be overwhelming. But the Committee merely expressed the opinion that China's proposal for the appointment of a Committee of the Council to consider the question was a proper one and should be supported. After considerable discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the interim report of the sub-Committee (S.G.7149) be approved and adopted."

307. PROPOSED CONFERENCE ON AVIATION. The Committee considered a proposal by Lord Cecil that the Union should organise a Conference on the subject of Aviation on the lines of the National Conference in Defence of the League held in the Goldsmiths Hall on April 12th and 13th last. The dates proposed for the present Conference were March 7th and 8th, 1935. After considerable discussion, in the course of which several members of the Committee questioned the desirability of holding such a Conference in view of the fact that the General Council had adjourned consideration of the subject of an international air force until June, it was

RESOLVED: "That a sub-Committee, consisting of Lord Allen, Miss Courtney, Captain Green, Sir John Harris and Professor Webster, be appointed to draw up a scheme for a conference on the questions raised by the proposal for an International Air Force, and to report to the Executive Committee at its next meeting."

Lord Cecil said that the sub-Committee would welcome any suggestions which members of the Executive might care to submit for their consideration.

308. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

- (a) Overseas Committee. The Executive considered (adjourned) minute 26 (paragraph (3)) of the meeting dated October 24th, and it was, on the motion of Lord Cecil,

RESOLVED: "That this minute be approved and adopted in the following amended form:-

'That the Union's delegates to the next meeting of the Representative Council should propose that in view of the fact that so few Societies have permanent representatives in Geneva, the question of the basis for the selection of the personnel of the Committee should be further considered.'"

- (b) Youth Committee. (Miss Ansell reported). Subject to the following decision on Minute 93, the minutes of the Committee dated December 1st were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (89) Membership of the Committee for 1935; (90) Report on Progress; (91) "Youth"; (92) Contacts with other Youth Organisations; (94) Proposed National Demonstration on the King's Birthday; (95) Third National Conference of Youth Group Delegates; (96) Camp Sub-Committee; (97) Relations with the International Friendship League; (98) Resolution from the Tunbridge Wells Youth Group; (99) Geneva Youth Group Parties 1935

On Minute 93 - World Congress of Youth, it was

RESOLVED: "That this minute be approved and adopted, subject to the amendment of paragraph 5(i) to read as follows:

'To provide an opportunity for youth in all countries to exchange ideas on international affairs with a view to agreeing upon a common policy of international co-operation for world peace.'

and subject also to the substitution of the word 'policy' for the word 'aim' in paragraph 5(ii)."

- (c) Religions and Ethics Committee. (Mr. Wynch reported).
The minutes of the Committee dated December 4th, 1934 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (26) Series of Lectures 1935; (27) Proposed Public Meeting; (28) Death of the Reverend J.F. Stern; (29) New Member; (30) Resignation; (31) Composition of Committee for 1935; (32) Drawing Room Meetings; (33) Corporate Membership; (34) Christian Science Churches/

- (d) Finance Committee. (Lord Rhayader reported)
Subject to the following report and decision on minutes 70 and 72, the minutes of the Committee dated 5th December, 1934 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (71) General Council; (73) Appeals Committee; (74) Churches Campaign; (75) Bank account for South West Regional Representative; (76) Sussex Federal Council; (77) Major Tomlin; (78) Passing of Cheques for Payment/

On Minute 70 - Financial Position, Lord Rhayader reported that an appeal issued a fortnight ago for a renewal of certain guaranteed donations had so far produced more than £3,000 in cash and in promises, spread over three to seven years.

On Minute 72 - National Declaration, Lord Cecil said that he was quite ready to undertake to give the Finance Committee all the information they required concerning the financial aspect of the National Declaration. He accepted the position that the Committee was not to be involved in any expenditure on behalf of the Declaration except with their agreement; but he could not accept the invitation of the Finance Committee "to refrain from authorising any further expenditure by the National Declaration Committee without further consultation with the Union's Finance Committee".

In reply to a question from Sir Austen Chamberlain, Lord Cecil said that, although the Union might agree to accept some financial responsibility for the Declaration, they were under no liability whatever at the present time except such as they had already agreed to. They were safeguarded by the resolution adopted on May 17th that the Head Office of the Union was not "to be committed to any expenditure in connection with the scheme without the sanction of the Finance Committee".

Lord Rhayader expressed himself as well satisfied with Lord Cecil's statement, and it was

RESOLVED: "That minute 72 of the Finance Committee be received."

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- (e) Branches Committee. (Admiral Drury-Lowe reported) The minutes of the Committee dated December 6th and December 16th were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (80) Branches and Junior Branches; (81) Corporate Members and Corporate and Industrial Associates; (82) Membership; (83) General Council; (84) Youth Committee; (85) Schoolboys Own Exhibition; (86) Speakers; (87) Wearing of Union Badge; (88) Drawing Room Meetings; (90) Composition of Committee for 1935; (91) Branches; (92) Corporate associates; (93) National Constitution for Youth Groups; (94) National Pageant or Exhibition

Kent and Surrey. Dr. Garnett reported that he had lately had a talk with Miss Grace Butler and Mr. Wynch representing the Surrey Federation, and Mr. Woodall and Mr. Brinton representing the Kent Federal Council, at which it had been provisionally arranged that Kent and Surrey should share the services of Mr. Brinton as Secretary as from 1st January, 1935.

- (f) Library Committee. (Dr. Kimmins reported). Subject to the following decision on minute 42, the minutes of the Committee dated December 10th were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (40) Matters arising out of minutes; (41) Book List; (43) Special Library Subscriptions

On Minute 42 - Use of Reading Room, it was

RESOLVED: "That this minute be approved and adopted subject to the amendment of paragraph (b) to read as follows:

- (b) That in addition to the sum allocated in the Budget for expenditure by the Library in 1935, a further sum of £25 be expended upon the Library out of the money received from the National Declaration Committee in respect of the three additional rooms placed at their disposal in No. 15a Grosvenor Crescent."

- (g) Education Committee. (Dr. Kimmins reported). Subject to the following decision on minutes 151 and 165, the minutes of the Committee dated December 10th were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (148) Meetings for Teachers and Schools; (149) Report on Work in Universities and Colleges; (150) Report of the Youth Committee; (152) Report of the Curriculum Sub-Committee; (153) Membership of the Curriculum Sub-Committee; (154) Adult Education;

(155) Geography Source Book; (156) National Conference; (157) Council on the Teaching of International Relations; (158) History Panel; (159) Report of the Junior Branches Sub-Committee; (160) Membership of the Junior Branches Sub-Committee; (161) Scheme of Work for Junior Members and Junior Branches; (162) 1935 Junior Summer School; (163) Camps for League of Nations Pioneers; (164) Junior Branches and the National Conference; (165) Appointment of Sub-Committees for 1935; (167) Minorities; (168) New Education Fellowship; (169) Junior Branches; (170) Corporate Members/

On Minute 151 - World Conference of Youth, it was

RESOLVED: "That this minute be approved and adopted, subject to paragraphs (c) (1) and (2) of the resolution for submission to the International Federation being amended to read as in paragraph (b) (93) above.

On Minute 165 - International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, it was, on the motion of Professor Webster,

RESOLVED: "That this minute be approved and adopted, subject to the third paragraph of the resolution for submission to the International Federation being amended to read as follows:-

'Believing that such work in the schools could be encouraged and developed on useful lines by the appointment of a small itinerant committee of educationists working under the direction of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, which would by visiting different countries act as a means of information and advice to the educational authorities, and....

Dr. Kimmins drew the attention of the Executive to an address to be delivered by Professor Murray at the Union's session at the Conference of Educational Associations on January 2nd at 10.30 a.m. at University College. The Education Committee would greatly welcome the attendance of members of the Executive at that Conference.

(h) Office Committee. (Lord Rhyader reported). the minutes of the Committee dated December 11th, 1934 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (44) Half Yearly Review of Wages and Salaries; (45) Mr. Poole; (46) Typing Room Staff; (47) Education Section; (48) Aristide Briand; (49) Speakers' References; (50) Composition of Committee for 1935/

309. MISS A.M. HENSON. The Executive were grieved to learn of the recent death in Geneva of Miss A.M. Henson, who had been the Union's Travelling Secretary for Universities and Colleges from 1930 to 1934, and it was

RESOLVED: "That an expression of the Committee's profound sympathy be conveyed to the Reverend J. and Mrs. Henson.

310. PRESS SECTION. The Committee considered a communication from Sir Norman Angell drawing attention to the inadequacy of the staff of the Press section and urging the appointment of an additional full-time journalist. Sir Norman had very generously offered to undertake to find the salary of this additional member of the Union's staff for a period of six months. It was

RESOLVED: "That Sir Norman Angell be thanked for his generous offer; and that the appointment be left in the hands of a sub-Committee consisting of Sir Norman Angell, Professor Murray, Dr. Garnett and Mr. le Prevost.

311. ITALY AND ABYSSINIA. The Committee considered a memorandum by Mr. Noel Baker (S.G.7161) concerning the dispute between Abyssinia and Italy. Lord Cecil stated that, if the Committee saw no objection, he would like to show the memorandum to Mr. Eden whom he was seeing that afternoon, and explain that although the question had been raised at the Executive's meeting no decision had been reached but that the Committee would be very grateful for any information that would guide them in any future action they might wish to take.

Major Buxton suggested that the words 'frontiers of Abyssinia' should be substituted for the words 'frontier between Abyssinia and Italian Somaliland' in paragraph 4.

312. STAFF PARTY. The attention of the Executive was drawn to the fact that the Union's annual Staff Party would be held on Friday, January 25th at the Conway Hall, Red Lion Square. The staff hoped that as many members of the Executive as possible would attend the Party.

313. ADJOURNMENT. It was

RESOLVED: "That the report of the joint meeting on the Reform of the League and the report of the Tangier sub-Committee be adjourned for consideration at the next meeting of the Executive and that arrangements be made for securing adequate consideration of these two important reports."

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

PRESENT: Professor Gilbert Murray (in the Chair),
Sir Norman Angell, Miss Joyce Ansell,
Michael Barkway, F.M. Burris, Lord Cecil,
Sir Austen Chamberlain, the Dean of
Chichester, Miss K.D. Courtney, Admiral
Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Duggale, Lady Gladstone,
Sir John Harris, Sir Arthur Haworth, Major
Hills, Lady Layton, Sir Arthur Haworth, Major
Lytton, Sir Walter Napier, H.S. Syrett,
Professor Webster, Mrs. Wilson-Fox, Major
Lawrence Wright, L.M. Wynch.

1. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Vyvyan Adams,
W. Arnold-Forster, F.J. Noel Baker, Major Anthony
Buxton, L.J. Cadbury, the Reverend Gwilym Davies,
H.H. Elvin, Miss Lloyd George, Captain Green, Dr. Kimmins,
Captain Loder, Sir John Power, Arthur Pugh, Mrs.
Runciman, Councillor H.F. Shaw and Professor Zimmern.
2. MINUTES. Subject to the following decision and report
on minutes 305, 310 and 311, the minutes of the Committee
dated December 20th, 1934, were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 305 - December Meeting of the General
Council, it was, on the motion of the Chairman,

RESOLVED: (1) "That the following be invited to
serve on the Sub-Committee, appointed
at the last meeting of the Executive
to consider and report on the con-
stitution of the General Council:

Mr. Burris,	Sir Arthur Haworth,
Miss Courtney,	Lord Rhayader,
Mr. Gwilym Davies,	Mrs. Runciman,
Mr. Elvin,	Major Lawrence
Mr. C. Hawkins	Wright,

and that Lord Rhayader be invited to
act as Chairman of the Sub-Committee."

On the motion of Sir Austen Chamberlain it was further

RESOLVED: (2) "That the question of any further cir-
culation of papers before the renewed
discussion by the General Council in
June of the Executive's report on the
creation and use of an international
air force, be reserved for considera-
tion at a later date".

On Minute 310 - Press Section, it was reported that
the Sub-Committee to consider the appointment of an
additional officer in the Press Section, would meet
on Thursday, January 24th.

P.T.O.

On Minute 311 - Italy and Abyssinia, Lord Cecil reported that, when he had talked with Mr. Eden on December 20th, Mr. Eden had expressed the hope that the difficulty between Italy and Abyssinia would be settled by direct negotiation without an appeal to the League, and he was therefore anxious that no public discussion should take place on the subject at the present time.

3. REFORM OF THE LEAGUE. The Executive had before them the report of the Joint meeting of the Reform of the League Sub-Committee and the International Law Committee (S.G.7145), and it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Report on the Reform of the League (S.G.7145) be adjourned for consideration at a special meeting of the Executive to be held at 11 a.m. on Thursday, January 24th."

- (2) "That the amendments to the Covenant drafted by Sir Walter Napier for consideration by the Sub-Committee in connection with certain hypotheses mentioned in the report, be circulated for the information of the Executive."

The Chairman asked that members of the Executive who wished to make observations on the report should submit them in writing to the Secretary in order that they might be circulated to the Executive before the meeting on January 24th.

The Executive were reminded that the International Federation of League of Nations Societies had asked its constituent societies to submit their views on the subject of the Reform of the League by January 15th, 1935, and it was

- RESOLVED: (3) "That the Secretary General of the International Federation be informed that the Executive hopes to communicate its views on the subject of the Reform of the League immediately after the special meeting on January 24th."

4. REPORT OF TANGIER SUB-COMMITTEE. Sir Walter Napier presented to the Executive the Report of the Tangier Sub-Committee (S.G.7147). He stated that the Sub-Committee had made two recommendations: (1) that the International Federation of League of Nations Societies should suggest that the parties to the Statute of 1923 as amended in 1928 should give notice to terminate the agreement; and (2) that the Union should ask H.M. Government to terminate the agreement. At the request of the Committee, Sir Charles Hobhouse had prepared a memorandum on the latter point for submission to H.M. Government. Sir Walter Napier had subsequently made certain criticisms of this memorandum and a further meeting of the Tangier Sub-Committee had been called for Wednesday, January 23rd to consider these documents.

In reply to a question, Sir Walter Napier stated that the subject of the International Zone of Tangier had been raised at the meetings of the International Federation by the Tangier League of Nations Society who led the Federation to believe that the Statute of the Tangier Zone would automatically come to an end at the close of 1935. But Sir Walter Napier had no doubt that in fact the Statute will continue in force unless notice to terminate it is given before the end of the present year.

Sir Austen Chamberlain suggested that the Tangier Sub-Committee should be asked to reconsider the reference to Article 24 of the Covenant on page 21 of the report. He went on to say that, in his opinion, the present Tangier administrative system was open to most, if not all, of the criticisms which were contained in the Sub-Committee's report. But he doubted whether, in the present state of Europe when so many other delicate questions were at issue, it was desirable to upset an arrangement which, at any rate, had prevented any further strife between France and Spain and France and Italy.

Sir Austen suggested that the Union's delegates to the Federation's Spring meeting should state, as the Union's opinion, that since the Statute will continue in force unless notice to terminate it is given before the end of 1935, it would be premature to recommend any change in the provisions of the Statute; but that, should such notice be given, an appeal should be made to the Powers concerned to get the Zone placed under the control of the League of Nations and to be administered by a High Commissioner appointed by, and responsible to, the League.

Lord Cecil suggested that some improvement might be made in the phrasing of the reference in the sub-Committee's draft resolution to "the permanent neutrality of the Zone in any war in which the League of Nations is not engaged".

After considerable discussion, it was

RESOLVED: "That further consideration of the report of the Tangier Sub-Committee be adjourned until the next ordinary meeting of the Executive."

5. SECURITY AND DISARMAMENT. The Committee had before them a draft resolution (S.G.7191) regarding the forthcoming visit to London of M. Flandin and M. Laval, and it was

RESOLVED: "That no action be taken at the present time".

6. PUBLIC CONFERENCE ON AIR DISARMAMENT. Professor Webster presented to the Executive the following report of the Sub-Committee appointed by the Executive at its last meeting (S.G.7192):-

1. The Committee recommended that a Conference should be held; admission to the Conference should be by invitation; its object would be to enlighten members of the Union and also persons who are specially interested in flying and in the future of aviation upon all the important aspects of proposals that have been made with regard to the regulation of aviation in the interests of peace. No resolutions should be put upon the subject of discussion.
2. The press would not be admitted. A full official report would, however, be drawn up and published.
3. It is suggested that there should be four sessions of the Conference with the following divisions of the subject:-

1st Session Recent developments of aviation and the disarmament problem.

2nd Session Civil aviation as an international problem.

3rd Session Should an international air force be formed?

- i to prevent the misuse of civil aircraft for military purposes; or
- ii for the purpose of joint sanctions

Relation of such a force to the Covenant and the organs of the League.

4th Session If an international air force be formed (for either of the above purposes) what should be its character, composition, etc. and other technical questions.

4. The first week in May is suggested as a suitable time for the Conference.

Sir Austen Chamberlain suggested that the Conference should aim at being educative and therefore be, in effect, a symposium. The success of the Conference would depend on the careful selection of speakers, and on attracting to the Conference active members of Branches who would attend the meetings in order to be able to carry back to their local organisations both sides of the question and not merely to fortify themselves with an argument for a point of view which they had already adopted. He thought the press should be admitted.

Lord Cecil was of opinion that the object of the Conference should be to provide material for a reasonable decision by the Council at Cambridge in June. He

doubted whether purely technical considerations should be discussed, except in so far as they had a bearing upon the actual decision to be taken by the Council. 175

After further consideration of the draft programme submitted by the Sub-Committee, it was

RESOLVED: "That a Conference be held; that speeches be delivered by carefully selected speakers; that, after these speeches, questions but not further speeches be invited from those present; and that the Sub-Committee be asked to reconsider, in the light of the discussion by the Executive, the proposed division of the subject matter of the Conference between the several sessions, and to submit further proposals for consideration at a later meeting."

The Chairman asked members of the Executive to submit in writing for the consideration of the Sub-Committee any proposals they might wish to make, including suggestions for speakers.

7. **REFUGEES.** In reply to a question, the Secretary stated that he had arranged with Mr. le Prevost for a note to be included in **HEADWAY** on the subject of the Appeal from the Nansen Office for clothing for refugees.

Lord Cecil spoke of the very unsatisfactory situation regarding the High Commission for Refugees coming from Germany. He was of the opinion that this body ought to be made part of the League machinery, to meet at Geneva, and to make a report annually to the League. It was

RESOLVED: "That this subject appear as an item on the agenda for consideration at the next ordinary meeting of the Executive."

8. **NATIONAL DECLARATION.** The Committee received the Minutes of the National Declaration Conference held on December 18th, 1934.

In reply to a question by Mr. Wynch, who said that in Camberley the number of persons between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one was much less than nine per cent of the electorate, it was stated that the percentage given in Minute 35 was the average for the country as a whole.

Mrs. Wilson-Fox drew the attention of the Executive to the heading of a letter issued by the Welsh office on the subject of the National Declaration which read

LEAGUE OF NATIONS - NATIONAL DECLARATION.

Lord Cecil stated that the attention of the Declaration Committee would be drawn to this matter and that the fact that this heading was apt to mislead would be pointed out to the Welsh office. P.T.O.

9. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

- (a) Youth Committee (Miss Ansell reported). Subject to the following report on Minute 105, the Minutes of the Committee dated December 15th were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (103) Report on Progress; (104) Overseas News; (105) Third National Conference of Youth Group Delegates; (106) Recognition of Youth Groups having a Closed Membership; (107) Geneva Reunion.

On Minute 105 - Third National Conference of Youth Group Delegates, it was reported that more than one hundred and sixty delegates and observers had attended the Youth Group Conference at Bristol.

- (b) Christian Organisations Committee (Dean of Chichester reported). Subject to the following decision on Minute 101, the Minutes of the Committee dated December 19th, 1934, were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (95) Public Meeting; (96) The Churches and the Arms Enquiry; (97) Church and World Peace Pageant; (98) Geneva Clergy School; (99) The League and Religious Persecution; (100) Letter from the Reverend M.S. Aubrey; (101) Service in Connection with General Council; (102) Resolutions; (103) applications for Corporate Membership.

On Minute 101 - Service in Connection with General Council, it was, on the motion of the Dean of Chichester,

RESOLVED: "That the circulation of the Dean of Chichester's address be deferred for one month."

- (c) Industrial Advisory Committee (Mr. Burris reported). Subject to the following report on Minutes 108 and 116, the Minutes of the Committee dated December 20th, 1934, were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (108) Conference on "Social and Economic Planning"; (109) General Council of League of Nations Union - December 13th-14th; (110) Constitution of Committee for 1935; (111) Mr. Gillinder's Report; (112) Speakers; (113) International Labour Conventions - Ratifications by British Government; (114) Industrial Affiliations; (115) Recruitment of Native Labour; (116) Albert Thomas Memorial Fund.

On Minute 108 - Conference on Social and Economic Planning, it was reported that more than three hundred and fifty applications for tickets had been received.

On Minute 116 - Albert Thomas Memorial Fund, it was reported that a sum of £10 had been received for the Albert Thomas Memorial Fund in response to the personal letter sent to members of the Executive by the Chairman of the Industrial Advisory Committee.

- (d) Editorial Committee (Sir Norman Angell reported). Subject to the approval of the Finance Committee on Minute 77, the Minutes of the Committee dated December 20th were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (71) Posters Advertising HELDWAY; (72) "Youth Faces the New World"; (73) "Ladder of Peace" Leaflet; (74) Geneva 1935; (75) Proposed Pamphlet on the Saar; (76) Composition of Committee; (77) Posters; (78) News Sheet; (79) League News and Youth Bulletin; (80) Union Publications; (81) Suggested use of Covenant as New Year's Card; (82) Australian League of Nations Society.

10. THE SECRETARY. On the motion of the Chairman it was

RESOLVED: "That for the future the Secretary of the Union be regarded as an ex-officio member of all Sub-Committees of the Executive."

11. JUBILEE CELEBRATIONS OF H.M. THE KING'S ACCESSION. The Secretary reported that it had been suggested that the Union might participate in the celebrations of His Majesty's Silver Jubilee, perhaps by the presentation of an Address to His Majesty. The Secretary read to the Committee the following extract from a letter written by Lord Queenborough on January 16th:

"The Executive will share with me in the desire not to put any greater burden on His Majesty's back next year than is reasonably avoidable, but should they write in that spirit it would be a compliment to write to Sir Clive Wigram for his presentation of the suggestion that His Majesty should receive a small deputation from the League of Nations Union at the Palace".

It was

RESOLVED: "To act upon Lord Queenborough's suggestion".

The Secretary suggested that the Executive might also wish to consult Sir John Gilmour, who was Chairman of a Home Office Committee responsible for the arrangements in connection with the celebrations.

The Chairman and Lady Layton expressed the hope that the celebrations would not be of an entirely military character, but that civilian demonstrations would play an important part. Sir Austen Chamberlain said that in his experience those officially responsible

for similar celebrations in this country made proper provision for the inclusion of civilian elements, but that a certain amount of pageantry was desirable and could be most readily provided by the forces of the Crown.

After discussion, and at the request of the Chairman, Sir Austen Chamberlain said he would take an opportunity of speaking to Sir John Gilmour on the subject of the celebrations.

12. CEREMONIAL OPENING OF THE NEW LEAGUE SECRETARIAT BUILDING AT GENEVA. The Secretary reported a letter, dated January 2nd, from Mr. Frederick Whelen, regarding the ceremonial opening of the League's new building next summer. Mr. Whelen understood that M. Avenol favoured the least possible amount of ceremony in connection with the formal opening of the Secretariat; but in his opinion it would be a great pity to miss the opportunity of pageantry for peace.

Sir Austen Chamberlain observed that League of Nations ceremonies were rendered difficult by the desire of the nations and their representatives to put themselves, rather than the League, in the limelight. Moreover, the League's enemies might blaspheme if over-much attention were directed to the League's magnificent and costly building. He preferred that the League's work should be done with a minimum of ostentation. It was

RESOLVED: "That no action be taken".

13. DATE OF ANNUAL MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL IN CAMBRIDGE. It was

RESOLVED: "That the Annual Meeting of the General Council be held in Cambridge from 12 noon on June 25th to Friday, June 28th, 1935."

14. RESOLUTIONS. The Executive received with interest resolutions from the Women's International League and from the Withington and Haslemere Branches, and it was

RESOLVED: "That the resolution of the Haslemere Branch be referred for consideration by the Sub-Committee appointed to consider and report on the constitution of the General Council; and that in the meantime the Haslemere Branch be informed that a decision by the General Council would be necessary in order to give effect to the proposal contained in their resolution."

- RESOLVED: (1) That it be left to the Chairman and Lord Cecil to re-draft sections I and II of the Report on the Reform of the League in the light of the discussion by the Executive; and that the report as thus re-drafted be submitted to the Executive at its next meeting.
- (2) That consideration of the remainder of the Report be adjourned.
- (3) That sections I and II of the Report as amended be communicated to the Secretary of the International Federation, with a covering letter explaining that the complete Report will be sent so soon as the Executive has had an opportunity of considering the remaining section.
- (4) That the amendments to the Covenant drafted by Sir Walter Napier, other than those required to remove references to the Treaties of Peace and the amendment to Article XIX, be appended to the Report in the form agreed to by the Executive.

CONFIDENTIAL.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W. 1., ON THURSDAY, JANUARY 31ST, 1935 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Professor Gilbert Murray (in the Chair), Miss Joyce Apsell, W. Arnold-Forster, Lord Cecil, Sir Austen Chamberlain, Miss K.D. Courtney, Lord Dickinson, Vice-Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dugdale, H.H. Elvin, Miss M. Lloyd George, Lady Gladstone, Lady Layton, Sir Walter Napier, Arthur Pugh, Lord Rhyader, Mrs. Runciman, Councillor H.F. Shaw, Professor Webster, Mrs. Wilson-Fox, Major Lawrence Wright, L.M. Wynch.

17. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Sir Norman Angell, F.J. Noel Baker, F.M. Burris, Major Anthony Buxton, L.J. Cadbury, the Reverend Gwilym Davies, Captain L.H. Green, Sir John Harris, Lady Henschel, Major Hills, Commander Lewis, Lord Lytton, Sir John Power, H.S. Syrett.
18. MINUTES. Subject to the following report on Minute 11, the Minutes of the Committee dated January 17th and of the special meeting dated January 24th, were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 11 - Jubilee Celebrations of H.M. the King's Accession, the Secretary stated that, after communicating with Sir Clive Wigram and with the Private Secretary at the Home Office, he had learned that it was only the Houses of Parliament who were presenting Addresses personally to His Majesty. Any Address the Union might wish to present to His Majesty should therefore be sent to the Home Office.

Sir Austen Chamberlain reported a conversation he had had with Sir John Gilmour. He understood that it was intended to include in the Jubilee Celebrations ceremonies of a wholly civil character in which naval and military forces would not appear at all; and, as was customary on such occasions, invitations to these ceremonies would be sent to representative civilian bodies.

19. TANGIER: REPORT OF SUB-COMMITTEE. Sir Walter Napier presented to the Executive the Minutes of the Tangier Sub-Committee dated January 23rd, 1935. He drew the attention of the Executive to the fact that these Minutes considerably modified the decisions recorded in the Minutes of the Sub-committee dated December 11th, 1934.

Sir Walter Napier stated that the memorandum attached to the Minutes of January 23rd (S.G.7203) was prepared by Sir Charles Hobhouse, who had been intimately connected with Tangier for many years. The Committee then considered the memorandum and suggested various amendments. In regard to paragraph (c) on page 6, the

Committee doubted the wisdom of suggesting that the policy of France and Spain had injured Great Britain, if in fact the trade of Tangier was suffering from the inefficiency of that port and the competition of Casablanca and Ceuta, the ports of French and Spanish Morocco, and if the purpose of the paragraph was to recommend that an effort be made to increase the facilities of the port of Tangier in the interests of the commerce of the town. 107

After considerable discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) That the Minutes of the Tangier Sub-Committee dated December 11th, 1934, be received; and that, with the exception of paragraph (3) of Minute 6, the Minutes of the Sub-Committee dated January 23rd be approved and adopted.

(2) That a letter be sent to Sir Charles Hobhouse, enquiring whether there is good authority for saying that the points set forth in sub-paragraphs 1 to 6 on page 6 represent "the sentiments and interests of the British residents" since, in the absence of such authority, the Executive would prefer to put them forward merely as points suggested for consideration by its Sub-Committee; and that Sir Charles Hobhouse be also asked to reconsider the wording of sub-paragraph 6 on page 6 in the light of the Executive's discussion.

20. CHINA SUB-COMMITTEE. The Committee considered the Final Report of the China Sub-Committee (S.G.7205). This report, included, with slight verbal changes, the Interim Report submitted to the Executive Committee on December 20th, 1934. Lord Cecil drew attention to the fact that, although Minute 306 of the Executive dated December 20th stated that the Interim Report of the China Sub-Committee (S.G.7149) was approved and adopted, it should have stated that the Report was received and that the last sentence only was approved and adopted by the Executive. This was the decision which Lord Cecil had, in fact, subsequently communicated to Mr. Eden.

In presenting the Report, Lord Cecil expressed the opinion that it would be very difficult for the Executive to make a recommendation about the membership of China on the League's Council, unless they were prepared to face the consequences of that recommendation and state what they thought ought to be done to mitigate the evils of the increasing size of the Council.

Sir Austen Chamberlain said that when an Interim Report from the China Committee had come before the Executive Committee on a previous occasion, he had been impressed by the possible further claims that might arise, and had felt that the larger the Council became the greater would be the difficulty of working it efficiently

or in what he liked to call 'the true Geneva spirit'. Being now in possession of the complete Report of the China Sub-Committee he was of the opinion that a seat should be found for China but that the Union should not commit itself to the constitutional or administrative changes which that might involve.

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

RESOLVED: (1) That the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union feels that there is a strong prima facie case for the giving of a seat on the Council to China, for the following reasons:-

- (1) The representation of Asia on the League is at present inadequate. Russia and Turkey regard themselves as Western Powers and Japan's notice of resignation may become effective in March.
- (ii) China is a country of immense importance if only because of her vast territory and population. Her Government is making strenuous efforts with encouraging results to establish good administration, and, for that purpose, is making constant use of League services.
- (iii) The political problems of the Far East are so grave that it is essential that the League should be in steady contact with the Chinese Government. The granting to China of a seat on the Council would enhance the prestige and authority of the Nanking Government and thereby contribute to the restoration of social order in China.

If China, as things stand, is to have a seat on the Council that can only be done by the Assembly declaring her re-eligible. To prevent such a declaration from diminishing the existing rights to election of the other members of the League, the members of the Council will have to be increased to seventeen and the maximum for semi-permanent members will have to be raised from three to four.

The addition of China will emphasise some problems inherent in the enlargement of the Council since the early days of the League. That is not, however, in the opinion of the Committee a sufficient reason for refusing

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 representation on the Council to one quarter of the human race whose country is one of the probable danger points in the modern world.

- (2) That the above resolution be communicated to the International Federation of League of Nations Societies.
- (3) That that portion of the Report of the China Sub-Committee which is not contained in resolution (1) above be referred for consideration by the Reform of the League Sub-Committee.

21. CONFERENCE ON AVIATION AS AN INTERNATIONAL PROBLEM. Miss Courtney presented to the Executive a revised programme for the Conference on Aviation as an International Problem. She stated that negotiations were proceeding with a view to obtaining the use of a hall in the new building of the Royal Institute of British Architects for the Conference. After discussion it was

- RESOLVED: (1) That the Conference be held on the afternoons of April 3rd and 4th, 1935.
- (2) That the revised programme for the Conference be approved and adopted, subject to the inclusion of the following topics in sessions 3 and 4:-

How should such a force be organised and who should control it; if it is to be under the control of the Council, what, if any, amendment to the Covenant will it necessitate?

- (3) That the Sub-Committee be authorised to select, and issue invitations to, speakers to address the Conference.

22. THE FAR EAST: The Committee considered the situation in the Far East. Lord Cecil suggested that it might be worth while having a question asked in Parliament on the subject, and, after discussion, it was

RESOLVED: That Mr. Robert Bernays (or Captain Loder) be invited to ask a question in Parliament on the subject of the negotiations which are stated to be taking place between Japan and China; and, in particular, whether it is true that Japan is trying to induce China to dispense with all assistance from the League of Nations; and what information H.M. Government can give in regard to the recent military operations of Japan.

It was suggested that Mr. Bernays, before asking his question in Parliament, might wish to consult Sir John Simon or Captain Eden and ascertain the kind of answer which would be given to his question.

23. UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. Sir Austen Chamberlain drew the attention of the Committee to the decision of the United States Senate with regard to the International Court. It was disappointing, he thought, to learn that even the necessary majority for accession to the International Court was not obtained in the Senate. Lord Cecil expressed the opinion that it really made very little difference whether America joined the Court or not. The right way for America to co-operate with the League was to send more people to represent her on Committees and ultimately on the Council, and it may be on the Assembly, without making any explicit change in her official policy.

24. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

(a) Christian Organisations Committee. (Admiral Drury-Lowe reported). Subject to the following report on Minute 6, the Minutes of the Committee dated January 16th, 1934, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (2) Father Mathew; (3) Proposed Public Meeting; (4) Church and World Peace Pageant; (5) Arms Inquiry; (6) The League and Religious Persecution; (7) Church Congress at Bournemouth; (8) Applications for Corporate Membership.

On Minute 6 - The League and Religious Persecution, Admiral Drury-Lowe stated that at the next meeting of the Christian Organisations Committee he would correct his statement, recorded in the second paragraph of Minute 6 on the subject of a Permanent Minorities Commission.

(b) Industrial Advisory Committee. (Mr. Elvin reported). Subject to the following decision on Minute 1, the Minutes of the Committee dated January 17th, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (2) Membership of Committee; (3) Albert Thomas Memorial Fund; (4) Representative upon Education Committee; (5) Conference on "Social and Economic Planning"; (6) Report of Mr. J.R. Leslie - West of Scotland; (7) Speakers; (8) Mr. Gillinder's Report; (9) Industrial Affiliations; (10) Royal Sanitary Institute, Bournemouth; (11) International Federation of League of Nations Societies.

On Minute 1 - Minutes, Mr. Elvin stated that, in view of the heavy demands which were at present being made on members of the staff, the Industrial Advisory Committee wished to withdraw, for the present, Minute No. 1 in favour of Minute No. 113 of the meeting dated December 20th which had already been approved and adopted by the Executive.

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

These Minutes included: (1) Minutes; (2) Report on Text Books; (3) Spring Meeting of the International Federation; (4) Overseas Report; (5) Conference on Social and Economic Planning, February 19th and 20th; (6) Communication from Captain Green.

- (d) Editorial Committee. The Minutes of the Committee dated January 24th, 1935, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included: (2) "Youth Faces the New World"; (3) Proposed New Handbook for Youth Groups; (4) Proposed Pamphlet on the Saar; (5) Composition of Committee; (6) Posters; (7) League News and Youth Bulletin; (8) Proposed Booklet on the Manufacture and Sale of Armaments; (9) Lecture by Professor Gilbert Murray to the Conference of Educational Associations; (10) Leaflet on the Work of the Union.

25. PRESS OFFICER. The Executive considered the Minutes of the Sub-Committee dealing with the appointment of a temporary additional writer in the Press section. The Secretary reported that Mr. Godfrey Turton, whom the Sub-Committee had recommended for the appointment, had since withdrawn his candidature. It was therefore

RESOLVED: That the Sub-Committee be authorised to make an appointment.

26. TRAVELLING SECRETARY FOR UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES AND SECRETARY OF THE B.U.L.N.S. Lord Rhyader reported on the Minutes dated January 31st of the Joint Selection Committee to consider the appointment of a League of Nations Union Travelling Secretary for Universities and Colleges and the election of a Secretary of the British Universities League of Nations Society, and it was

RESOLVED: That the Minutes of the Joint Selection Committee be approved and adopted.

27. REFUGEES. Mrs. Dugdale drew the attention of the Executive to a Communication dated January 18th, 1935, from the French Government to the League relating to the question of refugees from the Saar. It was

RESOLVED: (1) That this communication be circulated for consideration by the Executive at its next meeting.

Lord Cecil referred to the difficult situation of the High Commission for Refugees coming from the Saar. This body received no financial contribution from any Government. It was

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RESOLVED: (2) That Mrs. Dugdala and Lord Cecil be asked to discuss the situation in regard to the High Commission for Refugees with a view to making a proposal to the Executive Committee at its next meeting.

28. REFORM OF THE LEAGUE. It was

RESOLVED: That, subject to the renumbering of certain passages, the first sections of the Report on the Reform of the League, as redrafted in the light of the discussion at the last meeting of the Executive, be approved and adopted; and that consideration of the remainder of the Report be adjourned.

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LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION

CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W. 1., ON THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 7TH, 1935 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Professor Gilbert Murray (in the Chair), Lord Allen, Sir Norman Angell, Miss Joyce Ansell, P.J. Noel Baker, Michael Barkway, F.M. Burris, Major Anthony Buxton, Lord Cecil, Sir Austen Chamberlain, Miss Courtney, Lord Dickinson, Vice-Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dugdale, Lady Gladstone, Captain Green, Sir John Harris, Commander Lewis, Captain Loder, Sir Walter Napier, Lord Ruyader, Mrs. Runciman, Professor Webster, Mrs. Wilson-Fox, Major Lawrence Wright, L.M. Wynch.

29. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Vyvyan Adams, W. Arnold-Forster, L.J. Cadbury, Rev.G. Davies, Sir Arthur Harworth, Dr. C.W. Kimmins, Lord Lytton, Arthur Pugh, H.S. Syrett, Professor Zimmern.

30. MINUTES. Subject to the following report on Minutes 22 and 25, the Minutes of the Committee dated January 31st, 1935, were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 22 - The Far East, the Secretary reported that Mr. Bernays had expressed his readiness to consult Captain Eden with regard to the proposed question in Parliament on the situation in the Far East.

On Minute 25 - Press Officer, the Secretary reported that the appointment of a temporary additional writer in the Press Section was still under consideration by the Sub-Committee.

31. SECURITY AND DISARMAMENT. The Committee discussed the conversations which had taken place between His Majesty's Government and the French Ministers during last week-end.

Lord Cecil was uneasy about the inclusion of the word 'unprovoked' in the following extract from the official statement:-

"It is suggested that the signatories would undertake immediately to give the assistance of their air forces to whichever of them might be the victim of unprovoked aerial aggression by one of the contracting parties."

It seemed to him evident that if the word 'unprovoked' was introduced as the condition on which the obligation arose, the obligation was reduced to very little. Professor Webster stated that, in his view, the French text was not open to the same objection as the English text in this respect. After further discussion it was unanimously

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

Warmly congratulates His Majesty's Government on the successful issue of their conversations with the French Ministers; and

Considers that the proposals resulting therefrom, carried into effect by means of a freely negotiated settlement, will strengthen the authority of the League of Nations, facilitate the general reduction and limitation of armaments, and thus do much to remove the present sense of insecurity in Europe.

(2) That the above resolution be communicated to His Majesty's Government and to the Press.

(3) That the Secretary be asked to make enquiries of the Foreign Office regarding the difference in the English and French texts.

Note. The French text appears to be as follows:-

Les puissances signataires s'engageraient à donner immédiatement l'assistance de leurs forces aériennes à celle d'entre elles qui ferait de la part d'une des parties contractantes l'objet d'une agression non provoquée par la voie des airs.

Professor Murray read to the Committee a letter he had received from Mr. Henry Carter of the Methodist Peace Fellowship who was deeply troubled by the fact that the League of Nations was apparently side-tracked in this far-reaching proposal. Mr. Carter felt that it was of vital importance that the right and the authority of the League to act with a view to limiting or ending strife should be maintained, and he feared that the proposed pact was being interpreted in influential quarters in a sense which was damaging to the League of Nations. He asked whether the Union ought not to be asserting firmly the necessity for keeping the League of Nations as the instrument of international consultation in the centre of the world's life - most of all at times when strife between nations begins. Professor Murray observed that it would be a great pity if the Union were to lose the support of Mr. Carter and his friends.

32. THE FAR EAST. The Secretary stated that he, and several members of the Executive Committee, had recently listened to a speech by a well-known authority on the Far East, in the course of which it was stated (1) that the Japanese are now acting on the assumption that there is no likelihood of any close co-operation between Britain and America in regard to the Far East; and (2) that the Chinese

Government are in worse financial straits than they have ever been in the last fifteen years and it is probable that Japan will get them out of their difficulties: Japan's price for this service had not been indicated. It was

RESOLVED: "That the Far East Sub-Committee be asked to meet as soon as possible to consider the situation in the Far East; and that the Sub-Committee be given power to add to its number."

33. REFUGEES. The Committee considered a communication dated January 18th, 1935, from the French Government to the League relating to the question of refugees from the Saar. Lord Cecil again drew the attention of the Committee to the situation of the High Commission for Refugees Coming from the Saar. This body, of which he was Chairman, was brought into existence to assist the League; but the League had ceased to have anything to do with it. The Commission had no money and was mainly composed of officials of the Governments concerned who had no authority to express any opinion except as their Governments instructed them. Lord Cecil, in his speech in the House of Lords on the previous day, had suggested that the whole organisation in regard to refugees should be amalgamated and put under the Nansen Office, or something equivalent. The Nansen Office had had a very great deal of experience in dealing with these questions. But he was mainly concerned to get the organisation under the control of the League so that, whatever value publicity and public opinion might have, could be brought to bear upon the matter.

Mrs. Dugdale suggested that the Executive should support Lord Cecil's suggestion, perhaps by a letter to the TIMES, signed either by the Chairman on behalf of the whole Executive or by a selected half-dozen representative members of the Committee.

Mr. Eppstein reported that the appeal in HEADWAY for clothing for refugees, referred to in Minute No. 7 of January 17th, 1935, had now been published and had evoked a good response.

After further discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That a Sub-Committee be appointed to consider and report on the situation in regard to refugees; that Sir Norman Angell, Miss Ansell, Mr. Noel Baker, Lord Cecil, Mrs. Dugdale, Sir John Harris and Professor Murray be invited to serve on the Sub-Committee; and that the Sub-Committee be given power to add to their number with a view to securing the representation of other bodies engaged in a similar task."

34. TANGLIER. The Secretary reported to the Committee correspondence he had had with Sir Charles Hobhouse

concerning the discussion which had taken place at the last meeting of the Executive on the subject of the memorandum (S.G.7203) submitted by the Tangier Sub-Committee. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the memorandum (S.G.7203) be approved and adopted in the attached amended form; and be communicated to His Majesty's Government."

35. REPORT OF COMMITTEE:

Women's Advisory Council. (Mrs. Wilson Fox reported) The Minutes of the Council dated January 30th, 1935, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (553) Report of Standing Sub-Committee; (554) Miss E.R. Conway; (555) Composition of W.A.C. for 1935; (556) Reports of Representatives; (557) Applications for Corporate Associateship; (558) National Declaration; (559) The Saar Plebiscite.

36. NATIONAL DECLARATION. The Executive received the Minutes of the National Declaration Organising Committee held on January 29th, 1935. The Secretary reported that it had since been decided that the issue of the appeal letter, mentioned in Minute 83, should be deferred pending an attempt on different lines to raise funds for the Declaration.

37. QUARTERLY NEWS. Sir Austen Chamberlain drew the attention of the Committee to a series of cartoons appearing on page 11 of the current issue of the QUARTERLY NEWS. He took strong exception to cartoon No. 4.

Lord Cecil thought the Union ought to be very careful about what was stated in its publications regarding the National Declaration in order to avoid exacerbating the differences which had unfortunately taken place on this question.

Sir Norman Angell said that, in order to secure vivid writing and vivid presentation, the Editor must be given considerable freedom; and this must inevitably mean that from time to time a taste would be displayed about which there would be differences of opinion. The Executive might or might not agree with the cartoons; but if any sort of censure were passed upon the Editor, the result would, in fact, be a deadly dull publication. He thought, however, that it might perhaps be pointed out to the Editor privately that considerable exception had been taken to the pictures in question. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That Sir Norman Angell be asked to speak to the Editor of the QUARTERLY NEWS on this matter."

38. REFORM OF THE LEAGUE. It was

RESOLVED: "That a special meeting of the Executive Committee be held at 11 a.m. on Thursday next, February 14th, for the purpose of considering the remainder of the Report on the Reform of the League; that the decision contained in Minute 20 (3) of the last meeting of the Executive be rescinded; and that that portion of the Report of the China Sub-Committee which is not contained in Minute 20 (1) of the Executive Committee be considered at the special meeting of the Executive."

Sir Walter Napier expressed his willingness to prepare a paper which might serve as a basis for the Executive's discussion at the special meeting.

39. DATE OF NEXT MEETING. It was

RESOLVED: "That in view of the fact that the Industrial Advisory Committee's Conference on Economic and Social Planning will be in session on Thursday, February 21st, the next ordinary meeting of the Executive Committee be held on Thursday, February 28th."

TANGIER.

The entrance to the Mediterranean from the West, i.e. from the Atlantic and from the North Sea is dominated by the port and territory of Tangier. Whoever possesses in absolute or practical authority the range of Moroccan hills which confront the northern shores of the Mediterranean from Tarifa westwards and which terminate in the high ground dropping into the ocean at Tangier, can shut the gates of the Mediterranean sea to all or any incoming or outgoing traffic.

This fact can be conveniently and comfortably ignored by Europe so long as the key to the gates is in hands too feeble to turn it. Fortunately the Sultanate of Morocco has in Africa declined from ability to hinder or prevent Mediterranean trade, while in Europe, Spain and Portugal, ancient and adjacent pretenders to the guardianship of the Straits have equally fallen from any power to do so. The second key to the gates, held at Gibraltar by the English, is at least in hands to whom seaborne international commerce was all important. The Mediterranean powers were content and well advised to let well alone, until the immense development of the French Colonial Empire in Northern Africa, and the necessity, engendered and hastened by German policy of removing jealousy and rivalry between French and British interests in that part of Africa rendered some settlement of the ownership of Tangier imperative. By the year 1900 it had become plain that some arrangements in North Africa must be come to and in that year France and Italy agreed not to interfere with each other in Tripoli and Morocco respectively. In April 1904 Great Britain and France delimited their spheres of action in Morocco and Egypt respectively. France declared she had "no intention of altering the political status of Morocco" while Great Britain acknowledged that it appertained to France "to preserve order, and to provide assistance for the purpose of all administrative, economic, financial and military reforms", conditionally on the continuance intact of all rights Britain enjoyed in Morocco by virtue of any Treaty, Convention or Usage.

In October 1904 Spain adhered to the Anglo-French agreement of April but went beyond it by expressly stipulating that "the City of Tangier shall retain the special character which is given to it by the presence of the Diplomatic Corps and by its municipal and sanitary institutions". These latter had been regulated in some measure by the Madrid Convention of 1880.

In 1905 Germany claimed a conference to discuss Moroccan affairs; in January 1906 the conference was held at Algeciras, and in April 1906 the convention agreed to by Great Britain, Germany, Austro-Hungary, Belgium, Spain, U.S.A., France, Italy, Holland, Portugal, Russia and Sweden was accepted by the Sultan of Morocco. The convention emphasised the differentiation between Tangier and the rest of Morocco by designating it as the seat of new institutions and authorities to be set up under international control. The emphasis was legalised in some measure by the Sanitary

Council, (the Executive Committee of the settlement), being termed in the Act of Algeciras (1906) "the International Sanitary Council".

In 1911, and as one result of the Agadir Panther incident, a Franco-German Agreement was entered into. But before adhering to it, the British Government on November 14th recalled, in a note to France, the exceptional character of Tangier as set out in the Franco-Spanish Convention of 1904, and suggested the negotiation of international agreements for the international control of Tangier and its municipal district. On November 21st the French Government agreed that the Franco-Spanish Convention would not in any way be superseded, and Great Britain then acceded to the Franco-German agreement that, inter alia, France might assume a Protectorate over Morocco. The point taken by H.M. Government in the course of the negotiations that the controlling authority of Tangier should be placed in the hands, jointly and equally, of all the signatories of the Act of Algeciras was not pressed; that point was that just as France stands for the Sultan's authority in the French Zone, and Spain in the Spanish Zone, so the Treaty Powers collectively shall stand for the Sultan's authority in Tangier and its district. Thus France in assuming the Protectorate acquired a special position in Tangier, and impaired its international character.

In 1912 various negotiations between France, the Sultan of Morocco and Spain provided, again inter alia, that "the city of Tangier shall retain the special character which it has been recognised as possessing and which shall determine its municipal organisation" and that "the city of Tangier and its neighbourhood shall be endowed with a special regime which shall be determined subsequently". In paragraph 2, Article 13, of the Franco-Spanish Agreement of November 27th, 1912, the limits of which were defined, the territory (now to be delimited) was designated "The International Municipal Zone."

In 1918 France, in a note verbale to Germany, maintained that until the "special regime" of 1912 had been actually introduced, the Tangier Zone remained an integral part of the French Protectorate as part of the Sultan's dominions.

In February 1919 the Sous-Directeur d'Afrique at the Quai d'Orsay claimed before the Committee of Ten that Tangier had remained in the Condition in which the whole of Morocco had been before the signature of the Protectorate Treaty of 1912 and proposed that the Act of Algeciras should be abrogated and that the Tangier Zone "which belonged in law to the French Protectorate should be attached to the French Protectorate in fact".

These demands were rejected alike by the "Allied Governments" and by the neutral signatories of the Act of Algeciras, but by Articles 141-6 of the Versailles Treaty and by corresponding articles in the St. Germain and Trianon Treaties, Germany, Austria and Hungary renounced their rights in Morocco under the Act of Algeciras. Tangier itself is not specifically mentioned in the Versailles Treaty.

On October 27th, 1923, Great Britain, France and Spain held a conference in London which on December 18th agreed to a Convention regulating the government and

administration of the Tangier Zone. The system adopted by the Convention was based on that already existing, which was notoriously and admittedly unsatisfactory, and was an attempt to reconcile the sovereign rights of the Sultan exercised through the French with the diplomatic and capitulatory rights acquired by nations represented at the Moroccan Court.

It is essential to remember that Tangier as a Community was denied all representation on or at the Conference, or in any of the institutions set up by the Statute:

The provisions of the Statute were:

- (1) The Tangier Zone was to be placed under a regime of permanent neutrality.
- (2) The native population, Moslem and Jew (or about 50,000 out of a total of 62,000) and their institutions are administered by a Moroccan staff appointed by the Sultan's representative, the Mandoub. This officer is himself practically in the hands of a high French official, the "Controlleur des Autorités Cherifiennes", who though unknown to the Statute thus controls in large measure the native population.
- (3) The Sultan's representative the "Mandoub" presides over the Municipal Council (designated by the name of "International Legislative Assembly"), and he administers the affairs of the native population.
- (4) The International Assembly ^{consists} of 26 members, viz., 4 French, 4 Spanish, 3 British, 2 Italian, and 1 Belgian, Dutch, American and Portuguese, all nominated by their respective Consulates, together with 6 Moslems and 3 Jews nominated by the Mandoub. In this way the signatories of the Statute have indicated their proportionate interest in Tangier. But of this total number of 26, France now directly and indirectly controls 13, as well as the President.
- (5) The Committee of control consists of the Consuls de Carrière of any Power signatory of the Act of Algeciras (Germany, Austria, and Hungary are still excluded). The Committee supervises the Budget of the Zone and can veto any enactment of the Assembly.
- (6) The Administrator is responsible to the Committee of Control and the Assembly for the internal administration of the Zone, and has authority over the police and gendarmerie. The first holder of the office was to be French, and to retain the post for 6 years. The present Administrator is still French.
- (7) The conduct of foreign relations was vested in France as delegate for the Sultan.

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- (8) Justice is administered by a Mixed Court of French, Spanish and British judges, who took over from the Consular authorities. The American Consul still retains his separate functions and authority.
- (9) The Convention was to be communicated to the Powers signatories of the Act of Algeciras for their accession to it. It lasts for 12 years (from 1924, the date of ratification). "It is to be renewed automatically for one or more equal periods if at least 6 months before expiry none of the Contracting Powers demand its revision." The Convention remains in force until revision is effected by common agreement.

As the Convention was ratified on May 14th, 1924, revision must be demanded before December 14th, 1935.

In June 1925 the Statute came into force, and in that month a petition demanding revision of its economic clauses was signed by all the commercial nationalities who further asked for autonomous institutions for the Zone.

In 1926 Spain, claiming the incorporation of the International Zone with her own zone (by which indeed it is enclosed landwards), reopened the suitability of the Statute, and was joined by Italy. Italy had not been consulted in 1923, was nervous about the entrance to the Mediterranean, and was very conscious of her naval position there, and deeply concerned about her prestige.

On March 20th, 1928, a conference between Great Britain, France, Italy and Spain was begun and resulted in an agreement (July 25th) to certain amendments of the Statute of 1923.

To meet the requirements of Spain during the Riff War, the Zone gendarmerie was placed under a Spanish officer. Italy was given a third seat in the Assembly and equality with Great Britain in the general administration of the Zone.

Belgium, the Netherlands, Portugal and Sweden who had already acceded to the Statute of 1923 acceded also to the amendments of 1924. The United States, as before, abstained from recognition of the Conference. Russia, one of the signatories at Algeciras, was not invited to accede, while Germany, Austria and Hungary had renounced all rights in Morocco under the various Treaties of Peace.

In February 1929, the British Chamber of Commerce at Tangier, in a formal protest to the British Consul General, pointed out the excessive cost of administration consequent on the necessity of considering the susceptibilities of the four chief governing Powers. This protest was supported by the International and by the Spanish Chamber of Commerce.

In 1932 all the four Chambers of Commerce, British, French, Italian, and Spanish made common cause and demanded from the Committee of Control redress of their economic distress.

In March 1933, the British Chamber of Commerce approached the Foreign Office pointing out both the grievances and remedies.

From this narration of occurrences connected with Tangier certain facts of importance emerge:-

- (1) If the control of the town and territory of Tangier were in the hands of any but a truly international authority, the sea-borne trade of the Mediterranean could be controlled by the ruler of Tangier.
- (2) The town and territory of Tangier has been recognised by the Sultan of Morocco and by the comity of nations to be an International Zone and accordingly it should be placed under the direction of the League.
- (3) The international zone is enclosed landwards by the Spanish Zone which itself is held on lease from the French Protectorate of Morocco.
- (4) The European signatories to the Act of Algeiras have recognised France as the paramount power in Morocco, but have specially excepted Tangier from inclusion in the sphere of that paramountcy.
- (5) They have defined their proportionate interest in Tangier, but the extent of the administrative control they have respectively exercised in practice has not preserved this proportion.
- (6) The administration of Justice is dilatory and confused.
- (7) The inhabitants of Tangier are not permitted to elect their own representative on the Assembly.
- (8) There is common agreement amongst all nationalities that revision of the Statute is desirable.
- (9) Notice of a demand for revision must be given before December 14th, 1935. Failing such notice the present Statute remains in force until May, 1948.
- (10) Any Power, party to the Statute of Tangier, can give such notice.
- (11) Any conference for the purpose of revision should be attended by the Powers signatory of the Act of Algeiras and should be constituted by and report to the League of Nations.
- (12) The revision of the Statute is urgently required and H.M. Government should be invited to consider whether they should exercise their rights under the Act and ask for revision.

In case the Foreign Office accept a proposal to give notice before the 14th December, 1935, for revision of the current Statute, the League of Nations Union submits the following points which the Union is informed represent the sentiments and interests of the British residents:

- (1) The appointment by the League of Nations of a High Commissioner. Preferably he should be responsible for the whole administration of the Zone, native and immigrant alike, to the League. An expert in Mohammedan administration and law is not necessary if he is assisted by a competent Deputy.
- (2) The General Assembly is really a Municipal Council. Wholesale nomination has not been satisfactory, wholesale election would be much less so. The bulk of the population is in an illiterate mixture of Moslems, Jews and Spaniards, to which are added a good sprinkling of French, and a certain number of British, wealthy more from social standing and wealth than for numbers, with a very small but increasing proportion of Italians. The other nationalities are inconsiderable. A small preponderance of French and Spanish influence as at present would not be unfair provided that their practical control of the nominated (or in the future elected) native members was abrogated.
- (3) The judicial system requires that there should be power of summary jurisdiction and a real Court of Appeal. Judges should not be allowed to sit alternately "in first instance" and then "in appeal". The code of law employed requires regularisation. One of the ex-Judges at the Tangier Courts, such as Mr. Fitzgerald, could give evidence as to the existing confusion.
- (4) The taxable capacity of Tangier, its Budget and its actualities of revenue and expenditure, the proportion of income allotted to payment of salaries as contrasted with that to social requirements; the disposal of monopolies; the finance of the Harbour works; all require immediate scrutiny and reform.
- (5) Railway charges, and the provision of "halts" or stations need enquiry - as do the unification of Customs duties.
- (6) It is suggested that the development of Tangier is being unduly retarded in the interests of the French and Spanish ports of Casablanca and Ceuta; and that the interests of Tangier and of British merchants there are suffering in consequence. Discrimination of this kind can and should be prevented.

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The above considerations are matters of vital importance to a community whose social status is rising rapidly, whose population is increasing, whose land values have soared beyond measure, but whose trade, apart from tourist traffic has decreased. If the proper opportunity for revision at the end of the first twelve year period is not taken advantage of, the very reasonable discontent of the local population may force a demand for revision at an inconvenient time.

CONFIDENTIAL.

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

PRESENT: Professor Murray (in the Chair) W. Arnold-Forster, F.J. Noel Baker, F.M. Burris, Major Anthony Buxton, Lord Cecil, Sir Austen Chamberlain, Miss K.D. Courtney, Lord Dickinson, Vice-Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Lady Gladstone, Lady Henschel, Major J.W. Hills, Captain Loder, G. le M. Mander, Sir Walter Napier, Mrs. Runciman, Mrs. Wilson-Fox, L.M. Wynch.

40. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from L.J. Cadbury, H.H. Elvin, Captain L.H. Green, Sir Arthur Haworth, Lady Layton, Lord Lytton, Sir John Power, Arthur Pugh, Professor C.K. Webster.

41. REFORM OF THE LEAGUE. The Executive considered the remainder of the Report of the Joint Meeting of the Reform of the League Sub-Committee and the International Law Committee, together with that portion of the report of the China Committee (S.G.7205) which was not contained in resolution 20(1) of the Executive dated January 31st, as well as suggestions by Sir Walter Napier (S.G.7233) and comments by Professor Webster (S.G.7236). After prolonged discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the remainder of the Report on the reform of the League be approved and adopted in the attached amended form, subject to the inclusion of a paragraph on Council Procedure to be drafted by the Chairman in the light of the Committee's discussion."

see
minutes 44

42. CUSTOMS AND MONETARY BARRIERS: RESOLUTION OF BELGIAN LEAGUE OF NATIONS SOCIETY. The Executive considered a resolution submitted by the Belgian League of Nations Society to the International Federation's Standing Committee for its meeting in Geneva on March 2nd next. Professor Murray reported that Mr. Hartley Withers (Chairman of the Union's Economic Committee) had suggested that the Union's delegates to the Federation's meetings should be instructed to support this resolution, and it was

RESOLVED: "That the Union's delegates to the Spring meetings of the International Federation be instructed to support the resolution on Customs and Monetary Barriers submitted by the Belgian League of Nations Society."

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S.G.7204
28.1.35.REPORT ON
REFORM OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.I. BASIC CONSIDERATIONS.

Any change in the existing League should be undertaken with caution. It is easier to destroy what exists than to create something better in its place. Moreover, the chief difficulties that have occurred have been due to the reluctance of Member States to carry out the provisions of the Covenant, rather than to any defect in that document itself. The international situation at the present moment is unfavourable to any attempt to re-organise the League. If a disarmament convention were signed, the reform of the League could be discussed in a calmer atmosphere.

II. CRITICISMS OF THE LEAGUE.

(a) The sources of dissatisfaction with the League are in many cases psychological, and cannot be removed by the alteration of texts. Grievances concerning the treatment of Germany before she entered the League, and the unpleasant tasks imposed upon the League by the Peace Treaties have created prejudices against the League which are difficult to remove. The most important of such hostile sentiments may be summed up by saying that the League is liable to be resented by the peoples who were defeated in the War, or subjected to new rulers against their will, since it appears to be part of a Peace Treaty imposed by the victors. Equality in disarmament would do much to diminish the force of these grievances.

(b) The following seem to be the main criticisms which have been made of the League in its present form:-

That it does not provide a sufficiently rapid and effective means of preventing war;

That, in this task, it cannot count upon the co-operation of important states which are not members;

That it is weakened by the prejudice which exists against certain aspects of the Treaties of Peace in which the Covenant is incorporated;

That it fails to provide practical means for the revision of treaties;

That the Council is not an independent or impartial tribunal for the purpose of arbitrating or mediating in international disputes;

That the rule of unanimity permits obstruction to necessary international action on the part of a single, possibly insignificant, state.

III. METHODS OF REFORM.

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Three methods may be employed to bring about changes in the League and in its activities:-

- (A) Amendments may be proposed in the Assembly under Article 26 of the Covenant.
- (B) Alterations in the League's procedure and in many of its activities may be brought about by resolutions of the Council or Assembly without amending the Covenant.
- (C) Supplementary agreements may be contracted in separate international instruments.

Possible alterations are studied in this report under these three heads. *

A. AMENDMENTS TO THE COVENANT.

- (1) Separation of the Covenant from the Peace Treaties.

The fact that the Covenant is an integral part of the various Peace Treaties has been a matter of complaint by Germany and other Powers and to remedy it the suggestion has been made that the Covenant should be "separated from the Peace Treaties" by which presumably is meant that the present Covenant should be replaced by a new Covenant in which no reference to the War or to the Peace Treaties would appear. The objections to this course are obvious

* The following examples of the use of these three methods may be cited:-

- (A) Article IV 2(bis) of the Covenant which provides that "the Assembly shall fix by a two-thirds majority the rules dealing with the election of the non-permanent Members of the Council and particularly such regulations as relate to their term of office and the conditions of re-eligibility", has already been accepted by the Assembly and the amendments have been ratified.
- (B) Rules have been adopted by resolution of the Council governing the appointments of Committees of Three for the consideration of minority petitions and for the procedure of the Council in dealing with such matters.
- (C) The Minority Treaties, Clauses and Declarations have from time to time given the Council new rights and duties with regard to the protection of racial, religious and linguistic minorities. The various treaties concerning opium and dangerous drugs have imposed fresh duties upon the Secretariat and upon States Members. The Convention for Financial Assistance and for Improving the Means of Preventing War, if ratified, would modify the Council's methods of preventing hostilities or restoring peace.

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but the same end might, if it were considered desirable, be attained and probably with less friction, by a Protocol open to the signature of all States Members of the League stating that they accept and adhere to the Covenant as an international instrument entirely separate from the Peace Treaties.

The Charter of the International Labour Organisation contained in Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles could if necessary be dealt with in the same way.

It must be pointed out that there are articles referring to the League in the Peace Treaties, apart from the Covenant, such as that in the Treaty of St. Germain as to Austria, which arouse even greater resentment than the Covenant itself and that these resentments would remain even if the Covenant was "separated from the Peace Treaties".

(11) Article XVI.

The Union has always expressed the hope that the amendments to Article XVI adopted by the 2nd Assembly will be ratified. (For text of these amendments see Annex II). Nevertheless, in view of the difficulties that have arisen and the changes in the international situation since these amendments were framed, it is for examination whether it would not be preferable to advocate the insertion in Article XVI of the following two paragraphs only:-

It is for the Council to give an opinion whether or not a breach of the Covenant has taken place. In deliberations on this question in the Council, the votes of Members of the League alleged to have resorted to war and of Members against whom such action was directed shall not be counted.

The Council will notify to all Members of the League the date which it recommends for the application of the economic pressure under this Article.

Resort to war, within the meaning of the Article, is, in the Union's view, impossible to define in advance without ambiguity. The Union however has accepted the declaration on this subject of the Federation of League of Nations Societies which was in the following terms:-

Aggression means a violent infringement of the sovereign rights of a state, carried out with a view to injuring or destroying its political independence or territorial integrity. In case of any dispute as to the character of the infringement, it is for the Council of the League or other international authority to determine the point. In reaching its determination, the authority should have regard to the definition of aggression submitted by the Security Committee of the Disarmament

Conference on 24th May, 1933, as well as to the declaration made by President Roosevelt on May 16th, 1933 in this connection." *

It will be observed that the over-riding test here is the intention of the state whose forces infringe the sovereignty of another.

With regard to the final sentence the Union considers that the Council should have regard not only to the indications of aggression mentioned in the resolution but also to those which have been embodied in international instruments, draft treaties, or otherwise brought to the attention of the Assembly or the Disarmament Conference. The more important of these are recorded in Annex III to the present report.

(iii) Exclusion of disputants' votes.

As the Covenant stands at present there are no specific provisions in Articles X, XI or XVI for the exclusion of the votes of the contending parties. It is a principle of natural justice that a party to a dispute cannot be judge in his own case, and this view has been upheld by the Permanent Court of International Justice and by the Council.** An opinion of the Court might be obtained on the question whether the Council could frame its advice under Article X, or its recommendations under Article XVI without counting the votes of the parties, and whether the Council or the Assembly might, in the same way, take under Article XI any action "That may be deemed wise and

* Resolution of the 18th Plenary Congress at Folkestone, May, 1934.

** In its Advisory Opinion No. 12 on Article 3, paragraph 2, of the Treaty of Lausanne (Frontier between Turkey and Iraq), the Permanent Court of International Justice concludes that "according to the Covenant itself, in certain cases and more particularly in the case of the settlement of a dispute, the rule of unanimity is applicable, subject to the limitation that the votes cast by representatives of the interested Parties do not affect the required unanimity... The question which arises is solely whether such unanimity is sufficient or whether the representatives of the Parties must also accept the decision. The principle laid down by the Covenant in paragraphs 6 and 7 of Article XV, seems to meet the requirements of a case such as that now before the Council. The well-known rule that no one can be judge in his own suit holds good."

When the dispute relating to the Claim of the Eight Principal Industrial States was under consideration by the Council (Official Journal, 3rd Year, No. 2, page 1160) the view was taken "that India could not be both judge and party to the case".

effectual to safeguard the peace of nations." Should the Court decide that the votes of the disputants cannot be excluded, the union recommends that Article V of the Covenant be amended as follows:-

"Except where otherwise expressly provided in this Covenant, decisions at any meeting of the Assembly or of the Council shall require the agreement of all the Members of the League represented at the meeting, provided always that in arriving at decisions concerning an international dispute the votes of the parties to the dispute shall not be counted."*

(iv) "Gap in the Covenant".

The amendments framed in 1930 for bringing the Covenant into harmony with the Kellogg Pact should be agreed to and ratified. (For text of amendments see Annex I).

B. CHANGES IN PROCEDURE.

(1) Pacific Settlement of Disputes: Council Procedure.

A good deal is often said about the unsuitability of the Council for purposes of mediation and conciliation. It is alleged that the members of the Council are not impartial; that they are too much moved by political considerations, and that this leads to unsatisfactory decisions and still more to adjournments and delays. There may be some truth in these charges, though it is easy to overstate them. The Council is no doubt a political body, but the disputes brought before it can usually not be decided without some reference to political considerations and these can only be dealt with by a body representing the Governments of the States Members of the League such as the Council. In fact the Council has had very considerable success in the settlement of such controversies. Suggestions have been made tending to substitute for the Council a specially appointed body of eminent and intelligent persons. It is, however, doubtful whether such a body would really improve matters. At the present time it is improbable that the nations would agree to give to a tribunal of that kind functions, which would be administrative or even legislative rather than judicial. Ultimately the disputes would have to go to the Council and the creation of a new mediatorial body might well only occasion additional delay.

No doubt there are disadvantages inherent in the present large size of the Council. But there seems no chance of reducing it in the immediate future: indeed the reverse is probable. The disadvantages are of two kinds: first, a loss of that sense of unity and mutual loyalty among the Members of the Council which comes from

* This would greatly affect the Convention for Improving the means of Preventing War.

intimate co-operation for a common end; secondly, a loss in administrative efficiency. The first defect can only be remedied by effective leadership in the Council and greater concord in the policies of the nations represented. The second is already being to some extent met by the processes natural in such cases - preliminary discussions of questions by informal groups of members specially interested, and the delegation of particular questions to sub-committees.

Preliminary discussions among those specially interested serve a useful purpose and in any case cannot be prevented. Care however should be taken to see that such groups do not harden into permanent alliances likely to disrupt the unity of the Council, nor yet into sharp divisions between "Great Powers" and the rest of the nations. It might be well for the Council to decide, as a rule of normal procedure in cases not demanding immediate action, to delegate the preliminary examination of each question to a special committee, either constituted on regional lines, or representative of the nations specially interested, or again consisting of individuals chosen for their technical knowledge or personal qualifications.

In dealing with international disputes the Council should take full advantage of the opportunities afforded by the Permanent Court of International Justice for the determination of all justiciable issues. In other matters it would be well advised to appoint fact-finding Committees whose duty it would be to investigate the circumstances of the dispute and report to the Council. The object of all such procedure would be to enable the Council to come to rapid and well considered decisions which should be reached in public session. Advisory opinions of the Court, and reports of fact-finding Committees should be published, in order to secure the formation of an instructed public opinion which would assist the Council in effecting a just solution.

(11) Ratification of Conventions.

The moral authority of the League suffers from the failure of States to ratify Conventions signed under its auspices.* On more than one occasion the labour of an international conference has been wasted and the resulting Convention has been still-born owing to the failure of a few Governments to bring it before their legislative authorities. Members of the International Labour Organisation are, however, obliged to bring Conventions adopted by the International Labour Conference before their legislative authorities within a fixed period; and, though this system has not been entirely satisfactory, much of the energy of the Director of the International Labour Organisation has in the past been successfully employed in securing the ratification of Conventions by the Governments concerned.

* See the Report adopted by the Assembly on October 3rd, 1930. (C.622.M.244)

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Signatories of all Conventions negotiated under the League's auspices, who have not deposited ratifications, should be required, by a resolution of the Assembly, to inform the Secretary-General once a year of the reasons why they have not ratified; and the Secretary-General should be instructed by the same resolution to include this information in his annual report to the Assembly.

(iii) Protection of Minorities.

The procedure for the protection of minorities has been repeatedly discussed by the International Federation and the Union has at present no further observations to make.

(iv) Appointment of Committees.

It should be made clear, if necessary by obtaining an advisory opinion of the Permanent Court of International Justice upon Article V(2) of the Covenant, that the Assembly or Council may not only determine the composition of a committee, but decide upon the creation of a committee by a majority vote.

(v) Recommendations by the Council.

The right of the Council to make recommendations (voeux) by a majority should be asserted.

(vi) Revision of Treaties.

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

If a 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.

After considering the report or reports of the Commission of Inquiry, 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.

C. SUPPLEMENTARY AGREEMENTS.(1) Prevention of War.

The means of preventing war could be improved, apart from the amendments to Articles X, XI and XVI of the Covenant proposed above. In the first place the Convention already drawn up for this purpose and the Convention for Financial Assistance should be made operative. The latter is intended (Article 35) to come into operation only when a General Disarmament Treaty has been ratified. Three further measures are proposed in the reports of the Security Committee of the Disarmament Conference (see pages 34 - 42 of Union pamphlet No. 348):-

- (a) An act for the Definition of aggression.
/See also Annex III/
- (b) An Act relating to the Establishment of Facts Constituting Aggression.
- (c) A European Security Pact.
/An alternative to this proposal for a single European pact would be a series of regional pacts./
- (11) Co-operation of non-Member States.

A system of collaboration between the United States and the States Members of the League for the prevention of war is gradually growing up and this is evidenced by the following facts:-

- (a) In October 1931 when the Sino-Japanese dispute was being considered an observer from the United States sat on the Council for the hearing of the dispute.
- (b) On May 24th, 1933, Mr. Norman Davies told the Disarmament Conference that his Government would be prepared to make the following unilateral declaration:-

"Recognising that any breach or threat of breach of the Pact of Paris was a matter of concern to all the signatories thereto, the Government of the United States of America declares that in the event of a breach or threat of breach of this Pact, it will be prepared to confer, with the view to the maintenance of peace, in the event that consultation for such purpose is arranged pursuant to Annexes X and Y of Part I of the Disarmament Convention.* In the event that a decision is taken by conference of the Powers in consultation in determining the aggressor with which, on the basis of its independent judgment, the Government of the United States is agreed, the Government of the United

* See pages 31 - 32 of Union pamphlet No. 348.

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States will undertake to refrain from any action and to withhold protection from its citizens if engaged in activities which would tend to defeat the collective effort which the States in consultation might have decided upon."

(c) The first chapter of the Draft Disarmament Convention as amended by the British Memorandum of January 27th, 1934, provides that upon any breach or threatened breach of the Kellogg Pact or of the Disarmament Treaty representatives of the non-Member States would sit in consultation with the Council with a view to considering how the Treaty should be maintained and the situation restored.

It has been proposed that there should be superimposed on the Covenant a super Covenant, embodying this co-operation and wide enough to make possible the admission of every country in the world.* This proposal should be resisted. The growth of a system which is being developed naturally is only retarded by an attempt to embody it in a written constitution.

* The proposal was made before Russia joined the League.

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

PRESENT: Professor Gilbert Murray (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams, Lord Allen, Sir Norman Angell, Miss Joyce Ansell, P.J. Noel Baker, Major Anthony Buxton, L.J. Cadbury, Lord Cecil, Sir Austen Chamberlain, the Dean of Chichester, Lord Dickinson, Vice-Admiral S.R. Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dugdale, Captain Green, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, Lady Henschel, Dr. Kinnios, Lady Layton, Captain J. de V. Loder, Lord Lytton, G. le M. Mander, Lord Rhayader, Mrs. Runciman, Mrs. Wilson-Fox, Professor Webster L.M. Wynch.

43. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from W. Arnold-Foster, Michael Barkway, F.M. Burris, the Reverend G. Davies, H.H. Elvin, Sir Arthur Haworth, Commander Norman Lewis, Sir Walter Napier, Sir John Power, Arthur Pugh, Councillor H.F. Shaw, H.S. Syrett and Professor Zimmern.
44. MINUTES. Subject to the following decision on Minutes 33 and 41, the Minutes of the last ordinary meeting held on February 7th and of the special meeting held on February 14th were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 33 - Refugees, it was

RESOLVED: "That Mr. J. de V. Loder be invited to serve on the Refugees Sub-Committee."

On Minute 41 - Reform of the League, it was

RESOLVED: "That, in submitting the Report on the Reform of the League to the International Federation, it be explained that the Report is merely put forward to help in the discussion of the subject, and that the Executive Committee of the Union reserves the right to reconsider any statement contained in the document before it is discussed by the Plenary Congress of the International Federation in June."

45. MANUFACTURE AND SALE OF ARMS.

(a) Recent Proceedings in Geneva. The Executive had before them a summary of the main provisions of the American Draft on Manufacture of Arms and of the proposals contained in Lord Stanhope's speech of February 14th. (S.G.7257).

Lord Cecil thought it was of vital importance that H.M. Government should act with the American Government as much as possible in view of the very grave dangers which were threatening in the Far East. He therefore deplored the proposal contained in Lord

Stanhope's speech to strike out of the American Draft the power of local inspection and to exclude from the Convention the establishment of a Permanent Disarmament Commission on the ground that it should be set up under a separate Protocol. He suggested that the Executive should pass a resolution urging H.M. Government to support the American proposals, particularly with regard to these two points. Lord Cecil was glad to notice that, according to Lord Stanhope's speech, H.M. Government proposed to extend the system of licences and publicity to all aircraft, civil as well as military, and to propose the refusal of export credits for armaments.

Sir Austen Chamberlain thought the Committee ought not to pass a resolution on this important subject without having the terms of the suggested resolution circulated for their consideration beforehand. Lord Cecil therefore proposed that the Executive should allow the Chairman to send a letter to H.M. Government, expressing the extreme anxiety felt by the Committee in this matter and stating that, although the Committee had reserved a definite resolution on the subject for further consideration, they thought it right that H.M. Government should be apprised of the opinions expressed.

Sir Austen Chamberlain suggested that Lord Cecil should ask in the House of Lords that the proposals made by Lord Stanhope at Geneva should be communicated to both Houses of Parliament. Lord Cecil agreed to do this.

After discussion it was

RESOLVED. (1) That the Chairman be asked to write a letter to H.M. Government on the lines suggested by Lord Cecil.

(2) That the text of Lord Stanhope's speech of February 14th be circulated for the information of the Executive.

(b) British Royal Commission. The Committee had before them a memorandum (S.G.7261) suggesting the presentation of evidence by the Union to the Royal Commission on the Manufacture of and Trade in Arms.

Lord Cecil was of the opinion that the Executive ought to submit to the Royal Commission the resolutions and reports accepted by the Executive Committee and endorsed by the General Council. He suggested that a statement should be prepared which the Chairman should be asked to present to the Commission. But he felt that those members of the Union who had taken a great interest in the subject and had formed very strong opinions should offer their own evidence as from themselves. The fact that they are members of the Union would be a certain endorsement of their seriousness and importance.

Sir John Harris stated that there were one or two societies, for example the Charity Organisation Society, who had had much experience in dealing with Royal Commissions. If the Secretary would consult representatives of such societies they would probably be able to suggest to him methods regarding the presentation of evidence which had been found successful in the past. After considerable discussion it was, on the motion of Sir Austen Chamberlain.

RESOLVED: "That a précis of the evidence which it is proposed to submit to the Royal Commission be prepared for consideration by the Executive Committee; and that, in the meantime, the Secretary be asked to consult the representatives of other societies on the lines suggested by Sir John Harris."

46. THE FAR EAST. The Committee considered the Report of the Far East Sub-Committee (S.G.7260) which had met on February 21st, 1935. The Committee also had before them a letter dated February 24th from Sir Arthur Salter (S.G.7262) to whom the Secretary had sent a copy of the Sub-Committee's Report.

The Secretary read to the Committee a letter dated February 26th from Lord Lothian, stating that he was disposed to agree with most of Sir Arthur Salter's comments, and suggesting that the first thing to be considered was whether the United States should not call a conference under the Washington Treaties in order that the political basis of those Treaties might be discussed between Japan, China, United States, the British Empire and Russia.

Lord Lytton thought it would be unwise for the Executive to adopt the resolutions submitted by the Far East Sub-Committee. He described conversations he had had during his recent visit to the United States with Mr. Hornback, the Head of the Far Eastern Department, with Mr. Hull, the Secretary of State, with Mr. Phillips, the Under-Secretary and also with Mr. Norman Davis. He expressed his intention of reporting to the Foreign Secretary and other members of H.M. Government the impressions he had gathered from these conversations and, after discussion, it was

RESOLVED: "That no action be taken in regard to the Report of the Far East Sub-Committee pending a further report from Lord Lytton."

47. ABYSSINIA. Mr. Noel Baker presented to the Committee a memorandum on the subject of the present conflict between Italy and Abyssinia with proposals for action by the Union (S.G.7264). After considerable discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the memorandum (S.G.7264), omitting the recommendations contained on the last page, be communicated to H.M. Government; that H.M. Government be asked to receive a small deputation

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from the Executive in order to discuss the situation; and that it be left to the Chairman to nominate the deputation."

48. FORTHCOMING MEETINGS OF INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION. It was

RESOLVED: "That the Union's delegates to the forthcoming meetings of the International Federation at Geneva be authorised to exercise their discretion in any matters on which the Executive has issued no instructions."

The Secretary reminded the Committee that any action taken at the Geneva meetings would not be final, and that the Executive would have an opportunity of moving any amendments they desired before the Plenary Congress met in June.

49. DATE OF ANNUAL MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL. It was

RESOLVED: "That the date of the Annual Meetings of the General Council to be held in Cambridge be postponed from June 25th/28th until ~~June~~ 2nd/6th, 1935." July

50. COLONEL FISHER. The Secretary reported that Colonel Fisher wished to resign his appointment with the Union as from March 15th next, and it was

RESOLVED: "That Colonel Fisher's resignation be accepted with regret, and that the sincere thanks of the Committee for the valued services he has rendered the Union be conveyed to him."

51. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

(a) Branches Committee. (Mr. Wynch reported). The Minutes of the Committee dated February 7th, 1935, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (2) Kent and Surrey; (3) Oxford, Bucks and Berkshire; (4) Branches and Junior Branches; (5) Corporate Members and Associates, Industrial Associates and Junior Sections; (6) Membership; (7) Branch Annual Reports; (8) National Peace Congress; (9) Schoolboys' Own Exhibition; (10) National Pageant or Exhibition; (11) Mr. Clift; (12) Mr. Whelen's Meetings; (13) "Thunder in the Air";

(b) Youth Committee. (Miss Ansell reported). The Minutes of the Committee dated February 9th, 1935, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included: (3) Membership of the Committee (4) Third National Conference of Youth Group Delegates; (5) Report on Progress; (6) Youth Group Finance; (7) Work to be undertaken by the Committee (8) Spring Meetings of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies; (9) Youth Group Literature; (10) Report of the Youth Camps Sub-Committee; (11) Arrangements for Easter; (12) Youth Group Film.

(c) Library Committee. (Dr. Kimmins reported). The Minutes of the Committee dated February 11th, 1935, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included: (2) Report on the Work of the Library during 1934; (3) Book List; (4) Composition of Committee for 1935.

(d) Education Committee. (Dr. Kimmins reported). The Minutes of the Committee dated February 11th, 1935, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included: (3) Miss Mary Henson; (4) Membership of the Committee; (5) Incorporated Association of Preparatory Schools; (6) Association of Municipal Corporations and County Councils' Association; (7) Meetings for Teachers and Schools; (8) Report on Work in Universities and Colleges; (9) Report of the Youth Committee; (10) Meeting of the General Council (December 13th and 14th, 1934); (11) International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation; (12) Advisory Committee for League of Nations Teaching; (13) International Federation of League of Nations Societies (Spring Meetings); (14) German Textbooks; (15) Teachers and World Peace; (16) The Association of Assistant Masters; (17) Education for Peace; (18) Summer Schools; (19) Birmingham Junior Council of League of Nations Societies in Secondary Schools; (20) Junior Branches; (21) Corporate Members; (22) Junior Sections.

(e) Office Committee. The Minutes of the Committee dated February 12th, 1935, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included: (2) Speakers' References; (3) B.U.L.N.S.; (4) Staff Superannuation Scheme; (5) Mr. Bullock; (6) Voluntary Workers; (7) Mr. A. Wilson; (8) Mr. Archer; (9) Mr. Joyce; (10) Youth Groups.

(f) Finance Committee. Subject to the following report on Minute 4, the Minutes of the Committee dated February 12th, 1935, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included: (2) Financial Statement; (3) Dr. Garnett's December Appeal; (4) February Appeal; (5) Miss Buckton's Will; (6) The National Declaration; (7) Colonel Fisher's Report; (8) Sussex Federal Council; (9) Interest on Bank Overdraft.

On Minute 4 - February Appeal, it was reported that some £1,500 had already been received in response to the Appeal signed by Sir Norman Angell, Lord Cecil, Sir Austen Chamberlain, Professor Murray and Lord Queenborough.

(g) Industrial Advisory Committee. (Lady Hall reported). The Minutes of the Committee dated February 14th, 1935, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included: (14) Albert Thomas Memorial Fund; (15) International Labour Conventions - Report of Sub-Committee on Ratifications; (16) Conference on "Social and Economic Planning"; (17) Recruitment of Native Labour; (18) Work of the Committee - Report of Leaflet Drafting Committee; (19) Conference on Work of 1935, International Labour Conference; (20) International Federation of League of Nations Societies; (21) Mr. Gillinder's Report; (22) Meetings; (23) Royal Sanitary Institute; (24) Industrial Affiliations; (25) Party to International Labour Conference; (26) "The Future of the League and the I.L.O."

(h) Christian Organisations Committee. (The Dean of Chichester reported). Subject to the following report on Minute 11, the Minutes of the Committee dated February 20th, 1935, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (11) The League and Religious Persecution; (12) Public Meeting; (13) International Work of the Oxford Groups; (14) Arms Inquiry; (15) Proposed League of Nations Exhibition and Pageant; (16) National Declaration; (17) Applications for Corporate Membership.

On Minute 11 - the League and Religious Persecution, the Dean of Chichester reported that it was hoped to submit the memorandum to the Executive Committee at its next meeting.

52. VISIT OF RUSSIAN EDUCATIONISTS. On the motion of the Chairman it was

RESOLVED: "That the proposal that the Union should participate in the invitation to Russian educationists to visit this country be approved, provided that no expense be incurred by the Union in this connection."

53. WAVERTREE BY-ELECTION. The Committee received a report on the Wavertree By-election.

54. ADJOURNMENT. It was

RESOLVED: "That the remaining items on the agenda be adjourned for discussion at the next meeting of the Committee."

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MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION HELD AT 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W. 1., ON THURSDAY, MARCH 7TH, 1935 AT 11 A.M.

PRESENT: Professor Murray (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams, Lord Allen, Miss Joyce Ansell, Michael Barkway, F.M. Burris, Lord Cecil, Admiral Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dugdale, H.H. Elvin, Miss Megan Lloyd George, Lady Gladstone, Captain Green, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, Sir Arthur Haworth, Major Hills, Dr. Kimmins, Lady Layton, Commander Norman Lewis, Captain J. de V. Loder, Lord Lytton, G. le M. Mander, Sir Walter Napier, Lord Eustace Percy, Mrs. Runciman, H.S. Syrett, Professor Webster, Mrs. Wilson-Fox, L.M. Wynch.

55. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Sir Norman Angell, P.J. Noel Baker, Major Anthony Buxton, L.J. Cadbury, Sir Austen Chamberlain, Miss K.D. Courtney, Lady Henschel, Sir John Power, Arthur Pugh, Professor Zimmern.
56. MINUTES. Subject to the following report on Minutes 49 and 51 (h) (11) the Minutes of the Committee dated February 28th, 1935, were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 49 -- Date of Annual Meeting of General Council, the Secretary reported that the date of the Council's meeting should read July 3rd to 6th, 1935.

On Minute 51 (h) (11) -- The League and Religious Persecution, the secretary reported that the final form of the memorandum had not yet been settled, but that it would be submitted to the Executive at a later meeting.

57. MANUFACTURE AND SALE OF ARMS.

- (a) Recent Proceedings in Geneva. The Chairman read to the Committee the letter he had written to Sir John Simon on February 28th in accordance with the decision taken by the Executive at its last meeting, together with the Foreign Secretary's reply of March 6th. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the Chairman be asked to send a letter of thanks to Sir John Simon and at the same time to emphasise the Executive Committee's hope that H.M. Government are not going to oppose the establishment of a Permanent Disarmament Commission.

Lord Cecil reported that, in accordance with the suggestion made by Sir Austen Chamberlain, he had put down a motion in the House of Lords for March 14th, asking whether the proposal with regard to
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Traffic in Arms recently made by Lord Stanhope at Geneva could be communicated to the House of Lords. But in view of Sir John Simon's letter to Professor Murray, Lord Cecil was doubtful whether it was worth while proceeding with his motion.

- (b) British Royal Commission. The Secretary reported that a precis of the evidence which it was proposed to submit to the Royal Commission was in course of preparation and would, he hoped, be submitted to the Executive at its next meeting.

58. BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S STATEMENT RELATING TO DEFENCE. The Committee considered the "Statement Relating to Defence" (Cmd. 4827) issued in connection with the House of Commons Debate on March 11th, 1935. The Secretary reported that many Branches of the Union were asking for a lead from the Executive in this matter.

After prolonged discussion in which many members of the Executive took part, it was, on the motion of Lord Gustave Percy,

- RESOLVED: (1) "The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union recognises with deep concern that the Government's memorandum on the proposed increase of expenditure upon armaments has created amongst the general public a widespread impression that H.M. Government have abandoned the policy of extending and reinforcing the collective system of defence, have fallen back on the assumption that national armaments alone can provide security and have weakened in their determination to work for a general reduction of armaments by international agreement.

Believing that the whole nation urgently demands a wholehearted League of Nations policy as the only means of ensuring our national safety and preventing a disastrous race in armaments,

The Executive Committee presses the Government to announce and define in unmistakable terms a constructive policy for strengthening the system of collective security and facilitating general disarmament."

- (2) "That the Chairman be asked to write a covering letter, on behalf of the Executive, to be sent to the Prime Minister with the above resolution."
- (3) "That the resolution be also communicated to the Foreign Secretary and to the Press."

(4) "That further consideration be given at the next meeting of the Executive to Lord Allen's suggestion that the Union should produce its own White Paper, reviewing the events of the last few years, indicating the manner in which the League machinery could be used, and emphasising the fact that, whenever the Government has decided to co-operate in collective action that initiative has always produced satisfactory results."

59. THE FAR EAST. Lord Lytton reported that he had not yet seen the Foreign Secretary and other members of H.M. Government concerning his recent conversations in the U.S.A., but that he hoped to be able to do so before the next meeting of the Executive.

60. GERMANY. Lord Cecil communicated to the Executive the following statement concerning the abandonment of Sir John Simon's visit to Berlin:

The breakdown of the arrangements by which our Foreign Secretary was to visit Berlin raises again the desirability of his going there at all.

My own impression is that it would be much better now for us to drop the whole subject, and if the Germans raise it again, to say that on reflection we think it would be much more convenient that they should come here rather than we should go there. I make this suggestion because I am really convinced that our pursuit of Germany is neither very dignified nor very useful. If she believes that she is conferring a great favour on us by rejoining the League, she will certainly try to sell that favour as dear as she can. Moreover, if she does rejoin on these terms she will always feel that she has a splendid card to play by leaving the League again if anything occurs there to displease her. Further, I have grave doubts whether by asking her to join the League we do not really drive her further away, partly for the reason just given, and partly because it gives her the impression that the League must be pretty shaky if we are so anxious to get her support. The Committee will remember that during the early years of the League we were always sending impassioned messages to the United States to join the League, with the result that for several years she scarcely moved towards the League at all. Then a different policy was adopted. No suggestion was made to America as to any change in her policy. The League simply went on doing its work, as it happens with considerable success; and the more the League succeeded, the more anxious the United States came to be to co-operate with it.

I believe the same result would follow even more decisively in the case of Germany. Indeed, recent events point to the probability of that prognosis being correct, for Germany is undoubtedly moving nearer again

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to the League since the successful action of the League with reference to Hungary and the Saar, for the very reason that she had to accept the decisions in both those cases without having any means of contributing to them.

I firmly believe that if the other Powers had agreed to go on with the Disarmament Conference after October, 1933, and had reached a conclusion, as I think they well might, the German Government would have been put into a very difficult position indeed and would probably have in some form or another agreed to consult with the League upon them.

I hope therefore that the Government, having now got an excellent excuse for abandoning the Berlin visit, will revert to strictly League methods of dealing with the subject and, sending many civil messages to Germany, say that if she desires to give us her collaboration she would be welcome.

61. ABYSSINIA. Lord Cecil presented a report on the special meeting of the Political Committee held on March 5th to consider the Abyssinian problem, and it was

RESOLVED: "That the report of the special meeting of the Political and Parliamentary Committee dated March 5th, 1935, be approved and adopted, but that the resolution contained in the report be not published."

62. CONSTITUTION OF GENERAL COUNCIL. After the Secretary had reported that Lord Rhayader was unable to accept the Chairmanship of the Sub-Committee appointed by the Executive on January 17th, 1935, to consider the constitution of the General Council, it was

RESOLVED: "That Mr. F.M. Burris be invited to act as Chairman of the Sub-Committee."

63. NATIONAL DECLARATION. The Executive received the Minutes of the National Declaration Conference held on February 27th, 1935.

64. ADDITIONAL OFFICER IN PRESS SECTION. It was reported that the Sub-Committee appointed by the Executive on December 20th (Minute 310) had recommended the appointment of Mr. Peter Matthews, formerly of Clare College, Cambridge, to assist in the work of the Union's Press section and it was

RESOLVED: "That the appointment of Mr. Peter Matthews for a period of six months be approved."

65. MR. GEOFFREY KNOX. The Executive considered a proposal by Mr. Mander that the Union should arrange a function in honour of Mr. Geoffrey Knox on his return to England. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the Secretary be asked to consult Mr. Knox in regard to this proposal and to report to the Executive."

66. 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 21ST, 1935 AT 11 a.m.

PRESENT: Professor Gilbert Murray (in the Chair); Lord Allen, Sir Norman Angell, Miss Joyce Ansell, W. Arnold-Forster, Michael Barkway, F.M. Burris, Major Anthony Buxton, L.J. Cadbury, Lord Cecil, Sir Austen Chamberlain, Miss K.D. Courtney, Lord Dickinson, Admiral Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dugdale, Lady Gladstone, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, Lady Henschel, Dr. Kimmins, Lord Layton, Commander Lewis, Captain Loder, Lord Lytton, Sir Walter Napier, Arthur Pugh, Lord Khayader, Mrs. Runciman, H.S. Syrett, Professor Webster, Mrs. Wilson-Fox, L.M. Wynch, Professor Zimmern.

67. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Vyvyan Adams, P.J. Noel Baker, H.H. Elvin, Captain L.H. Green, Major Hills, Miss Lloyd George, G. le M. Mander, Sir John Power, and Major Lawrence Wright

68. MINUTES. Subject to the following report on Minutes 58 and 65, the Minutes of the last meeting of the Committee dated March 7th, 1935, were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 58 - Recent Proceedings in Geneva, the Chairman reported that he had sent the Executive's resolution with a covering letter to the Prime Minister and had received a very friendly and conciliatory answer from him.

Mrs. Wilson Fox ~~and Mrs. Wynch~~ expressed regret that the Executive's resolution had been reported in the press as having been adopted unanimously; and they urged that in future all important resolutions should be put to a vote.

On Minute 65 - Sir Geoffrey Knox, the Secretary reported that he had written to Sir Geoffrey Knox who was at present travelling in France and Switzerland.

69. ORDER OF BUSINESS. The Chairman reported a suggestion made to him by the Secretary that, in view of the large amount of business which the Executive had now to transact and the reluctance of the Committee to comply with its own resolution that Reports of Committees should be considered at 12.30 p.m., any other business being if necessary interrupted for the purpose, the Executive should in future meet at 10.45 a.m. to consider reports of Committees; that this business should be taken before the Minutes of the last meeting of the Executive Committee and that if it was not finished by 11.15 a.m. it should then be adjourned until the remainder of the agenda had been completed. After considerable discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That, subject to the time allotted for consideration of Reports of Committees being extended, if necessary, to 11.30 a.m. the suggestion recorded above be adopted as an experiment."

70. REPORT ON GENEVA MEETINGS OF INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION. The Executive received a report on the meetings of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies held in Geneva from March 1st to 3rd, 1935 (S.G.7283).
71. HERR HITLER'S PROCLAMATION. The Chairman stated that some Branches of the Union had been adopting violent resolutions against any re-armament. He suggested that it would be useful if the Executive would issue some comment on the present situation for the general guidance of Branches, many of whom were asking for a lead from the Executive in this matter.

The Committee had before them a statement (S.G.7320b) which had been unanimously adopted by the Christian Organisations Committee at its meeting on the previous day. The Secretary reported that there had been present at this meeting the Ex-Moderator of the Church of Scotland (in the Chair in the absence of the Dean of Chichester) and representative persons from the Church of England, the Roman Catholic Church, the Free Churches and the Salvation Army. The Christian Organisations Committee were anxious to communicate their statement as from themselves to the Churches, in order to give them the lead they were looking for at the present time.

The Committee then discussed Herr Hitler's proclamation, the forthcoming visit of Sir John Simon and Mr. Eden to Berlin, and the French appeal to the League.

Lord Cecil felt that it would be unwise for the Union to do anything which might interfere with the success of the forthcoming visits of Sir John Simon and Mr. Eden to Berlin. From the point of view of the League the most important thing was that the French had asked for a meeting of the Council. He disagreed with the opinions published in the press that this was a most improper and unfortunate thing to have happened. Unless we believed that the League is the supreme instrument for establishing peace and desired it to be used on all suitable occasions, he did not think there was much prospect of the League ultimately surviving. He thought it would be a pity if the Executive Committee of the Union, representing League policy in this country more than any other society, did not do something to show that the Union saw no objection to the meeting of the Council; it recognised that it was right and proper that it should consider the German action; but that it hoped that the Council would not confine itself to mere criticism of Germany but would also be used for constructive efforts for the strengthening of peace and the promotion of disarmament. Lord Cecil hoped that in any communication the Executive might decide to send to the Branches they

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would warmly approve of the statement of His Majesty's Government's policy made by Mr. Anthony Eden to some of his constituents on March 18th.

Sir Austen Chamberlain thought that the question which concerned the League immediately was not the re-arming of Germany as such but the breach of a treaty. What was the meaning, he asked, of the collective system if the system had nothing to say to a flagrant breach of an international agreement. Unless a clear condemnation of the German action were placed on record, the response to any subsequent repudiation would be weakened, and such repudiation would certainly occur if Germany found she could do it practically without any condemnation from the world. Sir Austen took no exception to anything in the statement of the Christian Organisations Committee although he would prefer to omit the Note included at the end of the document. He would, however, be quite content to make no pronouncement from the Executive but to allow the Christian Organisations Committee's paper to be sent out as from that Committee.

Lord Allen urged that the Executive should not make any public pronouncement until after the Minister's visit to Berlin.

Lord Cecil reminded Lord Allen that he was not proposing that the Executive should make a public statement but should indicate to its Branches all over the country the line they should take at the present time, and thus prevent any panic which might otherwise arise.

After lengthy discussion, in which many members of the Executive took part, a resolution drafted by Lord Cecil was considered by the Committee. After an amendment by Lord Allen, and a subsequent motion by Mrs. Runciman that no action be taken, had both been put to the vote and defeated, it was on the motion of Lord Cecil

RESOLVED: (1) "That, if the Secretariat is asked by Branches our views as to a meeting of the Council to consider the action of Germany, they should say that we see no objection to such a meeting, that the maintenance of the sanctity of international agreements is one of the elementary principles of the League and the Council ought to take whatever action is necessary to maintain that principle. We hope that such action will include constructive efforts to strengthen peace and promote disarmament."

It was further

RESOLVED: (2) "That the Executive warmly welcomes the following statement of Mr. Eden to his constituents on March 18th:

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 "It has been emphasised again and again that British foreign policy is based upon its membership of the League of Nations, and that the main purpose of that policy is to make the collective peace system effective. It is because we believe that such a system is the best guarantee for the maintenance of peace that we have no intention of weakening in our faith or modifying our judgment. We believe in the League, we hold by the League, we will in no circumstances abandon our conviction of its indispensability. This I believe to be the point of view not only of His Majesty's Government, but of the overwhelming majority of the people of this country, whatever their political faith."

- (3) "That the best wishes of the Executive for the success of their forthcoming missions be conveyed to Sir John Simon and Mr. Eden."
 (4) "That the Christian Organisations Committee be authorised to use as they may see fit the attached resolution (omitting the Note) which they unanimously adopted on March 20th."

72. FINANCE COMMITTEE. Mr. Syrett reported on the Minutes of the Finance Committee dated March 12th, 1935. Subject to the following decision on Minutes 15 and 17, these Minutes were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (11) Minutes; (12) Financial Statement; (13) Renewal Appeal; (14) February appeal; (15) Colonel Fisher - the appointment of Mr. Hawkey to succeed Colonel Fisher on the same conditions and at the same salary; (16) Federal Councils; (17) Youth Groups; (18) Loan to Mr. S.M. Brayshaw; (19) International Ball; (20) National Declaration; (21) Passing of Cheques for Payment.

On Minute 15 - Colonel Fisher, Mr. Syrett paid testimony to the great ability with which Colonel Fisher had served the Union for so many years. He expressed the high appreciation, of himself and the other members of the Finance Committee, of Colonel Fisher's very successful efforts in raising funds for the Union, and said that it was with the greatest reluctance that the Finance Committee had proposed that this resignation be accepted.

On Minute 17 - Youth Groups, it was

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

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'That an attempt be made during the Jubilee Year to develop the work of the Union amongst adolescents, and to obtain a grant for this purpose from the Jubilee Fund now being raised in response to the Appeal of H.R.H. The Prince of Wales.'

73. ADJOURNMENT. It was

RESOLVED: "That the remaining items on the agenda be adjourned for consideration at the next meeting of the Committee to be held on Thursday, March 28th at 10.45 a.m."

S.G.7320(b)

1. ~~The~~ members of the Christian Organisations Committee who have the responsibility of advising the League of Nations Union upon its work in our respective Churches, welcome the assurance given by the Lord Privy Seal on March 7th that

The foreign policy of His Majesty's Government is unalterably based on the League of Nations as being the most effective mechanism yet devised to operate a collective peace system; and that there is no security in arms comparable to that which can be derived from the effective working of such a system.

2. Since the foreign policy of His Majesty's Government is based upon the principle of the collective action of nations as members of one great commonwealth, we would insist that the effective working of this principle depends upon the fulfilment of two conditions.

(a) The first condition is that His Majesty's Government should consistently and whole-heartedly pursue their policy of effectively working the collective peace system centred in the League of Nations. Since confidence in the collective system, both at home and abroad, is diminished by any appearance of ambiguity or inconsistency in the aims of His Majesty's Government, their pursuit of this policy should be as much in evidence in British naval, army and air estimates as in British pronouncements upon Foreign Affairs.

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We observe that whenever this policy has been pursued by the British Government in a consistent and determined manner, the League machinery has functioned perfectly, as for example, in the recent plebiscite in the Saar; but whenever the words or the actions of His Majesty's Government have diminished confidence in their support of the collective peace system, the situation in Europe has correspondingly deteriorated.

(b) The second condition is the limitation and reduction of national armaments by international agreement; and every week's delay in reaching such agreement means more re-armament, more dangerous and most costly armaments when ultimately their limit is fixed, and a growing risk that no limit may ever be fixed at all. We therefore trust that the forthcoming conversations in Berlin may quickly lead to Germany resuming her place in the League of Nations; to the re-assembling of the Disarmament Conference; and to the limitation and reduction of the armaments of all nations on the basis of increased confidence in the collective peace system. (In this connection we would refer to the Note at the end of this paper.)

3. The League of Nations Union should continue its work of mobilising public opinion in support of this policy. We believe that any Government which

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pursues a strong and consistent League of Nations policy will be supported in that policy by the vast majority of Christian citizens, and that any Government which fails to pursue such a policy will forfeit this support. The people in our Churches are anxious above all else to build up a new world order based upon the principles of Jesus Christ.

NOTE.

(The following is the note mentioned in paragraph 2(b) above).

Before Germany accepted the restrictions on her armaments imposed by the Treaty of Versailles,

"in order to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of the armaments of all nations" (Preamble to Part V of the Treaty)

The German delegation told the Peace Conference that

"Germany is prepared to agree to the basic idea of the army, navy and air regulations... provided that this is a beginning of a general reduction of armaments."

It was to this observation that M. Clemenceau, in the name of the Allied and Associated Powers, made at the time the answer which the Prime Minister (speaking in the Albert Hall on July 11th, 1931) said should be displayed on every hoarding in Britain in order to remind the British people of their pledge:-

"The Allied and Associated Powers wish to make it clear that their requirements in regard to German armaments were not made solely with the object of rendering it impossible for Germany to resume her policy of military aggression. They are also the first step towards the reduction and limitation of armaments which they seek to bring about as one of the most fruitful preventives of war, and which it will be one of the first duties of the League of Nations to promote."

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1.4.35.CONFIDENTIAL. LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD
AT 15, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W. 1., ON THURSDAY,
MARCH 28th, 1935, AT 10.45 A.M.

PRESENT: Professor Gilbert Murray (in the Chair), Lord
Allen, Sir Norman Angell, Miss Joyce Angell,
Major Anthony Buxton, Lord Cecil, Miss K.D.
Courtney, Lord Dickinson, Mrs. Dugdale, H.H.
Elvin, Lady Gladstone, Captain Green, Lady Hall,
Sir John Harris, Captain Loder, Lord Lytton,
G. le M. Mander, Sir Walter Napier, Mrs. Runciman,
Councillor H.F. Shaw, Mrs. Wilson-Fox, Major
Lawrence Wright, L.M. Wynch.

74. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Vyvyan Adams,
P.J. Noel Baker, F.M. Burris, L.J. Cadbury, Sir Austen
Chamberlain, the Dean of Chichester, the Reverend Gwilym
Davies, Admiral Drury-Lowe, Miss Megan Lloyd George,
Sir Arthur Haworth, Lady Henschel, Commander Norman Lewis,
Sir John Power, Arthur Pugh.

75. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

- (a) Editorial Committee. (Sir Norman Angell reported).
Subject to the following decision on Minutes 14 and
17(1) the Minutes of the Committee dated February
28th, were approved and adopted.

[These Minutes included (12) Proposed Pamphlet on
the Saar; (13) Composition of Committee; (14)
Youth Bulletin; (15) Sales of Union Publications;
(16) Headway Posters; (17) Poster Policy; (18)
Book Supplement to Headway; (19) News Sheet;
(20) Leaflet on the I.L.O.; (21) Pamphlet on
the I.L.O.; (22) "The Story of the I.L.O."; -
(23) Miss Cenziari's Picture.]

On Minute 14 - Youth Bulletin, after it had been
reported that neither the Education Committee nor the
Youth Committee had considered this proposal it was

RESOLVED: "That this Minute be reconsidered at the
next meeting of the Editorial Committee."

On Minute 17 - Poster Policy, it was

RESOLVED: "That this Minute be approved and adopted
subject to the recommendation contained in
paragraph (1) being reconsidered at the
next meeting of the Editorial Committee."

- (b) Branches Committee. (Mr. Wynch reported) Subject
to the following report and decision on Minutes 17,
24 and 26, the Minutes of the Committee dated March
7th, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (15) Kent and Surrey; (16) Oxford, Bucks and Berkshire; (17) National Peace Congress; (18) National Pageant or Exhibition; (19) Branches and Junior Branches; (20) Corporate Members; (21) Corporate Associates; (22) Junior Sections; (23) Membership; (24) The Jubilee; (25) Youth Groups; (26) Welsh National Council.

On Minute 17 - National Peace Congress, the Secretary reported a conversation he had had on the previous day with Mr. Gerald Bailey. He understood that Mr. Bailey would be entirely satisfied if the Union would bring the National Peace Congress to the notice of its Branches without inviting them to send official delegations. The League of Nations Union would not then be officially listed among the organisations represented at the Congress.

On Minute 24 - The Jubilee, the Secretary reported that the Christian Organisations Committee had suggested that the best way of giving effect to this proposal would be to ask the Archbishop of Canterbury, if he saw fit, to make Representations to His Majesty the King on the subject.

On Minute 26 - Welsh National Council, the letter which Lord Cecil had written and which would accompany the Welsh memorandum on the Tribunal in Equity when communicated to Branches of the Union was read to the Committee. After discussion, in the course of which it was suggested that the action of the Executive in approving two distributions of the Welsh memorandum to Branches of the Union might be taken to imply endorsement by the Executive of the Welsh proposals, it was

RESOLVED: "That the Executive Committee fears that it might lead to misunderstanding if the Welsh memorandum on the subject of a Tribunal in Equity is circulated twice to the Union's Branches; but that the Executive is willing either to distribute the memorandum at the present time or at a later stage with the other papers for the Council meeting, as the Welsh National Council may prefer."

- (c) Youth Committee. (Miss Ansell reported). Subject to the approval of the Finance Committee on Minute 22, the Minutes of the Committee dated March 9th were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (15) arising out of the Minutes; (16) World Congress of Youth; (17) Youth Groups; (18) Proposed Reorganisation of Mr. Popham's work; (19) Report of the Youth Camps Sub-Committee; (20) Composition of the Youth Camps Sub-Committee; (21) National Camp at Whitsuntide; (22) Report of the Youth Groups Finance Sub-Committee; (23) Contacts with other Societies; (24) Youth Hostels' Association; (25) Resolution of the Chelmsford Youth Group; (26) Newspaper Subscriptions.

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- (d) Office Committee. (Professor Murray reported). The Minutes of the Committee dated March 19th were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (12) Miss Coxwell; (13) Voluntary Workers; (14) Mr. Alec Wilson; (15) Mr. Joyce; (16) Speakers' References; (17) Staff of Education Section; (18) Colonel Fisher; (19) Miss Maloney; (20) Mr. Keeling.

- (e) Religions and Ethics Committee. (Professor Murray reported). The Minutes of the Committee dated March 19th, 1935, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (2) New Member; (3) Resignation; (4) Drawing Room Meetings; (5) Series of Lectures, 1935; (6) Proposed Public Meeting; (7) Co-optations to General Council; (8) Corporate Members; (9) Resolution for General Council.

On Minute 5 - Series of Lectures, 1935, it was

RESOLVED: "That the congratulations of the Executive Committee be conveyed to the Religions and Ethics Committee on the very successful organisation of their series of lectures."

- (f) Christian Organisations Committee. The Minutes of the Committee dated March 20th, 1935, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (19) Minutes; (20) Memorandum on Collective Security; (21) The League and Religious Persecution; (22) Arms Enquiry; (23) Royal Jubilee Services; (24) Peace through Prayer; (25) New Pamphlet for Churches; (26) Resolutions; (27) Applications for Corporate Membership; (28) Regular Meeting Day of Committee.

Pamphlet by the Archbishop of York. The Secretary reported that the Archbishop of York had written a pamphlet which the Student Christian Movement had undertaken to print "under the auspices of the League of Nations Union". Copies would be supplied by the S.C.M. to the Union pro rata to the printer's bill. It was

RESOLVED: "That the publication of the pamphlet by the Archbishop of York 'under the auspices of the League of Nations Union by the Student Christian Movement' be approved, subject to the proof of the pamphlet receiving the approval of the Chairman of the Editorial Committee and the Vice-Chairman of the Christian Organisations Committee."

- (g) Industrial Advisory Committee. (Captain Green reported). Subject to the following decision on Minutes 32 and 33, the Minutes of the Committee dated March 21st and of the Sub-Committee on Ratifications dated March 21st, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (29) Albert Thomas Memorial Fund; (30) International Labour Conventions -- Sub-Committee on Ratifications; (31) Leaflet on Work of Industrial Advisory Committee; (32) Conference on Social and Economic Planning"; (33) International Federation of League of Nations Societies; (34) League of Nations Union General Council, Cambridge; (35) Mr. Gillinder's Report; (36) Industrial Affiliations. /

On Minute 32 -- Conference on Social and Economic Planning, it was

RESOLVED: "That the congratulations of the Executive be conveyed to the Industrial Advisory Committee on the success of their Conference on Social and Economic Planning".

On Minute 33 -- International Federation of League of Nations Societies, it was

RESOLVED: "That the resolution on the subject of Hours of Work in Coal Mines for submission to the International Federation be circulated for consideration at the next meeting of the Executive, together with a note of the action already taken on this subject by the Union and by the International Federation.

- (h) Overseas Committee. Lady Gladstone reported that the Overseas Committee had, at its meeting on the previous day, expressed a desire that the Executive Committee would table for the Plenary Congress of the Federation a resolution of a political character, setting forth the general policy to be pursued by League of Nations Societies throughout the Federation, and that, to this end, the Executive should either invite its Political Committee or a special ad hoc Committee to draft such a resolution in time for it to be considered and adopted at the meeting of the Executive on April 11th. It was

RESOLVED: "That the Chairman be asked to nominate a small Sub-Committee to prepare a resolution on the lines suggested by the Overseas Committee for consideration by the Executive on or before April 11th, 1935."

76. MINUTES. Subject to the following report and decision on Minutes 68 (58) and (65) the Minutes of the Committee dated March 21st were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 68 (58) -- Recent Proceedings in Geneva, it was

RESOLVED: "That the words 'and Mrs. Runciman' be deleted from the second paragraph of this Minute."

On Minute 68 (65) -- Sir Geoffrey Knox, the Secretary read to the Committee a letter dated March 24th from Sir Geoffrey Knox, in which he said he would be glad after his return to London, to meet informally members of the Executive Committee but deprecated any formal public entertainment. It was

RESOLVED: "That Sir Geoffrey Knox be thanked for his letter and that the Secretary be asked to ascertain whether Sir Geoffrey would prefer to meet the members of the Executive Committee at a private luncheon or at a meeting of the Committee."

77. REFUGEES. Professor Murray presented the Report of the Sub-Committee, appointed by the Executive on February 7th, 1935, to consider the Refugee Problem. It was

RESOLVED: (1) That the report of the Committee on the Refugee Problem be approved and adopted.

- (2) That resolutions on the subject of the Refugee Problem be submitted to the International Federation of League of Nations Societies and to the General Council of the Union, and that the Report of the Sub-Committee be used for speeches in support of these resolutions.

Mr. Elvin suggested that if the present Government were going to allow German spies to work in their midst it would undo a good deal of the work of the Refugee Committee. Lord Cecil considered that this question ought to be considered apart from the refugee problem. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That Mr. Elvin be requested to prepare a memorandum dealing with the subject of espionage and suggesting action which the Executive might take, for consideration by the Committee at a later meeting."

78. BRITISH MISSION TO BERLIN. The Committee discussed the present international situation, including the British Ministers' visits to Berlin, Moscow and Warsaw as well as the forthcoming three-Power Conference at Stresa and the special meeting of the League Council. It was

RESOLVED: "That the Chairman, in consultation with Lord Cecil, be asked to draft a resolution for consideration by the Executive at its next meeting, emphasising the Committee's conviction that it is only through the League and League methods that the great difficulties of the present situation can be met."

79. UNION OF DEMOCRATIC CONTROL. The Secretary called attention to the inaccuracy of a statement appearing in the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN of March 12th that among the people

who took part in a demonstration in the Lobby of the House of Commons on Monday, March 11th were "representatives of the League of Nations Union".

80. LORD ALLEN'S SUGGESTION FOR A UNION 'WHITE PAPER': The Committee considered the suggestion made by Lord Allen at the meeting held on March 7th that the Union should issue a "White Paper" reviewing the events of the last few years, indicating the manner in which the League machinery could be used, and emphasising the fact that, whenever the Government had decided to co-operate in collective action that initiative had always produced satisfactory results. The Secretary drew the attention of the Committee to a memorandum on "Great Britain and the Collective System" which had already been prepared by the Intelligence section for use in the office, and it was

RESOLVED: "That copies of the memorandum on Great Britain and the Collective System be circulated for consideration by the Executive at its next meeting."

81. MANUFACTURE AND SALE OF ARMS. The Committee had before them an invitation, dated 9th March, 1935, to the Union to tender evidence to the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the private manufacture of and Trading in Arms, together with an Outline of Evidence which it was suggested should be presented on behalf of the Union (S.G.7316). After considerable discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) That the invitation to tender evidence to the Royal Commission be accepted with thanks, and that Lord Cecil be asked to give evidence on the Union's behalf.

- (2) That the Outline of Evidence to be tendered to the Royal Commission on behalf of the Union be approved and adopted in the attached amended form.

(Note. It was left to the Chairman to settle the final wording of the document in the light of the Executive's discussion.)

Miss Courtney drew the attention of the Committee to a statement appearing in the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN of the previous day that, at a private meeting of the Sub-Committee on the manufacture of and trade in arms held on March 26th, Mr. Stevenson had finally refused to agree to international control on the spot. Mr. Bornberg, the Danish delegate, was reported to have said that in face of the British 'Diktat' the only thing they could do was to close the Conference. It was

RESOLVED: (3) That the Chairman be asked to write to Sir John Simon regarding the reported statement of Mr. Stevenson.

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82. THE FAR EAST. Lord Lytton reported on a meeting he had had with Sir John Simon, Mr. Eden and Lord Stanhope, to whom he had spoken of his conversations in the United States. Lord Lytton had urged that any action in regard to the Far East should be taken through League machinery and not through the Washington or Nine Power Treaties or by any group of Powers outside the League; and that H.M. Government should ascertain that America would cooperate if the Committee of Nineteen were called together again. Sir John Simon told Lord Lytton that Mr. Norman Davis was very much in favour of a close union between America and H.M. Government in the Far East, but Lord Lytton understood that Sir John Simon did not favour such a policy. Lord Lytton hoped to have a further meeting with Sir John Simon, Mr. Eden and Lord Stanhope so soon as their officials had considered the matters, and he would report again to the Executive when he had done so.
83. ABYSSINIA. The Secretary read to the Committee for their confidential information a report on the deputation which had waited on Mr. Eden on March 12th on the subject of the Abyssinian problem.
84. NATIONAL DECLARATION. The Executive received the Minutes of the National Declaration Committee held on March 22nd, 1935.
85. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Executive received resolutions from Hampstead, Liverpool City, Headingley, Basingstoke, Brighton, Hampstead Garden Suburb, Hoyleke and West Kirby, Exeter, Edenhall and Langwathby, Branches; Manchester and Birmingham District Committees; Northampton and Birmingham Youth Groups; St. Crispin's Church Council, Withington and Greengate Congregational Church, Plaistow; Essex Federal Council; Welsh National Council, Executive Committee; and Women's International League.

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MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD
AT 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W. 1., ON THURSDAY,
APRIL 4TH, 1935 AT 10.45 A.M.

PRESENT: Lord Cecil (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams,
Lord Allen, Miss Joyce Ansell, W. Arnold-
Forster, Michael Barkway, Major Buxton,
Sir Austen Chamberlain, Miss Courtney,
Admiral Drury-Lowe, Mrs. Dugdale, Lady
Gladstone, Captain Green, Sir John Harris,
Dr. Kimmins, Lady Layton, Captain Loder,
Lord Lytton, G. le M. Mander, Sir Walter
Napier, Lord Eustace Percy, Sir John Power,
Lord Rhayader, Mrs. Runciman, H.S. Syrett,
Professor Webster, Major Lawrence Wright,
L.M. Wynch.

86. APLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from P.J. Noel Baker,
F.M. Burris, L.J. Cadbury, H.H. Elvin, Sir Arthur Haworth,
Commander Lewis, Professor Murray and Mrs. Wilson-Fox.

87. CHAIRMAN. In the absence of Professor Murray, Lord Cecil
took the Chair.

88. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

(a) Office Committee. Major Lawrence Wright reported
as a matter of urgency on Minute 22 (Additional
Assistant in the Education Section) of the Committee
dated April 2nd, and it was

RESOLVED: "That the recommendation of the Office
Committee that Miss E. Sparks be appointed
as additional assistant in the Education
Section, be approved and adopted.

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

These Minutes included (7) Composition of Committee
for 1935; (8) Book List; (9) Date of Next
Meeting.

(c) Education Committee. (Dr. Kimmins reported). Subject
to the approval of the Editorial Committee on Minutes
27(e) and 33, and to the approval of the Finance Com-
mittee on Minute 30(2), the Minutes of the Committee
dated March 18th, 1935 were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (25) Meetings for Teachers
and Schools; (26) Report on Work in Universities
and Colleges; (27) Report of the Junior Branches
Sub-Committee; (271) Composition of the Junior
Branches Sub-Committee; (28) Junior Branches;
(29) Test for Class A Record of Service Cards in
World Knowledge; (30) Nansen Hut; (31) Proposed
Camp in the Midlands; (32) Membership of

Pioneers Camp Sub-Committee; (33) Proposed Magazines for Public and Secondary Schools; (34) "What the League has done"; (35) Report of the Curriculum sub-Committee; (36) National Conference; (37) Extra-Curricula Activities; (38) Report of the Youth Committee; (39) Proposed Re-organisation of Mr. Popham's Work; (40) The General Council; (41) International Federation of League of Nations Societies; (42) International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation; (43) Observance of Empire Day; (44) Posters; (45) Recognition of Junior Branches; (46) Recognition of Junior Sections; (47) (Educational) Corporate Members.

G. Minute 33 - Report of the Curriculum Sub-Committee. Dr. Kimmins paid tribute to the valuable work done by the Curriculum Sub-Committee under the able Chairmanship of Mr. Moore.

- (d) International Law Committee. (Sir Walter Napier reported). Subject to the following decision on Minute 107, the Minutes of the Committee dated March 21st were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (105) Minutes; (106) Chairmanship of Committee; (107) Executive's Report on International Air Force and Consequent Amendments to the Covenant; (108) Problem of International Responsibility in the Light of the Marseilles Crime; (109) Composition of Committee for 1935.

On Minute 107 - Executive's Report on International Air Force and Consequent Amendments to the Covenant, it was

RESOLVED: "That this Minute be adjourned for consideration in connection with the report of the Conference on Aviation at the meeting of the Executive to be held on Thursday, May 2nd, 1935."

- (e) Overseas Committee. (Lady Gladstone reported.) Subject to the following decision on Minute 9, the Minutes of the Committee dated March 27th were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (8) Minutes; (9) Report of Spring Meetings of the International Federation; (10) XIXth Plenary Congress; (11) Overseas Report.

On Minute 9 -- report of Spring Meetings of the International Federation, it was

RESOLVED: "That, in accordance with the request of the Overseas Committee, the Report on the Reform of the League be considered at the

next meeting of the Executive with a view (1) to any amendments the Executive may wish to propose; and (2) to the instruction of the Union's delegation to the Plenary Congress."

- (f) Economic Committee. (Lord Rhayader reported) Subject to the following decision on Minutes 16 and 17, the Minutes of the Committee dated March 29th were approved and adopted.

[These Minutes included (14) New Members; (15) Minutes of the Last Meeting; (16) Resolutions for the International Federation and the General Council of the Union; (17) Incidence of Economic Sanctions; (18) Carnegie Endowment Conference.]

On Minute 16 - Resolutions for the International Federation and the General Council of the Union, it was

RESOLVED: "That the resolutions for submission to the Plenary Congress and the General Council be approved and adopted, subject to the substitution of the words 'without sufficient regard for the welfare of the world as a whole' for the words 'at the expense of the world as a whole' in the first paragraph of each resolution."

On Minute 17 - Incidence of Economic Sanctions, it was

RESOLVED: "That this Minute be received."

- (g) Minorities Committee. Sir Walter Napier reported as a matter of urgency on Minute 5 of the meeting dated April 3rd, 1935, concerning the arrest of Baron Sternbach. It was

RESOLVED: "That the thanks of the Executive be conveyed to the Minorities Committee for having brought to their notice the facts regarding Baron Sternbach."

89. MINUTES. Subject to the following decision on Minutes 75(h) and 81, the Minutes of the Committee dated April 4th were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 75(h) - it was reported that the Sub-Committee had been nominated by the Chairman as follows: Sir Norman Angell, Major Buxton, Lord Cecil, Miss Courtney, Lady Gladstone, Captain the Hon. J. de V. Loder, Lord Lytton and Professor Murray it was

RESOLVED: "That a meeting of the Sub-Committee be held on Monday, April 8th to consider the draft resolution for submission to the Plenary Congress; and that Mrs. Dugdale be also invited to serve on the Sub-Committee."

On Minute 81 - Manufacture and Sale of ARMS, the Secretary reported that Professor Murray had written to Sir John Simon on the lines suggested by the Committee. He read to the Executive the reply sent by Sir John Simon on April 2nd. It was

RESOLVED: "That, subject to the approval of Professor Murray, the letters written to him by Sir John Simon on March 6th and April 2nd be circulated for the information of members of the Executive."

90. PROPOSED PEACE BILL. Mr. Mander stated that he was proposing to introduce a Peace Bill supported by members of all parties. The object of the Bill, which was now being drafted, would be to make such changes in the law as would enable H.M. Government to implement to the full their obligations under the Covenant. Mr. Mander hoped that any members of the Executive who were interested in this proposal would communicate with him.

91. SECURITY AND DISARMAMENT. The Executive considered a resolution drafted by Professor Murray in accordance with the decision contained in Minute 78 of the last meeting. After considerable discussion it was

RESOLVED: "The Executive Committee, convinced that the only solution of the present difficult situation will be found in resolute recourse to the League of Nations and fidelity to the Covenant, expresses the hope that at the forthcoming special meeting of the Council of the League His Majesty's Government will not be satisfied with a mere consideration of the juridical questions for which it was convened but will take the initiative in urging the Council to face the whole international situation in a positive and constructive spirit."

92. LORD ALLEN'S SUGGESTION FOR A UNION 'WHITE PAPER'. In connection with the suggestion made by Lord Allen that the Union should issue a 'White Paper' on the lines set forth in Minute 80 of the last meeting, the Executive considered a memorandum on 'Great Britain and the Collective System' (I.M. 54) prepared by the Union's Secretariat. It was

RESOLVED: "That consideration of the memorandum on 'Great Britain and the Collective System' be adjourned until the next meeting of the Executive; and that, in the meantime, no use be made of the memorandum."

93. PROPOSED JOINT MEETINGS BETWEEN BRANCHES OF THE UNION AND OF THE NATIONAL PEACE COUNCIL. The Secretary reported to the Executive that, at the request of the Chairman, he had been in communication with Mr. Jonathan Griffin concerning a series of meetings which Mr. Griffin had suggested might be arranged jointly by the Union and the National Peace Council in the near future. After discussion it was

see Minute 106 of April 11th.

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RESOLVED: "That Mr. Griffin be informed that the Union does not think it possible for such an arrangement to be made in existing circumstances."

94. MEMEL. On the motion of Sir Walter Nisler it was

RESOLVED: "That the memorandum prepared by the Intelligence Section on the situation in the Memel territory be circulated for consideration by the Executive at its next meeting."

95. ARMS TRAFFIC. It was

RESOLVED: "That consideration of the draft resolution be adjourned until the next meeting of the Executive."

96. HOURS OF WORK IN COAL MINES. The Executive had before them a draft resolution from the Industrial Advisory Committee for submission to the Plenary Congress of the International Federation, and it was

RESOLVED: "That the resolution be approved for submission to the plenary Congress in the following amended form:-

'Seeing that the Convention for the Hours of Work in Coal Mines was passed by the Plenary Conference of the International Labour Organisation in 1931, this Congress regrets that the Convention has not yet been ratified and urges that every effort should be made by all the Governments concerned to overcome any difficulties of detail and promote general ratification.'

97. ABYSSINIA. It was

RESOLVED: "That consideration of the draft resolution be adjourned until the next meeting of the Executive."

98. GRAN CHACO. It was

RESOLVED: "That consideration of the draft resolution be adjourned until the next meeting of the Executive."

99. REPORT ON NORWOOD BY-ELECTION. The Executive received a report on the Norwood By-Election.

100. CLOSING OF OFFICE AT EASTER. It was

RESOLVED: "That the office be closed from 1 p.m. on Thursday, April 16th until 10 a.m. on Tuesday, April 23rd."

101. DATE OF NEXT MEETING. It was

RESOLVED: "That the next meeting of the Executive be held on Thursday, April 11th instead of on Thursday, April 16th."

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
HELD AT 14, GROSVENOR CHESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1.,
ON THURSDAY, APRIL 11TH, 1935 AT 10.45 a.m.

PRESENT: Professor Gilbert Murray (in the Chair)
Lord Allen, Miss Joyce Ansell, Major
Buxton, Lord Cecil, Sir Austen Chamber-
lain, Lord Dickinson, Admiral Drury-
Lowe, Mrs. Dugdale, Lady Gladstone,
Lady Hall, Lady Henschel, Commander
Lewis, Captain Loder, Lord Lytton,
G. le M. Mander, Sir Walter Napier,
Lord Eustace Percy, Sir John Power,
Lord Rhayader, Mrs. Wilson-Fox, Major
Lawrence Wright, L. M. Wynch.

102. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Vyvyan Adams,
W. Arnold-Forster, F.M. Burris, L.J. Cadbury, the
Dean of Chichester, Miss K.D. Courtney, H.H. Elvin,
Captain Green, Sir John Harris, Sir Arthur Haworth,
Arthur Pugh, Mrs. Runciman, H.S. Syrett.

103. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

(a) Office Committee. (Major Lawrence Wright reported).
With the exception of minute 22 which had been
accepted at the last meeting of the Executive,
the minutes of the Committee dated April 2nd,
1935, were approved and adopted.

[These Minutes included (22) Additional
Assistant in the Education Section;
(23) Additional Assistant in the Appeals
Section; (24) National Declaration.]

(b) Minorities and Refugees Committee. (Sir Walter
Napier reported). Subject to the following
decision on minutes 2 and 3, the minutes of the
Committee dated April 3rd, 1935 were approved
and adopted.

[These Minutes included (2) Chairman-
ship of the Committee; (3) Resolutions
for the Federation; (4) Situation
created by Polish Declaration and
Generalisation of Minority Obligations;
(5) Arrest of Baron Sternbach.]

On Minute 2 — Chairmanship of Committee.
Professor Murray expressed the Executive Com-
mittee's gratitude to Sir Walter Napier for
the exceptionally valuable work he had done
during the many years of his Chairmanship of
the Minorities Committee.

On Minute 3 — Resolutions for the Federation,
after considerable discussion it was, by a
majority,

RESOLVED: "That this minute be approved
and adopted subject to the
insertion of the words 'bound
by a Minorities Treaty or
Declaration' after the word
'country' in section (a) of the
amendment to paragraph (c)".

(c) Women's Advisory Council. (Lady Gladstone reported). The minutes of the Council dated 3rd April, 1935 were approved and adopted.

[These Minutes included (562) Report of Standing Sub-Committee; (563) Representation on General Council of Union; (564) The Present Position in the Far East; (565) Disarmament; (566) Reports of Representatives; (567) Applications for Corporate Associateship.]

104. MINUTES. Subject to the following decision on minute ICC, the minutes of the last meeting of the Committee held on April 4th were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 100 - Closing of Office at Easter, on the proposal of the Secretary it was

RESOLVED: "That in view of the extra pressure of work resulting from the National Declaration, the Easter leave for members of the Union's secretariat be extended from 5.30 p.m. on Wednesday, April 17th until 10 a.m. on Wednesday, April 24th."

105. LORD PRIVY SEAL. On the Motion of Sir Austen Chamberlain it was unanimously

RESOLVED: "That the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union, recognising Mr. Eden's great services to the League of Nations and the cause of international peace, desires to assure him of its sympathy and its hope for his speedy recovery."

106. SECURITY AND DISARMAMENT.

(a) Resolution for Plenary Congress. On the proposal of the sub-Committee appointed by the Executive in minute 75(h) of March 28th, it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the following resolution be communicated to the International Federation for submission to the XIXth Plenary Congress

The XIXth Plenary Congress

Records its conviction that the only hope of solving the present international difficulties lies in the prompt and resolute application of the Covenant to each difficulty as it arises, and if possible before it assumes dangerous proportions;

Is further convinced that the all round limitation and reduction of national armaments by international agreement is essential to any satisfactory system of collective security.

While anxious that the League should be universal in character the Plenary Congress is of opinion that even if that result should prove to be unattainable, the Members of the League are not discharged from their obligations under the Covenant to maintain peace and must take the necessary action for that purpose.

- (2) That the above resolution be communicated to the press, with a note explaining that it has been prepared for consideration by the Plenary Congress of the International Federation when it meets in Brussels in June.

- (b) Memorandum on 'Great Britain and the Collective System'. The Executive resumed consideration of the Memorandum prepared by the Union's Secretariat on 'Great Britain and the Collective System'. The Secretary reported that Mr. Arnold Forster had, at his suggestion, supplied him with many suggestions for amending the memorandum. After considerable discussion it was, on the motion of Lord Cecil

RESOLVED: "That the Executive Committee, having considered the memorandum on 'Great Britain and the Collective System' (I.M. 54) and, while recognising the zeal and industry of the secretariat, is of opinion that the document must not be used directly or indirectly as expressing the views of the Union or the Executive Committee."

107. ARMS TRAFFIC.

- (a) Letters written by Sir John Simon. In accordance with the decision contained in minute 89 of the last meeting, the Executive had before them copies of letters written by the Foreign Secretary to Professor Murray on March 6th and April 2nd, 1935.
- (b) Royal Commission of Enquiry into the Private Manufacture of and Trading in Arms. The Executive had before them the Outline of Evidence (S.G.7382) as amended in the light of the Committee's discussion on March 28th, for submission by Lord Cecil on behalf of the Union to the Royal Commission. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That the Outline of Evidence to be tendered by Lord Cecil on behalf of the Union to the Royal Commission on the Private Manufacture of and Trading in Arms be approved and adopted in the attached amended form".

- (c) American Draft Convention. The Executive considered draft resolutions proposed by the sub-Committee appointed in minute 75(n) of the Executive of March 28th, and it was

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

believing that the draft Convention submitted by the Government of the United States of America

to the Bureau of the Disarmament Conference for the Regulation of the Manufacture of and Trade in Arms would be of value as a means of diminishing the evil effects of the private commerce in arms,

Earnestly hopes that the British Government will co-operate to the utmost of its power in order to secure the adoption of that Convention without any amendment rendering it less effective."

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

(3) "That the following resolution be submitted by the Union to the XIXth Plenary Congress of the International Federation:

The Plenary Congress

Believing that the draft Convention submitted by the Government of the United States of America to the Bureau of the Disarmament Conference for the Regulation of the Manufacture of and Trade in Arms would be of value as a means of diminishing the evil effects of the private commerce in arms,

Invites its constituent societies to urge their respective Governments to co-operate in securing the adoption of that Convention without any amendment rendering it less effective.

108. REFORM OF THE LEAGUE. At the request of the Overseas Committee the Executive considered the Report on the Reform of the League (S.G.7204) (1) with a view to any amendments the Executive might wish to propose; and (2) to the instruction of the Union's delegation to the Plenary Congress. After considerable discussion, in the course of which Sir Austen Chamberlain suggested that the world's business at the present time was to work the League and not to change it and that this might be taken as a guide by the British delegation, it was

RESOLVED: "That the Union's delegation to the Plenary Congress be informed that the Executive Committee is of opinion that the present is not an opportune moment for discussing the Reform of the League and that the delegation be asked to use their influence in persuading the Federation not to proceed with a discussion on this subject at the forthcoming meeting of the Plenary Congress. But if, in spite of this, a discussion on the subject takes place at the Plenary Congress, it be left to the discretion of the Union's delegates to submit the Executive's Report on the Reform of the League as a basis of discussion."

109. ABYSSINIA. The Executive considered a draft resolution proposed by the sub-Committee appointed by the Executive in minute 75(h) of March 28th and it was

RESOLVED: (1) "The Executive Committee urges that unless direct negotiations between Italy and Ethiopia have been resumed with the prospect of a successful issue, the Council of the League of Nations should, at its meeting on April 15th, take the matter into its immediate consideration."

(2) "That this resolution be communicated to H.M. Government and to the Press."

110. REFUGEES. The Executive considered a draft resolution prepared by the Refugees sub-Committee for submission to the Plenary Congress of the International Federation, and it was

RESOLVED: (1) That the following resolution be placed on the agenda of the XIXth Plenary Congress of the International Federation:

The XIXth Plenary Congress,

Observing that there are still over a million unfortunate refugees who stand in need of international 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 1933 of the subsidy granted by the League of Nations to the Nansen International Office for Refugees; and recalling the fact that the High Commission for Refugees coming from Germany is without financial assistance from the League or from Governments;

Expresses its conviction that it is impossible to allow the present situation of the refugees to continue, without incurring the danger of great economic and political disturbances and of a deplorable increase in the volume of human suffering.

The Congress consequently recommends that a central organisation be maintained under or as part of the League of Nations whose duty it would be to care for all the refugees for whom the League has assumed or may desire to assume any responsibility.

- (2) That the above resolution, mutatis mutandis, be submitted to the Annual Meeting of the General Council in July.

- 6 -

111. GRAN CHACO. The Secretary reported that the sub-Committee appointed by the Executive in minute 75(h) of March 28th, had considered a draft resolution on the situation in the Chaco and had recommended that no action be taken by the Executive Committee at the present time.
112. MEMEL. The Executive had before them a memorandum on the Memel question (S.G.7376) prepared by the Union's secretariat. After discussion it was
 RESOLVED: (1) "That the memorandum on The Memel Question (S.G.7376) be received."
 (2) "That the Memel question be further discussed by the Executive Committee at its next meeting."
113. XIXth PLENARY CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION. It was
 RESOLVED: "That the political resolutions included in the preliminary Agenda for the XIXth Plenary Congress of the International Federation be referred for consideration by the sub-Committee appointed by the Executive in minute 75(h) of March 28th, and that the other resolutions be referred to the relevant sub-Committees of the Executive."
114. DATE OF NEXT MEETING. It was
 RESOLVED: "That the next meeting of the Executive be held on Thursday, May 2nd, but that it be left to the Chairman to call a special meeting on Thursday, April 25th, if he thinks such a meeting necessary."
115. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Executive received with interest resolutions from the Winton, Hull, Stockport, Wadebridge, Silloth, Sheffield, East Finchley, Swindon and Crouch End branches; from the Welsh National Council and the East Yorkshire and North Lincolnshire District Council; from the Officers of the London Regional Federation; and from the London Speakers' Group.

ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE PRIVATE MANUFACTURE
OF AND TRADING IN ARMS. 206

Outline of evidence to be tendered by Viscount Cecil on behalf of the League of Nations Union.

1. Public Opinion.

The Union's experience goes to prove that public opinion is deeply moved, not by any particular instance of this commerce, but by distrust of the system by which profit is derived from making and selling armaments, and is increased by every deterioration in international relations. The Union, judging by the evidence of its public meetings, its correspondence, etc. believes that Lord Halifax truly summarised the situation in saying "this is one of the questions which arouse a very sincere and profound feeling in the minds of our people. Rightly or wrongly, the great majority of them conceive this question of the private manufacture of and trade in arms to be directly connected with the great issues of peace and war, on which they feel more deeply and vehemently than on anything else. Therefore, regarding war, as they do, as the greatest evil to which the nation can be exposed, and regarding it indeed as only justifiable in cases of ultimate and extreme national necessity, they are disposed to regard the preparation of instruments of war as too high and too grave a thing to be entrusted to any hands less responsible than those of the State itself, fearing any intrusion into so dangerous a field of any interests less imperative than national security and national interest". (House of Lords, March 27th, 1935).

A remarkable indication of the strength of this public feeling is afforded by the votes recorded in the National Peace Ballot. The thirty-eight Societies who have united in asking British citizens over eighteen years of age to express their views by voting in this Ballot on five questions of international policy have included the following question:-

"Should the manufacture and sale of armaments for private profit be prohibited by international agreement?"

Out of the votes already recorded 5,276,899 have answered this question in the affirmative and 391,946 in the negative.

Through its relations with the International Federation of League of Nations Societies and its correspondence with these and other foreign associations, the Union has learnt that the same strong feeling prevails in many other countries: in France, for instance, where in response to public demands proposals for the nationalisation of the industry have been put forward by Government; in the United States, where the Senatorial Enquiry was instituted in response to a similar public demand. The resolution
P.T.O.

on this subject unanimously adopted by the most recent Congress of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies held in May 1934, is in the following terms:-

"XVIIIth Plenary Congress,

Voices once more the demand of public opinion that prompt and energetic measures should be taken against those industrial and financial interests who derive profit from the manufacture of and traffic in arms by sustaining the war spirit and by paralysing all efforts for peace and disarmament."

2. Grave Objections to Private Manufacture and Trade.

The Union as a whole maintains that this anxiety of public opinion is well-founded and that the grave objections mentioned in the Covenant do not admit of serious doubt. At the same time the Union has no special means of ascertaining how any armament firm conducts business. It cannot, therefore, profess to offer direct evidence of the evils in question. Its knowledge depends on published facts which cannot be unknown to the Royal Commission (e.g. the Shearer case, 1927; the Skoda case which led the Roumanian Chamber of Deputies to recommend, on March 27th, 1935, the prosecution of General Cinosky and the former Minister, M. Popovici; and the Swedish Air Force scandal of 1931). The continuance of the war between Paraguay and Bolivia, despite the repeated efforts of the League of Nations to bring it to a conclusion, was mainly attributed, in the report of the Chaco Commission of the League, to the constant supply of arms to the belligerents by armament firms in other countries. It is only too clear from the financial columns of the daily press, that the deadlock in the Disarmament Conference together with the tension recently obtaining between the Great Powers, have added considerably to the profits of such firms.

Such experiences lead to the conclusion that the commercial activity of the armaments trade tends to be inconsistent with negotiations for disarmament and the pacific settlement of disputes. It may easily become an influence hostile to the "good understanding between nations upon which peace depends".

While, therefore, the Union suggests certain ways in which the Royal Commission might use the powers conferred upon it to bring to light concrete evidence about the working of the industry (e.g. by calling for records and evidence of the Mackinnon Wood Commission of 1919; by verifying communications from and contracts affecting British firms produced in the U.S. Senatorial Enquiry) the Union's main contention is that unrestricted manufacture or sale of arms by private enterprise is, by the nature of the case, likely to become incompatible with the purposes of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

3. Remedies.

Opinion in the Union is divided upon the question whether the necessary remedy should take the form of the national and international control of private firms engaged in the trade or of a state monopoly of armament manufacture in each country. Proposals and suggestions for carrying into effect both these measures are contained in special reports produced by committees of the Union and published as a basis of study (pamphlets 347 and 359). The principal official documents presented to the League of Nations or the World Disarmament Conference on this subject have been reprinted by the League of Nations Union. This volume is at the disposal of the Royal Commission and will be used for reference by members of the Union whom the Royal Commission may desire to call before it. Members of the Union's special committees on this subject are at the disposal of the Royal Commission to answer questions or give explanations (Mr. P. J. Noel Baker, Colonel D. Carnegie, Miss F. D. Courtney, Major J. W. Hills, Captain J. de V. Loder and Mr. H. S. Syrett) as are the Union's permanent officials who have given special study to this subject.

(a) State Monopoly. A considerable body of opinion in the Union's ranks holds that the disturbing influence exerted by the private armaments industry can only be overcome by the transfer of that industry to the State. They regard it as more efficient, if more drastic remedy than the public control of the industry. They recognise the technical difficulties arising from the fact that the manufacture of products designed for military purposes and of those designed for peaceful purposes is intermingled. They hold, however, that the desired end could be achieved were the State to concentrate in its hands the completion of the manufacture of clearly defined categories of arms, munitions and implements of war such, for instance, as are laid down in the Draft Convention put forward by the American Government on November 20th, 1934. Those who take this view desire the suppression of the private manufacture of arms in the sense described in the following passage from the joint memorandum of the Danish, French, Polish and Spanish delegates presented to the Disarmament Conference (D/C.C.F.31, February 27th, 1932):-

"The abolition of arms manufacture is not designed to concentrate in the hands of the State all manufacture that might serve to produce arms. The sole object is to reserve to the State that part of industrial production whereby a product undergoes the first transformation which renders it unfit for pacific purposes and destines it exclusively for military use".

They would also contend that the objection to the establishment of a State monopoly which arises from the present state of international law relating to neutrality, could be overcome by the answer contained in the same joint memorandum.

(b) Control. Another section of the Union's members, who are averse to nationalisation on grounds of international policy or national defence, or do not believe it to be possible on technical grounds, favour the general expansion and improvement of the system of export licences at present obtaining in Great Britain. Under the heading of improvements in this system would be included measures

providing for publicity for orders, exports and imports, a system of inspection and the extension of the licence system to manufacture.

4. International Action.

The Union does not believe that a mere system of control without any limitation of armaments would be very effective. It is, however, argued that State monopoly would be of a certain value in counteracting the objections to which the Covenant refers even without an all-round limitation of armaments. Whatever remedy is adopted, the Union is united in its belief that such remedy, to be effective, must be embodied in an international convention. Its members would all be prepared to accept the general lines of the American Draft Convention as a first step but most of them would desire to go further. This treaty, while leaving it open for the High Contracting Parties to have arms manufactured in private factories, in state arsenals or in both, stipulates that they must assume entire responsibility for the manufacture and trade in their respective territories. The Union would regret any amendment to the draft convention which would lessen its effectiveness and hopes that the Royal Commission will recommend the signature and ratification of such a treaty under the second of their terms of reference.

Under the third term of reference it would be appropriate to suggest the modifications of the present arrangements in force in the United Kingdom relative to the control of the export of arms, which ratification of such a treaty would involve.

To sum up the Union believes that the unrestricted manufacture and sale of armaments by private enterprise is open to grave objection. A considerable section of its members are of opinion that the most effective remedy would be to make such manufacture and sale a State monopoly: others are opposed to a State monopoly and believe it possible to establish effective control of the industry. They all believe that without limitation of armaments by international agreement neither remedy would be completely successful. They are further agreed that any remedy should be international in character applied with the United States and as a first step the adoption and ratification of measures not less effective than those which the American Government have recently proposed.

C.13
7.5.35.CONFIDENTIAL.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION HELD AT 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W. 1., ON THURSDAY, MAY 2nd, 1935 AT 10.45 A.M.

PRESENT: Professor Gilbert Murray (in the Chair)
Vyvyan Adams, Lord Allen, Miss Joyce Ansell,
Michael Barkway, F.M. Burris, Major Anthony
Buxton, Lord Cecil, Sir Austen Chamberlain,
Miss K.D. Courtney, Admiral Drury-Lows, H.H.
Elvin, Captain Green, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris,
Sir Arthur Haworth, Lady Henschel, Major Hills,
Dr. Kimmins, Commander Lewis, Captain J. de V.
Loder, G. de M. Mander, Sir Walter Napier,
Lord Eustace Percy, Sir John Power, Lord
Rhayader, Mrs. Runciman, Mrs. Wilson-Fox,
L.M. Wynch, Professor A.E. Zimmerman.

16. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from the Dean of
Chichester, Mrs. Dugdale, Miss Lloyd George, Lady Gladstone,
Lady Layton, Arthur Pugh and H.S. Syrett.

17. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

(a) Editorial Committee. (Professor Murray reported)
The Minutes of the Committee dated April 11th,
1935, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (24) Minutes; (25)
"The League Succeeds" Leaflets; (26) Sales
of Union Publications; (27) Book Supplement
to Headway; (28) Sale of Headway in Bookshops;
(29) Report on aviation Conference; (30)
Miss Canziani's Picture.

(b) Industrial Advisory Committee. The Minutes of
the Committee dated April 25th, 1935, were
approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (38) Chairman; (39)
Minutes; (40) Mr. Owen Jacobsen; (41)
Albert Thomas Memorial Fund; (42) Inter-
national Labour Conventions - Sub-Committee
on Ratifications; (43) Leaflet on Work of
the Industrial Advisory Committee; (44)
Conference on "Social and Economic Planning";
(45) International Federation of League of
Nations Societies, XIXth Plenary Congress,
Brussels, June 7th-13th; (46) General Council
of I.L.W., Cambridge, July 3rd-6th; (47)
Mr. Gillinder's Report; (48) Industrial
Affiliations; (49) International Labour Con-
ference - Union Party; (50) Conference on
the I.L.O. - Birmingham.

18. CO-OPERATIVE UNION. The Secretary reported that, follow-
ing upon the resignation of Mr. McGiff from the Execu-
tive Committee last year, he and Sir Arthur Haworth had
been in communication with the Secretary of the

Co-operative Union with a view to securing another representative of the Co-operative movement to serve on the Executive. As a result Sir Fred Hayward, Chairman of the Co-operative Union, had expressed his willingness to join the Committee. It was

RESOLVED: "That Sir Fred Hayward be invited to become a member of the Executive Committee."

119. MINUTES. Subject to the following decision on Minute 113, the Minutes of the Committee dated April 11th, 1935, were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 113 - XIXth Plenary Congress of the International Federation, the Chairman drew the attention of the Executive to a resolution on the subject of the Manufacture and Traffic in Narcotics appearing on the agenda for the forthcoming Plenary Congress of the International Federation, and to a communication received from Sir Malcolm Delevigne suggesting certain amendments in the resolution. It was

RESOLVED: "That the Secretary of the International Federation be informed that the Union desires to move at the XIXth Plenary Congress that paragraphs (c) and (f) of Resolution IV.4 (Manufacture and Traffic in Narcotics) in the Preliminary Agenda for the Congress be amended to read as follows:

- (c) To establish and maintain an adequate administrative system to deal with traffic in drugs, which may, in certain countries, necessitate a special Narcotic Police Force.
- (f) To give moral and material support to private organisations of a serious and expert character which devote themselves to the campaign against drug addiction.

120. INTERNATIONAL AIR FORCE. In accordance with the decision contained in Minute 88(d) of April 4th, the Executive resumed discussion of Minute 107 of the International Law Committee dated March 21st, 1935. The Executive also had before them a Note by Lord Cecil (S.G.7416) suggesting answers to the International Law Committee's questions; a proof of the Report of the Conference on Aviation as an International Problem held on April 3rd and 4th, 1935; and a letter dated 5th April, 1935 from Lord Allen (S.G.7379). The Chairman read to the Committee a letter dated May 1st from Professor Webster, who was unable to attend the Executive's meeting. After considerable discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) That a Sub-Committee, consisting of Lord Allen, Lord Cecil, Sir Austen Chamberlain, Miss Courtney, Professor Murray and Lord Eustace Percy, be appointed to consider the proposal for an International Air Force

referred for discussion by the General Council in July with a view to submitting a draft resolution to the Executive on the subject.

- (2) That the Sub-Committee be asked to meet at 11.15 a.m. on Wednesday next, May 8th.

The Executive went on to discuss the Report of the Aviation Conference. The Secretary stated that it was intended to circulate the Report with the Preliminary Agenda for the General Council to the Union's Branches on May 22nd. By that time the Executive would have received the report of the Sub-Committee appointed in resolution (1) above, and would then be in a position to decide the terms of any covering letter they might wish to send with these documents.

Mr. Barkway suggested that the Report of the Conference should enunciate in a prefatory note the fourteen main questions discussed by the Conference. Mr. Wynch named three points to which, in his view, the Council would be committed if the (green) report were adopted at the July meeting and which were dealt with in the Aviation Conference Report.

Several members of the Executive asked that the Report of the Conference should distinguish more clearly between summary and comment on the one hand and quotations from speeches on the other. Lord Allen asked that some opportunity might be provided for suggesting revisions in the Report, having regard to the fact that he had not been summoned to any of the meetings, other than the first, of the Sub-Committee which had made the arrangements for the Conference and the publication of its Report. After considerable discussion it was

- RESOLVED: (3) That the Aviation Conference Sub-Committee be asked to reconsider the Report of the Conference in the light of the Executive's discussion; that Lord Allen and other members of the Executive be invited to communicate to the Sub-Committee specific amendments they wish to suggest in the Report; and that it be left to the discretion of the Sub-Committee to issue the Report without further reference to the Executive if, in their opinion, the alterations made in the Report render such a course unnecessary.
- (4) That the list of questions suggested by Mr. Barkway and by Mr. Wynch be referred for consideration by the Sub-Committee appointed in paragraph (1) above.
- (5) That further consideration of Minute 107 of the International Law Committee dated March 21st and of the Note by Lord Cecil (S.G.7416) be adjourned.

121. RE-ARMAMENT OF GERMANY. The Committee considered a draft resolution proposed by Lord Cecil (S.C.7415) Lord Cecil felt that the only way of dealing with the present situation was to lay definite proposals before the Disarmament Conference and to communicate these proposals also to Germany with an invitation to her to take part in the discussion. If, however, Germany did not accept the invitation, the discussion should take place without her. The conclusions of the Conference should afterwards be presented to Germany who should be asked to say if she was in favour of such conclusions and, if not, whether she desired further discussion by the Conference. If in the end, Germany would not do anything and would not agree to the conclusions, then the situation would have become so serious that economic pressure of the strongest kind would have to be used to force Germany to accept the level of armaments which the other countries had agreed upon.

After considerable discussion, in the course of which amendments to Lord Cecil's resolution were suggested by Professor Zimmerman and by Lord Allen, it was

RESOLVED: "That Lord Cecil be asked to write a private letter to Mr. Baldwin on the present situation; and, in the light of the Executive's discussion, to prepare a draft resolution for consideration by the Committee at its next meeting."

122. COMMUNICATION FROM AMERICAN LEAGUE OF NATIONS ASSOCIATION. The Secretary reported a communication from the American League of Nations Association suggesting that, with a view to facilitating the eventual return of Germany and the adherence of the United States, Article 19 should be implemented and that the Sanctions Committee appointed by the Council of the League on April 17th should consider and report upon the means for doing so. It was

RESOLVED: "That the American League of Nations Association be thanked for their communication but that no action be taken in regard to it."

123. MEMEL. In accordance with the decision recorded in Minute 112 of the last meeting, the Executive further considered the Memel question. The attention of the Committee was drawn to a report appearing in the TIMES that morning regarding the proposed reform of the Memel Directorate.

124. NATIONAL DECLARATION. The Committee considered a draft resolution prepared at the request of Lord Cecil for submission to the XIXth Plenary Congress of the International Federation on the subject of the National Declaration. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) That the following resolution be submitted to the XIXth Plenary Congress of the International Federation:-

The Nineteenth Plenary Congress

Takes note of the results achieved by the National Declaration Ballot in the United Kingdom, and

Urges all League of Nations Societies to consider whether by some such action as the Ballot or in some other way public opinion in their countries might be rendered articulate and effective for peace.

(Note. The final wording of this resolution was left to Lord Cecil who settled it as above after the meeting.)

- (2) That copies of the BALLOT WORKER be circulated to members of the Executive Committee for their information.

It was suggested that in quoting the number of people who had voted in the National Declaration Ballot, the number of voters at Parliamentary, and if possible Municipal, Elections should also be given for purposes of comparison.

125. COMMUNICATION FROM THE CONNECTICUT BRANCH OF THE AMERICAN LEAGUE OF NATIONS ASSOCIATION. The Secretary reported a communication dated April 1st from the Executive Director of the Connecticut Branch of the League of Nations Association, suggesting that the United States should call a Limitation of Arms Conference in Washington. It was
RESOLVED: "That the Connecticut Branch be thanked for their communication."
126. LOYAL MESSAGE TO H.M. THE KING. The Secretary drew the attention of the Executive to the Loyal Message to be presented by the Union to His Majesty the King. The Message was then signed by Lord Cecil, Professor Murray and Dr. Garnett.
127. INTERNATIONAL BALL. The Secretary reported that Mrs. Anthony Eden, who was Chairman of the International Ball to be held at the Dorchester Hotel on Wednesday, May 15th, had succeeded in obtaining T.R.H. the Duke and Duchess of Kent as Patrons of the Ball. It was hoped that as many members of the Executive as possible would take tickets for the Ball.
128. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Executive received with interest resolutions from the East Finchley, Bromley, and Whalley Range Branches, the Birmingham Central Youth Group, the Tyne District Council and the Hendon Peace Council.

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MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT 15, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W. 1., ON THURSDAY, MAY 16TH, 1935, AT 10.45 A.M.

PRESENT: Professor Gilbert Murray (in the Chair), Lord Allen, Miss Joyce Ansell, W. Arnold-Forster, Major Buxton, L.J. Cadbury, Lord Cecil, Sir Austen Chamberlain, Miss Courtney, Mrs. Dugdale, Lady Gladstone, Captain Green, Lady Hall, Sir John Harris, Sir Arthur Haworth, Lady Henschel, Major Hills, Dr. Kimmins, Commander Lewis, Captain Loder, Lord Lytton, G. le M. Mander, Sir Walter Napier, Lord Rhayader, Mrs. Runciman, Mrs. Wilson-Fox, L.M. Wynch.

129. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Michael Barkway, F.M. Burris, the Dean of Chichester, Admiral Drury-Lowe, Lady Layton, Arthur Pugh, Councillor H.F. Shaw, H.S. Syrett, Professor Zimmern.

130. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

(a) Branches Committee. (Professor Murray reported). Subject to the following decision on Minute 35, the Minutes of the Committee dated May 2nd, 1935, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (28) Minutes; (29) Branches and Junior Branches; (30) Corporate Members; (31) Corporate and Industrial Associates; (32) Junior Sections; (33) Membership; (34) Youth Committee; (35) Constitution of the General Council.

On Minute 35 - Constitution of General Council, it was

RESOLVED: "That this Minute be adjourned for consideration at the next meeting of the Executive, along with the Interim Report of the Sub-Committee on the Constitution of the General Council and the recommendation of the Regions Committee in regard to it."

(b) Library Committee. (Dr. Kimmins reported) The Minutes of the Committee dated May 3rd, 1935, were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (10) Minutes; (11) Matters arising out of Minutes; (12) Book List; (13) Library Conferences; (14) Date of Next Meeting.

(c) Education Committee. (Dr. Kimmins reported) The Minutes of the Committee dated May 3rd, 1935, were approved and adopted.

[These Minutes included (49) Minutes; (50) Arising Out of the Minutes; (51) Membership of the Committee; (52) Meetings for Teachers and Schools; (53) Report on Work in Universities and Colleges; (54) Report of the Curriculum Sub-Committee; (55) National Conference on the Teaching of International Relations; (56) British Council on the Teaching of International Relations; (57) International Federation of League of Nations Societies; (58) 1935 Edition of the List of Books for Children and Teachers; (59) Report of the Junior Branches Sub-Committee; (60) A Jubilee Plan; (61) Membership of Pioneers' Camps Sub-Committee; (62) Meetings for School Leavers; (63) Easter School; (64) Midlands Regional Youth Groups Conference; (65) Junior Summer School; (66) Propaganda; (67) Recognition of Junior Branches; (68) Recognition of Junior Sections; (69) Recognition of (Educational) Corporate Members; (70) Recognition of Affiliated Member; (71) Date of Next Meeting.]

131. SECRETARY'S LETTERS TO THE PRESS. Sir John Harris drew the attention of the Executive to letters recently written by Dr. Garnett to the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN and to the TIMES on League of Nations Union notepaper. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That Lord Cecil, Sir John Harris and Professor Murray be asked to consider the conditions under which members of the secretariat write letters to the press; and to make recommendations to the Executive.

132. MINUTES. Subject to the following report on Minutes 121 and 127, the Minutes of the Committee dated May 2nd, 1935, were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 121 - Re-armament of Germany, Lord Cecil reported that he had written a private letter to Mr. Baldwin as requested by the Executive. He would be glad to send a copy of his letter to any member of the Committee who wished to see it.

On Minute 127 - International Ball, The Secretary reported that the International Ball had been held at the Dorchester Hotel on the previous evening and that Mr. Anthony Eden had helped Mrs. Eden (the Chairman of the Ball Committee) Lady Power and other hostesses to make it a great success. It was hoped that a profit to the Union's funds of between £800 and £1,000 would be obtained. It was

RESOLVED: "That a letter of thanks be sent to Mrs. Anthony Eden for her kindness in acting as Chairman of the Ball; and that letters of thanks be also sent to the Vice-Chairmen, to Lady Power and to the organisers."

133. INTERNATIONAL AIR FORCE. The Committee considered a resolution (S.G.7438) unanimously adopted by the Sub-Committee (appointed in Minute L20 of May 2nd) for submission by the Executive to the General Council in July. The Chairman expressed the sincere thanks of the Executive to the members of the Sub-Committee both for the co-operative spirit they had shown and for the skill with which their resolution was drafted, and it was unanimously

RESOLVED: (1) "The General Council of the League of Nations Union

Having considered the proposals approved and adopted by the Executive Committee on November 1st, 1934, for the abolition of National (military and naval) Air Forces and for the creation of an International Air Force,

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."

The Secretary reported that the Regions Committee, at their meeting on May 13th, had asked that they might be associated with the Executive in placing this resolution before the General Council.

It was further

RESOLVED: (2) "That further consideration of Minute 107 of the International Law Committee dated March 21st, 1935, be adjourned until after the meeting of the General Council at Cambridge in July.

134. ANNUAL MEETING OF GENERAL COUNCIL. The Executive considered the draft Preliminary agenda for the Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the General Council, together with the recommendations of the Regions Committee upon it (D.S.2025)
It was

RESOLVED: (1) "That Mrs. Stanley Baldwin be invited to become a Vice-President of the Union."

(2) "That the order of motions on the agenda paper be altered so that No. 9 (Churches and Peaces), 5 (Political Work) and 1 (Union Policy) be taken in that order immediately before the motions on World Affairs."

(3) "That the resolution on Union Policy be submitted in the name of the Executive Committee in the following amended form:

The General Council recognises that the Objects of the Union as set forth in the Royal Charter are alone binding upon all members of the Union."

(4) "That the motion standing in the name of the Fellowship Branch (who had accepted the amendment proposed by the Regions Committee) on the Political Work of the Union, be followed by a notice of the Executive's intention to propose an amendment for inclusion on the Final Agenda paper."

(5) "That the proposed motion on New Developments which had been starred by the Regions Committee be omitted from the Preliminary agenda."

(6) "That notes be inserted in the Preliminary agenda referring to the motions (other than the Executive's motion) on an International Air Force or an International

Police Force -- Nos. 15(b), (c) and (d), 16(a), (b) and (c), and 17 -- stating that, in the Executive's view, if the Executive's motion on Civil Aviation and an International Air Force is adopted, these other motions, or so much of them as relates to an International Police Force, will become out of order, so that if the movers wish to make sure of these other motions being discussed, they should be moved as amendments to the Executive's motion."

- (7) "That the motion on arms Traffic (19) be submitted to the General Council mutatis mutandis in the form in which it was adopted by the Executive on April 11th for transmission to the International Federation of League of Nations Societies."
- (8) "That in the motion on World Trade (21) submitted in the name of the Executive Committee, the words 'by increasing the reliability of the collective peace system' be deleted from the last paragraph."
- (9) "That no motion on the subject of Minorities be submitted to the General Council."
- (10) "That, subject to the above, the recommendations of the Regions Committee be approved and adopted."

135. DISARMAMENT AND SECURITY. The Committee considered a draft resolution prepared by Lord Cecil in accordance with Minute 121 of the last meeting, and it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That the Executive Committee, recognising the grave dangers which threaten the peace of the world, is of opinion that the scrupulous respect of all treaty obligations is essential to the maintenance of international peace and goodwill;

Welcomes the appointment of a Committee by the League Council to propose measures to render the Covenant more effective in the organisation of collective security;

Urges that, in order to help to fulfil the obligations resting on all Members of the League to formulate plans for the reduction, limitation and supervision of armaments by international agreement in a regime of security and equality, the British Government should make to the Disarmament Conference proposals with that object and should use the whole of its influence to procure their adoption;

and finally, while desirous of securing the co-operation of Germany in obtaining a disarmament treaty, hopes that the British Government will in any case press for discussion and decision on its proposals."

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

136. SUB-COMMITTEE ON ECONOMIC SANCTIONS. Lord Cecil drew the attention of the Committee to a letter from Miss Eleanor Rathbone, M.P. recently published in the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN, suggesting the creation of a new society to study the question of recommending economic pressure under Article 16. Miss Rathbone had replied to a letter from Lord Cecil on the subject to the effect that if the Union's Executive appointed a Committee to study this matter, she would be glad to serve upon the Committee and would defer any action for the formation of a separate society until the Union's Committee had got to work as it might then prove to be unnecessary. After considerable discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "That it is desirable to appoint a Committee to consider the practical application of economic sanctions under Article 16, and, the best way in which any conclusions on that subject can be presented to the public."

- (2) "That, before this Committee is appointed, Lord Cecil and Professor Murray be asked to have a preliminary discussion with Miss Rathbone and Sir Arthur Salter; and that members of the Executive be invited to send to the Secretary any suggestions they may wish to make concerning the kind of Committee it would be useful to appoint."

137. ABYSSINIA. The Committee considered the present situation regarding Italy and Abyssinia, and had before them a draft resolution prepared by the Chairman. After discussion it was

RESOLVED: (1) "Considering that by Articles XII to XV of the Covenant all Members of the League are bound to seek peaceful settlement for their disputes;

That by Article XI every war or threat of war is a matter of concern to the whole League;

The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union assures His Majesty's Government of its support in any measures they may take to uphold the Covenant of

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the League in preventing the outbreak of war between Italy and Abyssinia."

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

138. ADJOURNMENT. It was

RESOLVED: "That the remaining items on the agenda be adjourned for consideration at the next meeting of the Committee on May 30th."

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MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD AT 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1. ON THURSDAY, MAY 30TH AT 10.45 A.M.

PRESENT. Professor Gilbert Murray (in the Chair), Vyvyan Adams, Miss Joyce Ansell, Michael Barkway, F. M. Burris, Major Puxton, L. J. Cadbury, Lord Cecil, Sir Austen Chamberlain, Miss K. D. Courtney, Lord Dickinson, Admiral Drury-Lowe, Mrs. E. Dugdale, Miss Megan Lloyd George, Lady Gladstone, Captain Green, Sir John Harris, Lady Henschel, Dr. Kimmins, Captain Loder, G. le Mander, Sir Walter Napier, Mrs. Wilson-Fox, Major Lawrence Wright.

APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from H. H. Elvin, Sir Arthur Haworth, A. Pugh, Professor Zimmerman.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

(a) Office Committee (Professor Murray reported). Subject to the following decision on minute 28, the minutes of the Committee dated May 14th were approved and adopted.

These Minutes included (26) Minutes; (27) Voluntary Workers; (28) Method of Making Staff Appointments and Office Accommodation; (29) Speakers; (30) Mr. Everett Reid; (31) Miss Loveday.

On Minute 28 -- Method of Making Staff Appointments and Office Accommodation, it was

RESOLVED: "That this minute be approved and adopted, subject to the amendment of paragraph (4) to read as follows:

"That the canvassing of members of the Office Committee or other Selection Committee by candidates or their friends should be regarded as a prima facie disqualification."

(b) Youth Committee. (Miss Ansell reported) Subject to the following decision on minutes 30-18 and 46 the minutes of the Committee dated May 11th and May 25th were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (28) Minutes; (29) Composition of the Committee; (30) Matters arising out of the Minutes; (31) Youth Groups; (32) Youth Corporate Associates; (33) Southern Regional Council; (34) Midland Youth Group's Regional Council.

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(35) Report of the Youth Camps Sub-Committee; (36) National Camp at Whitsuntide; (37) Camping Conference; (38) Minimum Camping Standard; (39) Report of the Reception Sub-Committee; (40) Report of the Geneva Sub-Committee; (41) Visit to the International Labour Conference; (42) Geneva Youth Party, 1935; (43) International Federation of League of Nations Societies; (44) Report of the Editorial Sub-Committee; (45) Literature Subscription; (46) Posters for Youth Groups; (47) Memorandum on Publicity for Youth Groups; (48) "Youth"; (49) Handbook of Youth Group Programmes; (50) Report of the Conference and Constitution Sub-Committee; (51) Youth Groups with Closed Membership; (52) Report of the Youth Groups' Films Advisory Committee; (53) Communication from the Union des Jeunes Socialistes de France; (54) Small Heath Youth Group Membership Campaign; (55) Date of Next Meeting; (56) Minutes; (57) Youth Groups; (58) Reception for British Youth Organisations; (59) International Federation of League of Nations Societies; (60) The Prince of Wales' Jubilee Plan; (61) Date of Next Meeting.

On Minute 30 - 18 - Proposed Re-Organisation of Mr. Popham's work, it was

RESOLVED: "That this minute be received."

On Minute 46 - Posters for Youth Groups, it was

RESOLVED: "That this minute be referred to the Editorial Committee."

- (c) Christian Organisations Committee. (Admiral Drury-Lowe reported). Subject to the following report and decision on minute 35, the minutes of the Committee dated May 15th, 1935, were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (30) Minutes; (31) Peace Through Prayer; (32) National Free Church Council Campaign on Christian Evangelism and Peace; (33) Arms Inquiry; (34) The League and Religious Persecution; (35) The Present International Situation; (36) Sermon Notes and Sunday School Lessons; (37) Meeting Day of Committee; (38) Church of Scotland; (39) Co-optations to the General Council; (40) Use of Affirmation; (41) Representative of Missionary Societies; (42) Applications for Corporate Membership; (43) Date of Next Meeting.

On Minute 35 - The Present International Situation. Admiral Drury-Lowe reported that a paper had been drafted by Dr. Garnett and Mr. Porter Goff and submitted to the Dean of Chichester and Lady Parmoor in accordance with the decision contained in this minute.

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The Dean of Chichester was in Ireland and no reply had been received from him; and Lady Farnoor had submitted an alternative draft. But owing to the change in the situation since the meeting of the Committee, and in view of the letter from the Archbishop of York in the TIMES of May 24th, no memorandum was being submitted to the Executive at its present meeting. In these circumstances it was

RESOLVED: "That minute 35 of the Christian Organisations Committee be adjourned."

CHURCH MAGAZINE INSET. Sir Austen Chamberlain drew the attention of the Executive to the current issue of the Church Magazine Inset and reported correspondence between himself and the Chairman and Mr. Porter Goff on the subject. The Secretary stated that the leaflet was issued twice a year for insertion in Church Magazines and was sold by the Union to the Churches. It was

RESOLVED. "That the Chairman and Lord Dickinson be asked to inform the Chairman of the Christian Organisations Committee of the Executive's discussion on the Church Magazine Inset."

- (d) Industrial Advisory Committee. (Captain Green reported). The minutes of the Committee dated May 16th, 1935 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (52) Minutes; (53) Membership of Committee; (54) Ratification of International Labour Conventions; (55) Conference on "Social and Economic Planning"; (56) Trades Union Congress; (57) Conferences on the I.L.O.; (58) I.L.O. and Employers' Group; (59) Mr. Gillinder's Report; (60) Industrial Affiliations; (61) 70th Session of Governing Body of I.L.O.; (62) International Labour Conference — Union Party; (63) Recruitment of Native Labour; (64) Correspondence; (65) Date of Next Meeting.

On Minute 55 — Conference on Social and Economic Planning, Captain Green drew the attention of the Executive to the Report recently published by the Union of the Conference on Social and Economic Planning.

- (e) Finance Committee. (Major Lawrence Wright reported). Subject to the following decision on minute 22, the minutes of the Committee dated May 16th, 1935, were approved and adopted;

These minutes included (21) Minutes; (22) Audited Accounts; (23) Financial Statement; (24) National Declaration; (25) Renewal Appeal; (26) February Appeal; (27) International Ball; (28) Legacy;

(29) Youth Committee; (30) Nansen Hut Fund; (31) Travel Bureau; (32) Federal Councils; (33) Mr. Staington's Car; (34) Passing of Cheques for Payment.

On Minute 22 -- Audited Accounts for 1934, it was

RESOLVED: "That this minute be approved and adopted subject to the amendment of the last sentence in the preamble to read as follows:

'After noting with satisfaction that the actual expenditure differed from that authorised by no more than £16 13s. 2d. it was.....'"

On Minute 28 -- Legacy, Sir John Harris expressed the hope that the Finance Committee would bear in mind the device which had been found useful by other societies by which legacies were spread over a period of seven or ten years.

f) Overseas Committee. (Lady Gladstone reported). Subject to the following decision and report on minutes 14, 15, 16 and 17, the minutes of the Committee dated May 22nd, 1935 were approved and adopted.

These minutes included (13) Minutes; (14) Brussels Congress; (15) International Statute of Tangier; (16) Advisory Committee on Ways and Means; (17) Communication from Professor Ruyssen and Mr. Malcolm Davis; (18) Overseas Report; (19) Date of Next Meeting.

On Minute 14 -- Brussels Congress: (b) Congress Agenda,

National Minorities.

2. Situation of the Jews in Germany, Lady Gladstone reported a communication received by the International Federation from the German League of Nations Society, protesting against the decision to have the situation of the Jews in Germany once more discussed by the International Federation although this was a matter of Germany's domestic policy, and stating that if this question were maintained on the agenda of the Plenary Congress and discussed there the German Society would not participate in the Congress. It was

RESOLVED: "That it be left to the discretion of the Union's delegates to take whatever action seems to them desirable when the Plenary Congress meets, bearing in mind that, on the whole, the Executive Committee feel that the Federation ought not to yield to this pressure from the German Society; and that, if the Palestine resolution is put to the Congress, the amendment recommended by the Overseas Committee be approved."

I.L.O. Economic and Social

6. International Protection of University Degrees and establishment of an equivalence between University studies in different countries.

RESOLVED: "That in moving the amendment to this resolution the Union's delegates should make it clear that the study which it is recommended should be undertaken by the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation is to be restricted to those degrees which are legal qualifications to practise professions."

Juridical and Political.

5. The Respect of Law and Maintenance of Peace.

RESOLVED: "That so much of this resolution as concerns a Tribunal in Equity be opposed; and that the Union's delegates be asked to deal with the remainder of the resolution in the light of the policy to be pursued by the Executive at the meeting of the General Council at Cambridge.

6. Procedure to ensure respect of international obligations. Sir Walter Napier suggested that the words "with a view to the reconsideration of treaties which have become inapplicable and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world" should be inserted after the reference to Article 19 in the Union's amendment to the second paragraph of this resolution, and it was

RESOLVED: "That the question of inserting the words suggested by Sir Walter Napier be left to the discretion of the Union's delegates."

13. The Statute of Memel.

RESOLVED: "That it be left to the discretion of the Union's delegates to modify the resolution as redrafted by Mr. Macartney if changes in the situation render such a course desirable by the time the Plenary Congress meets."

On Minute 15 -- International Statute of Tangier, it was

RESOLVED: "That if the question of the International Statute of Tangier is raised at Brussels, the Union's delegates be authorised at their discretion to support the resolution proposed

by Sir Walter Napier, subject to the deletion of the words 'should provide for the permanent neutrality of the Zone and' from the fifth paragraph."

On Minute 16 -- The International Suppression of Acts of Terrorism, after it had been reported that a sub-Committee of the League's Council was considering this question, it was

RESOLVED: "That the Union's delegates be asked to move for the adjournment of this resolution pending a report by the sub-Committee of the League's Council."

On Minute 17 -- Communication from Professor Ruyssen and Mr. Malcolm Davis, Lord Cecil felt that since the proposal for a Co-ordinating Committee in Defence of Peace was in a very elementary condition, it would be a mistake to take any decision in this matter until the Union's delegates had heard the discussion at Brussels. It was therefore

RESOLVED: "That no instructions be given to the Union's delegates to the Representative Council but that they be asked to use their discretion."

141. CELEBRATION OF DR. AND MRS. GARNETT'S SILVER WEDDING. The Chairman, on behalf of the Executive, conveyed the congratulations of the Committee to Dr. and Mrs. Garnett on the celebration of their Silver Wedding on June 1st. In his remarks, the Chairman paid high tribute to Dr. Garnett's work as Secretary of the Union.
142. MINUTES. The minutes of the Committee dated May 16th, were confirmed as circulated.
143. DISARMAMENT AND SECURITY. Lord Cecil reported that he had received a number of communications from different parts of the country protesting against the Government's air policy. On the previous day a deputation of Youth Group Members had been to see him and had urged very strongly that the Executive should take some action in the matter. Lord Cecil did not think there was much the Union could do at this moment, but it might be desirable to send a letter to H.M. Government calling their attention to what we believe to be the strong feeling of a section of opinion that is not opposed to the increase of air forces provided they are sure it is a step towards collective security and an ultimate reduction of armaments all over the world, and urging that H.M. Government should press forward their proposals for the limitation and if possible the abolition of air armaments and for the control of civil aviation. The letter might end by suggesting an immediate meeting of the Air Commission.

The attention of the Executive was drawn to a resolution adopted by the Executive Committee of the London Regional Federation on May 28th.

After considerable discussion it was

RESOLVED: "That it be left to Lord Cecil and Professor Murray, in consultation with Sir Austen Chamberlain and Miss Courtney, to write a letter to Sir John Simon; and that the letter be subsequently communicated to the press and to the Union's Branches."

144. ITALY AND ABYSSINIA. It was unanimously

RESOLVED: "That the Chairman be asked to write to Mr. Anthony Eden, congratulating him on the agreement reached by the League's Council in regard to the dispute between Italy and Abyssinia."

145. LETTERS TO THE PRESS. The Executive considered a report submitted by Lord Cecil, Professor Murray and Sir John Harris in accordance with minute 131 of the last meeting. It was

RESOLVED: "That the report be approved and adopted as follows:-

We recognise the usefulness and, indeed, the necessity of occasional letters to the press signed by the Secretary of the Union and carrying more authority than the regular output of letters issued by the Publicity Section. Since, however, such letters are bound to involve to some extent the responsibility of the Union, we recommend that

- (1) No letter for publication signed by the Secretary should be sent from the central office on official Union paper unless it has been expressly authorised by the Executive Committee.
- (2) As for letters on international affairs signed by him and sent from a private address we recommend:
 - (a) No letter signed by the Secretary should appear which is not in consonance with the known views of the Executive Committee. If no view has been expressed by the Committee and it is thought essential that a letter be written, additional care should be taken that nothing should be said which members of the Executive Committee would be likely to disapprove.
 - (b) In order to protect both the Secretary and the Executive Committee any such letter for the press concerning international affairs should

be shown to the Chairman or, in his absence, to at least one of two persons designated by him, who should initial the letter before it is sent. This will ensure closer attention being given to the letter's actual contents and wording. 269

- (3) With regard to letters written by the rest of the Staff: the Publicity Section stands in a special position and must, in some cases, write on official paper — For example, when correcting mis-statements about the League or the Union. We consider that this matter can safely be left in the hands of Mr. Eppstein, as Director of the Section. Letters by other members of the Staff should not be written on official paper or dated from the central office and should be submitted for approval before publication to the Secretary himself. Any further regulations that may be needed should be left to the discretion of the Secretary.

146. REGIONS COMMITTEE. (Mr. Burris reported). The minutes of the Committee dated May 13th, 1935, were received.

These minutes included (1) Minutes; (2) Sir Arthur Hort; (3) General Council; (4) Time Table for General Council Meeting; (5) Constitution of the General Council; (6) Enrolment of Foundation Members by County Organisations; (7) "How to Form a Branch"; (8) Council's Vote; (9) Speakers; (10) Day and Time of future Meetings.

On Minute 7 -- "How to Form a Branch", it was

RESOLVED: "That this minute be referred to the Editorial Committee."

147. CONSTITUTION OF GENERAL COUNCIL. The Committee had before them the Interim Report of the sub-Committee appointed by the Executive on December 20th, together with the recommendations of the Regions Committee (minute 5 of May 13th) and the Branches Committee (minute 35 of May 2nd). It was

RESOLVED: "That the recommendations contained in the Interim Report, but not the addendum, be approved and adopted, subject to the amendment that Branches be also asked to state whether the meetings mentioned in paragraphs (b) (4) and (c) have been held."

148. SUB-COMMITTEE ON ECONOMIC SANCTIONS. Lord Cecil reported that in accordance with the decision taken by the Executive at its last meeting (Minute No. 136 of May 16th) and before the appointment of the Sub-Committee on Economic Sanctions (mentioned in that Minute) Miss Rathbone and Sir Arthur Salter had a preliminary discussion with Lord Cecil and

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Professor Murray, Dr. Garnett, Captain Thomas and Mr. Bullock were also present.

Miss Rathbone said that in her view more should be done to popularise the idea of economic sanctions. Lord Davies' NEW COMMONWEALTH was busy advocating an international police force, but neither the Union nor any other body was making an equal effort to inform public opinion concerning the purpose and nature of the economic sanctions contemplated in the Covenant.

Lord Cecil proposed that Mr. Arnold Forster should be asked to prepare a short popular Statement on Economic sanctions.

Sir Arthur Salter and Miss Rathbone welcomed this proposal, and Sir Arthur made some suggestions about the contents of the Statement.

Miss Rathbone and Sir Arthur Salter agreed with Lord Cecil and Professor Murray that until this Statement had been prepared and published and until the effect of it upon the Union's activities had been observed, the appointment of the new Sub-Committee should be deferred.

The Chairman read to the Executive a letter from Professor Webster, stating that the subject of economic sanctions had been under consideration by a Group at Chatham House for a considerable period, and that a comprehensive work was being prepared for publication. He suggested that advantage might be taken of the large body of expert opinion which had already been brought to bear on the subject. It was

- RESOLVED: (1) That Lord Cecil's report be approved and adopted.
- (2) That the information contained in Professor Webster's letter be communicated to Mr. Arnold Forster.
- (3) That Mr. Arnold Forster's Statement be submitted to the Executive Committee before publication.

149. SIR GEOFFREY KNOX. The Secretary reported that he had conveyed to Sir Geoffrey Knox the invitation of the Executive Committee. But since Sir Geoffrey was returning to his work at the Foreign Office immediately he was debarred from making any public statement about his experiences in the Saar and at Geneva. He had, however, talked privately with Lord Cecil, Lord Lytton, Professor Murray and the Secretary at luncheon on May 23rd.

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150. CO-OPTATIONS TO EXECUTIVE. It was

RESOLVED: "That a sub-Committee, consisting of Mr. Noel Baker, Lady Gladstone, Captain Loder and Professor Murray, be asked to consider and recommend the names of persons for co-optation to the Executive Committee for the year 1935/6.

151. LEAGUE OF NATIONS EMBLEM. The Executive considered a communication from the Executive Committee of the International Federation urging constituent societies "to take steps with their Governments recalling the competition organised by the Federation in 1929-30 for the choice of an emblem and to try to secure that they will take action to have some emblem selected. It was

RESOLVED: "That no action be taken".

152. NATIONAL DECLARATION. The Executive had before them the minutes of the National Declaration Conference held on May 7th. It was suggested that the word 'general' should be inserted before the word 'disarmament' in the first paragraph of the resolution to be submitted to the Albert Hall Meeting. Lord Cecil promised to communicate this suggestion to the National Declaration Conference.
153. CLOSING OF OFFICE AT WHITSUN. It was

RESOLVED: "That the office be closed from 5.30 p.m. on Friday, June 7th until 10 a.m. on Tuesday, June 11th.

154. BY-ELECTIONS. The Executive received a report on the Perth, Edinburgh, and South Aberdeen By-Elections.

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LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION.

CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
HELD AT 14, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, LONDON, S.W.1.
ON THURSDAY, JUNE 8TH, 1935 AT 10.45 a.m.

PRESENT: Professor Gilbert Murray (in the Chair),
Lord Allen, Vyvyan Adams, F.M. Burris,
Major Buxton, L.J. Cadbury, Dean of
Crichester, Lord Cecil, Admiral Drury-
Lowe, Miss P. Fawcett, Arnold Forster,
Lady Gladstone, Sir John Harris, Lady
Henschel, Lady Layton, Captain Loder,
G. de M. Mander, Sir Walter Napier, Lord
Rhayader, Mrs. Runciman, H.S. Syrett,
Mrs. Wilson Fox, L.M. Wynch

155. APOLOGIES FOR ABSENCE were received from Miss
Ansell, Sir Austen Chamberlain, Miss Courtney,
H.H. Elvin, Captain Green, Sir Arthur Haworth,
Commander Lewis, Lord Lytton, Sir Arthur Pugh
and Major Lawrence Wright.

156. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

(a) Editorial Committee. (Professor Murray report-
ed) Subject to the following report on minute
33, the minutes of the Committee dated May 30th,
1935 were approved and adopted.

∕These minutes included (31) Minutes; (32) Dates
of Future Meetings; (33) Posters; (34) Peace
Calendar; (35) Life of Mr. Hodgson Pratt;
(36) The League Succeeds; (37) Headway;
(38) Distribution of Pamphlets and Leaflets;
(39) Lecture by Senor de Madariaga.∕

On Minute 33 - Posters, Admiral Drury Lowe sug-
gested that enquiries should also be made con-
cerning the cost of sites for the Union's
posters on the Tube railways.

(b) Iraq Committee. (Professor Murray reported)
The minutes of the Committee dated May 30th,
1935 were approved and adopted.

∕These minutes included (1) Minutes; (2) The
Present Position; (3) Position of the
Patriarch; (4) British Responsibility.∕

157. MINORITIES. Sir Walter Napier drew the attention of
the Executive to the address on Minorities broad-

cast by Mr. Macartney on May 16th, 1935, and asked that the Editorial Committee should consider printing the address as a Union pamphlet. It was

RESOLVED: "That Sir Walter Napier's suggestion be referred for consideration by the Editorial Committee."

158. MINUTES. Subject to the following report on minutes 143, 144 and 148, the minutes of the Committee dated May 30th, 1935 were confirmed as circulated.

On Minute 143 - Disarmament and Security, the Executive had before them a copy of the letter written to Sir John Simon on May 30th in accordance with the decision of the Committee at its last meeting. No reply to the letter had yet been received from the Foreign Secretary.

On Minute 144 - Italy and Abyssinia, the Chairman reported that he had written to Mr. Anthony Eden, and read to the Committee the Lord Privy Seal's reply.

Lord Cecil reported on the special meeting of the Political and Parliamentary Committee held at the House of Commons on the previous evening, at which Mr. Eden had spoken on the recent meeting of the League's Council.

On Minute 148 - Sub-Committee on Economic Sanctions, Mr. Arnold Forster stated that he would take an early opportunity of talking over with the Chairman the Executive's request that he should prepare a short popular Statement on Economic Sanctions.

159. GENERAL COUNCIL. It was

RESOLVED: "That the General Council, at its forthcoming meeting, be recommended to appoint Mr. Anthony Eden a Vice-President of the Union, and to co-opt Sir Arthur Pugh, Sir Walter Citrine and Sir Archibald Sinclair as members of the Council."

160. THE LEAGUE AND THE SUPPRESSION OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM. The Dean of Chichester presented the report of the Christian Organisations Committee on the League and the Suppression of Religious Freedom (S.C.7303). He said that for some time the Christian Organisations Committee had had brought to its notice the fact that there was a certain lukewarmness in regard to support of the League among members of the Christian Churches because of the attitude taken by Powers which are in the League or which it is desired should be in the League on the question of religious freedom. We

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were now faced, he said, with a position in which religion had been suppressed in Russia and in which steps of a most drastic character were being taken in Germany against the Christian Churches as such; and the uneasiness which that caused had found very important expression in letters to the TIMES from several Bishops and at Convocation on the previous day from the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Executive then considered the memorandum and after considerable discussion it was

- RESOLVED: (1) "The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union is concerned about the religious intolerance at present shown in certain countries. It believes that no Government which denies to its subjects the free exercise of religious practice and teaching can hope to secure the real friendship of the people of this country. The Executive Committee sees in this state of affairs a serious hindrance to good international relations, and requests His Majesty's Government to take any steps it thinks possible, whether by private representations or by public action at Geneva or elsewhere, to influence such Governments to grant religious freedom."
- (2) "That the above resolution be communicated to H.M. Government and to the press."
- (3) "That the Executive Committee thanks the Christian Organisations Committee for their admirable memorandum and asks them to reconsider it in the light of the Executive's resolution in (1) above."

161. NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF LOCAL EDUCATION AUTHORITIES AND TEACHERS ASSOCIATIONS. The Secretary reported on the National Conference on the Teaching of International Relations held in the Guildhall on May 31st and June 1st. The Conference had been opened by Lord Halifax, and had been attended by more than five hundred people including County and Borough Councillors, Directors of Education, Members of Education Committees etc. representing sixty-five Local Education Authorities in England and Wales, as well as delegates from national and local associations of teachers. On Saturday, June 1st the delegates were entertained to lunch in the Crypt of the Guildhall by Mr. and Mrs. Syrett on behalf of the City of London Branch. Speeches were delivered by Mr. H.B. Lees Smith, the Chinese Minister and Professor Murray. It was

RESOLVED: (1) "That letters of thanks be sent to the Lord Mayor and the Corporation of the City of London for their kindness in allowing the Conference to be held in the Guildhall, and to Mr. H.S. Syrett and the City of London Branch for entertaining the delegates to lunch."

(2) "That the Executive Committee expresses the hope that a short account of the Conference will be made available as a Union pamphlet, and asks the Editorial Committee to consider the question of producing such a paper."

162. NATIONAL DECLARATION. Lord Cecil reported that some ten and-a-half million votes had now been recorded in the Peace Ballot. In forty-one constituencies more than 60 per cent. poll had been achieved.

163. CONFERENCE OF BRITISH COMMONWEALTH LEAGUE. Lady Gladstone reported that a Conference was being organised by the British Commonwealth League in London on 16th, 17th and 18th June, at which resolutions on the subject of nationality of married women, the manufacture and trade in arms, the collective system, and slavery were to be discussed. The Women's Advisory Council wished to have authority to send a delegate from the Union to the Conference. It was

RESOLVED: "That the Women's Advisory Council be authorised to send a delegate from the Union to the Conference of the British Commonwealth League."

164. CIRCULATION OF UNION PUBLICATIONS TO EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. In reply to a question the Secretary stated that, in accordance with the Executive's instructions, copies of HEADWAY and QUARTERLY NEWS were sent regularly to all members of the Executive, as well as reports and pamphlets prepared under the auspices of the Industrial Advisory Committee as and when they were published. Other publications of the Union were listed on the Executive Committee's agenda paper with a note to the effect that copies would be supplied to members of the Executive on application to the Book Room at 15, Grosvenor Crescent. It was

RESOLVED: "That no change be made in the existing practice."

165. BRANCH RESOLUTIONS. The Committee received with interest resolutions from the Bellingham, Wigan, Skipton,

Southampton, Bishop Auckland, Montague Burton, Stocksfield and Bury Branches, and from the Northamptonshire and Essex Federal Councils.

The Committee discussed the procedure followed in regard to resolutions adopted by Branches of the Union and communicated to the Executive, and it was

RESOLVED: "That, for the future, Branch resolutions communicated to the Executive should be accompanied by a brief note, to be prepared by the secretariat, suggesting the action, if any, which the Executive might take in regard to them."



